

# WOMEN IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

*Theory and Practice*

Maria J. D'Agostino  
Helisse Levine

# Women in Public Administration

## Theory and Practice

Edited by

**Maria J. D'Agostino, PhD**  
John Jay College of Criminal Justice  
The City University of New York  
New York, NY

**Helisse Levine, PhD**  
Long Island University  
Brooklyn, NY



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# FOREWORD

This book has been “a long time a-borning.” Not that the editors and authors have been slow about their work. To the contrary, they have approached the project with dispatch and the enthusiasm it warrants. But the emergence of writing on women’s issues and feminist perspectives in U.S. public administration has been terribly slow. After all, the birth pangs, as far as I know, were first felt in 1976 with the publication of a symposium in *Public Administration Review* on women in public administration. What a long labor it has been! Perhaps the present collection is a signal that the topic has finally acquired the critical mass it needs to take its rightful place among the most important in practice and theory. It may be that such a potentially transformative issue takes time to build momentum.

Why has it taken so long? No less a source than the mother of the second wave of feminism may give us a clue. The introduction of Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* (1949) reads as follows:

For a long time I hesitated to write a book on woman. The subject is irritating, especially to women; and it is not new. Enough ink has been spilled in quarrelling over feminism, and perhaps we should say no more about it. It is still talked about, however, for the voluminous nonsense uttered during the last century seems to have done little to illuminate the problem. After all, is there a problem? And if so, what is it? Are there women, really?

If I had claimed that these words came from a book written last year, who would have doubted it based purely on the content? Are we not still saying women’s issues are irritating? Do not many women (let alone men) still protest “Let’s not talk about it anymore”? Does not each of us have our favorite idiocy to point to in writings on the subject?

Yet the topic could be said to be too central to die (not, one hopes, the same as “too big to fail”). In the United States women play an ever-increasing part in public service. They fill the ranks of bureaucracy at every level of government, though numbers at the top are still disproportionately small. They have played a leading role in the development of the nonprofit sector from its earliest days in the mid-nineteenth century. Classes in

virtually every university that offers them throng with female students, many of them mid-career practitioners. But the question of what difference, if any, women make to practice and scholarship in the field has been shamefully neglected. It is hard to think that a subject matter this significant has been ignored this much.

Anyone who has raised the issue in the classroom over the last two or three decades knows full well it is hardly ever met with indifference. Those who sigh (or groan), “Let’s not talk about it anymore,” are matched by an equal or greater number who exclaim, “Finally!” In part, the disagreement comes over that question of what difference the difference makes. Everyone is pretty sure she or he knows the answer, but argument—sometimes vociferous argument—continues. Can the field go on ignoring such an interesting and provocative question? The publication of this book suggests it cannot.

*Women in Public Administration: Theory and Practice* will be a landmark resource, in the classroom, in the government agency, in the nonprofit organization, and on the bookshelves of thinking (and acting) people who care about public service. I like to think of it as an opening salvo rather than a definitive statement. It will teach, it will inspire, it will provoke. For all these reasons it is cause for celebration.

Camilla Stivers  
Spruce Head Island, Maine  
April 2010

# PREFACE

Looking back to *Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State*, Camilla Stivers' seminal work provided context for a new dialogue in public administration that would legitimize gender dimensions in Western political philosophy and public administration (Stivers, 1992). In addition, Mary E. Guy emphasized that the strengths attributed to women in the workplace were far too valuable to ignore as the nation grappled with a changing workforce and newly defined boundaries. Dr. Guy reminds us that "If ever there were a need for building bridges, it is now. If ever there were a need to build on the skills that women have always been characterized as bringing to management, it is now" (Guy, 1993).

The overriding question raised by the contributors to this volume is to what extent since the writings of Stivers, Guy, and other female voices of the past, has the administrative state recognized that public administration's legitimacy problem, enveloped under the purview of the political versus administrative dichotomy, is further defined, recognized, and necessitated by a gender dimension? In specific, the paucity of research exploring how gender informs theory and practice in public administration continues to undermine the equitable representation of women in our society and precludes the integration of gender analysis into public and nonprofit sector practice and policies.

The intent of this edited volume is to inform the theory and practice of public administration through a gendered perspective. The book is designed primarily as either a stand-alone or supplemental text targeting several different audiences. Users include academics, practitioners in public service, and students in graduate public administration and public policy courses. It is also appropriate for students of public service as well as a supplement for practitioners in the field. In addition, this book is a must-have addition to Introduction to Public Administration, Ethics, Women in Politics, Gender Studies, or Diversity classes.

There are many people to thank for a text of this magnitude. We extend thanks to the many anonymous peer reviewers whose comments and suggested revisions contributed to the scope and depth of each of the 21 chapters. A special thanks to Catie Heverling and the production staff at Jones & Bartlett Learning; to Camilla Stivers for her inspirations and generosity; and to the contributors of this book, we thank you for your diligence and

# ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Maria J. D'Agostino is an assistant professor of public administration at John Jay College of Criminal Justice, CUNY, where she teaches public administration in the graduate and undergraduate programs. She holds a PhD in Public Administration from Rutgers University. Her research interests include public service, citizen involvement, volunteerism, and women and public administration. She has contributed to *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, *International Journal of Public Administration*, and the *Journal of Public Administration Education*.

Helisse Levine is an assistant professor for the Masters of Public Administration Program, School of Business, Public Administration and Information Sciences at Long Island University, Brooklyn, New York, where she teaches courses in public sector budgeting, healthcare financial management, and research methods. She holds a PhD in Public Administration from Rutgers University. Her research interests center on state and local government budgetary decision making, fiscal implications of economic cycles on subnational governments, transparency in the municipal bond market, and the issue of gender in public administration. She has contributed to the *Municipal Finance Journal*, *Administrative Theory & Praxis*, and *Gender in Management: An International Journal*.



# CONTRIBUTORS

**Lia Abney**

Masters Management and Public  
Administration  
University of Phoenix  
Hephzibah, GA

**Lotte Bøgh Andersen, PhD**

Barholins Alle  
Denmark

**John R. Bartle, PhD**

School of Public Administration  
University of Nebraska at Omaha  
Omaha, NE

**Rachelle Brunn, PhD**

Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public  
Service  
New York University  
New York, NY

**Cleopatra Charles, PhD**

Robert F. Wagner Graduate School of Public  
Service  
New York University  
New York, NY

**Victoria Gordon, DPA**

Director, Center for Local Governments  
Western Kentucky University  
Bowling Green, KY

**Mary E. Guy, PhD**

School of Public Affairs  
University of Colorado–Denver  
Denver, CO

**Janet R. Hutchinson, PhD**

Professor of Public Policy  
Chair, Department of Women's Studies  
Virginia Commonwealth University  
Richmond, VA

**Kathryn Kloby, PhD**

Department of Political Science  
Monmouth University  
West Long Branch, NJ

**Deniz Zeynep Leuenberger, PhD**

Bridgewater State University  
Bridgewater, MA

**Patrice M. Mareschal, PhD**

Graduate Department of Public Policy and  
Administration  
Rutgers University  
Camden, NJ

**Sharon Mastracci, PhD**

Department of Political Science  
University of Illinois at Chicago  
Chicago, IL

**Randall D. Miller, DPA**

Associate Professor  
Department of Political Science  
Augusta State University  
Augusta, GA

**Renee Nank, PhD**

Department of Public Administration  
University of Texas at San Antonio  
San Antonio, TX

**Shelly L. Pepper, PhD, JD**

Assistant Professor  
Department of Public Administration  
Long Island University, Brooklyn  
Brooklyn, NY

**J. L. Peters, PhD**

John Jay College of Criminal Justice  
New York, NY

**Saundra J. Reinke, PhD**

Department of Political Science  
Augusta State University  
Augusta, GA

**Marilyn Marks Rubin, PhD**

Professor  
Department of Public Management  
John Jay College of Criminal Justice  
City University of New York  
New York, NY

**A. Carol Rusaw, EdD**

University of Northern Virginia  
Annandale, VA

**Meghna Sabharwal, PhD**

Assistant Professor  
Public Affairs Program  
University of Texas at Dallas  
Richardson, TX

**Patricia M. Shields, PhD**

Department of Political Science  
Texas State University  
San Marcos, TX

**Heather Wyatt-Nichol, PhD**

School of Public Affairs  
University of Baltimore  
Baltimore, MD



expertise in preparing such invigorating and thought-provoking chapters. Each one of you has made *Women in Public Administration: Theory and Practice* possible.

Helisse Levine  
Maria J. D'Agostino

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# INTRODUCTION

Organizing a book on the theory and practice of public administration from a gendered perspective presents several challenges. First, the issues are eclectic. The topics range from male-dominated labor markets, academic and financial institutions, to management, ethics, law, and gendered budgeting. Second, the population of contributors to this book is rich and vast. Female public administrators are diverse in background, research agenda, and public service, connected by the common ideology that the practice and education of public administration necessarily encompass a gendered analysis. Third, public administration is dynamic. As our organizations, communities, states, and domestic and global economies change, so too do the issues confronting our female public administrators. The challenges are welcome as they further define a growing, diverse, and always dynamic public administration.

We approach the female endeavor in public administration from a wide-reaching panorama demonstrated through the collection of narratives, theoretical essays, and empirical research from female scholars, practitioners, and educators in the field. The organization of the book centers around five parts. Part I explores the theoretical foundations of gender in public administration from the lenses to feminism. In Chapter 1, "Feminist Theories and Their Application to Public Administration," Janet Hutchinson introduces theories of feminism that appear to be most applicable to public administration's "publics." Dr. Hutchinson suggests that although feminist epistemologies are varied and complex, without a significant paradigm shift in Western values and culture, only a few theoretical approaches show promise for changing the situated space of women, people of color, and sexual minorities in today's public agency environment. The theories discussed in Chapter 1 include the ubiquitous liberal feminism and the more recent intersectionality and postmodernism with mention of several others. There is also discussion about new theory development among young women and men activists to view the likely direction of future feminisms. Patricia Shields uses the lenses of feminism in theorizing about public administration and democracy in Chapter 2: "Jane Addams' Theory of Democracy and Social Ethics: Incorporating a Feminist Perspective." Dr. Shields describes the social ethics and democratic theory of Jane Addams, a nineteenth century settlement woman and activist. Addams' theory of democracy, as portrayed by Dr. Shields, has direct application to contemporary public administration theory and practice. Next, Helisse

Levine presents a feminist model that challenges the universal view of women's equality with the idea that specifics of women's differences should be exalted rather than compromised in the equalization process. In Chapter 3, "A Theory of Difference," Dr. Levine maintains that in a like manner to the settlement women, once silenced by influential male-dominated policies and politics, a theory that embraces cultural diversities with differing experiences, values, and ideologies further defines women's roles and practices in public administration.

Throughout history governmental and agency policies have been developed, implemented, and continually revised to address the gender gap and foster equality in the public sector workplace. Part II explores family-friendly policies in a number of public sector settings. Chapters in this section center on the trials and challenges faced by women in balancing work and family and fostering equality in the public sector workplace. Chapter 4, "Case Study: Female-Friendly Policies in the Academe" by Heather Wyatt-Nichol, explores the linkages between gendered public administration and structural inequalities in academia. Dr. Wyatt-Nichol describes some of the best practice approaches to implementing family-friendly policies as experienced at various colleges and universities throughout the United States recognized for progressive initiatives. Chapter 5, by Meghna Sabharwal, "Research Productivity and Career Trajectories of Women in Public Administration," is a cautionary account of the lack of studies examining issues of productivity and leadership in academia from a gendered perspective. Dr. Sabharwal suggests that an understanding of these issues is not only important to the growth of the discipline but also is of significance to graduate students who wish to pursue academic careers. This study of career trajectories and productivity by gender provides the students of public administration a brief look into the lives of faculty members in the discipline. Chapter 6 continues with Lotte Bøgh Andersen's empirical analysis of female-friendly policies and practices from Denmark. Dr. Andersen questions whether gender diversity at Danish research institutions affects organizational performance to form the basis for discussing the gender dimension in public administration more broadly. The claim is that public administration needs both women and men and that it is important to focus on performance measures that show the contribution of women in terms of relational practice. Chapter 7, offered by Sharon Mastracci in "(Un)intended Consequences of Family-Friendly Workplace Policies," explores several agencies across the country that have gone beyond government-mandated policies and developed "in-house" policies to address inequalities in the workplace. This chapter presents an overview of these policies, discusses their purpose, and illuminates the processes necessary for execution.

The chapters in Part III, "Diversity, Ethics, and Law," concentrate on the laws and policies, both formal and informal, created to address the structural inequalities and foster gender equality in public organizations. Contributors examine the strengths and weaknesses of these laws and prescribe suggestions for improvement. Shelly Peffer, in Chapter 8, "Women and the Law: Statutory and Constitutional Legal Frameworks for Gender Equality," details the legislative initiatives intended to ease disparities between men and

women in society. Dr. Pfeffer discusses the statutory legal framework for women's rights beginning with the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its amendments, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, and the Family Medical Leave Act. Chapter 9, "Minority Women and Public Administration" by Lia Abney, looks at the challenges and barriers minority women face in the area of hiring practices, ethical dilemmas, education, and policies. This chapter illuminates the value that women of color bring to public administration and how that value positively impacts all people regardless of race, sex, religion, or income level. In Chapter 10, "Women in Public Administration: Sustainable Development and Social Justice," Deniz Zeynep Leuenberger explores the role of women in addressing sustainable development in public administration and discusses the theoretical foundations of gender and equity in sustainability decision making. Dr. Leuenberger reminds us that the expanding role of women in development, as participants in decision making, as leaders of systemic change, and as caretakers of social welfare, is an opportunity for public administration to improve social and environmental justice. Chapter 11, "Women in Budgeting and Financial Management" by Marilyn Marks Rubin and John R. Bartle, considers the evolving role of women in government and financial management from two perspectives: the role of women in promoting the concept and use of gender budgets. This chapter highlights how the increased involvement of women in financial budgeting and management has served to address the issue of gender inequality. As an illustrative example, Dr. Rubin and Dr. Bartle maintain that gender responsive budgeting, which was galvanized after 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, would not have happened if the field were as male dominated as it was in earlier years.

Next, the book turns to the issues and obstacles facing the female administrator in the workplace. Chapters in Part IV, "Public Administration in Practice: Issues and Obstacles," highlight the issues, barriers, and triumphs specific to female administrators as practitioners and managers in the public sector organizations. Part IV is broken into two sections, Part IV-A, "The Female Practitioner" and Part IV-B, "The Female Manager." In Chapter 12, "Municipal Clerks: A Female Perspective of Local Government," Victoria Gordon builds on Ellickson and Logsdon's model of job satisfaction to examine indicators of job satisfaction indicators among female clerks in local governments across the United States. Patrice M. Maraeschal, in Chapter 13, "Women in Public Sector Unions: Opportunities and Obstacles on the Path to Activism and Leadership," applies Camilla Stivers' progressive era settlement women framework to examine the stages of women's involvement in trade unions. Dr. Maraeschal examines the opportunities created for women by shifting ground and crises in the labor movement, obstacles women face in public sector unions, and how three interviewees overcame these obstacles. Chapter 14, "Women in the U.S. Military," written by Sandra J. Reinke and Randall D. Miller, addresses the military, a public institution defined by an explicitly aggressive purpose (combat) using a very hierarchical approach. As the most hierarchical of all public organizations, with a decidedly masculine culture, the military challenges feminist theory and public administration to

face difficult questions. In Chapter 15, "The Pipeline and Women Practitioners," Judy-Lynne Peters discusses the importance of a strong pipeline to ready the next generation of female public administrators. In addition to mentoring and building relationships across the traditional boundaries of race, gender, age, religion, and sexual preference, Dr. Peters identifies developing a leadership succession as a critical practice to closing the gender gap.

Part IV continues with the issues and obstacles specific to the female manager. In Chapter 16, "Beating the Odds: Female Faculty, Students, and Administrators in Schools of Public Affairs," Cleopatra Charles and Rachelle Brunn report that despite substantial gains in the number of women in the field of public administration/affairs, women continue to be under-represented in the academy. Dr. Charles and Dr. Brunn analyze National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration data and interview methodology to show that women's gains in the graduate student population are gradually diminished as they advance to first jobs, tenure, and eventually to senior positions. Kathryn Kloby, in Chapter 17, "In Their Own Words: Profiling Women Strategic Managers in Award-Winning Programs," interviews female strategic managers in acclaimed state-level programs designed to measure what matters to citizens, improve government operations and its outcomes, and communicate more directly with the public. The interviews reveal how the executive directors of these programs interact with a diverse set of stakeholders, coordinate efforts across state agencies, and increase the relevance of government actions and the strategies to measure and report them to the public. Furthermore, they discuss the influence of their gender on how they are perceived, how they manage, and how they negotiate their personal and professional worlds. In a similar fashion, A. Carol Rusaw in Chapter 18, "Managing Gendered Politics in Careers: A Case of Women Managers in the Federal Government," discusses how women address organizational politics in relation to career progression obstacles. Dr. Rusaw's interviews with women managers in federal government reveal how women create knowledge for naming and overcoming negative political forces to career progression. Several important steps to facilitate women managers' career advancement opportunities are suggested. Using a feminist lens, Renee Nank in Chapter 19, "Women and the Nonprofit Sector," examines how nonprofits can be central to creating greater equality between men and women. Dr. Nank discusses how the nature of nonprofit organization work and the impending leadership gap provide the opportunity for women to have greater influence in the political sphere through voting, advocacy, holding political office, and other public activities.

Part V, "The Future of Women in Public Administration," continues with "In Search of a Middle Ground: Preachy, Screechy, and Angry Versus Soft, Sweet, and Compliant," in which Mary E. Guy examines how images in the public mind make it difficult for women to assume autonomous power. Using examples of former First Lady Hillary Clinton and current First Lady Michelle Obama, Dr. Guy gives us a glimpse of the accomplishments and obstacles that remain.

Chapter 21 concludes the book with closing remarks from the editors.

Part I

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# Theoretical Foundations



## Chapter 1

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# Feminist Theories and Their Application to Public Administration

Janet R. Hutchinson

### Introduction

Currently, there is no defining body of feminist theory in the field of public administration (PA). Although PA scholars have researched and written on the topic, the ground swell of interest in a feminist culture has not occurred. Perhaps scholars view theories of PA and feminisms as unrelated; however, this thinking implies that women's issues (which are also men's issues) have little bearing on the field. To the contrary, they have everything to do with PA theory and praxis. Public service depends heavily on women's labor, yet women have been largely excluded from PA discourse until recently. Entreaties to envision a feminist praxis have been met by the empiricist's demands for evidence that such visioning and revisioning will qualitatively and positively alter the PA landscape (Meier, 2003). We submit that a project of this magnitude, a feminist revisioning of PA, is indeed possible, but is the work of generations and one we are beginning none too soon.

The purpose of this chapter is to relate feminist theory to practice in mainstream PA. In the pages that follow, strategies are suggested for achieving a feminist PA along with brief summaries of several, not all, feminist theories. Potential applications of these theories are linked to the work of administration and the administrative state. Suggestions are posed for developing a feminist epistemology as a reference point for a feminist theory of PA.

### Theoretical Framework

The second wave of feminist activism began around the early 1960s with the publication of Betty Friedan's widely read book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963). Friedan was also a founder of the National Organization for Women, or NOW, which mobilized women to claim their individual and collective personhood while recognizing that male hegemony (patriarchy) was in large part responsible for women's lack of equal status in the workplace and at home. This was both an exciting and a confusing time for many women, who began naming their oppression: rape, sexual harassment, invisibility in the private and public worlds. Women then had lived their oppression but needed the aid of other women to



finally see it. Scholars, at the time, began thinking and writing about women's oppression, examining the threads that were becoming visible and seeking a paradigmatic framework for the movement. The framework that began to develop became the standpoint epistemology, attributed to Sandra Harding (1987), under which various feminist thematic strands could be seen. Standpoint theory accepts women's viewpoints and experiences as privileged. This privilege emanates from her oppression, because as someone who is marginalized, she sees her oppression and understands her oppressor.

A goal was to identify a covering theory for the signifier "woman," one that would unite women and explain women's struggle for recognition as oppressed. However, there were many critics within the women's movement, most of whom declared the theory essentialist, because it did not account for racially and ethnically diverse women and their long history of working at low-income jobs, often for the women who now sought "freedom." The uses of standpoint theory could be seen as referential in women's political and social recognition and the feminist project. Criticisms of essentialism gave voice to postmodern feminisms (purposely plural), which sought to overcome the proclivity to place one another in categories and to be inclusive of all women. If standpoint and postmodern are considered paradigms, the theories that are discussed below could be claimed as either one or the other.

## Strategies for a Feminist PA

In an earlier article (Condit and Hutchinson, 1997), several strategies were identified to achieve a feminist PA. One is already familiar to PA. It necessitates that women be given access to and encouraged to join the world of work, politics, and knowledge production. This is the "affirmative action" step that moves us toward the liberal feminist goal of participatory equality and is a consistent theme in the scholarly contributions of women to PA journals. Liberal feminists seemed to suggest that this strategy alone would be enough to effect change; however, they were surprised to discover how well women replicated the very boundaries, dichotomies, and exclusive systems they once set out to eliminate. It became clear that simply adding women to preexisting structures would never be enough. Feminists coined a term for this: "add women and stir." Also, adding women to the world of work had little relevance for women who had historically worked all their lives.

Another strategy with relevance to laying the groundwork for a feminist theory of PA exhorts us to reexamine the field's fundamental theories, mechanisms of analysis, and primary values that have given shape to our epistemologies and assumptions, generally and in PA in particular. Sought here is a fundamental shift in human knowledge production that results from "seeing" through the feminist lens. This shift necessitates the recognition that we truly are living in a patriarchal, heteronormative world and, because we would rather not, we are obliged to use a nonmasculinist approach to conceptualizing epistemology and methodology and, in the process, remake ourselves in our own image.

Specific feminist theories that have informed this dismantling and rebuilding of knowledge production are discussed below. However, the implications for strategies for PA are clear. Challenging received methods (e.g., methods of gathering evidence, methodologies, and epistemologies) and revisioning our PA world through a multigendered lens require that we dispense not only with additive notions (e.g., add women and stir) but also with the idea that there is one distinctive way of knowing. Paraphrasing Sandra Harding (1987, p. 6) on the subject, if the defining characteristics of an issue are masculine, the issue's solution will be defined in masculine terms. If knowledge production in scientific inquiry is patriarchal and heteronormative, the results will not only be highly suspect, the picture of the social world we are examining will be utterly incomplete.

## Foundational Theories of Feminism

Feminist epistemologies of organizing, including theories of process and structure, are wide ranging in their explanations of inequality, all suggesting different methods of strategizing for change. The global diversity in feminist theories and praxis has rendered impossible a coherent picture of what the quintessential feminist organization looks like. It is possible, however, to identify some common themes in organizations informed by specific feminist theories.

Liberal feminist organizing, for example, is characterized by a desire to integrate women into preexisting public institutions and to guarantee women the same legal, political, and social rights that men enjoy. Using individual men and the institutions and systems erected by a male-dominated society as the standards for equality assumes that the system is only flawed insofar as it is absent of women.

Liberal feminists are primarily concerned with one objective: to level the playing field for women and men. Liberal feminists see the main goal of the feminist movement in terms of women's social, legal, and political rights. To achieve true equality, therefore, women must infiltrate the public spheres from which they have traditionally been excluded. Because it is the goal of liberal feminists to eradicate gender-specific roles, we should ideally see women's entrance into the public sphere soon followed by men's entrance into the private (domestic) sphere and, eventually, a meshing of masculinity and femininity to the point of androgyny (Friedan, 1981). Nearly 30 years after Betty Friedan's prediction, women have successfully entered the work world—at least in its lower rungs; however, men have progressed only marginally in their involvement in the so-called private (domestic) sphere. As to androgyny, that is being addressed by third-wave feminists.

The fundamental choice to work outside of the system creates a feminist organizing dichotomy: There is liberal feminist theory of organization and, well, everything else. This is not meant to suggest that all nonliberal feminist organizing is alike, or even similar. Nevertheless, the choice to formalize, whether to a lesser or greater degree, is a distinctly liberal choice and one that becomes a defining characteristic of any organization or agency. Feminist organizing can include aspects of two or more feminist theories; in fact,

most do. However, to say that a fundamentally liberal organization is a feminist organization is problematic on both a theoretical and practical level (see al-Hibri, 1999; Okin, 1999; Shachar, 2001). Indeed, nonliberal feminisms are quite varied in their philosophies and agendas.

Much of contemporary feminist theory sets itself in opposition to traditional liberal feminism. This is true mostly because liberal feminism was the initial spark that ignited the first wave of feminist organizing and played a central role in second-wave feminism in the United States. Eventually, other feminisms came out of and later dramatically diverged from liberal feminism, which was viewed by many scholars as a rather conservative, insufficient approach to fighting gender oppression. Nevertheless, in practice, feminist organizing is perceived as working within a liberal framework.

Unlike liberal feminists, radical feminists claim that gender equality can never be achieved without a complete revolution intended to overthrow the patriarchal world order. All Western institutions are viewed as conceived in patriarchy and designed to maintain the existing order. A core principle of radical feminism is that the sex/gender system is the fundamental cause of women's oppression. Women's oppression is not accidental. Individual men and the patriarchal system intentionally seek to control women through institutions, primarily institutions of heterosexuality and reproduction.

The basic tenets of radical feminism often lead to separatism in organizing. The argument is that if all of male culture is to be rejected, then working alongside men, in a system created by men and for the benefit of men, cannot be of any real value to women. Hoagland (1995) argues that to achieve true liberation, women must collectively abandon the institution of heterosexuality and the false construct of "femininity" so that women's acts of resistance can be recognized and acknowledged as such. Hoagland contends that as long as heterosexuality and femininity (as constructed and perceived by men) persist, women's collective resistance will never be fully realized. On the problem of man's construction of reality and women's collective resistance, Hoagland (1995, p. 178) writes as follows (p. 178):

"Femininity" normalizes male domination and paints a portrait of women as subordinate and naively content with being controlled. . . . Yet if we stop to reflect, it becomes clear that within the confines of the feminine stereotype no behavior *counts* as resistance to male domination. And if nothing we can point to or even imagine counts as proof against the claim that all (normal) women are feminine and accept male domination, then we are working within a closed coercive conceptual system.

Alternatively, radical/cultural feminists argue for a revaluation of femininity and all that is "inherently female," principally women's ability to reproduce. This essentialist argument, made by theorists including Susan Griffith and Adrienne Rich, suggest that woman's true power lies not in her ability to hold political office or achieve an education in a system that devalues women in the first place, but rather in her ability to gestate, nurture, and mother (literally and metaphorically). Both views, though different in their

conceptions of what is good and bad for women, are similar in that they translate into organizing for change without the “help” of men and outside of the institutions created by them. A more recent entry into the discussion is ecofeminism, which includes claims that the preservation of the nurturing earth and its flora and fauna should be accorded the same reverence as women who reproduce and nurture.

The radical feminist and radical/cultural feminist standpoints would seem of little importance to the field of PA, except that the nurturing quality that radical/cultural feminists espouse has clearly been adopted as situated space for women who are encouraged to contribute to the management and administration of organizations. This seemingly positive move to bring women into organizational management for their abilities to nurture and mediate is another example of essentialism. As noted, essentialism means that the category “women” is essential and necessary for focusing attention on women’s suppression. However, its detractors claim that corralling all women into one category, or even several categories, denies women their many and varied differences, including race, ethnicity, culture, age, education, and so on. The argument opposing essentialism has to do with marginalizing women by categorizing them, often negatively.

One of the most controversial questions in contemporary feminist thought was introduced by postmodern feminist scholars: How do we deal with the issue of difference among women? Postmodern feminisms, which focus on the value of difference, argue that the search for one, common feminist standpoint or “reality” is not only futile but just another example of how male language and culture attempts to erase the valuable differences that exist among women and among women and men. Rejecting radical/cultural feminism, which focuses on women’s sameness, postmodern feminists value difference as a tool that allows women as “outsiders” to criticize the conditions and consequences of the dominant culture (heteronormative patriarchy). This view allows us to embrace our differences and ideally creates an open flow of ideas that include respect, diversity, and acceptance.

Perhaps postmodern feminism’s greatest contribution to feminist theory and praxis is its recognition that a new feminist movement, a third wave of activism in the United States and elsewhere, must include the insights, participation, and leadership of an entirely inclusive movement. On recognizing the importance of diversity among women, postmodern feminists embrace the view that most differences result from socialization and our own unique location(s) in a particular place and time, not unlike Iris Marion Young’s (1994) redemption of Sartre’s notion of seriality (1960). The way in which and the degree to which a woman is oppressed vary depending on multiple factors.

To help understand the complexities of diversity in relation to oppression, sociologist Patricia Hill Collins (1999) proposes a construct of intersectionality that acknowledges the interconnectedness of ideas and social structures as well as the intersecting hierarchies of gender, race, economic class, sexuality, and ethnicity. Intersectionality recasts gender as a multidimensional “constellation of ideas and social practices that are historically situated within, and that mutually construct multiple systems of oppression” (p. 263). Collins’

theory responds to complaints that the second-wave feminist movement was composed of white middle-class women. Feminist intersectionality theory appears to be compatible with recent treatments of representative bureaucracy that also seek to recognize the potential power of women and minority groups in seeking their social justice ends in a capitalist democracy (see Dolan, 2002.)

Another nascent branch of the postmodern project is queer theory, which critiques and expands our knowledge of sexuality in general (Beemyn & Eliason, 1996) by examining the ways in which different sexualities have historically been and continue to be constructed. The notion of gender, sexuality, and even sex as variable across time and space is a central tenet of queer theory (see Bornstein, 1994; Butler, 1999; Feinberg, 1998; Katz, 1998; Richardson, McLaughlin, & Casey, 2006; Rupp 1999). This variation has important implications for a theory of multigendering in PA, particularly in light of supporting evidence from neuroscience researchers, a point discussed shortly.

## The Feminist Project and PA

We have already witnessed the influences of feminist praxis in PA. The tenacity of feminists (professed or closeted) has forced recognition, if grudgingly, of the social, political, and economic inequities experienced by women; however, most women toil in the lower and middle ranks of management, and only a relative few achieve senior level policymaking positions. Administrative processes have also been influenced by feminist praxis with the addition of the terms, if not the practice of, empowerment, participatory management, and representative bureaucracy, among others. But, these are indeed fragile concepts that are difficult to operationalize in practice!

As previously noted, little attention has been given to developing a feminist theoretical framework for PA. The most that can be said is that a few scholars in the field have written and conducted research focusing on issues related to women, for example, the glass ceiling, pay equity, hiring and promoting women faculty members, and, more recently, emotional labor (Guy, Newmann, & Mastracci, 2008). Camilla Stivers is likely the most recognized contributor to contemporary feminism in PA. She has given scholars and students of PA an opportunity to think about the broader question of women in PA. Stivers (2002, p. 127) writes as follows:

What we really ought to be doing, in thinking about public administration, is examining our simultaneous dependence on and denial of gender dichotomies. My belief is that only by exploring public administration's gender dilemmas, instead of denying their existence or minimizing their significance, will we begin to develop a form of public administration that merits public approbation. Only then will we find paths that lead us toward change.

By revealing the unrecognized masculine and feminine aspects (images) of PA, Stivers prompts public administrationists to examine gender issues. Certainly, an important



contribution has been problematizing for public administrationists the undeniable omnipresence of masculine hegemony in PA. PA is not neutral, nongendered terrain. PA is gendered masculine.

Stivers' work intimates the ambivalence many women feel about feminism, fearing the label as one that will further limit their opportunities while agreeing with most of feminisms' practical aims for workplace equality, domestic job sharing, and political recognition. Women's ambivalence also comes from being reminded repeatedly about the gains women have made in the past 30 years or so. It is true that women are better off in many respects than they once were. However, as long as it is necessary to cite these justifications, there is more work to do. She recommends that public administrationists develop strategies that "destabilize central gendered concepts in the field without being explicitly based on feminist theory" (2002, p. 131) as a way around the antifeminist leanings of both PA scholars and practitioners. This may be strategic in its intent; however, it denies the fundamental importance of calling PA to account for its insensitivity to basic gender inequities. The better alternative, in this view, is to desensitize through knowledge production the language of feminisms with the transparent goal of bringing (women's) truth to power.

In keeping with the objectivist traditions in mainstream PA, women scholars, in particular, have been encouraged to conduct studies that seek to "prove" what is known by women, intuitively and by experience, to be true. For example, in an interesting survey of women and men decision makers in the federal executive service, Julie Dolan (2002) found that both representative bureaucracy and organizational socialization theories apply. Namely, women who have female colleagues and who work in organizations that have some interest in women's issues are more likely to favor spending on programs that are important to women. Women who have few female colleagues and work for organizations that do not have an interest in women's programs tend to make decisions that are more compatible with their male colleagues. Joan Acker (1990, p.139) describes the exceptional woman in powerful organizational positions as a biological female who acts as a social male.

Theorists of representative bureaucracy claim that if the organization is demographically representative of the public it serves, the decisions made generally represent the interests of those publics. This suggests that the representative inclusion of men and women, people of color, different ages, disabilities, and different classes, each "voting" their interests when making policy decisions would result in decisions that favor their respective groups (for more on representative bureaucracy see Keiser, Wilkins, & Meier, 2002; Meier & Bohte, 2001; Meier, Wrinkle, & Polinard, 1999).

Alternatively, organizational socialization is the view that workers socialized into the culture of the organization and to the pursuit of the organization's goals will forego their personal values and interests in favor of those of the organization. Dolan's (2002) findings appear to support these competing theories as they relate to the preferred spending choices of women in senior-level decision-making positions in the federal government.

Will empirical evidence, such as Dolan's, that supports intuitive knowing lead to substantive change? Guidance from scholars is contradictory, confusing, often obscure, and often too radical to find acceptance among most women. Is the organization a neutral construct that is shaped by its occupants, or is it, as many feminists believe, a creature of masculine design, built by men to signify masculine hegemony and carefully constructed to withstand the huffs and puffs of deviants who would question patriarchy? Both the representative bureaucracy and organizational socialization theories, cited above, would presume that the organization is a neutral, nongendered structure.

The notion of the neutral organization is difficult to support, because organizations are the creations of the people they embody. They are like a house, built to the builder's specifications, changed over time by its occupants, but essentially the same core structure. The essential materials of which the house is constructed and its specifications and design are driven by the masculine definition of what a house is. One could argue that here the metaphor falls apart, because what goes on in the house is women's work, the domestic, private sphere. However, housekeeping tasks occur in organizations and have been assumed largely by women. Joan Acker's (1990) influential article on hierarchies, jobs, and bodies argues persuasively for the masculine organization and the deeply gendered structure of modern work life (Lorber, 1990, p. 138). The public/private dichotomy is the basis for this argument (for a readable discussion on this topic, see Fraser, 1997; Stivers, 2002).

Though the public/private dichotomy appears to continue to plague women in social arenas, it too has been criticized as false. For example, male/female, masculine/feminine, strong/weak, and so on are viewed as exclusionary and heteronormative because they do not admit of the vast gray areas in between. If an organization is representative, as in the representative bureaucratic model, all its members should have equal "talk time." However, women and minorities that are socially marginalized may not empower themselves to speak, and men may not give up some of their space to hear them. Apparently, the mere presence of men is enough to silence women. This common behavior is a clear challenge to public administrationists.

Women and men will continue to organize and create policy together; however, for the process to be equitable and for "women's issues" to be clearly defined and heard, it is evident that men must yield the floor. This means going beyond simply creating opportunity. It means literally silencing oneself to make space for others to speak and to take stock of who in one's organization one most regularly communicates with and why.

If we accept that the current organizational paradigm is inherently masculine, even those created by women, then it follows that the only possibility for creating an alternative feminist structure is revolution. Revolution requires a new conceptualization of what it means to come together in common purpose and what the processes for achieving these common purposes would look like. It would result in discarding current organizing models and creating a new feminist ideal (Acker, 1990, p. 154). It should be noted that this idea is not a new one. Another, perhaps more pragmatic, strategy is to envision a new administrative paradigm theorized as an intersectional, multigendered ideal type.

This may eventually lead to an inherently feminist administrative paradigm that does not exclude those who are traditionally marginalized—or *white men*. Suggested here is expanding PA thinking to embrace a new conceptualization of gendered discourse that is, in the broadest sense, both inclusive and multigendered. This ideal type is discussed below.

## **An Inclusive, Multigendered Administrative State**

In her book, *Brain Gender* (2004), psychologist and neuroscientist Melissa Hines analyzes the role that biological factors, particularly the gonad hormones androgen and estrogen, play in influencing the development of regions of the brain and on behaviors that show sex differences. Hines reviews the popular and scholarly literature on the role that the human brain plays in the determination of gendering the body, or sexing the body as Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) describes it, and finds that many of the significant differences that some suggest are present can be ascribed either to methodological issues or, in the cases of earlier works, a lack of empirical evidence.

With advances in basic research on hormones and sexual differentiation of the human brain, it appears that differences in intellectual abilities between women and men are negligible: Ascribed differences, a common one being the notion that men are better than women in mathematics, do not emanate from brain studies, but from social myths. “Few if any individuals correspond to the modal male pattern or the modal female pattern. Variation within each sex is great with both males and females [at] the top and bottom of the distribution for every characteristic” (Hines, 2004, p. 18). This science reinforces earlier propositions that encourage viewing our public selves through a multigendered lens (for a more in-depth treatment of multigendering, see Hutchinson, 2001, 2002).

Hines (2004) notes that sex differentiation involves “a sculpting of the brain by environmental factors including the chromosome environment prenatally and neonatally, as well as social influences and other experiences from birth to death” (p. 214). We are neither completely masculine nor completely feminine but rather embody aspects of both, falling anywhere along the gender distribution (Hines, 2004, p. 18). Perhaps this is one reason why we see such versatile expressions of gender throughout time and space. Postmodern queer theorist Judith Butler (1999) suggests that gender is not just something we possess but rather that which we do. We may gender masculine or feminine or anywhere in between.

This notion of gender as a verb allows us to conceptualize everyone as a virtual drag queen, rendering one’s sexuality and the physical body beneath our “costume” irrelevant. For example, individuals born biologically male engage in certain behaviors because they were socialized as young boys to do so, but there is nothing that says they must be “men” tomorrow. They make the choice to behave as they always have, performing the actions of “real men,” and so, because they give the appearance of “real men” and behave like “real men,” we classify them as men. But transgendered individuals who were born biologically female may be men by gendering male (exactly like biological males). Those who wish to



socialize as men without revealing their sexual anatomy may do so. Butler takes gendering even further, pointing out that social constructionists who view gender as something we become through socialization, rather than something we are becoming in every moment, are limited in their ability to conceptualize potential for change because construction suggests a definitive final project, whereas performance implies an ongoing process.

We have suggested that sex and gender are one and at the same time, multiple, even evolving, according to Butler (1999). Broad acceptance of this concept offers significant possibilities for PA. The concept is really rather simple. By accepting our multiple permutations we do two things: We acknowledge the devastating consequences of defining each other using the narrow constructs of outward appearances and correct them, and by doing so, we liberate one another to achieve the full range of opportunities for self-actualization—for women, *and men*. And, it is very possible, that our hope for achieving this organizational nirvana lies with those “deviants” who persist in challenging the existing order.

## Summary

Feminisms should not be viewed as separate and apart from the PA discipline or even as merely contributing to the general body of theory in PA. Rather, we contend that the feminist perspective determines the future of the discipline itself. Indeed, the multigendered feminist theory we proposed extends far beyond the realm of “women’s issues” in PA. One would hope that all public administrationists would eventually become feminists and that important PA theories would incorporate feminist perspectives. Moreover, it is time to develop a body of feminist theories of PA as well as a distinctly feminist praxis to add to the considerable body of theoretical work from other disciplines. PA scholars and practitioners owe it to the discipline to become well versed in feminisms sufficient to comprehend and contribute to a nuanced PA feminist discourse.

Several prominent feminist theories have been mentioned, each of which has contributed to the development of a feminist praxis in organizing and each of which can contribute to feminist PA theories. Most notable among them for its influence on PA is the liberal tradition. By pressing for equal pay and equal opportunities to achieve power, liberal feminists have kept gender issues on the table and kept the debate alive. However, radical feminists have pushed the envelope and incited passionate debate while giving women, considered deviant in straight society, a home. We can thank the socialist feminists for reminding us that men should be a part of the feminist PA project, sharing the burden of domesticity in the organization and in the home. But, of all, the postmodern feminists have been the most creative thinkers, challenging us to “think wild.” It is in thinking wild that the most creative work is done. Queer theorists, with their neoanarchistic streak, have shown us this and will continue to do so as we become more comfortable challenging early, counterproductive conceptions of sexuality.

Finally, evidence is presented that supports the view that multisexing/multigendering is, as has been previously asserted, a fact as well as a basis for a feminist theory of PA. We

assert that it is up to women scholars, and their male colleagues who recognize the injustice of masculine hegemony in the administrative state (and elsewhere), to keep pressing for a new order that values the diversity that is present in us all. With persistence, a feminist revolution in PA is possible.

## Discussion Questions

1. Standpoint is both theory and epistemology. Explain the differences between these two constructs and the importance of standpoint to the feminist paradigm.
2. Explain the relationship of postmodernism to feminism, particularly in relation to standpoint theory.
3. If postmodernism eschews categories, how are women to achieve their feminist objectives?

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## Chapter 2

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# Jane Addams' Theory of Democracy and Social Ethics: Incorporating a Feminist Perspective<sup>1</sup>

Patricia M. Shields

### Key Terms

Participatory democracy

Pragmatism

Scientific attitude

Social claim

Sympathetic understanding

### Introduction

This chapter uses the lenses of feminism to theorize about public administration and democracy. Just as the term “feminism” has many perspectives (Hutchinson, 2005), democracy and its meanings are complex and multifaceted. There are also, perhaps, many democracies. We are used to treating the term “democracy” from a political perspective. Representative democracy and the rule of law are common traits associated with political democracy. Aside from the political sphere, where Addams was legally barred from participation, she also articulated and helped to create social and economic democracies (Deegan, 1990, p. 276).

Robert Westbrook (1991, p. xv) describes a cynical view of liberal democracy:

[T]he provision of a minimal level of welfare to every member of a society through a corporate capitalist economy regulated by a centralized state directed by administrative experts, which even when it works betrays an identification of the good with the goods.

In this view, public administration represents the world of practice and field of study that is the training ground for the “administrative experts” that direct the capitalist corporate state. In contrast, the democracy of Addams and Dewey calls upon women and men to

"build communities in which the necessary opportunities and resources for every individual to realize fully his or her particular capacities and power through participation in political, social and cultural life" (Westbrook, 1991, p. xv).

This chapter explores the meaning of social democracy through Jane Addams' feminist-informed philosophy. The key facets of her conceptualization of an ethical social democracy (role of social claims, sympathetic understanding, experience, scientific attitude, dignity of the everyday, idealized rule of living) are examined. Implications for public administration theory are developed throughout.

In *Democracy and the Public Service*, Frederick Mosher (1968, p. 3) asked how public service may "be made to operate in a manner compatible with democracy." His book and others, like Emmette Redford's (1969) *Democracy in the Administrative State*, are good examples of how eminent male public administration scholars examined this complex question. They focus on issues common to political democracies such as democratic control, expertise, professionalism, responsive leadership, and representation in the public service. Both Mosher and Redford discuss the possibility of participatory democracy as an interesting yet unrealistic ideal. Redford (1969) incorporates participation as a facet of democratic morality. Participatory democracy has the potential to "better decisions" and enhance "organizational effectiveness and efficiency" (Mosher, 1968, p. 17). Unfortunately, they find a logical dilemma between "*democracy within an administration*" and "*political democracy*" (Mosher, 1968, p. 18) [italics added].

The democracies of Redford and Mosher differ substantially from both the liberal democracy articulated by Westbrook and the participatory democracy conceptualized by Addams and Dewey. One of the goals of this book is to explore how the ideas, scholarship, and experiences of women in public administration can inform and create theory in public administration. Clearly, Addams' perspective on democracy offers such an opportunity. Addams' (1902) *Democracy and Social Ethics* as well as her numerous writings provide a view of democracy that contrasts and complements the more traditional (predominately masculine) views. Her rendering of democracy draws on the lived experience of the populace. In addition, the "rough and tumble social egalitarianism that, to her, was the heart and soul of the American democracy was fully compatible with beauty and a yearning for excellence in all things" (Elshtain, 2002, p. 76). Also, as will become clear later, she was a practicing public administrator.

Jane Addams' ideas grew out of her experience as a settlement founder during the progressive era. Both waves of immigration and the industrial revolution led to a shift in population from rural to urban. The sprawling cities were characterized by widespread corruption. During this time municipal reform emerged as a force that shaped public administration. The New York Bureau of Municipal Research led reforms that had widespread influence on public administration theory and practice (Stivers, 2000).

Although the bureau men of this period were tackling municipal reform, the settlement movement (mostly composed of women) also became a force for reform. Camilla Stivers (1995, 2000, 2002) pervasively argued that the settlement movement, particularly the work of leaders like Addams and Lathrop, represents a lost feminist alternative to the



dominant public administration themes of the bureau movement (e.g., efficiency, effectiveness, expertise). This chapter is a modest addition to Stivers' previous work. It brings the lenses of feminisms to Mosher's (1968, p. 3) timeless question: How can public service "be made to operate in a manner compatible with democracy?"

Jane Addams illustrates the difference in perspective as she critiques the governmental reform efforts in Chicago. According to Addams (1902, pp. 222–223), governmental reform movements are generally not an expression of a moral or social life:

As a result of this detachment [reformers] are almost wholly occupied in the correction of political machinery and with a concern for the better method of administration, rather than with the ultimate purpose of securing the welfare of the people. They fix their attention so exclusively on methods that they fail to consider the final aims of city government. . . . In trying to better matters, however, they [the reformers] have in mind only political achievements which they detach in a curious way from the rest of life, and they speak and write of the purification of politics as of a thing set apart from life.

Addams was skeptical about municipal reformers that held firm to the correctness of their solutions while at the same time were disconnected from the citizens (and their experiences). She believed that social ideals should "enter into political programmes, and . . . not as something which at best can be indirectly promoted by government, but as something which it is the chief business of government to advance directly." Reform should incorporate a "social expression to democracy" (Addams, 1902, p. 224). She cautions that the merit system has the potential "to become stranded in the shallow water of negative virtue, failing to launch it upon the deep seas of popular affection" (Addams, 1930, p. 17). Her concerns have modern counterparts. Are we ignoring larger ends-in-view (e.g., healthy, educated citizenry, safe streets, adequate food and housing) as we focus on privatization or other techniques of the new management?

## Who Is Jane Addams?

The remarkable Jane Addams is perhaps most well known as the first woman to win the Nobel Peace Prize (1931). Although a frequent world traveler, she was born in Cedarville, Illinois (1860), and as an adult called Chicago her home until she died in 1935. She was the most famous public woman of her time. She gained prominence through her work as a founder (with Ellen Gates Starr) of the progressive era's most acclaimed settlement: Hull House. She was a successful reformer working to enact child labor laws, establish juvenile courts, and initiate policies that protected the public health (Knight, 2005). Social work claims her as a founder, as does the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She was also an acknowledged feminist, assuming leadership positions in the suffrage movement (Deegan, 1990).

Within the last 20 years scholars have begun to rediscover Jane Addams' impressive intellectual legacy.<sup>2</sup> Academic fields beyond social work, such as classical pragmatism,

sociology, and public administration, claim her as among their founders.<sup>3</sup> She authored or coauthored 13 books and over 500 speeches, essays, columns, journal articles, and editorials (Deegan, 1990; Elshtain, 2002).<sup>4</sup> Her scholarly legacy (one that is infused with practice) is used to explicate her theory of democracy and draw out its characteristics and implications for public administration theory. Addams is a master at using narrative and stories to clarify and extend her theories. Her stories had both broad moral implications and emphasized lived experiences. Stories about a newsboy and a grieving mother teach us about a wider social ethic. In addition, as the founder of a nonprofit organization and as a paid city garbage inspector, Jane Addams was a *practicing* public administrator!

Feminist philosophers have reestablished the link between feminist theories and the classical pragmatism of Jane Addams and John Dewey (see Duran, 1993, 2003; Keith, 1999; Siegfried, 1992, 1996, 2001; Shields, 2005b; Whipps, 2004). For contemporary feminist philosophers like Charlene Seigfried (1996, 2001) and J. D. Whipps (2004), Addams is a critical link between feminism and pragmatism. Her philosophy was infused with both. Addams' theory of democracy is also central to her feminism. It is a small leap from Addams' conceptualization of democracy to Dewey's. Hence, the two positions are treated as almost interchangeable.<sup>5</sup>

## Jane Addams' Feminism: A Snapshot

Although Jane Addams' major works seldom emphasize her broader feminist perspective explicitly, make no mistake: She understood Stivers' point that men had captured the theoretical lenses within which we view the world. She offered another perspective—one that incorporated feminist lenses.

She spells out these differences in a hilarious, patronizing, tongue-in-cheek essay. Here she speculates about what the world would be like if women were in power and men were seeking the vote. She demonstrates her understanding of how the male perspective influences policy and by implication the need for a feminine perspective (Addams 1913/2002, pp. 229–230):

Our most valid objection to extending the franchise to you is that you are so fond of fighting—you always have been since you were little boys. You would very likely forget that the real object of the State is to nurture and protect life. . . . We [women] have carefully built up a code of factory legislation for the protection of workers in modern industry; we know that you men have always been careless about the house, perfectly indifferent to the necessity for sweeping and cleaning; if you were made responsible for factory legislation it is quite probable that you would let the workers in the textile mills contract tuberculosis through needlessly breathing the metal filings.

When Jane Addams walked into the male-run 19th ward of Chicago she saw a “veritable riot of disorder in the name of order” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 130). She was repelled by the “foul

smells,” poisonous sewage, alarming infant mortality rates, rotting garbage, and animal waste (Addams, 1910/1930). Public health was threatened by inadequate sanitation and corrupt garbage collections systems. Children were sacrificed to penal systems designed for adults. Industrialists kept labor cheap and disorganized. Women and children were forced into oppressive labor (Elshtain, 2002, p. 130). She worked to rectify the situation and used her feminine lenses to devise a different way of viewing city problems.

Addams challenged the male vision of city authority with a coherent feminine version of civic housekeeping—a rich potential source for public administration theory. She contrasted her notion of the city as household with the male militant view of city as citadel. The citadel model, although once appropriate, helped to create the sprawling mess that was late 19th century Chicago. She argued that if the city were conceived as a household in need of continuous housekeeping, cleanliness, and caring, many of its problems would be coherently addressed and rectified. According to Jean Elshtain (2002, p. 237), her feminine model of reform brought

a healing domesticity in which the strong maternal image sustains and enables instead of smothering or constraining. . . . The maternal model thrust women into a world of care, responsibility and obligation. This fact did not represent moral superiority rather moral necessity that served as a source of female power and authority.

Elshtain believed that the imperatives of this realm must be extended more generally. “This perspective is the rock-bottom ground of her civic philosophy and her social feminism” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 157).

She noted that city departments like health and sanitation were similar to women’s traditional chores. Hence, women’s experience provided them with insights and knowledge to deal with the problems of an overcrowded immigrant population. She believed it was time that women became involved in crafting solutions (Elshtain, 2002, p. 158).

## Contemporary Relevance

Jane Addams’ feminist theories emerged over a century ago. What is the point of reviving them now? It is hard not to agree with Camilla Stivers’ discouraging insights into how public administration had an opportunity to internalize them and instead turned away. Stivers’ (2000) *Bureau Men, Settlement Women* was an attempt to uncover Addams’ and other settlement workers’ ideas, activities, and historical significance. Unfortunately, from her perspective the efforts “sank like a stone, leaving few ripples” (Stivers, 2005, p. 365). Moreover, popular governmental reform movements, like reinventing government, continue to echo the themes of scientific management and fail to incorporate feminine perspectives such as Addams’.

Scholars such as Sorensen and Torfing (2005), Salamon (2005), and Merget (2003) note that public policy and public administration in the 21st century operate in a multisector



environment where public, private, and nonprofit organizations work together as networks. We have moved from a world of government to one of governance. The new world of governance does not rely on hierarchal command and control structures to get things done. Clearly, a political democracy underlies the workings of government. Jane Addams' social ethic and social democracy has much to offer our governance mechanisms. Given Addams' stress on ethical, participatory democracy and collaboration, her insights have special appeal. Indeed, a national network of nonprofit organizations (and FEMA) are investigating Addams' approach as a theoretical framework for long-term disaster recovery as they continue to struggle with the aftermath of Katrina (Gatlin, 2006).

Perhaps even more discouraging are the larger political trends in society. The past decade has seen an increasing polarization. Congressional districts have been redistricted repeatedly as a way to keep single-party control. As a result, decisions are made at the primary level where the polarized views are rewarded by the hard-line party faithful. Policy debate is often couched in a rigid moralism that Addams warned against. In addition, our contemporary focus on individualistic ethics is counter to Addams' vision of a social democracy. In spite of these trends, Addams' ideas have relevance. They offer a refreshing alternative to the rigid moralism that has dominated the public sphere.

In the 2006 Donald C. Stone lecture at the American Society for Public Administration conference, Irene Rubin (2006) made a compelling case that "democracy in the United States is now at risk." She demonstrated how requirements for democracy such as "adherence to the constitution and the rule of law, accountability, the right to protest and popular control" have all seriously eroded in recent years. She outlined ways that public administrators could respond and repair the damage. "Democratic governance comes not just from the top down, but from the bottom up." Although Rubin is clearly speaking about political democracy, her insights open the door to explore Addams' bottoms up, ethical social democracy.

Addams stressed relationships and communication. As a woman denied the vote, she and the women of Hull House had little power or influence in Chicago's political democracy. They were inspired and motivated by Addams' vision of a social democracy. Using hard work and this vision, they helped propel significant social change. They acted to change the conditions in a great city. Critics of their feminist-inspired democratic vision might dismiss their contribution as a footnote in history. This is perhaps true—but it was a thriving force close to the everyday lives of the people they cherished, learned from, and served. It guided their actions and sustained their souls.

In a provocative 1999 article, Thomas and Cynthia Lynch present a "theory of soul" for the profession of public administration. Their article is about infusing public administration with "ethics and morality" (Lynch & Lynch, 1999, p. 138). They advocate an altruistic notion of oneness that is associated with public administration's role of serving the "larger public good" (Lynch & Lynch, 1999, p. 140). Lynch and Lynch have developed a rich and interesting theory, yet there is no connection to democracy. Addams' work bridges this important gap.

## Democracy

*And democracy did save industry; it transformed disputes about wages from social feuds into business bargains. (Residents of Hull House, 1895/1970, p. 197)*

*To say democracy is only a form of government is like saying home is more or less a geometric arrangement of bricks and mortar; that a church is a building with pews, pulpit and spire. It is true; they certainly are so much. But it is false; they are so much more . . . [democracy is] a form of moral and spiritual association. (Dewey, cited in Westbrook, 1991, p. 41)*

Traditional and popularly accepted notions of democracy stress equality before the law and political participation through voting. Democracy is viewed as a form of government. Addams and Dewey move outside these notions. They developed a conceptualization of democracy that stresses “moral and spiritual association.” As the quote above shows, Addams applied her principles of democracy to reconceptualize labor disputes. According to Westbrook (1991), the participatory democracy envisioned by Dewey and Addams is a much wider and “more radical voice than had been generally assumed” (p. xiv).

The democracy of Addams and Dewey is one of ideal and practice. There is no claim of an eventual utopia. Nevertheless, the ideals are useful in understanding and perhaps improving the lived world. Their ideas apply to our daily conversations and associations. Clearly, social problems and their resolution preoccupied Jane Addams and John Dewey (Hildebrand, 2008). Their work, however, always incorporated the lived world and those daily conversations, experiences, and associations. Public administration is a field of study and a world of practice. It contains within its sphere the lived experiences of citizens with different roles (one role of which is public administrator). The sphere of lived experience can be both exhilarating and boring, exotic and quotidian. The world of citizen experience is a place of practice. It is where Dewey’s and Addams’ theory of democracy resonates most clearly.

The expansive vision of democracy advocated by Addams is difficult to classify or compartmentalized because the themes she emphasized are interrelated. Presented here are a few key notions that should be used as markers as one navigates the terrain of her ideas. The next sections explore these markers—the social claim, the role of the situation and experience, sympathetic understanding, scientific attitude, the dignity of the everyday, and democracy as an idealized rule for living and faith.

## Social Ethics and the Social Claim

*When, however, she responded to her impulse to fulfill the social or democratic claim, she violated every tradition. (Addams, 1902, pp. 74–75)*

Addams was part of generation of young women that were just beginning to enjoy university-level education. Higher education awakened these women to new opportunities

and for some, like Jane Addams, a desire to serve. She sought a larger democratic connection to society. She recognized a barrier to this participation in young women's own homes. Women were caught between their desire to contribute to a wider society (social claim) and the family claim that challenged their right and questioned their ethics if they turned their attention outward. "The failure to recognize the social claim as legitimate causes the trouble; the suspicion constantly remains that woman's public efforts are merely selfish and captious, and are not directed to the general good. This suspicion will never be dissipated until parents, as well as daughters feel the democratic impulse and recognize the social claim" (Addams, 1902, p. 77).

It was this essentially feminine conflict that led Addams to her theory of social or democratic ethics. She recognized that both claims are legitimate and they often complement and reinforced one another. She asks us to use this knowledge "to make a second adjustment between the family and the social claim, in which neither shall lose and both be ennobled" (Addams, 1902, p. 75).

She used this 19th century feminine conflict to develop a theory of social ethics with wide applicability. Unfortunately, society had not yet recognized the legitimacy of social claims for women. She applied her insights into the conflicts between the narrow individual claims and social claims to a wide array of social problems. Women in Addams' era were awakening to a larger change-filled world. In 18th and 19th century rural America both male and female labor was usually tied to the household (or farm). The condition of labor was closely associated with the family. The industrial revolution severed the tie between labor and family. According to historian James Livingston (2001, p. 3), "wage labor, or rather 'abstract social labor' comes to dominate the social relations of goods production—capitalism becomes a complex market society." Yet conceptions about the meaning of "labor" were trapped in a narrow personal or family ethic of an earlier period. Likewise, the narrow, limited family and individualistic focus made it difficult to recognize and understand the growing problem of industrialized, metropolitan life, and urban poverty in particular. Thus, Addams' social ethics responded to the conflict facing young, educated women and the new problems of urban, industrialized society.

Her decision to enter the settlement movement and open Hull House was an action that demonstrated her recognition and calling toward the evolving social claim. In *Democracy and Social Ethics* Addams (1902) used her experiences at Hull House as well as her understanding and faith in democracy to develop a social ethics that is the heart and soul of her social feminism. Rather than rely on an ethics that centered on individual righteousness, integrity, or family, Addams introduced the social claim, which she also referred to as the "democratic claim."

Although she did not discard the individual or family claim, she understood that there was a need to incorporate a larger social claim and to balance the two against these claims. This was not an easy task: It meant that it was necessary to deliberately consider the situation, recognize the claims, and weigh and clarify them in relation to one another. She organized *Democracy and Social Ethics* around pairs of human relationships, such as the

parent and the adult daughter, the charity worker and the poor she served, and the corrupt politician and the voter. “She traced for each relationship the ways that the old individualistic and out-of-date morality was evolving under the pressures of democracy into a new social humanitarian or democratic one” (Knight, 2005, p. 400). She showed how the social claim could be considered and demonstrated how often neither claim is satisfied if the social claim is ignored. This was a theme found throughout her writing.

For example, in *Twenty Years at Hull House* she told the story of a widow that cared deeply for her daughters and devoted herself to her home and daughters’ care. She was, however, aloof from the neighborhood efforts to secure better sanitation. Unfortunately, the widow’s spotless home could not save her daughter from the deadly typhoid bacteria that entered her home through the plumbing. “The entire disaster affords, perhaps, a fair illustration of the futility of the individual conscience which would isolate a family from the rest of the community and its interests” (Addams, 1910/1930, p. 297). We cannot divorce ourselves from the moral experiences of the many if a code of social ethics is to be developed. Addams’ social claim is consistent with the altruism or “oneness” discussed by Lynch and Lynch (1999). It is also, however, a concept that takes into account the conflict between individual, family, and society. She encourages us to confront the conflict and work it out in practice.

Addams used municipal housekeeping as a way to connect the family and social claim. She showed the value of expanding women’s family claim to urban governance. The virtues and concerns of housekeeping could be extended to city administration. As Stivers (2000, p. 100) notes, settlement workers viewed the city as a “home for its people; therefore, city government should be thought of not as a business but as a kind of homemaking, devoted to creating the conditions under which residents could live safely and in relative comfort.”

Addams believed women should extend the reach of the household virtues to incorporate the condition of the streets, the food, the drinking water, even the schools. “Much of the activity of Hull House over the years involved pushing boundaries to include people. Optimistically, Addams believed that both the family claim and the social claim would be ennobled in this dynamic process; that neither need lose” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 168). Addams sought a new understanding of the family claim. This broader definition of the family claim freed people to serve in the wider world. Yet, “the social claim—the claim asserted by the public world of responsible human action—must respect and respond to the family claim. . . . One cannot resolve tension and conflict between the two through abstract logic. Instead, the relationship must be worked out in practice” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 104).

Addams realized that people must suspend their existing belief systems and try to understand the perspectives and experiences of others. The social ethic was not a sweeping theory that categorized and recast roles and claims. The family claim was broadened: “it was a social claim of the most basic kind. Addams’ challenge was to see the family as a part of a web of social imperatives and forces without ever losing sight of that one little hand” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 97).

## Role of Experience and the Situation

*Democracy is belief in the ability of human experience to generate the aims and methods by which further experience will grow in ordered richness.* (Dewey, 1998, p. 343)

*We distrust the human impulse as well as the teachings of our own experience, and in their stead substitute dogmatic rules for conduct.* (Addams, 1902, p. 67)

Addams' emphasis on using practice to work out the relationship between claims led her to emphasize the role of human experience in ethics. She believed "we are under a moral obligation in choosing our experiences, since the results of those experiences must ultimately determine our understanding of life" (Addams, 1902, pp. 9–10).

According to Dewey scholar David Hildebrand (2005, p. 350), "For Dewey experience—or better, experiencing—is just what might be called life or living." Experience is where we begin when we confront a problematic situation. Experience is also how we "reason out possible solutions, and what we go through to test these solutions." Experience is more than a linguistic or intellectual construct, "we both *have* to undergo experience and later we may come to *know* it" (Hildebrand, 2005, p. 350).

Clearly, Addams embraced life and the living, teeming world surrounding Hull House. Her adult life was devoted to confronting problematic situations that began with her decision to move outside the narrow confines of the family claim and widened her loyalty to include her urban settlement; the health, welfare, and education of children; and eventually global concerns about war and peace. Her narrative style of writing demonstrated repeatedly how she used experiences (of herself and others) to reason out possible solutions and to test these solutions. Addams emphasized the role of human experience within a concrete situation to analyze social claims. She wanted Americans to think of one another as neighbors and fellow citizens with "vastly different experiences" (Elshtain, 2002, p. 123).

Addams (1902, pp. 169–170) illustrates how these vastly different experiences can shape our morality with a story about a boy of 8 who darts onto a moving streetcar "calling out the details of the last murder, in hope of selling an evening newspaper." Three adults seated on the streetcar use their own sense of morality to respond to the situation. A "self-made man" is pleased with the child's work ethic and buys a paper. A "philanthropic lady" is unhappy that such a "bright boy is not in school." She rededicates herself to supporting schools for newsboys. The third, a workingman, realizes that the boy will burn himself out at a young age (he had witnessed many a grown man spent by their mid-thirties) and dedicates himself to work for child labor laws. "He knows very well that he can do nothing in the way of ameliorating the lot of this particular boy; that his only possible chance is to agitate for proper child-labor laws . . . in order that the child of the poorest may have his school time secured and may have at least his short chance for growth." Addams (1902, p. 170) notes, "These three people . . . are all honest and upright, and recognize a certain duty toward the forlorn children of the community." It is, however, the workingman that has the most developed sense of social ethics.



The situation also provides the setting for action. For Addams, ethics outside of action is speculation. Addams (1902, p. 273) believed that “action is indeed the sole medium of expression for ethics. We continually forget that the sphere of morals is the sphere of action, that speculation in regard to morality is but observation and must remain in the sphere of intellectual comment, that a *situation* does not really become moral until we are confronted with the question of what shall be done in a *concrete case* and are obliged to act upon our theory” [italics added].

Addams (1902, pp. 176–177) was distrustful of “an exaggerated personal morality” and was concerned that it is “often mistaken for a social morality, and until it attempts to minister to a social situation its total inadequacy is not discovered.” Social morality in the absence of democratic experience results in “the loss of the only possible corrective and guide, and ends in an exaggerated individual morality but not a social morality at all. . . . A man who takes the betterment of humanity for his aim and end must also take the daily experiences of humanity for the constant correction of his process” (Addams, 1902, p. 177). Critics argue that giving the situation such importance opens the door to moral relativism. “The flip side of the coin of moral relativism is, however, rigid moralism of a sort that makes little or no provision for human weakness and that squeezes out space for forgiveness and passion. Faithful to her lifelong search for balance, Addams attempted to negotiate the shoals between these two perils” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 80).

## Sympathetic Understanding

*Social morality results perforce in the temper if not the practice of the democratic spirit, for it implies that diversified human experience and resultant sympathy which are the foundations and guarantee of Democracy.* (Addams, 1902, p.7)

*We are learning that a standard of social ethics is not attained by traveling a sequestered byway, but by mixing on the thronged and common road where all must turn out for one another, and at least see the size of one another's burdens.* (Addams, 1902, p. 6)

Addams' faith in an idealized democracy where human beings in concrete situations could work out social claims depended on the ability of each to sympathetically understand the other or “at least see the size of one another's burdens.” The concept of sympathetic understanding is the cornerstone of her larger social ethics. An ethical social democracy works when this component is practiced and understood. Sympathetic understanding helps one make sense of others' experiences and thus facilitates meaningful communication and social change. Sympathetic understanding helped to develop a social ethic. Sympathetic understanding and the resultant fellowship was her alternative to dogmatism, rigid moralism, and self-centered righteousness. “To perform too many good deeds may be to lose the power of recognizing good in others; to be too absorbed in carrying out a personal plan of improvement may be to fail to catch the great moral lesson which our times offer” (Addams, 1902, p. 146).

Addams (1902, pp. 154–155) used a businessman/philanthropist relationship with his workers to show how rigid belief systems in the absence of understanding and fellowship can be problematic. The businessman in her story is confident he knows what is best for the worker. Unfortunately, his mindset too often cuts him off from

the social ethics developing in regard to our larger social relationships, and from the great moral life springing from our common experiences. This is sure to happen when he is good 'to' people rather than 'with' them, when he allows himself to decide what is best for them instead of consulting them. He thus misses the rectifying influence of that fellowship which is so big that it leaves no room for sensitiveness or gratitude. Without this fellowship we may never know how great the divergence between ourselves and others may become, nor how cruel the misunderstandings.

Addams would argue that Lynch and Lynch's (1999) "theory of soul" needs sympathetic understanding as connective tissue.

Addams believed in a larger human solidarity that rested on the assumption that certain experiences are shared on a deep level by all human beings. She believed that if people could open themselves, their different cultures, generations, types of childhoods, and so forth, they could find common ground. She extended this logic of solidarity to the city as a larger type of household (in need of housekeeping). "Her ideal of the modern city is one in which solidarity does not depend upon sanctions or a consciousness of homogeneity but upon a respect for variation, not upon inherited memory but upon trained imagination" (Elshtain, 2002, p. 203). The city should invite all into political fellowship. Thus, government should be part of a cooperative alliance with all levels of society.

Addams and her fellow Hull House residents helped propel most social legislation and civic initiatives dealing with children from 1890 to the New Deal. According to Jean Elshtain (2002, p. 122), this "legislation, at its best, began life as sympathetic understanding, a determination to enter into lives that were not one's own, without falling into the arrogant pretense that one understood the lives of others better than they did."

## Scientific Attitude (or Openness to Intellectually Honest Inquiry)<sup>6</sup>

*The Settlement, then, is an experimental effort to aid in the solution of the social and industrial problems which are engendered by the modern conditions of life in a great city.*  
(Addams, 1910/1930, p. 125)

Addams approached 19th century urban problems with a scientific attitude. In other words, she used sympathetic understanding to take into account the experiences of others as she approached problematic situations. She was keen to avoid fixated belief systems that would stifle debate and inquiry. In addition, she valued reasoning out and testing

solutions. When all three are in place (open mind, careful reasoning, and testing of solutions), a problem is approached with a scientific attitude. Thus, the settlement, as “experimental effort to aid in the solution” of social problems, exhibits this scientific approach.<sup>7</sup> Addams and the residents of Hull House demonstrated a strong commitment to the scientific attitude by their emphasis on collecting data. One needs data to fully understand the situation. These data were subsequently shared with the larger community and often used to promote better living conditions. Little would be accomplished if sympathetic understanding worked in the absence of an organized effort to reason out the problem and secure and analyze data.

This belief in the necessity of depending on factual data for scientific inquiry led the residents of Hull House to develop many innovative research design and cartographic techniques. In the early 1890s, Jane Addams and her colleague Florence Kelley supervised the writing and production of *Hull House Maps and Papers*. The complete *Hull House Maps and Papers* contains two large, multicolored maps that depict the demographic characteristics within a third of a square mile near Hull House. The maps provided information on the distribution of 18 nationality groups who resided in the area as well as the residents’ wages, occupations, and housing conditions.

*Hull House Maps and Papers* also contained chapters that delved into some of the most important problems facing the immediate community. Florence Kelley (1970) detailed the many problems with employment in the garment industry in “The Sweating System.” She also documented how the decentralized “sweating system” increased the likelihood of labor abuses and health risks. For example, “sweaters” with typhoid often illegally worked on suits that later infected the purchaser. Florence Kelley and Alzina Stevens, both Inspectors of Workshops and Factories for the State of Illinois, reported on the enforcement of recently passed Illinois child labor laws. They documented the increased dangers of mutilation and death faced by children because they were less cautious and often unable to read directions.

Jane Addams was the overseer of the entire project. The mapping of social and demographic characteristics of a population was a methodology first adopted at Hull House. Not only was this unique methodological approach first used to create and publish *Hull House Maps and Papers*, researchers at Hull House continued using and refining this approach after the book’s publication and national dissemination. Thus, the Hull House neighborhood and surrounding areas became a place of ever-increasing study and ever-increasing cartographic analysis.<sup>8</sup> In addition, the maps became part of the community, an integral component of the settlement’s goals of encouraging and promoting education and democracy among neighborhood residents.

The scientific attitude also involves a willingness to see and learn from experimental failures. “There was room for discouragement in the many unsuccessful experiments in cooperation which were carried on in Chicago during the early nineties” (Addams, 1910/1930, p. 141). And, “in spite of failures, cooperative schemes went on, some of the same men appearing in one after another with irrepressible optimism” (Addams, 1910/1930, p. 142).



The scientific attitude has special relevance for public administration empirical research. Research should have relevance to the world of practice and be connected to real-world problems. In addition, there should be a participatory component: The parameters of the problem should take into account the views and be shared with those affected by the problem. In other words, the problematic situation in public administration should be vetted through a wide audience, investigated using reasoned arguments, and be data driven.<sup>9</sup>

## Dignity of the Everyday

*Whenever I held up Lincoln for their admiration as the greatest American, I invariably pointed out his marvelous power to retain and utilize past experiences; that he never forgot how the plain people of Sangamon County thought and felt when he himself had moved to town; that this habit was the foundation for his marvelous capacity for growth.* (Addams, 1910/1930, p. 37)

Addams' close-to-the-people, experiential social ethics led her to recognize and celebrate the dignity of our daily lives. Her early admiration for Lincoln and his down-to-earth, close-to-the-people style led her to incorporate the dignity of the everyday world into her theory of social democracy. Thus, democracy is a type of lived experience that takes into account the small things in order to see the whole (Elshtain, 2002, p. 172).

Addams found dignity in the everyday tasks of tending to the well-being of the old and young—sewing and sowing, planting and harvesting. She was engaged in “a struggle to convince others of the urgency, the importance of such affairs” (Elshtain, 2002, p. 29). She discovered “that you cannot be universal anywhere but in your own backyard.” Her social ethics was a principled defense of the quotidian. She avoided “extreme risk or the darkest teaching of violence and domination” and instead celebrated the everyday, with its undramatic practices and values (Elshtain, 2002, p. 64).

The everyday problem of grossly inadequate garbage collection illustrates the importance of humble activities and propelled her into the sphere of public administration. The sights, smells, health hazards, and obvious corruption led Addams and the women's clubs of Hull House to action. Using their characteristic scientific attitude,<sup>10</sup> the women's clubs and residents of Hull House

carefully investigated the conditions of the alleys. During August and September the substantiated reports of violations of the law sent in from Hull House to the health department were 1037. . . . It required both civic enterprise and moral conviction to be willing to do this three evenings a week during the hottest and most uncomfortable months of the year (Addams, 1910/1930, pp. 284–285).

In spite of their efforts, violations persisted, the infant mortality rate remained high, and corrupt contractors continued to win bids. Eventually, Chicago City Hall recognized the community's concern and appointed Jane Addams the first woman garbage inspector. Again, she and neighborhood women found themselves following garbage wagons at

6:00 AM. She dealt with contractors, insisting they increase the number of wagons and collect the rotting animal carcasses that littered many streets.

Aside from the health and aesthetic benefits, Addams (1910/1930) enjoined many reluctant women to see the garbage inspection as an extension of their duty to keep a clean house and to nurse the sick.

Many of the foreign-born women of the ward were much shocked by this abrupt departure into the ways of men, and it took a great deal of explanation to convey the idea even remotely that if it were a womanly task to go about in tenement houses in order to nurse the sick, it might be quite as womanly to go through the same district in order to prevent the breeding of so-called 'filth diseases.'

The slowly improving conditions led the women to see that "their housewifely duties logically extended to the adjacent alleys and streets" (Addams, 1910/1930, pp. 287–288). Once more, she applied the feminist social ethic to practice.

Addams' emphasis on the world of the everyday feminine experience is an example of her feminism. For thousands of years women had dedicated their lives to the everyday tasks of caring for home and family. Society may have taken women's work for granted; yet if it is left undone, society's survival is threatened. Addams not only recognized the inherent dignity and worth of these activities, she incorporated them in her theories of civic reform and democracy. Feminist theorists, like Addams', were the first to extend ideas about how the home is organized to the problems of municipal organization. She uses something as seemingly humble as garbage collection to demonstrate the usefulness of a broad social ethic drawn from feminine experience.

Addams celebrated the dignity of the everyday and made the connection between democracy and the humble, yet important, nature of human experience. Because public administration is a field of study and a field of practice, it incorporates the lived experiences (often boring) of practicing street-level administrators. This is the aspect of public administration with which many academics feel uncomfortable. How can a field that counts manhole covers have academic import? For example, renowned scholar Ken Meier (2005, p. 654) believes "many of the concerns of practitioners are just not very interesting."<sup>11</sup> Whether the activities are interesting or not, Addams' ideas infuse even the most humble task with dignity and meaning and connect them to her vision of an ethical, social democracy.

Thomas and Cynthia Lynch's (1999) "A theory of soul" calls on humankind (and by implication public administration) "to radically enhance its souls with *heart, spirit* and *oneness*. Ethics and morality are no longer important; they are essential" (p. 157). They seek a higher level of morality and ethics that can help us "conduct our lives for the growth of organization, ourselves and the betterment of all" (p. 157). Jane Addams' feminist-informed, ethical, social democracy suggests a way to do this. Although her democracy incorporates humble activities, it also has an idealized, almost mystical component. If we let it, democracy could feed our soul.

## Idealized Rule of Living

*We are thus brought to a conception of Democracy not merely as a sentiment which desires the well-being of all men, nor yet as a creed which believes in the essential dignity and equality of all men, but as that which affords a rule of living as well as a test of faith.*

(Addams, 1902, p. 6)

*The foundation of democracy is faith in the capacities of human nature: faith in human intelligence and in the power of pooled and co-operative experience. It is not belief that these things are complete but that, if they are given a show, they will grow and be able to generate progressively the knowledge and wisdom needed to guide collective action.*

(Dewey, 1946, p. 59)

Lynch and Lynch (1999) look for a higher morality and ethics that inform us on how to conduct our lives. The democracy of Addams and Dewey also provides an idealized rule of living. If one considers Addams' social ethics, sympathetic understanding, scientific attitude, and the dignity of the everyday, one finds an idealized rule of living that "informs" conduct and addresses the concerns of Lynch and Lynch.

Further, her democracy is not static. It has an organic quality and changes as our experiences change. One might view public administrators as potential guardians of a social democracy that feeds our collective soul. "Democracy like any other of the living faiths of men, is so essentially mystical that it continually demands new formulation. To fail to recognize it in a new form, to call it hard names, to refuse to receive it, may mean to reject that which our fathers cherished and handed on as an inheritance not only to be preserved but also to be developed" (Addams, 1909, p. 146).

## Conclusion

If we return to Mosher's (1968) question and ask how public service may "be made to operate in a manner compatible with democracy," I argue that many of the tenets of Addams' feminist social democracy, if consciously applied, indeed complements the political democracy to which Mosher referred. In addition, it would complete our sense of who we as public administrators are, and show us that in our every interaction with our fellow public servants or citizens, we are participating in and creating our social democracy.

The goal of this book is to critically examine public administration theory and practice through the lenses of feminism. In previous work, Camilla Stivers (1995, 2000, 2002) showed the relevance of Jane Addams' work to public administration. This chapter builds on her efforts by examining Jane Addams' bottom-up theory of social ethics and democracy.

Clearly, public administration operates within the sphere of Addams' social claim. There is also a similarity between the disenfranchised 19th century women of Hull House and contemporary public administrators. Our political leaders are voted in and, as representatives of the people, decide public policy through the vote. Like the disenfranchised

women of Hull House, public administrators influence the political sphere and public policy through their actions and interactions. Addams' theory of social democracy has relevance to the everyday lived world of public administration (inside the bureaucracy or amid the policy network). Ideally, public administration can embody a lived, experiential, ethical democracy. This ethical, social democracy provides useful guidance for how we should treat/care for each other and the citizens we serve.

Like her ideas, Jane Addams cast a wide net. Conservative, Christian political philosophers like Jean Elshtain study and promote her theories as do more radical feminists philosophers like Siegfried and Dugan. This wide appeal shows how her ideas cross ideological boundaries even today. Her vision of democracy has the potential to heal and draw us together.

Jane Addams' widening social ethics led her to leadership positions in the early 20th century pacifist movement. As the founder of Hull House she was praised and loved; in her work as pacifist she was ridiculed and shunned. Her path was never easy. In the last analysis, one can see Jane Addams standing at the always unlocked door of Hull House. "Come in she said, there is shelter from the storm" (Elshtain, 2002, p. 254).

## Discussion Questions

1. Compare and contrast representative democracy and participatory democracy. Why does Shields argue that participatory democracy has much to offer public administrators as they go about their daily lives?
2. Explain how Addams developed her theory of social ethics using the tension young women felt as they tried to balance the family claim and the social claim. Give examples of policy areas today where her ideas are relevant.
3. Compare and contrast "municipal housekeeping" and "city as citadel" as metaphors for local government administration.
4. Why is Jane Addams concerned with rigid moralism? Can you give an example?
5. How did Jane Addams use stories like the "newsboy" and the "grieving widow" to link social ethics and policy? Can you suggest a contemporary example?
6. What role does action play in Addams' notion of ethics?

## Notes

1. Much of this chapter was previously published as "Democracy and the Social Feminist Ethics of Jane Addams: A Vision for Public Administration" in *Administrative Theory and Praxis*, 28(3), 418–443. Published here with permission.
2. There are scores of articles on the subject. For key books see Mary Jo Deegan's (1990) *Jane Addams and the Men of the Chicago School, 1892–1918* (sociology); Charlene Haddock Seigfried's

- (1996) *Pragmatism and Feminism: Reweaving the Social Fabric*; James Livingston's (2001) *Pragmatism, Feminism and Democracy: Rethinking the Politics of American History* (pragmatism); and Camilla Stivers (2000) *Bureau Men Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era* (public administration). Louise Knight's (2005) *Citizen: Jane Addams and the Struggle for Democracy* and Jean B. Elshtain's (2002) *Jane Addams and the Dream of American Democracy* are a particularly good references explicating Addams theory of democracy.
3. See Deegan (1990) for the connection between Addams and sociology. See Shields (2003, 2005a, 2005b, 2008) and Stivers (2000) for the connection between Addams and public administration. See Seigfried (1996), Livingston (2001), and Luizzi and McKinney (2001) for the connection between the philosophy of pragmatism and Addams.
  4. Elshtain (2002) included 12 books, omitting *Hull House Maps and Papers*, a book written and organized by Addams and formally authored by "the residents of Hull House." Deegan (1990) cites nine Addams articles in sociology journals, including the *American Journal of Sociology*.
  5. Dewey and Addams are linked through a common respect and deep friendship. The friendship began during the early years of Hull House where Dewey was a frequent speaker. Their association deepened when he took a teaching position at the University of Chicago and became an active Hull House board member. His encounters with Hull House influenced his ideas about democracy, inquiry, ethics, and education (Seigfried, 1996; Westbrook, 1991). For example, Dewey assigned Addams' *Democracy and Social Ethics* to his ethics class (Seigfried, 1996) and cited it in *Ethics*, the book he coauthored with Tufts (Dewey & Tufts, 1926). Dewey's pragmatism helped Addams build a larger framework from which she refined her social ethics and feminism (Seigfried, 1996). According to Christopher Lasch (1965, p. 176), "It is difficult to say whether Dewey influenced Jane Addams or Jane Addams influenced Dewey. They influenced each other and generously acknowledged their mutual obligation."
  6. See Shields (2003, 2008) for an extended discussion of the scientific attitude.
  7. The scientific attitude articulated by Addams and Dewey is quite different from the efficiency approach that Taylor brought to scientific management or the scientific administration use by the bureau men.
  8. Deegan (1990) persuasively argues that many leading sociologists at the University of Chicago borrowed (without acknowledgment) the urban mapping techniques that made them famous from the investigator/researcher/scholars who wrote *Hull House Maps and Papers*.
  9. See Bolton and Stolcis (2003) for a discussion of the practitioner divide in public administration. See Raadschelders (2005) for a discussion of sources of knowledge in public administration and how the theory/practice guide can be conceptualized. See Shields (1998) for an extended discussion of the philosophy of science of Dewey, James, Peirce, and Addams as it applies to public administration research.
  10. The sewage system was also a problem. Again, the scientific attitude comes to play. "Typhoid fever epidemics, which arose because sewage water had entered the drinking water supply, were targeted in the best scientific fashion. A bacteriological study undertaken by Hull House resident and pioneer epidemiologist Alice Hamilton provided the necessary scientific evidence for Hull House's proposed reforms in health and sanitation by showing that flies breeding in the befouled plumbing could spread infection" (Elshtain, 2002, p. 172).
  11. It should be noted that much of the Meier (2005) article was tongue in cheek and this may not be his view.



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## Chapter 3

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# A Theory of Difference

Helisse Levine

### Key Terms

Cultural imperialism

Decolonization

Theory of difference

### Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to recognize a theory of difference as a contributing factor in defining women's roles in public administration. More than a decade ago, Stivers (1993) argued that the state of public administration in Western democracies, although clothed in universal citizenship, expertise, and apparent neutrality, remained structurally male and restrictive to the participation of women. Specifically, public administration in the United States during the Progressive Era was predisposed to the teachings, practice, and policies of the men of New York's Municipal Bureau (Stivers, 2000). Women's contributions to the reform movement during this time were all but eclipsed by male-dominated "scientific" philosophies that shaped the practice and teachings of public administration. The work of these settlement women, as profoundly noted by Stivers (2000), produced a feminine side of municipal form "that could have become part of public administration but did not" (p. 49). In a similar manner, Western ideals of women's equality have been called into question by social and religious practices, or what has been increasingly referred to as cultural imperialism, broadly defined as "how the dominant meanings of a society render the particular perspective on one's group invisible at the same time as they stereotype one's group and mark it out as the other" (Young, 1990, p. 59). Rather, a theory of difference supports the idea that specifics of women's differences should be exalted rather than compromised in the "equalization" process. Recognizing the feminine alternative of the settlement women, once silenced by influential male-dominated policies and politics, champions a theory of "difference" as a contributing factor in defining women's roles in public administration both at home and abroad. Moreover, the absence of the rich voices of settlement women in the history of public administration provides context for critically



examining the idea of a universal sisterhood at the expense of the lived experiences of multiple cultures and locations.

First, literature is reviewed followed by a critical examination of a universal feminine model that ignores the historical and cultural differences between women of First and Third World countries and a theory of difference that does not. Tensions between a theory of gender equality defined by universal rights based on Western democratic values and a decolonized feminine perspective that recognizes individual diversity are examined. Concluding remarks follow.

## Background and Review of the Literature

Considerable debate exists within feminist political theory as to where to position women's presence in the public sphere today. An increasing body of research recommends a feminist model that recognizes decolonization and differentiates equality among socially and culturally differentiated groups (Hooks, 2000; Mohanty, 1998; Ong, 1996). A feminism of difference recognizes various national, linguistic, religious, and cultural forms as a crucial starting point. Gatens (1992), for example, leads us away from the dominant "mainstream" theories of 20th century feminisms. Instead of relying on traditional metatheories that are grounded in the ideals of patriarchy and universal human rights, Gatens (1992) appeals to a "deconstruction" of these theories opting for an analysis that goes beyond simply "granting" equal access to women in a context of male privilege. Rather, a theory of difference embraces both commonality and difference among those who have historically been excluded. Extending the notion of difference to the context of public administration, Stivers (1993) found the tensions between difference and the notion of "universalism," in which male practices and ideas stand for *humanity* as a whole as nothing short of problematic. Most recently, Shields (2009) encouraged an historical appraisal of female public administrators, namely Jane Addams, for a renewed insight into the role of women in the founding, development, and lived experience of public administration.

For example, Third World feminists, including Mohanty (1998), angered by the tendency of white Western women to dominate international feminist politics, challenge the universal woman model. Okin (2002), for example, suggests that universal feminist goals must transcend cultural differences. Similarly, Aihwa Ong, a Professor of Anthropology at the University of California at Berkeley, sees an intervention of dominant global forces of Western ideas as "excluding alternative visions of female citizenship framed within alternative political moralities" (1996, p. 1). "After all," Ong continues, "feminism and women's rights only make sense in terms of the imagined communities within which people live and, through their embeddedness in local social relations and cultural norms, decide what is good and worthwhile in their lives." (p. 107–135) Speaking in the aftermath of the Fourth World Conference on Women (held in Beijing in 1995) that had seemingly generated a sense of "sisterhood" where First World countries make strategic interven-

tions on behalf of Third World women by putting pressures on their governments, Ong (1996) is critical of the individualistic notions of a transnational feminine citizenship that ignores geopolitical inequalities. Particularly, Ong (1996) notes that strategic sisterhood brushes aside other forms of morality—whether expressed in nationalist ideology or embedded in religious and communal practices—that shape local notions and relations of gender, hierarchy, loyalty, and social security. These webs of power relations are the everyday contexts within which Third World women must struggle for their rights.

On the other hand, Thiem (2001) warns that we must be cautious of accepting a theory based on difference at the expense of a universal idea of human suffering. She argues that the only allowable cross-cultural principle is a principle of universal validity that demands that cultures respect each other. “Difference does not mean utter otherness to the extent of incommensurability, since if that were the case, any interaction would be impossible and the cross-cultural traveling of ideas, adaptation, and defense would be absolutely impossible” (2001, p. 10). Axtmann (1996) also contends that to allow for differences of women and cultural communities without upholding inequality and oppression, individual rights have to be complemented by group rights and accommodated in a modern democratic state.

## **Tensions Between Difference Theory and Western Imperialism**

A feminism of difference recognizes various national, linguistic, religious, and cultural forms as a crucial starting point. Young (1990, 1996) claims that inclusion of women in the political process cannot be achieved through traditional liberal standards of a homogeneous public sphere that leaves unquestioned a masculine model of the individual. Instead, a democratic polity should encourage a cultural pluralism based on participation, communication, and recognition of a wide cross-section of differences of culture and social positions (Young, 1990, p. 11).

The politics of difference sometimes implies overriding a principle of equal treatment with the principle that group differences should be acknowledged in public policy and in the policies and procedures of economic institutions, in order to reduce actual or potential oppression . . . recognizing particular rights for groups is the only way to promote their full participation.

Similarly, Kymlicka (1996) argues that liberal theories were, historically, prejudiced against women and ethnic minorities and assumed that all citizens shared the same language and national culture. Distinctive needs and interests of women, and particularly non-Western and minority women, were all but absent. She argues that justice between ethnocultural groups cannot be achieved simply by giving ethnocultural minorities the same set of formal individual rights that the majority possesses without recognizing cultural institutions and principles. The result is that liberalism has been blind to grave injustices that

have limited the freedom and harmed the self-respect of women and ethnocultural minorities.

Not only have liberal ideals of democracy been criticized as being incompatible with recognizing difference, emphasis on women's particularity has also been criticized as being "essentialist" and incompatible with liberal democracy. Benhabib (1996), for example, believes that in the best interests of all equally, democracy necessarily demands the privileging and "deliberation" of impartial, rather than particular, models of expression that repress differences in the public sphere. She looks rather at multiple and heterogeneous networks of public conversations as a legitimating procedure of the democratic political process. Benhabib (1996) prefers a deliberative democracy as a model for organizing the free and reasoned deliberation among individuals who are considered moral and political equals.

As marginalized groups remain ignored or even victimized by a majority rule, ideals of individual rights, national sovereignty, and majority rule as legitimating principles of the modern era are increasingly questioned. In specific, the major features of modern democracy include individual freedom, equality before the law, and universal suffrage. Laws and rules must be blind to such differences as race, religion, class, and gender. Arguably, one of the greatest paradoxes of a democratic theory based on the ideal of universal citizenship and nondiscrimination is that equality for women can only be held at the price of sexual neutrality. Or, in other words, being equal means being more like a "man." In the same manner, defining a global polity from a unified and universal point of view both privileges and "homogenizes" the white, heterosexual, middle class, Western women as the paragon for the rest of the world. The discounting of a particular cultural, religious, or ethnic belief is problematic for contemporary feminists to situate women's oppression in a liberal democratic paradigm.

## Universal Rights or Imperialist Feminism?

Young (1990) defines cultural imperialism as the "universalization of a dominant group's experience and culture, and its establishment as the norm" (p. 59). Alongside the global trend toward democracy taking place at an unprecedented pace, opposition and resistance to Western ideals of universal citizenship as unaccommodating to differences is being felt both globally and at home. These opposing voices resound throughout Third World countries in particular where conditions of subjugation have been exacerbated rather than mitigated by Western ideals. Mohanty (1998), for example, finds fault with a humanistic discourse and totalizing theories of history that presumes the ideal of woman as the "automatic basis of unity" (p. 266). Situating all women within a common condition of universal sisterhood from a location of white, Western, middle class privilege precludes nonidentical histories, memories, and experiences of multiple locations. It is precisely these narratives that provide female agency by acknowledging experience and difference of struggles. For social change to occur, Mohanty (1998) argues that a politics of engage-

ment based on a “self-conscious” experience of one’s own *herstory* must necessarily supersede a universal politics of transcendence that simply generalizes from the experiences of a limited section of women.

Similarly, Phillips (1992) also opposes a unitary standard against which all can be judged. She also brings attention to a “symbiotic-like relationship” between ideals of universal equality and humanity on one hand, where being female (or non-white, non-middle class, non-Western) does not matter, and the notions of specificity where being female (or non-white, non-middle class, non-Western) does. It is to Phillips’ plea against a “polar opposition” between being for differences or *against* universalization that I am most drawn. Feminists, regardless of their guiding theory, should take heed of Phillips’ call for a balance between a universal notion of what humans have in common and the importance of sexual and other forms of difference toward a “common” struggle against inequity, regardless of how “differently” one might choose to define it.

In the process of definition, however, the dilemma particular to a cross-cultural discourse is that within certain religious and cultural frameworks, equality and justice based on gender are interpreted differently. This can be attributed in large part to “divine law” that in many Third World countries overrides secular law and the equal rights discourse of Western thought. Also, the women themselves within such a framework perceive their own situations differently from women who operate within a framework that developed outside of the Western Enlightenment tradition. Cultural patterns regarding women and their legal positions might be contrary to Western values and interpretation of gender equality. For example, Islamic feminist Shahrzab Mojab (2001) argues that feminine Western theory continues to be challenged by patriarchal domination despite legal equality and thus overlooks oppressive gender relations in non-Western societies. Ong (1996) and Obiora (1996) address the implications of globalization on human (women’s) rights and the concept of Western feminist imperialism as a starting context for the discussion of the role of culture in defining a feminist agenda for the alleviation of women’s oppression. They argue, however, that contrary to Western feminist ideals, women’s emancipation around the world is more than about individual rights—it is about culture, community, and nation. Ong (1996) urges Western feminists to understand the conditions shaped by communitarian ideologies produced by ruling regimes or religious elites within which most Third World women must negotiate their rights and self-identity. For many women of Third World countries who demand safe drinking water and basic health care, Western feminists’ demands of sexual and abortion rights seem trivial.

Radhika Coomaraswami, the U.N. special rapporteur on violence, agrees that such practices as well as laws restricting women’s rights to marriage, divorce, and custody are inauthentic perversions of various religious dogmas (as cited in Franck, 2001). Most important is her insistence that cultural diversity should be celebrated only if those enjoying their cultural attributes are doing so voluntarily. On the other hand, Aisha Samad Matias (1996), Director of Women Studies at the City University of New York (CUNY) and Director of FCIASN, Female Circumcision Information Advocacy and Support

Network, reminds us that the three most difficult and yet joyous times in certain African women's lives are at their circumcision, marriage, and on the birth of their first child. According to Professor Matias, circumcision functions to symbolize stability, respect, and continuation of the group as expressed in the obedience, docility, faithfulness, and maintenance of tradition of its females. Unlike Western cultures, these societies emphasize the superiority of group needs over those of the individual and of tradition over modern changes. It has also been suggested that women's roles and reproductive choices in many sub-Saharan Africa countries could also be constrained by various cultural traditions that restrict women's autonomy and encourage men's dominance (Woldemicael, 2009). The desire to bear and raise children is culture driven, emphasizing family and group rather than self and the individual. In a value system characterized by extended family, ancestry, and lineage through the fathers or sons of the family, women do not have individual reproductive decisions and rights apart from those of their husband, kinship networks, or culture. In other words, reproductive preferences and birth control are issues that go beyond the individual (Woldemicael, 2009).

Although Professor Matias does not offer a blind defense of these and other social practice, she does argue that these practices are misrepresented in Euro-American discourse as a form of child abuse and a tool of gender oppression. She demands that the struggles of these women deserve respect from Western feminists who are ready to dismiss any accommodations with Islam or a non-Western moral ethos.

## Conclusion

The task to reconcile abusive acts against women, such as forbidding public education, voting, and driving permits; stoning; flogging; and female genital mutilation, with expressions of religious, national, or cultural obligations is challenging at the very least. The fundamental question is, should women in countries where Islamic law or other "divine" law is in force see themselves as victims of discrimination—as an international women's movement would have it—or as participants in a living and sacred culture? We must recognize that the oppression of women in Third World countries has been standardized by imperialist Western feminist ideals on the one hand and differentiated by a multicultural framework on the other. Locating a feminist agenda within a multicultural politics of difference will serve to advance a women's movement defined by reconciliation, power, and freedom within a global context. So, although the "veil" symbolizes the very injustice, subjugation, and inequality for which whose unveiling Western feminists struggle, to many other women the veil is a symbol of faith, protection, and religion. These women do not want to "uncover" their faces. However, it is the freedom of that choice, regardless of culture, ideology, or divine law, that must be understood and embraced as a universal human right. Western feminists, although respecting differences, experiences, and cultures, must also continue to "privilege" all women with the democratic ideals of freedom to choose for themselves. Moreover, Western feminist's preoccupation with the "veil,"



although puzzling to many non-Western women, must be looked at not as the enemy of the common good, but as an attempt to reconcile long imposed traditions and cultures with a struggle for the human right to be “woman,” in all her differences.

Looking back at the settlement women of the Progressive Era supports a theory of difference as a contributing factor in defining and furthering women’s roles in public administration and ending oppression of women worldwide. Stivers (2000) reminds us that recognizing the feminine alternative of settlement women, once silenced by influential male-dominated policies, requires us to think differently about central issues.

## Discussion Questions

1. How might you reconcile Western ideals of equalization with women of Third World countries?
2. How does a theory of difference apply to the Progressive Era of public administration?
3. Based on the chapter, do you believe women in countries where Islamic law or other “divine” law is in force should see themselves as victims of discrimination—as an international women’s movement would have it—or as participants in a living and sacred culture?

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## Part II

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# **Family-Friendly Policies and Practices**





## Chapter 4

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# Case Study: Female-Friendly Policies in the Academe

Heather Wyatt-Nichol

### Key Terms

Bias avoidance

Biological clock

Family and Medical Leave Act

Ideal worker norm

Organizational culture

Role conflict

Tenure clock stop

### Introduction

This chapter explores the linkages between gendered public administration and structural inequalities in academia. Changing demographics highlight the importance of family-friendly policies in the workplace. According to the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009), labor force participation rates of mothers (working full-time and part-time) with children under age 18 increased from 47% in 1975 to 71% in 2007. In comparison, when the age of a child is considered, the labor force participation rates decrease to 64% for mothers with children younger than 6 years of age. The number of women in graduate programs has also increased in recent years. The U.S. Digest of Education Studies reported that in 2007, 63% of graduate students were women (Snyder, 2009). Similarly, the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (2008) reported that among the 159 respondents of the 268 Administration institutional members, women represented 53% of the doctoral recipients in the fall semester of 2007.

Although participation rates of women in the labor force and graduate programs have steadily increased, the number of women entering the academic pipeline and moving up through the ranks is much smaller. Human resources practices governing workplace policies have not kept pace. Within the field of higher education the absence of family-friendly policies at various colleges and universities is problematic. A recent study of graduate

students at the University of California reports that only 29% of women view research universities as a family-friendly workplace (June, 2009).

We often take for granted that faculty members at 4-year public colleges and universities are state employees. Furthermore, the rate of promotion of academic mothers to tenured positions and the extent of family-friendly policies available intersect with the subject of Human Resources Management—often a core course in Public Administration programs. The absence of family-friendly policies can perpetuate gender inequity, particularly for working mothers who compete with men in the workplace who have stay-at-home wives. In addition to promoting gender equity, it is believed that organizations with policies designed to promote work–life balance experience greater productivity than organizations without such policies. This chapter explores the linkages between gendered public administration and structural inequalities in academia. The influence of classic liberalism on public administration and the structure of work are considered first, followed by an examination of role conflict and structural inequalities. A best practices approach is then used to examine family-friendly policies at various colleges and universities throughout the United States that have been recognized for progressive initiatives. In addition to the types of family-friendly policies, potential barriers that minimize the use of such policies are considered, and recommendations to improve work–life balance are offered.

## Gendered Public Administration

Within the United States, societal perceptions of matters that qualify as public concern are influenced by the Western philosophical tradition of classic liberalism, which established the distinction between the public and private spheres. Caregiving and other domestic responsibilities relegated to women were categorized as matters of private concern (Stivers, 2005; Thornton, 1991). Influenced by perceptions of gender, this public–private distinction served as a framework for public administration and the structure of work. The progressive movement solidified the public–private distinction by privileging the position of business and marginalizing class and gender. Advocates of workers' rights, social justice, and professional government administration, middle class progressives viewed bureaucracy as a mechanism for social reform. Simultaneously, however, progressives cultivated support among big business because it had resources to command government response, and big business viewed the progressive movement as a way to develop and expand a relationship with government, co-optation to preserve their own interests (Wiebe, 1967). In *Bureau Men, Settlement Women: Constructing Public Administration in the Progressive Era*, Camilla Stivers (2000) provides a comprehensive analysis of how the privilege of business during the Progressive Era influenced the field of public administration by contrasting “bureau men,” who emphasized business techniques in administration, and “settlement women,” who emphasized caring and social reform. Regarding public

administration as field of study and a profession that reflects scientific objectivity, Stivers (2000, p. 126) asserts the following:

The choice of science over caring was made in practice by the bureau men before the question of professional identity began to be posed. In addition, since virtually all early public administrationists were men, they had an easier time convincing the world that they could operate in an objective, unsentimental way than did social workers, most of whom were women. But for both, the struggle to professionalize was a struggle to cast off femininity by claiming the status of science.

The model for public administration education established by the New York Bureau, which later moved to Syracuse University (Stivers, 2005), served to establish professional norms and education within the field. The core requirements among MPA programs today reflect these origins through courses such as budgeting and statistical analysis. In addition, the subject of administrative science and decision making may be addressed in survey courses and organization theory. Although there have been efforts by various scholars within the field to incorporate gender into the traditional public administration curriculum, Mills and Newman (2002) found that stand-alone courses on gender in public administration were offered by less than 30% of the respondents representing various MPA programs.

The public-private distinction has also influenced perceptions of gender and the structure of work. According to Acker (1992), gender is hidden deep within organizational processes that on the surface may appear gender neutral. Furthermore, organizations themselves create and reproduce gendered occupational cultures. Although there is a tendency to conceptualize positions or jobs within organizations as being gender neutral, such positions are gendered in that they reflect the separation between the public and private spheres that establish a gender-based division of labor, organizational structure, and processes (Acker, 1992). Regarding the division of labor, Acker (1992) contends that the gender division of labor endures as long as perceptions exist that women are better suited for certain types of jobs.

Stereotypes or assumptions about women are a major barrier for the advancement of women. A comparison of federal employees by Naff (1994) found that women with children were often overlooked for promotions because employers assumed they were unable to work the long hours required for advanced positions. Women with children and 5 to 10 years experience in the workforce received an average of 2.84 promotions, whereas women without children, given the same experience, received an average of 3.2 promotions.

The gendering of organizations is further reinforced through symbols and images that justify divisions of labor. Various hierarchical levels may reflect or perpetuate patterns of domination through policies and interactions. In addition, individuals mentally construct their understanding of social structure and processes within the organization to develop gender-appropriate behaviors (Acker, 1992). For example, a university committee

at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology found that “gender discrimination in the 1990s is subtle but pervasive, and stems largely from unconscious ways of thinking that have been socialized into all of us, men and women alike” (Currie, Thiele, & Harris, 2002, p. 2).

## Role Conflict

There is often a misperception that an academic setting is family friendly because faculty members have autonomy and flexibility in setting one’s schedule. However, the demands of the job in terms of teaching, research, and service often result in faculty members working well over 60 hours a week. As a result, academic mothers are at a disadvantage because they lose the productive time for research and publication available to women without children or men with stay-at-home wives. Role conflict can occur when there are competing demands from family members and employers for an individual’s time that make it difficult to meet the needs of both. This typically occurs when personal and professional responsibilities collide. The source of the conflict originates from work demands with respect to time demands and scheduling, home demands regarding expectations and responsibilities for housekeeping and care, and cultural expectations with respect to parenting and career success (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004).

Academicians enjoy greater autonomy and flexibility than most professions, and family-friendly policies such as flexible work schedules, compressed work schedules, and telecommuting are often inherent in those positions. Such flexibility has the potential to reduce work–family conflict because primary caregivers are able to adjust schedules to better coordinate family responsibilities (e.g., picking up a child from school, taking a child to the doctor). Such flexibility also has the potential to increase work–family conflict as boundaries between work and home become blurred. Academic mothers are also more likely to experience work–family conflict because the demands of the job and the requirements to meet tenure are so high. Faculty members often work well into the night, even at home, in an attempt to meet the demands of teaching, research, and service. Allison (2007, p. 29) describes the disadvantages and competing demands that new mothers experience:

At a minimum, some of the time and effort that would otherwise have been devoted to research is bestowed instead upon her new child, who stridently demands to be fed, changed, entertained, or simply held. . . . The professional cost to a mother’s academic career is raised considerably if she chooses to nurse her infant. In that case, at first, she will spend more than half of her waking hours nursing.

At the same time, efforts to continue working on research shortly after the birth or adoption of a child detracts from the care and attention that new mothers want to bestow upon their children, particularly after reading about the importance of human nurturing and bonding during the first few months of a child’s life.

## Tenure Rates

Although the number of women working in faculty positions has significantly increased over the years, studies provide evidence that women are more likely to work in contingent positions and at less prestigious universities. For example, one study found an underrepresentation of women faculty at prestigious universities, where 70% of the professors were male (Wilson, 2004). In 2003–2004, “men still outnumber women on the full-time faculty at doctoral universities by more than two to one,” whereas full-time faculty positions at 2-year institutions were more likely to be women (American Association of University Professors [AAUP], 2005, p. 28). Women are also less likely to be in tenure-eligible positions regardless of institution type (AAUP, 2005; Euben, 2006; Parsad & Glover, 2002). According to Parsad and Glover (2002), the number of female faculty in tenure track positions at 4-year institutions has declined from 30% in 1992 to 25% in 1998. In 2003, women represented 48% of part-time faculty positions compared with 39% of the full-time positions (Euben, 2006). Using data from Survey of Doctorate Recipients, Frasch, Mason, Stacy, Goulden, and Hoffman (2007) found that male PhDs with children under 6 years of age were twice as likely to enter a tenure track position than female PhDs with children under 6.

Women are more likely to hold the ranks of instructor, lecturer, and assistant professor (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mason & Goulden, 2004a). According to one recent survey conducted by the AAUP (2005), 74% of full professors were men compared with only 26% of women. The pipeline argument has frequently been used to explain such discrepancies. However, one would expect that if there is a pipeline, then tenure rates for women would have slowly increased over the years. Although women represent half of the PhD population, they have not advanced up the academic ranks at the same rate as men (Mason & Goulden, 2004a). In fact, some universities have witnessed a decline in recent years. For example, tenure offers to women at Harvard have decreased since 2001 (Wilson, 2004).

The impact of having “early babies” (less than 6 years of age up to 5 years after PhD) on one’s academic career may provide some explanation for the different rates of promotion between men and women. Early babies do not appear to have a negative impact on the tenure rates for men as they do women. Male faculty members with early babies were 38% more likely than female faculty members with early babies to receive tenure (Mason & Goulden, 2004a). In contrast, women who had children after 5 years of receiving the PhD or who did not have children at all achieved higher tenure rates than women with early babies (Mason & Goulden, 2004a).

## Structural Inequality

The abstract worker used in job evaluation methods, when transformed to reflect an actual employee, is a male whose work takes priority over all else and who has a wife to take care of all personal (and often professional) matters (Acker, 1992). Williams (2000)



later introduces the term “ideal worker norm” to refer to the structure of work and expectations of productivity among employers based on the assumption of traditional family arrangements when men had stay-at-home wives. Structuring work in a way that positions men’s lives as normal and women’s as problematic disadvantages working mothers, particularly when they may be unable to dedicate additional time beyond a 40-hour work week due to a second shift of child care and other domestic responsibilities. Stivers (2002, p. 57) also brings attention to the problem of the ideal worker norm for women in public administration:

Thus it is fraudulent to offer women an equal opportunity to pursue a public service career and rise through the ranks of the bureaucracy while at the same time the requirements of exemplary qualities for the sort of career remain incongruent with what is expected of them as women. . . . To observe that a number of women have done it successfully is to miss the point. They have virtually never done it without a constant effort to manage their femaleness on the job (tackling issues such as how to appear authoritative yet not masculine) and without a continuing struggle to balance work and home responsibilities.

Within the field of higher education, some might argue that decisions to work in contingent positions or at “less demanding” institutions are voluntary choices by academic mothers in an effort to balance the competing demands of work and family. The counter-argument is that such “choices” are actually imposed and are a reflection of the structural inequalities in the workplace (Curtis, 2004, p. 22):

Whether such a choice is voluntary or a product of discouragement, it is based on a perception that the tenure track and children (or family) are not compatible. . . . A part-time or non-tenure track position may allow some individual women to give more priority to their families, but their having to make that choice is an indication of continuing structural inequity in faculty careers.

Evident in the language of the AAUP *Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work*, Sotirin (2008, p. 260) asserts: “tenure was historically premised on the married male professor as a universal model and the linear career trajectory in academe assumed that someone else would be taking care of family and domestic responsibilities.” This ideal worker norm continues to influence the workplace and dominates the academic landscape. The demands of the job in terms of teaching, research, and service often result in faculty members working above and beyond a typical 8-hour day. Although faculty members generally meet the teaching and service requirements on campus, research is often reserved for evenings and weekends. As a result, academic mothers are at a disadvantage because they lose the productive time for research and publication available to women without children or men with stay-at-home wives (Allison, 2007; Fothergill & Felty, 2003).

The negative consequences of the ideal worker norm on academic mothers are evident in a variety of recent studies. Noting that full-time faculty members often work beyond

50 hours in a typical week, Jacobs and Winslow (2004) examined data on work hours and job satisfaction from the 1998 National Study of Post-Secondary Faculty and found significant correlations between publication and working 60 hours or more per week. More worrisome, however, is the fact that “married mothers were about half as likely to work more than sixty hours per week, and married fathers were about 60 percent as likely to work more than 60 hours per week” (Jacobs & Winslow, 2004, p. 124). Although women reported fewer working hours (51 hours) than their male counterparts, they still experienced time constraints resulting from domestic responsibilities and roles of primary caregivers (Mason & Goulden, 2004b), evidence of the work–family conflict and the negative consequences of the ideal worker norm on mothers in academia who are also primary caregivers. An examination of children and publication rates reveals a statistically significant negative relationship between publication rates and women with preschool-age children (Stack, 2004).

## Family-Friendly Policies

The broad purpose of any family-friendly policy is to minimize the competing demands between work and family life through a variety of organizational initiatives designed to help employees achieve balance. In 1974, the AAUP issued a statement, “Leaves of Absence for Child-Bearing, Child-Rearing, and Family Emergencies” (AAUP, 2001):

[a]n institution’s policies on faculty appointments [to be] sufficiently flexible to permit faculty members to combine family and career responsibilities in the manner best suited to them as professionals and parents. This flexibility requires the availability of such alternatives as longer-term leaves of absence, temporary reductions in workload with no loss of professional status, and retention of full-time affiliation throughout the child-bearing and child-rearing years.

In 2001 the AAUP Committee on the Status of Women in the Academic Profession and its Subcommittee on Academic Work and Family approved the Statement of Principles on Family Responsibilities and Academic Work (see <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/workfam-stmt.htm>). The principles include family-friendly policies such as family leave, stopping the tenure clock, active service/modified duties, child care, and flexible schedules. Nevertheless, many universities have yet to develop and implement family-friendly policies. Trower and Bleak’s (2004) study of tenure track faculty among six research universities indicates that 46% of junior faculty reported dissatisfaction with balance between personal and professional time. Among potential family-friendly policies, 68% reported that tenure clock stops would be very helpful and 64% reported affordable, quality child care would be very helpful.

Some colleges and universities have been more proactive than others in designing and implementing initiatives to help faculty members achieve work–life balance (Table 4-1).

**TABLE 4-1. Comparison of Family-Friendly Policies Across Selected Universities**

Institution and Classification	Family-Friendly Policies
University of California at Berkeley Research (VH) Public 32, 803	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf">http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf</a></li> <li>• ASMD: 3 months before to 1 year after birth or adoption. Fathers and non-birth mothers may take one semester of ASMD; birth mothers may take two semesters <a href="http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf">http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf</a></li> <li>• On-site child care <a href="http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/campuscc.html">http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/campuscc.html</a></li> <li>• Back-up, sick child, temporary care <a href="http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/dropin.html">http://parents.berkeley.edu/recommend/childcare/dropin.html</a></li> </ul>
University of Delaware Research (VH) 21, 238	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One-year tenure clock stop for each child (for a maximum of two tenure clock stops) upon approval from chair, dean, and provost. <a href="http://www.udel.edu/provost/fachb/IV-A-15-familyleave.html">http://www.udel.edu/provost/fachb/IV-A-15-familyleave.html</a></li> <li>• On-site child care               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Laboratory preschool <a href="http://www.labpreschool.udel.edu/about-us/">http://www.labpreschool.udel.edu/about-us/</a></li> <li>◦ Early learning center <a href="http://www.elc.udel.edu/">http://www.elc.udel.edu/</a></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Referral service <a href="http://www.familyandworkplace.org/">http://www.familyandworkplace.org/</a></li> </ul>
Duke University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 12,770	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf">http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf</a></li> <li>• One semester of paid parental leave</li> <li>• ASMD: "A flexible work arrangement can be made for up to 3 years." Faculty handbook, chapter 4 <a href="http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf">http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf</a></li> <li>• Child care partnership <a href="http://www.hr.duke.edu/dccp/">http://www.hr.duke.edu/dccp/</a></li> </ul>
Harvard University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 24,648	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/files/extensions.doc">http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/files/extensions.doc</a></li> <li>• Paid leave varies among schools</li> <li>• <a href="http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/faculty-appointments/hsph-consideration-for-parental-caretaking-responsibilities/index.html">http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/faculty-appointments/hsph-consideration-for-parental-caretaking-responsibilities/index.html</a></li> <li>• On-site child care <a href="http://www.childcare.harvard.edu/">http://www.childcare.harvard.edu/</a></li> </ul>
University of Michigan, Ann Arbor Research (VH) Public 39,533	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One-year tenure clock stop. Requests made to dean (provost on Dearborn and Flint campuses) <a href="http://spg.umich.edu/pdf/201.92.pdf">http://spg.umich.edu/pdf/201.92.pdf</a></li> <li>• ASMD <a href="http://spg.umich.edu/pdf/201.93.pdf">http://spg.umich.edu/pdf/201.93.pdf</a></li> <li>• On-site child care <a href="http://www.hr.umich.edu/childcare/healthsystem/index.html">http://www.hr.umich.edu/childcare/healthsystem/index.html</a></li> </ul>
University of Missouri, St. Louis Research (H) Public 12,498	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• One-year tenure-clock-stop (two extensions maximum) upon approval by the chancellor <a href="http://www.umsystem.edu/ums/departments/gc/rules/bylaws/310/025.shtml">http://www.umsystem.edu/ums/departments/gc/rules/bylaws/310/025.shtml</a></li> <li>• On-site child care <a href="http://www.umsl.edu/~kids/">http://www.umsl.edu/~kids/</a> <a href="http://www.umsl.edu/services/academic/assets/PDFs/Faculty-Handbook-200-%20Revision.pdf">http://www.umsl.edu/services/academic/assets/PDFs/Faculty-Handbook-200-%20Revision.pdf</a></li> </ul>

**TABLE 4-1. Comparison of Family-Friendly Policies Across Selected Universities (*continued*)**

Institution and Classification	Family-Friendly Policies
New Jersey Institute of Technology Research (H) Public 8,249	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Tenure clock stop up to 1 year upon approval from P&amp;T committee, dean, &amp; provost (p. 30 of faculty handbook)</li> <li>• ASMD available (p. 31 of faculty handbook) <a href="http://womenscenter.njit.edu/staff_faculty.php">http://womenscenter.njit.edu/staff_faculty.php</a></li> <li>• Unpaid leave available up to 1 year</li> <li>• On-site childcare center <a href="http://womenscenter.njit.edu/childcare.php">http://womenscenter.njit.edu/childcare.php</a></li> </ul>
Northwestern University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 17,747	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/statements/extendprob.html">http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/statements/extendprob.html</a></li> <li>• Child care partnerships and referrals <a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/hr/benefits/childcare/solutions/solutions.html">http://www.northwestern.edu/hr/benefits/childcare/solutions/solutions.html</a></li> <li>• ASMD</li> <li>• <a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/handbook/handbook.pdf">http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/policies/handbook/handbook.pdf</a></li> </ul>
Princeton University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 6,708	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic 1-year tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/publ/fac/rules_toc/chapter4/#comp000045d572a9000000030f4af9">http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/publ/fac/rules_toc/chapter4/#comp000045d572a9000000030f4af9</a></li> <li>• ASMD upon request and approval</li> <li>• On-site child care               <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ University League Nursery School <a href="http://www.ulns.org">http://www.ulns.org</a></li> <li>◦ University Now Day Nursery <a href="http://www.princetonol.com/local/unow">www.princetonol.com/local/unow</a></li> </ul> </li> <li>• Family friendly policies and programs <a href="http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/family_friendly/">http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/family_friendly/</a></li> </ul>
Stanford University Research (VH) Private not-for-profit 18,836	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.stanford.edu/dept/provost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch2.html">http://www.stanford.edu/dept/provost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch2.html</a></li> <li>• On-site child care, referral services, and financial assistance for junior faculty <a href="http://worklife.stanford.edu/children_prog.html">http://worklife.stanford.edu/children_prog.html</a></li> </ul>
University of Wisconsin at Madison Research (VH) Public 40,455	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Automatic 1-year tenure clock stop <a href="http://www.secfac.wisc.edu/child_care/system.html">http://www.secfac.wisc.edu/child_care/system.html</a></li> <li>• On-site and partnerships for child care <a href="http://occfr.wisc.edu/child_care/system.html">http://occfr.wisc.edu/child_care/system.html</a></li> </ul>

ASMD, active service–modified duties. Carnegie classifications of Doctoral/Research, Research, Masters, and Baccalaureate have been modified in recent years. H, high research activity; VH, very high research activity. See <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/index.asp?key=791>. Enrollments represent Fall 2004 available at The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/>

Several factors such as organizational size, type of institution, region, and union membership help to explain variations in family-friendly policies. Studies of family-friendly policies in private and public sector organizations demonstrate that larger organizations are more likely to offer a range of benefits that smaller organizations with limited resources are unable to match. For example, McCurdy, Newman, and Lovrich (2002) found that organizational size affected the extent to which family-friendly policies were implemented among local government agencies in Washington State. They also found that organizations were more likely to implement family leave policies (in addition to the Family and Medical Leave Act) and permanent part-time employment than policies such as on-site child care or telecommuting. From a university perspective, a study by the University of Michigan's Center for the Education of Women (CEW, 2005) of 255 respondents across various institutions found that although research universities were more likely to offer family-friendly policies, tenured and tenure-track women were less likely to be employed at those institutions.

Other studies have demonstrated that regional differences exist. Stockdell-Giesler and Ingalls (2007) indicate that although many elite universities and large university systems have developed family-friendly policies, schools in the Southeast often lag behind. Not surprisingly, the presence of faculty unions also increases the likelihood of formal policies. Types of family-friendly policies, including parental leave, active service–modified duties, tenure clock stop, and child care, are examined below.

### Parental Leave Beyond the Family and Medical Leave Act

The Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993 requires organizations with 50 or more employees to provide unpaid leave for up to 12 weeks to an employee who must care for his- or herself or an immediate family member. The legislation is limited to employees who worked 1,250 hours for their employer the prior year and does not cover part-time workers with less than 25 hours per week. In addition, many employees who qualify for FMLA cannot afford to take unpaid leave for extended periods of time. Many young mothers return to work before the 12 weeks out of economic necessity. Although FMLA is certainly “family friendly” by protecting the jobs of individuals who must take time off from work to give birth and/or care for others, it is federal legislation—a legal mandate, not a family-friendly workplace initiative developed and implemented through sheer volition of the organization. Unfortunately, many organizations actually interpret adherence to the law (FMLA) as a family-friendly workplace policy, which absent federal legislation might never have been implemented within those organizations.

The extent of unpaid leave beyond FMLA varies among colleges and universities. Gilbert (2008) found an absence of formal maternity leave policies beyond FMLA at many institutions and that faculty members negotiated their maternity leave on a case-by-case basis. In comparison, a study by Sullivan, Hollenshead, and Smith (2004) of 255 institutions (varying in type from Research I to Associate) found that 25% of the institutions



offered paid maternity leave. More recently, the CEW (2008) at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor reports that 44% of colleges and universities within their sample in 2007 provided unpaid leave beyond FMLA. In contrast, Yoest and Rhoads (2004) report that among the 84 colleges and universities randomly selected in their study, 82% failed to offer paid parental leave.

Most universities in the CEW study also reveal that dependent leave policies apply to men as well; however, many universities now require faculty members to confirm that they will serve as the primary caregiver (CEW, 2005). This helps to avoid the potential problem of granting academic fathers leave when their wives are actually the primary caregivers, reducing the risk of unfair competitive advantages among all faculty members. Most universities also combine sick leave or short-term disability to account for paid leave. Others offer full pay or partial pay for one semester. The Pennsylvania State University offers 6 weeks of paid parental leave. Duke University and The Massachusetts Institute of Technology offer one semester of paid leave for male or female faculty members who can demonstrate that they are the primary caregivers after the birth or adoption of a child. Paid parental leave at Harvard University varies among the schools within the university.

### Active Service–Modified Duties

Active service–modified duties, advocated by the AAUP to promote work–life balance, provides reduced teaching loads with minimal to no pay cuts for faculty members who are primary caregivers for newborns or an adopted child younger than 5 years of age. Twenty-one percent of the institutions in the CEW study (2008) provided some form of active service–modified duties that reduces work load without a decrease in pay. The University of California Berkeley offers active service–modified duties for 3 months before and for 1 year after the birth or adoption of a child. Duke University offers flexible arrangements for up to 3 years. The New Jersey Institute of Technology includes a formal policy that allows faculty members to use active service–modified duties for one semester after the birth of a child. (The New Jersey Family Leave Act extends to 24 months.) Northwestern, the University of Michigan, and Princeton also offer flexible options for active service–modified duties.

### Tenure Clock Stop

Princeton was one of the first universities to develop tenure extensions in 1970. The policy granted female professors a 1-year extension for pregnancy, which could be extended an additional year. The policy was later expanded in 1991 to include male faculty and adoptions (Valdata, 2005). Although progress has been slow, there has been greater advocacy within recent years for tenure clock stops within the academic community. Stopping the tenure clock is included in the 2001 AAUP statement of principles on family responsibilities and academic work (see <http://www.aaup.org/AAUP/pubsres/policydocs/contents/workfam-stmt.htm>):



The AAUP now recommends that, upon request, a faculty member be entitled to stop the clock or extend the probationary period, with or without taking a full or partial leave of absence, if the faculty member (whether male or female) is a primary or coequal caregiver of newborn or newly adopted children. Thus, faculty members would be entitled to stop the tenure clock while continuing to perform faculty duties at full salary. The AAUP recommends that institutions allow the tenure clock to be stopped for up to one year for each child, and further recommends that faculty be allowed to stop the clock only twice, resulting in no more than two one-year extensions of the probationary period. These extensions would be available whether or not the faculty member was on leave

Sullivan et al. (2004) found that 43% of colleges and universities had a tenure clock stop they defined as “a temporary pause in the tenure clock to accommodate special circumstances. At the end of such a pause, the clock resumes with the same number of years left to tenure review as when it stopped” (p. 25). In addition, a true tenure clock stop does not require the faculty member to be on leave. Universities with tenure clock stops typically offer 1- or 2-year exclusions off the tenure clock. For example, the University of Michigan provides an automatic tenure clock stop for 1 year for faculty members requesting the stop due to pregnancy, childbirth, or related medical conditions. The University of California, upon approval from the Chancellor, provides 1 year off the tenure clock for each birth or adoption, not to exceed 2 years. The New Jersey Institute of Technology and the University of Pittsburgh provide a 1-year tenure clock stop upon approval from a promotion and tenure committee, the dean, and provost. The University of Delaware and the University of Maryland at College Park have similar policies that allow for a 1-year tenure clock stop for each child, with a maximum of two stops, upon approval.

The tenure clock stop also appears to be more prevalent at research universities, which offer tenure clock extensions at twice the rate of other institutions. Among the 189 institutions surveyed by the CEW at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor (2008), 92% of research universities had a tenure clock stop compared with 50% of liberal arts colleges. Therefore, it is no surprise that the model policies for tenure clock stop are at the University of California at Berkeley, Duke, Harvard, Northwestern, Princeton, and Stanford. A few universities have implemented automatic tenure clock stops to provide a 1-year extension. The term “primary caregiver” is often used to extend the option to mothers or fathers who are able demonstrate primary responsibilities of child care. The automatic stops also include language that permits a faculty member to waive the extension if he or she chooses to remain under the existing tenure clock. Table 4-2 provides examples of policy language used by various universities to invoke automatic tenure clock stops.

## Child Care

Although childcare responsibilities continue to be interpreted as an individual responsibility categorized within the private sphere, the notion of care as a public good has been

**TABLE 4-2. Selected Universities With Automatic Tenure Clock Stops**

Institution	Policy
University of California Berkeley	“. . . an appointee at the Assistant level must be responsible for 50 percent or more of the care of a child. The child may be the appointee's child or that of the appointee's spouse or domestic partner. The clock may be stopped for up to one year for each event of birth or placement; provided that all time off the clock entails no more than two years in the probationary period. . . . An appointee is eligible to stop the clock even if the appointee does not take a formal leave or have a modification of duties." <a href="http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf">http://www.ucop.edu/acadadv/acadpers/apm/apm-760.pdf</a>
Duke University	“. . . faculty shall be eligible for an extension of the tenure probationary period for life events that can reasonably be expected to markedly delay the research process . . . a maximum of two extensions (each of which can be for either one or two semesters) of the tenure probationary period will be granted, for separate events. There will be no limit on extensions in category 1 [birth or adoption]. . . . Life events that can be expected to markedly delay the research process are defined as these circumstances: 1. a child is born or adopted into the faculty member's household (maximum one year relief for the household, which includes the biological parent, adoptive parent, or other parent; if both parents are untenured faculty members, each parent in the household is eligible for one semester relief or one parent may take one year)." <a href="http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf">http://www.provost.duke.edu/pdfs/fhb/FHB_Chap_4.pdf</a>
Harvard University	"Faculty who become a parent of a child will be granted an automatic extension of their current term appointment and of their tenure clock by one year for each child born or adopted. This type of extension will be granted for up to two years." (School of Public Health) <a href="http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/files/extensions.doc">http://www.hsph.harvard.edu/administrative-offices/faculty-affairs/files/extensions.doc</a>
Northwestern University	"Requests to stop the tenure clock for a one-year period for circumstances relating to the birth or adoption of a child are automatically approved." <a href="http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/statements/extendprob.html">http://www.northwestern.edu/provost/faculty/policies/statements/extendprob.html</a>
Princeton University	"An Assistant Professor who becomes the parent of a child by birth or adoption will automatically be granted a one-year extension of term by the Dean of the Faculty, upon notification by the Assistant Professor's department chair." <a href="http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/publ/fac/rules_toc/chapter4/#comp000045d572a9000000030f4af9">http://www.princeton.edu/dof/policies/publ/fac/rules_toc/chapter4/#comp000045d572a9000000030f4af9</a>
Stanford University	"A faculty member who becomes a parent, by birth or adoption, while holding a tenure-accruing appointment is entitled to a one-year extension of the date (under the seven year tenure clock) on which tenure would be conferred due to length of service for each birth or adoption event. This extension will normally have the effect of postponing for a year the initiation of the tenure review process." <a href="http://www.stanford.edu/dept/provost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch2.html">http://www.stanford.edu/dept/provost/faculty/policies/handbook/ch2.html</a>
University of Wisconsin at Madison	Requests are made to the provost: "Extensions for childbirth or adoption are presumed approved." <a href="http://www.secfac.wisc.edu/newfac/tenure/Extension.htm">http://www.secfac.wisc.edu/newfac/tenure/Extension.htm</a>

demonstrated in practice on a few occasions. During the Great Depression, in an effort to create jobs for the unemployed, nursery schools were financed under the Works Progress Administration. In addition to jobs creation, a precedent for public funding of child care was established (Conway, Ahern, & Steurnagel, 2005). During World War II, federal funding for child care was provided under the Lanham Act to assist mothers as they replaced men in factories (Berggren, 2007). After the war, broad funding was eliminated and federal support for child care was narrowly construed in the form of subsidies for low-income women or minimal tax credits for middle-income families. For example, states receive federal support for day care through Child Care and Development Block Grants to provide assistance to low-income families. States must dedicate at least 70% of the matching funds for parents on public assistance.

Some might argue that the absence of universal day care provides evidence of gendered institutions that perpetuate the traditional gender division of domestic labor. Zylan's (2000) research on policy discourse of day care in the early days of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (now Temporary Assistance to Needy Families) indicates that appeals to maternalism helped to secure government support for childcare services for poor mothers on the basis that it "would help them become better mothers." In addition, there is often public support for leveling the playing field for low-income children. Simultaneously, however, the provision of services to all working mothers was denied on the basis that "to do so would undermine the fundamental ethic of maternal care" (p. 625). When care is tied to welfare reform there is broad public support. In contrast, public support diminishes when care is tied to gender equity.

Nevertheless, the demand for care continues to increase, and some employers are attempting to meet the needs of working parents. According to the National Coalition for Campus Children's Centers, there were 2,500 campus-based childcare centers in 2001. Campus Children's Centers provide various childcare arrangements and services to students, faculty, and staff at the centers. Some centers offer only childcare services, others offer only the laboratory schools, and several offer both services. Most funding for on-site child care is paid directly from parent fees, although direct subsidies and in-kind donations may also be provided. Most, if not all, universities that provide on-site child care experience the universal problem of long waiting lists due to high demand. Some faculty members may have to wait 2 years before an opening occurs. Many universities have also partnered with service providers to provide backup care, and most, if not all, provide referral services and information about child care in the region.

According to a faculty committee report at Harvard University, childcare at Harvard is offered through affiliated childcare centers that are independently owned and operated with a total capacity to enroll 354 children ("Report of the task force on women faculty," 2005). Stanford provides on-site child care through six programs ranging from full-time care to part-time care that serve an estimated 650 children. Stanford also provides childcare grants ranging from \$5,000 to \$20,000 for junior faculty members (Jaschick, 2007). In the state of New York, on-site child care is offered throughout the SUNY system to

students, faculty, and staff. Fees are often determined by income based on a sliding scale. In comparison, Duke has partnered with Child Care Services Administration to provide financial investments to improve and expand early childcare services within the region to better serve faculty members. As of 2008 the partnership included 33 participating childcare centers. Similarly, Rutgers provides on-site child care and also contracts with other providers within close proximity to the campuses to provide employee discounts.

## Barrier of Organizational Culture

The organizational environment is critical to understanding the availability and use of family-friendly policies. It is apparent that more universities could begin the process of developing formal policies for a tenure clock stop. However, it is disheartening to consider the reluctance of faculty members to use the tenure clock stop when it is available at their college or university. Fothergill and Felty (2003) found that most academic mothers (87%) did not request parental leave or reduced teaching loads and less than 10% requested to stop the tenure clock. Similarly, 51% of female faculty who responded to a University of California work-life balance survey were reluctant to use active service-modified duties for fear of negative tenure and promotion decisions (Frasch et al., 2007). Yoest and Rhoads (2004) demonstrate the connection between the utilization of family-friendly policies and perception of departmental support: "Among women who report that their department is 'very supportive' of pro-family policies, 27 women took leave (84%) and only 5 did not. Conversely, when women report that their department is somewhat supportive, the utilization rate drops to 57%" (p. 18).

Organizational culture, perceptions, and stereotypes can reinforce bias avoidance behavior (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004) and have a chilling effect on formal tenure clock stop policies. Some women may be concerned about reprimand at tenure time and fear that a few tenured professors will hold them to a higher standard due to the perception that the new mothers had more time, rather than less, to conduct research. Others fear the perception among colleagues of not carrying their weight within the department when they use the tenure clock stop or active service-modified duties. Many new mothers also fear they will be perceived as less capable if they take advantage of policies designed to assist new parents. Academic mothers have reported concerns that an absence of the public performance of work at the office might create the impression among colleagues that they are less dedicated to the job (Aubrey et al., 2008). Many female faculty members have noted the difference in perception among their colleagues when working from home before having children compared with working from home after having a child, or in comparison with male faculty members (Allison, 2007; Fothergill & Felty, 2003). When faculty mothers stay home there is often an assumption that she is caring for and/or playing with her child rather than working on research or engaging in work-related activities.

In addition, junior faculty members receive cues or memorable messages from conversations with senior faculty members (Sotirin, 2008). For example, Aubrey and colleagues

(2008) illustrate the story of a full professor who commented that his wife had a child during spring break and did not miss one class that semester. Although the comment itself was intended to brag on his wife, it also implied that junior faculty members who were committed to their careers would do the same. Traditionally male departments such as business, science, and engineering have also been described as less receptive to family-friendly policies (Sullivan et al., 2004, p. 27). Bias avoidance is also reinforced among academic mothers when they witness negative tenure decisions of other women who have used family-friendly policies. For example, Beth Kern “was given an extra year on the tenure clock but was not told that the university expected an extra year’s worth of publications, an expectation that runs counter to the spirit of the policy” (American Association of University Women, 2004, p. 28). Similarly, tenure was denied for a female faculty member at the University of Oregon. A settlement of \$495,000 was paid out when it was discovered that the provost referred to her tenure clock stop as a red flag and issued a memo that stated her duties as a mother were incompatible with her duties as a professor (Williams, 2004). In another case, Laurie Anne Freeman was originally denied tenure at the University of California at Santa Barbara. Freeman had given birth twice while on the tenure track and had used the family-friendly policies that were available. She received excellent reviews until she had taken leave. After filing a sex discrimination complaint with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission and demonstrating that she had been a productive scholar, even in comparison with colleagues who had not taken leave, Freeman won the appeals process and was granted tenure.

## Recommendations

Several factors should be considered to establish an organizational culture within academia that is conducive to work–life balance. Universities that lack family-friendly initiatives should begin the process of developing formal policies. Committees could be formed to examine similar or aspiring institutions. Gaining support through informal networks is essential before introducing a proposed policy. It is also important to understand that no policy proposal is perfect, particularly the first draft. Untener (2008) indicates that one reason many universities fail to establish formal family-friendly policies on parental leave and tenure clock stop is the debate over shortcomings of the proposals during the formal approval process. Rather than allowing a proposal to fail due to limitations, he recommends accepting the fact that an imperfect policy is better than no policy. To garner broader support the policy should include a timeframe to revisit and improve the policy. Universities that have established formal family-friendly policies should also assess the extent to which they are being utilized.

## Support From Leadership

Department chairs, deans, and provosts also represent leadership roles within universities that influence perceptions of support. Although they cannot single-handedly change the



culture of an organization, they can have a significant impact on it. Most tenure clock stops require approval from chairs, deans, and provosts. Department chairs in particular can serve as either advocates or obstacles to helping faculty members achieve work-life balance. Transparency in the process and fairness in application are critical. Department chairs have a duty to communicate and educate faculty members within their department about existing family-friendly policies. They also have the responsibility of applying those policies in a fair manner.

## Support From Colleagues

More seasoned members of the department might harbor resentment because such policies did not exist when they experienced competing demands of work and newborns or newly adopted children. One might remind them that tenure standards have also become more stringent at many colleges and universities over the past few decades. Newly tenured faculty members who have used the tenure clock stop could serve as role models for junior faculty members who are unaware, unsure, or afraid.

## Automatic Tenure Clock Stop

Although a one-size-fits all approach toward work-life balance is not desirable across colleges and universities, some degree of uniformity is needed at the organizational level. Leave and tenure clock stops granted on a case-by-case basis behind closed doors can result in arbitrary and capricious decisions. Variations across departments may negatively impact perceptions of organizational support and organizational justice and could expose the college or university to lawsuits. Although many universities are moving in the positive direction of developing and implementing family-friendly policies, many still require approval from the chair, dean, and provost on a case-by-case basis.

What is less transparent is the number of decisions that are approved and denied. In essence, a policy may exist on paper that is rarely implemented in practice, even when requested by a faculty member. Institutions that have not already begun doing so should start keeping records of both affirmative and negative decisions related to leave, modified duties, and tenure clock stop. A better alternative is to provide an automatic tenure clock stop upon the birth or adoption of a child with the provision of a waiver for an earlier review if requested by the faculty member. In addition, the tenure clock stop policy should include language to reinforce the position that faculty members who use such policies should not be subjected to heightened scrutiny or standards that would otherwise not been applied had they not invoked the tenure clock stop.

## Greater Flexibility

The American Council on Education, Office of Women in Higher Education (2005) recommends providing the option of longer probationary periods up to 10 years for faculty who experience unanticipated circumstances that might negatively impact productivity.



The council also recommends providing tenured and tenure-track faculty the option of reverting to part-time positions for short durations as needs may arise throughout one's career. Flexibility in the probationary timeframe also provides evidence of institutional support for those in need.

## Conclusion

Public agencies and universities alike may be categorized as gendered organizations. Traditional personnel policies that fail to take into account the competing demands of work and family perpetuate structural inequality in the workplace. In recent years, many universities have promoted work-life balance through a variety of initiatives, including paid parental leave, tenure clock stops, modified duties, and childcare. Although formal family-friendly policies may exist, the utilization of those policies often depends on the culture of the organization. Because faculty members take their cues from department chairs and colleagues, support from those individuals is necessary to facilitate a true environment of work-life balance. University administrations can also reinforce support through automatic tenure clock stops and greater flexibility in the probationary timeframe. Ultimately, it is a matter of being proactive rather than reactive. Given the increasing numbers of female students enrolled in graduate programs, universities will eventually find it necessary to develop family-friendly policies to remain competitive in recruiting and retaining top faculty. In the future it is hoped that these practices expand the concept of care beyond individual interest to public interest.

## Discussion Questions

1. Describe how your own organization might be considered a gendered organization.
2. Look up your university's family leave policy (often available in the faculty handbook available online). Does the policy provide parental leave beyond FMLA? Is the leave paid or unpaid? Is there a policy on active service-modified duties?
3. From an organizational perspective, what are the advantages and disadvantages of providing paid leave or extended leave beyond FMLA?
4. Discuss the differences between parental leave and tenure clock stops.
5. Tenure clock stops are often extended to fathers as well as mothers after the birth or adoption of a child. Discuss the arguments that may be used to support or oppose tenure clock stops for mothers. Do those same arguments apply to fathers?
6. Does your university offer on-site child care for the children of faculty and staff? If so, what are the costs to faculty and staff members? How long is the waiting list? If not, does your university offer any type of childcare assistance (e.g., subsidies or reduced costs through referrals)?

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## Chapter 5

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# Research Productivity and Career Trajectories of Women in Public Administration

Meghna Sabharwal<sup>a</sup>

### Key Terms

Career trajectory

Carnegie classification

Peer review

Productivity

Women faculty

### Introduction

This chapter focuses on issues of productivity and leadership in academia from a gendered perspective. The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which was amended in 1972 by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, helped to increase the number of women in all ranks of the public sector workforce (Guy, 1993). Though federal, state, and local governments have witnessed a steady rise in the number of women, studies have documented the barriers confronted by this group (Bowling, Kelleher, Jones, & Wright, 2006; Cayer & Sigelman, 1980; Miller, Kerr, & Reid, 1999; Newman, 1994; Reid, Kerr, & Miller, 2003; Riccucci & Saidel, 1997; Selden & Selden, 2001). Several of these authors contend that women are often over-represented in low-paying jobs, are slow to rise to management positions, and thus do not have the capacity to influence policy. However, much attention has been paid to studying the gender gap that exists in federal, state, and local agencies; academia as a profession is considered to be problem free and thus lacking in studies that examine issues of productivity and leadership from a gendered perspective.

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<sup>a</sup>The use of National Science Foundation data does not imply National Science Foundation endorsement of the research methods or conclusions contained in this report.



An understanding of these issues is not only important to the growth of the discipline, but is also of significance to graduate students who wish to pursue academic careers. According to Austin (2002, p. 96), “an individual’s understanding of the faculty career begins with the graduate school experience or even earlier, not with the first faculty position.” This study of career trajectories and productivity by gender provides the students of public administration with a brief look into the lives of faculty members in the discipline.

Women faculty members in academic settings are confronted with issues of glass ceiling, lower productivity, pay disparities, work–life balance, caregiving responsibility, and lack of mentoring. However, these challenges are not unique to women in academia and are well documented among female employees working in local, state, and federal government. The remainder of this chapter thus focuses on assessing the progress made by women faculty members in public administration programs, furthering the discussion about issues of gender from an academic standpoint.

## Faculty Research Productivity

The most commonly used way of examining success in public administration (PA)/public policy (PP) programs is by analyzing the research productivity patterns of faculty members (Farber, Powers, & Thompson, 1984; Forrester, 1996; Kellough & Pitts, 2005; Rodgers & Rodgers, 2000). The importance of research productivity in PA was emphasized by Frederick Mosher in 1956. Mosher (1956, p.169) wrote, “It is one of the marks of a profession that its members consciously work toward the advancement of knowledge in their field. Where the profession is organized, one of the purposes of its association in virtually all cases is to promote and facilitate research.” Faculty members are clearly the most important vehicle in conducting and disseminating research; they also hold the reputation of the department and the institution in their hands.

Productivity is generally thought of as the production of some output. Early studies of productivity focused on measuring labor productivity in industrial settings (Chandrasekhar, 1973; Littauer, 1955; Shockley, 1957). The concentration of these studies was on improving the technical processes and the management practices of the industry that would result in profitable outcomes. Very few scholars were looking at academic productivity and ways of measuring it. Robert K. Merton (1957, 1968) was among the first scholars who studied productivity in science as a product of the social stratification process. It was not until the late 1970s and 1980s that PA/PP scholars started channeling their efforts toward studying academic research productivity.

In PA/PP programs scholarly productivity was used as a measure to assess reputation and institutional success (Douglas, 1996; Farber et al., 1984; Forrester, 1996; Kellough & Pitts, 2005; Legge & Devore, 1987; Morgan, Meier, Kearney, Hays, & Birch, 1981). In all of these studies faculty productivity was measured by using publication counts of authors in top PA journals.<sup>1</sup> The most frequently used measure to assess productivity among faculty members is the number of journal articles produced. Despite the debate on what

constitutes faculty productivity, there is strong consensus among PA scholars on using the number of peer-reviewed journal articles as a tool for evaluating academic performance and institutional prestige (Douglas, 1996; Legge & Devore, 1987; Morgan et al., 1981; Wright, Manigault, & Black, 2004).

Researchers argue that journal articles are not the only tool for assessing faculty productivity, especially in PA where books/monographs and policy reports play a significant role. Books and monographs are not often used as a measure of faculty productivity because of the difficulty in collecting data on the number of books published by individual authors. Also, every discipline views books differently when making tenure and promotion decisions. In PA and PP programs, scholars like Douglas (1996) and Morgan et al. (1981) have acknowledged the use of books and government reports as an important product of academic accomplishment. In addition, presenting at conferences is an important means of advancing research, disseminating ideas, and building networks, particularly for women, who have not achieved parity with men in the number of publications produced (Rubin, 1990, 2000; Slack, Myers, Nelson, & Sirk, 1996).

This study thus recognizes the importance of using journal articles, books, monographs, and conference presentations as a measure of assessing faculty productivity. Using self-reported publication count data of PA and PP scholars, this chapter analyzes the research productivity of these faculty members by gender. Research productivity is measured by the number of peer-reviewed articles authored/coauthored by individual scholars along with the books or monographs published or accepted for publication and presentations made at conferences during a span of 5 years (October 1998 to October 2003) for which data are available.

## Women Academics in PA and PP

Studying productivity and leadership by gender is important because it serves as a key factor for faculty members in establishing reputation and visibility in the academic community. Generally, previous studies on gender have focused on assessing the productivity of faculty members in science and engineering (Cole & Zuckerman, 1984; Long, 1992; Xie & Shauman, 1998). Thus, there is a need for the field of PA and PP to examine these issues by gender.

Despite the rising numbers of women faculty in PA programs throughout the nation, very few studies have analyzed the advances made by these faculty members at universities and colleges (Rubin, 1990, 2000; Slack et al., 1996). There is general consensus among PA scholars that women have not reached parity with men in rates of scholarship and income (Rubin, 2000; Slack et al., 1996), although research has indicated that women have higher acceptance rates than men in *Public Administration Review* (Kellough & Pitts, 2005). Women's representation in professional organizations like the American Society of Public Administration (ASPA) has also increased over the years, from 19% in 1976 to 39% in 1998 (Rubin, 2000). Rubin (2000) also reported that the gender gap is closing: The numbers of

women faculty members that presented their work at the ASPA conference rose from 33% in 1990 to 39% in 1999. However, the author points out that the field is far from reaching parity in the rates of research productivity by gender. The author reported that women authored or coauthored close to 30% of articles in the top PA journal *Public Administration Review*.

Researchers have cited several reasons that contribute to the lower research productivity of female faculty members. Although most research has examined these issues for faculty in science and engineering, PA scholars recognize that women in PA/PP confront similar problems faced by women across disciplines. Among the many challenges confronted by women in academia, lower representation of women in associate or full professor position has led to a dearth of senior women faculty members in mentorship roles (Hale, 1999; Slack et al., 1996). The lower representation of women in senior positions is a phenomenon witnessed in both academia and the government workforce (Fox & Schuhmann, 2001; Reid, Miller, & Kerr, 2004; Selden & Selden, 2001; Slack et al., 1996). Part of the problem in both sectors is that women entered the pipeline much later than men; great efforts were made in the 1970s to include women in faculty and administrative positions in academia (Chamberlain, 1991). In addition, women faculty are likely to spend greater time in teaching and service activities than men, taking time away from research and causing lower publication productivity (Carr & Ash, 1998). Caregiving activities and childbearing and child rearing responsibilities also have been shown to lower productivity among women faculty members (Stack, 2004).

Another way of assessing how the field is progressing is by examining the key leadership positions women hold in PA programs in 4-year universities across the country. Though several studies have examined leadership in the public sector, private firms, and communities, there is a need to study leadership roles that women hold in academia. Thus far, Rubin's (1990, 2000) research is the only study that has examined the leadership positions held by women in ASPA chapters. Clearly, there is a need to examine how women in PA are advancing to key administrative positions of dean, chair, and department head. This chapter presents findings on the status of women in these positions. In addition, the research in this chapter uses indicators such as rank, tenure, salary, and Carnegie classification<sup>2</sup> of the employer, all indicators of faculty advancement in public universities and colleges. Past studies across various disciplines have found women faculty employed at 4-year institutions less likely than men to get tenured (Perna, 2001; Toutkoushian, 1999) and far less likely to be present in high-ranking positions (Bellas & Toutkoushian, 1999; Menges & Exum, 1983; Rubin, 2000). The next section presents results that focus on demographics, institutional characteristics, and research productivity by gender.

## Data and Findings

Data for this chapter are taken from the 2003 Survey of Doctorate Recipients,<sup>3</sup> which is funded by the National Science Foundation and the National Institutes of Health. This

data set was chosen because it is highly recommended for data sampling and is a nationally conducted survey. The sample consists of doctorate recipients with highest degrees in PA or PP. Individuals in the dataset are full-time academics working at a 4-year college or university. After filtering the data to include academics with PhD degrees in PA or PP and employed at a 4-year institutions in the United States, the sample resulted in a total of 67 (unweighted) and 1,275 (weighted). Analyses presented here are on weighted data<sup>4</sup> unless specified. Individuals with a doctoral degree in public health were excluded because several of these faculty members have medical degrees resulting in divergent career trajectories, publication norms, and salary structures.

## Overview of Personal and Work Characteristics of Faculty by Gender

Overall, the unweighted data consists of 50.7% male and 49.3% female faculty members, with most of the sample (74.6%) aged between 36 and 54 years. White, non-Hispanics constitute close to three-fifths (60.6%) of the group, whereas Asians constitute 10.6%. Blacks comprise 22.7%—the highest among the ethnic/racial groups. Hispanics are under-represented at 6.1% when compared with the national census numbers, which are at about 15%. The faculty members are distributed across different types of institutions, with 35.8% employed by a Carnegie Research I or II institution, 25.4% in comprehensive I/II institutions, 13.4% in both Doctoral I/II and other specialized institutions, and 11.9% in Liberal Arts I/II universities. Most respondents were assistant professors (35.8%), followed by associate professors at 22.4% and full professors at 19.4% of the sample. About 9.0% of the respondents were in more temporary academic positions such as instructor/adjunct positions. The remaining 13.4% of the respondents were employed in positions in which rank was not applicable. About 65.7% of the respondents were either tenured or in tenure track positions; tenure was not applicable to about one-fourth of the respondents.

Table 5-1 further analyzes the data by gender and presents a detailed analysis for the previously mentioned variables by using weighted data. As seen from Table 5-1, women PA and PP faculty members are more diverse as compared with male faculty. Women faculty members also were more likely to be younger, with 13.4% aged between 25 and 34 years as compared with male faculty (6.3%). Younger women faculty members also indicate entering the pipeline much later than male faculty. The sample consists of 13.4% of the female respondents who are not married, whereas only 3.9% of male faculty members are single, most likely because a much higher percentage of women faculty members are younger than male faculty members.

Interestingly, women faculty members were more likely to work at research universities (48.1%) when compared with male faculty (23.2%). This result is different from faculty in science and engineering, where female faculty members are more likely to be employed at nonresearch I/II universities (Fassinger, Scantlebury, & Richmond, 2004; Long & Fox, 1995). Table 5-1 also shows that women faculty members were more likely (29.8%) than male faculty (15.9%) to report research and development as their primary work activity.

**TABLE 5-1. Demographic and Work Characteristics for Public Administration and Public Policy Faculty Members by Gender**

Personal characteristics	Female (n = 507, 39.8%)		Male (n = 768, 60.2%)	
	Total n	%	Total n	%
Race/Ethnicity				
Asian, non-Hispanic	32	6.4	39	5.1
Black, non-Hispanic	106	21.1	81	10.5
Hispanic all races	14	2.8	13	1.7
White, non-Hispanic	350	69.7	635	82.7
Age group				
25–34	68	13.4	48	6.3
35–44	367	72.4	598	77.9
45–54	72	14.2	122	15.9
55 and older				
Marital status				
Married/living in a married-like relationship	399	78.7	674	87.8
Never married	68	13.4	30	3.9
Divorced and separated	40	7.9	54	7.0
Widowed	—	—	10	1.3
Carnegie Classification of Employer				
Research I/II	244	48.1	178	23.2
Doctoral I/II	26	5.1	194	25.3
Comprehensive I/II	113	22.3	214	27.9
Liberal Arts I/II	36	7.1	93	12.1
Other	88	17.4	89	11.6
Primary work activity				
Research and development	151	29.8	122	15.9
Teaching	246	48.6	432	56.3
Management and administration	91	18.0	146	19.0
Other	18	3.6	68	8.9
Received Governmental Support	152	26.9	56	7.3
Leadership role				
In supervisory role	238	33.7	468	66.3
In Dean/academic chair positions	73	27.9	189	72.1
Average annual salary	507	65,458	768	75,642

All differences across female and male faculty members significant at 0.001 level for weighted values (using  $\chi^2$ -test).



These results are also contrary to what has been reported in science and engineering disciplines where male faculty members are more likely to report research as their primary work activity. Additionally, a lower percentage of women report teaching as their primary work activity (48.6%) compared with male faculty members (56.3%). These results also are contrary to what has been reported in other science and engineering disciplines, but not so in the context of this study, given that a greater proportion of women faculty report being employed at research universities where the teaching loads are reduced and there is much greater emphasis on research-related activities.

However, male faculty members are twice as likely to report being in a supervisory role than female PA and PP faculty. Similarly, male respondents are almost 1.5 times more likely to be in leadership positions of deans and academic chairs. Male faculty members, on average, are likely to be compensated approximately \$10,000 more than their female counterparts, a finding confirmed by Slack and colleagues (1996), who reported income disparities by gender among PA scholars. The variation in salary can also be attributed to rank and tenure differences. Table 5-2 presents the differences in faculty rank by gender. The results demonstrate that female faculty members are twice as likely as male faculty to be in assistant professor positions, which reinforces the previous finding that women are a much younger cohort. A greater proportion of women faculty in assistant professor positions might also be indicative of the hiring practices followed by universities; there is now perhaps a greater push in PA/PP programs to hire women in tenure track positions. Fewer women in senior ranks might also be indicative of the glass ceiling that persists in academia (Slack et al., 1996).

Given that women PA and PP faculty members are more likely to be in junior positions, it can be expected that these faculty members were less likely to be tenured. Figure 5-1 shows the differences in tenure by gender. The graph suggests that close to half of the male faculty members were tenured (48.5%), whereas only 20.5% of female faculty members report to be tenured. Interestingly, a much higher percentage of women are on tenure track positions (40.2%). A much greater proportion (15.4%) of women faculty members also were present in non-tenure track positions as compared with male faculty (3.3%); several PA and PP programs are practitioner based, and nontenure positions are not uncommon. Several researchers have argued that women faculty are stuck in low-ranking positions and are unable to climb the academic ladder because of human capital differences and institutional barriers (Menges & Exum, 1983; Sonnert, 1995). This finding might also suggest that women choose to be in nontenure positions because of the additional family obligations they shoulder. Despite the finding that women faculty members in PA/PP are present in lower numbers in senior ranks, it is not clear whether this is due to certain barriers confronted by women, or the fact that these faculty members have entered academia much later than men, or a combination of both. This issue should be explored in future studies with the use of longitudinal data or interviews.

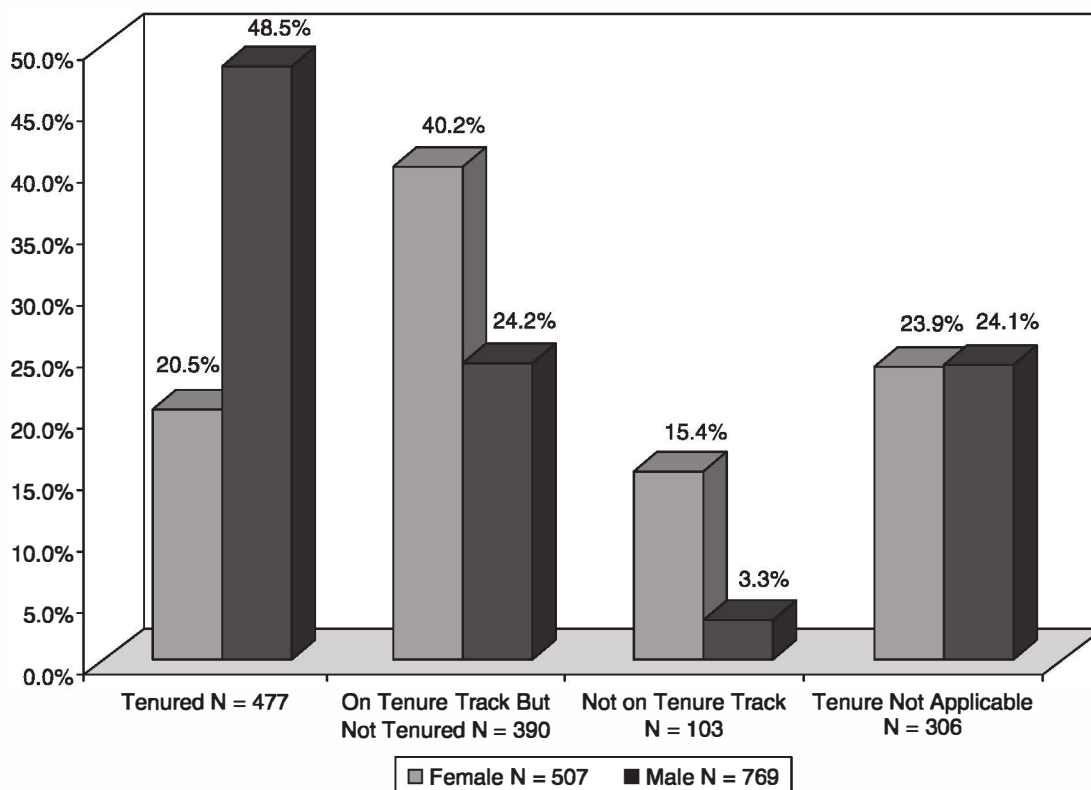
Researchers in different disciplines have reported that the chances of women attaining full professorship at any given age are lower than men (Hargens & Long, 2002; Long,



**TABLE 5-2. Faculty Rank for Public Administration and Public Policy Faculty Members by Gender**

Faculty Rank	Female (n = 507, 39.8%)		Male (n = 768, 60.2%)	
	Total n	%	Total n	%
Full professor	99	19.5	187	24.3
Associate professor	71	14.0	241	31.4
Assistant professor	241	47.5	187	24.3
Instructor/adjunct	75	14.8	52	6.8
Rank not applicable	21	4.1	101	13.2

All differences across female and male faculty members significant at 0.001 level for weighted values (using  $\chi^2$ -test).



**Figure 5-1.** Faculty tenure status for public administration and policy faculty members by gender. Note: All differences across female and male faculty members significant at 0.001 level for weighted values (using  $\chi^2$ -test).

Allison, & McGinnis, 1993; Sonnert, 1995; Toutkoushian, 1999). Hargens and Long (2002) explained the slower growth of women in higher levels in academe by “demographic inertia.” This study similarly argues that, though women faculty in PA/PP are less represented in higher levels of academe, the difference might not be due solely to discriminatory hiring/promotion practices among men and women, but a result of the difference in the initial age, sex composition, and number of faculty members available in the recruiting pool.

### Scholarly Productivity by Gender

Productivity is an important outcome measure of any public or private organization and is also regarded as a vital evaluation tool in academia to assess the potential for faculty promotion and tenure. In this study productivity is defined as the number of peer-reviewed journal articles, books, and conference presentations by faculty members from 1998 to 2003. The survey does not identify the journals in which the authors publish; using these data in fact accounts for peer-reviewed articles published in disciplinary and nondisciplinary journals.<sup>5</sup> Table 5-3 presents *t*-tests conducted to assess productivity differences between male and female faculty members.

The results presented in Table 5-3 demonstrate that no significant difference is observed between male and female faculty in the number of peer-reviewed articles published during a span of 5 years (October 1998–October 2003). However, significant differences are seen in the number of books, conference papers presented nationally or internationally, and the number of grants received across male and female faculty members. Male faculty members on average produced 0.43 more books and almost 1 more conference paper than female faculty. This finding is different from the research reported by previous researchers (Rubin, 1990, 2000; Slack et al., 1996), who found male PA faculty to publish more journal articles than female scholars. The results of this study show that women are on equal footing with male faculty in PA and PP when it comes to publishing in peer-reviewed journals. The results confirm the findings of Kellough and Pitts (2005), who reported that women faculty had a higher acceptance in the premier PA journal *Public Administration Review* as compared with male faculty (41% vs. 31%). This is clearly an indication of progress made by women faculty in advancing scholarship in the discipline. The results are very different from studies conducted in science and engineering disciplines where women faculty members have been shown repeatedly to have lower publication productivity (Cole & Zuckerman, 1984; Sonnert, 1995; Stack, 2004).

### Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to expand the discussion of gender in PA to include women in academic settings. Parallels can be drawn when examining issues that are faced by women across various sectors of the public service (local, state, federal, and institutions

**TABLE 5-3. Research Productivity for Public Administration and Policy Faculty Members by Gender**

Research Productivity (Between 1998 and 2003)	Mean for Female ( <i>n</i> = 507, 39.8%)	Significance	Mean for Male ( <i>n</i> = 768, 60.2%)
Number of articles published or accepted for publication in a peer-reviewed journal	2.80	Not significant	3.16
Number of books or monographs published or accepted for publication	0.56	$p < 0.001$	0.99
Number of papers presented at a regional, national, or international conference	6.39	$p < 0.05$	7.33

of higher education). Despite being employed at higher rates in research universities and producing at rates similar to their male counterparts, women faculty members in PA are less likely to climb the academic ladder, receive tenure, and rise to leadership positions. Women faculty members also fall behind their male counterparts in the compensation they receive. This could be partially due to the higher numbers of women faculty in assistant professor positions. Future research should analyze the wage and productivity gap by controlling for various personal and institutional characteristics. These results are interesting given that women across various sectors of the government confront similar issues. It appears that the challenges confronted by women across all sectors of the government are similar; the landscape has not altered much since Guy (1993) suggested that despite moving “three steps forward” women have moved “two steps backward.” This study demonstrates that the reality faced by women in academic settings is not too far from the state of affairs described by Guy more than a decade ago.

This study also found women faculty members to publish significantly fewer books and present at fewer conferences as compared with male respondents. Increased institutional and financial support in the form of start-up monies or travel funding would benefit women faculty who traditionally are less likely to negotiate for such means of support during the hiring process. However, the finding that women faculty publish fewer books is not surprising given that close to half are on tenure track and in assistant professor positions—a time in a faculty member’s career when publishing journal articles is more valued by individual departments than publishing a book.

With changing demographics and greater numbers of women entering the academic pipeline, it will be important to track the future of women academics in PA/PP programs. The numbers of women in senior positions (associate, full professors, dean/academic

chair) reported in this study are not very encouraging. Future research needs to determine the percentage of women faculty that advance from assistant to associate and to full professor positions. Discovering whether lower numbers of women faculty in high-ranking positions is a result of fewer faculty in the pipeline or a result of some sort of discrimination needs to be investigated further.

## Discussion Questions

1. Why is it important to study the scholarly productivity of PA and PP academics by gender?
2. Are journal articles, books, and conference presentations a good measure of scholarly productivity? What other measures should researchers consider in studies of research productivity in academia?
3. What factors contribute toward the lower representation of women academics in senior ranking positions, such as associate professors, full professors, chair, and dean of PA and PP programs?
4. Given the findings of the current study, what is the future of women in PA/PP programs across the nation?

## Notes

1. Morgan et al. (1981) analyzed faculty productivity by counting publications by authors in the following 10 PA/PP journals: *Administration and Society*, *Public Administration Review*, *Midwest Review of Public Administration*, *Southern Review of Public Administration*, *International Journal of Public Administration*, *The Bureaucrat*, *National Civic Review*, *Public Policy*, *Policy Analysis*, and *Policy Studies Journal*. Legge and Devore (1987) used the same journals as Morgan and colleagues, but added five more journals to the list: *Review of Public Administration*, *Public Budgeting and Finance*, *Administrative Science Quarterly*, *Urban Affairs*, and *Public Productivity Review*.
2. The 2003 Survey of Doctorate Recipients uses the 1994 Carnegie classification system, which classifies universities into the following categories: Research I/II, Doctoral I/II, Comprehensive I/II, Liberal Arts I/II, Two year colleges, and specialized institutions. For a detailed classification of the new Carnegie codes refer to the website <http://www.carnegiefoundation.org/classifications/index.asp>. The new classification includes: 1. Doctoral Granting Universities that further are classified into: RU/VH: Research Universities (very high research activity), RU/H: Research Universities (high research activity), and DRU: Doctoral/Research Universities; 2. Master's Colleges and Universities: Master's/L: Master's Colleges and Universities (larger programs) Master's/M: Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs), Master's/S: Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs); 3. Baccalaureate Colleges: Bac/A&S: Baccalaureate Colleges—Arts & Sciences, Bac/Diverse: Baccalaureate Colleges—Diverse Fields, Bac/Assoc: Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges; 4. Associate's Colleges: have 14 different subclassification of all colleges offering 2-year degrees; 5. Special Focus Institutions; and 6. Tribal colleges.
3. For further details on the Survey of Doctorate Recipients visit <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/srvydoctoratework/>

4. Weighting of the data was based on the responses obtained. "The first step of the weighting process calculated a base weight for all cases selected into the 2003 SDR sample. The base weight accounts for the sample design, and it is defined as the reciprocal of the probability of selection under the sample design. In the next step, an adjustment for non-response was performed on completed cases to account for the sample cases that did not complete the survey" (National Science Foundation, 2006, p. 154). For more details refer to <http://www.nsf.gov/statistics/nsf06320/appa.htm#weights>
5. Several authors in PA/PP have argued about the interdisciplinary nature of the discipline (Raadschelders, 1999; Rodgers & Rodgers, 2000; Ventriss, 1991). Rodgers and Rodgers (2000), using panel data to measure scholarly productivity of 91 assistant professors, found that PA faculty members are more likely to publish in non-PA journals.

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## Chapter 6

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# Family-Friendly Policies From Denmark: An International Perspective

Lotte Bøgh Andersen

### Key Terms

Family-friendly policies

Gender diversity

Individual performance

Organizational performance

### Introduction

This chapter discusses the relationship between gender diversity and organizational performance at Danish research institutions. Both men and women have played significant parts in the development of public administration, but their approaches have been different. Generally speaking, men have historically systematized processes, whereas women have humanized them (Guy, 1993; Stivers, 2000). Stivers (2000) argues that a masculine administrative proceduralism has dominated public administration to the exclusion of a more feminine focus on caring for others. Maybe for this reason, women were until recently poorly integrated in the top levels of administrative positions (Guy, 1993; Naff & Thomas, 1994). This has meant poor utilization of the differentness of women and men. Specifically, Guy (1993) argues that women should have a place on center stage in public administration due to their strengths in terms of mediating, facilitating, and consensus building. Bowling, Kelleher, Jones, and Wright (2006) suggest that women are becoming better integrated, and this chapter discusses the potential of this trend. Will more women (due to their relational skills) improve organizational performance in public administration?

Relational psychology argues that development requires interactions characterized by empathy (Fletcher, 1999). Relational practice includes both empowering others and creating and sustaining group life in the service of organizational goals (Fletcher, 1999). Team creation especially requires “an ability to respond empathetically to others and to understand the emotional context in which others operate” (Fletcher, 1999, p. 84). Miller argues that men are socialized to deny themselves relational skills and that they accordingly rely on women to be the carriers of these skills in society (cited in Fletcher, 1999). This makes

women better team players than men (Fletcher, 1999). Having women in an organization is therefore expected to contribute positively to organizational performance. Men do, however, also have specific strengths, such as their systemizing abilities (Stivers, 2000; Benbow & Stanley, 1980, 1983; Leahey & Guo, 2001). For many tasks this implies that an approximately equal division between men and women is optimal. Rather than claiming that more women are always better, the expectation is that *gender diversity* contributes positively to organizational performance.

It is important to differentiate between individual and organizational performance, because relational practices benefit the collective output rather than the individual output. Fletcher (1999) reminds us that relational practices tend to “disappear” at work, because they do not directly contribute to tangible output that can be linked unambiguously to one person. This chapter analyzes both individual and organizational performance, but the focus is on the collective level.

For two reasons the empirical case is not public administration in the United States. First, it is very difficult to measure performance in public administration validly. This points toward selecting a case that resembles public administration, but where individual and organizational performance can be measured. Second, the full potential of women in the United States is not tapped, due to lacking family-friendly policies. Naff and Thomas (1994) demonstrate that women in the federal bureaucracy face especially strong gender-based barriers if they have children during their careers; likewise, Guy (1993) finds that family obligations prevent women from being promoted to management. Family-friendly policies (such as good childcare facilities) may mitigate this, and to show the potential of women more fully, the association between gender and performance is investigated in a country with very family-friendly policies. This also allows us to discuss the pitfalls of very family-friendly policies. The investigated case is researchers in Denmark.

Accordingly, the specific research question is whether gender diversity at Danish research institutions affects organizational performance. This analysis forms the basis for discussing the gender dimension in public administration more broadly. The claim is that public administration needs both women and men and that it is also important to focus on performance measures that show the contribution of women in terms of relational practice.

The chapter first describes the empirical case (Danish researchers). A discussion follows of the theory concerning the effect of gender on individual performance and the effect of gender diversity on organizational performance. After a short section on data and methods, the empirical analysis is presented, and the chapter ends with a discussion of the implications and a conclusion.

## Danish Researchers and Research Institutions

Like the rest of the Nordic countries, Denmark is considered a pioneer of designing family-friendly policies. Since World War II, welfare services have expanded in Denmark and the labor force participation rate of women has increased. The most relevant policy

for female labor market participation concerns child care. In Denmark, municipalities pay two-thirds of the costs of day care, allowing for affordable day care of acceptable quality. It is totally free of charge for low-income parents and covers children aged between 6 months and 11 years. Daily opening hours are normally between 6:30 AM and 5 PM (for school children from end of school and until 5 PM). Most families typically use day care approximately 30 to 40 hours per week, depending on whether both parents work full-time (37 hours per week). In a comparative perspective, Denmark has very high quality (and affordable) child day care, which is considered to be an unambiguously family- (and female-) friendly policy. The second family-friendly policy is the 12 months of paid parental leave, which solves the immediate childcare challenge after birth.

Many female researchers in Denmark, unlike in many other countries, have children, and the family-friendly policies have probably played a role in increasing the number of female researchers. The growing number of women makes it possible to test the effect of gender diversity for Danish researchers. Research in Denmark has traditionally been male dominated (Verner, 2008), like public administration in the United States (Guy, 1993; Stivers, 2000).

There are, of course, drawbacks of investigating research instead of public administration, most importantly the different tasks. Still, public administration employees in Denmark have the same education as social science researchers, and all investigated organizations (universities and government research institutes) are public. Danish universities are state financed and do not charge tuition; research institutions have a career structure with PhD students, assistant professors, associate professors, and full professors. All Danish public research institutions with more than 12 employees are investigated, and the universities are disaggregated to the department level as organizational gender composition is most relevant at this level.

This chapter differentiates between individual and organizational performance, because the relational practices of women are expected to benefit the collective output rather than the individual output. Women may perform worse than men individually and still contribute positively to organizational performance. The investigated case illustrates this, because several studies have shown that the individual female scientist publishes less than the individual male scientist (Cole & Zuchkermann, 1984; Kyvik, 1990; Prpiû, 2002). Nevertheless, more women (higher gender diversity) may contribute positively to the organizational performance. The next two sections thus discuss individual and organizational performance.

## Gender and Individual Performance

The difference between men's and women's individual research productivity is called the "productivity puzzle" (Cole & Zuchkermann, 1984; Stack, 2004). There are at least three different relevant explanations of this puzzle, and they correspond closely to the discussion of women in public administration (Bowling, Kelleher, Jones, & Wright, 2006; Guy, 1993; Naff & Thomas, 1994). First, women may be discriminated against (Sonnert &

Holton, 1995). Second, because of different family structures and lacking societal support structures, for example, child care, women may have more difficult conditions for performing well (Sonnert & Holton, 1995; Xie and Shauman, 1998: 847). Third, men and women may have different abilities, leading to different performance.

These three explanations are not equally relevant for the investigated case. Because here we only investigate publications accepted after a blind peer review, women can hardly be discriminated against. Furthermore, lacking societal support structures are hardly a problem in Denmark, which has very family-friendly policies. If the productivity gap is only due to lack of societal support structures such as child care, men and women should perform equally well in a country like Denmark. This leaves the third explanation. Women may have other abilities than men (Sonnert & Holton, 1995), and these abilities may not be adequately appreciated or used in traditionally male-dominated sectors (Fletcher, 1999).

Neurological and psychological research indicates that men and women (on average) have different skills. Women are (on average) more empathic (Baron-Cohen, 2003; Eisenberg & Lennon, 1983) than men, who (on average) are more systematic (Baron-Cohen, Richler, Bisarya, Gurunathan, & Wheelwright, 2003; Benbow & Stanley, 1980, 1983; Leahey & Guo, 2001). These general findings correspond very well with the differences between men and women identified in the public administration literature (Guy, 1993; Stivers, 2000) and might also apply to researchers. It is, however, important to stress that the mentioned differences are general; many men have empathizing skills and many women have systemizing skills.

Empathizing skills are important for many types of jobs. Fletcher (1999) thus argues that the ability to respond empathetically and to understand the emotional context of others is important in team creation. Meier, Mastracci, and Wilson (2006) show that Texan schools with more female street-level bureaucrats have higher overall organizational performance measured as student test scores, prevention of dropouts, ACT scores, and college percentages compared with Texan schools with fewer females. Their explanation is that “women employ more emotional labor” (Meier et al., 2006, p. 900). Emotional labor is based on empathy and can be defined as “the projection of feelings and emotions needed to gain the cooperation of clients or co-workers, the ability to see another’s side of the issue and to integrate that perspective into what the organization does” (Meier et al., 2006, p. 899). This implies that emotional labor and empathizing skills are primarily relevant for organizational performance, whereas systemizing abilities are more relevant for individual performance, especially in a traditionally male-dominated organization where only tangible output counts.

## Gender Diversity and Organizational Performance

At the organizational level, empathizing skills are normally important, because team work is a central part of almost all modern organizations. It is therefore a problem if only male



competences are appreciated. The literature states that females may exhibit more “organizational citizen behavior” (Farrell & Finkelstein, 2007) defined as “individual behavior that is discretionary, not directly or explicitly recognized by the formal reward system, and that in the aggregate promotes the effective functioning of the organization” (Organ, 1988, p. 4). Even if men perform better individually, they may contribute less to collective performance. This indicates that the mix of men and women is important. The diversity literature is therefore very relevant.

Gender diversity can be defined as the collective mix of men and women in the organization (Thomas, 1995). It is one of several diversity traits investigated in the diversity literature. Studies of workplace diversity have become increasingly important in management research (Christian, Porter, & Moffitt, 2006; Ocon, 2006; Pelled, Eisenhardt, & Xin, 1999) and, to a lesser extent, in studies of the public sector (Meier et al., 2006).

The information/decision-making approach to diversity (Bell, 2006; Murrell & James, 2001; White & Rice, 2005) argues that diversity of personal characteristics such as ethnicity and gender improves performance by fostering diversity in information, abilities, or perspectives, because heterogeneity increases cognitive resources and problem-solving abilities (Webber & Donahue, 2001). The argument is that greater variability in skills, abilities, and perspectives expands the knowledge base for group members’ decision making. It stimulates employees to consider other options, facilitating more thoughtful processing of problems and novel ideas (Christian et al., 2006).

In contrast, the social categorization approach to diversity claims that diversity reduces performance because the level of conflict is increased. The argument is that group members use similarities and differences as a basis for categorizing into in-groups and out-groups and that diversity makes this categorization more problematic.

Neither diversity approach has gained strong empirical support (Dwyer, Richard, & Chadwick, 2003; Kochan et al., 2003; Lee & Farh, 2004; Webber & Donahue, 2001). The evidence on the effects of gender diversity is mixed, and most studies find very weak positive associations between performance and the degree of an equal mix of men and women (Dwyer et al., 2003; Kochan et al., 2003; Lee & Farh, 2004; Webber & Donahue, 2001). One interpretation of this finding is that the negative effects of diversity presumed by the social categorization approach outweigh the positive effects presumed by the information/decision-making approach. Another possibility is that the impact of diversity is contingent on the organizational task and that diversity only optimizes performance when both female and male skills are important (Pelled, 1996; Pelled et al., 1999). In line with this idea, the diversity literature increasingly includes task-related factors when analyzing the association between diversity and performance (for a meta-analysis, see Bower, Pharmer, & Salas, 2000).

Because it may be argued that research often involves cooperation as well as logical reasoning, both empathizing and systemizing skills are relevant to researchers. This indicates that organizational diversity might contribute positively to scientific knowledge production (Gibbons, Limoges, Nowotny, Schwartzman, & Trow, 1994). Research institu-



tions with high levels of organizational gender diversity (close to an equal mix of males and females) are accordingly expected to publish more scientific publications than those with less gender diversity. The same argument applies to public administration, but here the expectation is tested for Danish researchers.

## Data and Methods

Individual performance is investigated using register panel data between 2001 and 2007 on the number of published articles for each researcher working at five university departments within the same scientific field with almost the same gender composition and remuneration system. The Institute for Scientific Information (ISI) maintains a list of high quality scientific journals, and the number of articles in ISI-rated journals is used as an indicator of individual performance because this was the performance measure in all investigated institutions.

Age and career step were measured in a web-based survey in spring 2007. One hundred eighty-nine researchers received the questionnaire, and 133 researchers answered (response rate, 70.4). To ensure that the researchers were comparable, 32 respondents were excluded from the analysis because they were not assistant, associate, or full professor in 2000. Career step was measured by dummy variables for (1) persons who were assistant professors in 2000 and (2) persons who were full professors in 2006.

The analyses of these data, presented in the next section, are a series of random effect tobit regressions. Because gender does not change over time, fixed effects regressions cannot be used. Tobit panel regressions are used because many researchers did not publish at all in a given year. Number of publications is thus a left-censored variable that equals zero when  $y^* \leq 0$ . The observed sample consists of 495 left-censored and 308 uncensored observations. Maximum likelihood estimation of tobit regression assumes that the regression error is homoskedastic and normally distributed, and as the normality condition is questionable for the investigated sample, a tobit regression model with lognormal data (where the condition is satisfied) is also shown to increase robustness.

The investigation of organizational performance, where the units are research institutions, includes all Danish research institutions with valid data in 2005. To ensure the reliability of the data, very small institutions (less than 12 employees) are excluded. The clinical departments at Health Science Faculties are also excluded, because they are partly hospital and partly university institutions. This leaves 162 Danish research institutions (17 government research institutions and subunits of 10 universities).

The publication data come from the registers of the universities and research institutions. Publications include different types of output: articles in peer-reviewed journals, books, contributions to anthologies, dissertations, scientific reports, editorials, working papers and other conference contributions, patents, and scientific reviews. Prominent among these are articles in peer-reviewed journals, and there are separate analyses for: (1) all publications, (2) all journal articles, (3) international publications, and (4) interna-

tional journal articles. This ensures the results are robust. The analyses control statistically for scientific field in order to take different publication patterns into account.

The entropy-based index (Jehn, Northcraft, & Neale, 1999) is used to form an aggregate measure of gender diversity (using the simple proximity to 50% male and 50% females gives similar results) at the research institutions:  $\text{diversity} = \Sigma - P_i(\ln(P_i))$ , where  $P_i$  represents the proportion of each diversity characteristic (men and women). This measure logically goes from 0 (only one sex represented) to 0.6932 (50% of each sex). The average organizational percentage of women at the end of 2004 was 27% ( $n = 162$ ), which (on average) has increased by three percentage points since 2000. The results are similar if diversity is calculated as the simple deviation from a 50:50 mix of men and women.

## Results

This section analyzes whether gender diversity at Danish research institutions affects performance. Afterward, the results are discussed more broadly in relation to the gender dimension in public administration. The results concerning individual performance are presented first, followed by analyses of the associations between different operationalizations of the organizational gender and the output of publications.

**TABLE 6-1. Random Effect Tobit Regression Analyses of Individual Numbers of ISI Articles: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients (2001–2007)**

	Publications	LN Publications
Gender (0 = men, 1 = women)	–0.91	–0.20
Age	–0.15***	–0.04***
Full professor	2.53***	0.63***
Assistant professor	–1.58	–0.33
Year	0.28***	0.08***
Intercept	–550.8***	–165.8***
Wald chi-square	38.57***	46.11***
Sigma u	2.72***	0.71***
Sigma e	2.66***	0.64***

$n = 101$  individual researchers for 8 years (2000–2007).

\*\*\* $p < 0.001$ , \*\* $p < 0.01$ , \* $p < 0.05$ .

Table 6-1 shows tobit panel regressions of the number of articles in ISI-rated journals and the natural log of the number of articles in ISI-rated journals. It is possible to make this narrow operationalization of publications because the researchers work at departments where performance is explicitly defined only in terms of this type of article. Age and position have strong effects, but gender does not affect individual performance much in this context. Although the signs in Table 6-1 (fewer articles in ISI-rated journals for female researchers) point in the expected direction, there is no significant difference between male and female researchers. This might indicate that the family-friendly policies mitigate most of the gender differences identified in other contexts.

The implication of the diversity theory is that organizational diversity with regard to gender improves performance (increases the number of publications). This implies that research institutions with an equal mix of men and women should perform better than other research institutions. Bivariate analyses of association between the level of publications and the level of gender diversity are not valid due to the differences between the scientific fields. The cross-sectional analyses therefore control for this variable. As shown in Table 6-2, the gender diversity regression coefficient in ordinary least-square regressions of different measures of the number of publications is positive but statistically insignificant (regardless of the measure of publications used). Substantially, the maximal difference in diversity (from no gender diversity to 50% men and 50% women) is estimated to give a difference of between 0.31 and 0.84 publications per researcher, depending on the publication measure. This is between 14% and 31% of the average production per researcher. However, this is the difference between totally gender diverse organizations and organizations with only one sex. The gender diversity regression coefficient is consistently positive for all operationalizations of the dependent variable (publications per researcher), but it should be remembered that the association is not statistically significant. Still, the discrepancy between the consistently negative coefficients for women in terms of individual performance and the consistently positive effects of gender diversity on organizational performance is noteworthy in terms of the discussion about women in public administration.

The empirical case does, of course, have its limitations. The investigation of individual performance included relatively few women (89 men and 12 women), but had a significant gender gap existed, it would still have been exposed as the panel data included eight observations for almost all the researchers ( $n = 803$  observations), and factors such as scientific field could not interfere (as they were held constant by analyzing five very similar departments). However, further research of other types of work would contribute to a more robust test of the relationship between individual gender and performance. This would also increase the generalizability of the study. In terms of generalizability to public administration, it is highly institutionalized, like research, and both are produced in the public sector (private researchers were not included in the test). Although the job content differs between research and public administration, the present study is relevant for women in public administration because of the similarities in terms of ownership (public), education, and traditional male dominance.

**TABLE 6-2. Regression Analyses of Different Measures of Organizational Numbers of Publications per Researcher With PhD Degree: Unstandardized Regression Coefficients and Maximum Substantial Differences (2005)**

	Model 2-1 Journal Articles per Researcher	Model 2-2 Publications per Researcher	Model 2-3 International Journal Articles per Researcher	Model 2-4 International Publications per Researcher
Intercept	0.624	3.122	0.143	1.320
Scientific field:	0.207	0.026	0.224	0.354
social science				
Science/tech.	0.845***	0.119	1.214***	1.591***
Health science	1.492***	-0.340	2.343***	1.787***
Others	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.	Ref.
Degree of diversity	0.742	1.215	0.454	0.513
Adj. R <sup>2</sup>	0.20	0.0	0.54	0.21
n	161	161	106	105
Difference between no gender diversity and total gender diversity (no. of publications)	0.51	0.84	0.31	0.36
Difference between no gender diversity and total gender diversity (percentage of average)	31%	22%	26%	14%

\* $p < 0.1$ , \*\* $p < 0.05$ , \*\*\* $p < 0.01$ .

## Discussion

The most relevant issues raised by the case study for women in public administration are women's potential in terms of organizational performance and the role of family-friendly policies. The associations between gender and performance in the case study (negative for individual gender and positive for gender diversity) show the need to include organizational performance when discussing the potential of women in public adminis-

tration. Women's relative strengths (their relational competences) will otherwise be underestimated.

For public administration the implication is that relational practices should be taken more seriously. Analyses of gender and public administration often focus on the factors in organizations that are problematic for the progress of women, but this chapter implies that factors that inhibit women's progress in organizations are not only problematic for women, they are also problematic for organizational performance. Further theorizing the links between gender and different types of performance could lead to a new understanding of women's potential in public administration. It could mean a shift from equalizing the opportunities (e.g., childcare centers that offer evening and weekend hours; Fletcher, 1999) to a higher appreciation of women (e.g., of their informal relational activities). This should not, of course, lead to stereotypical perceptions of women; although women on average are better at empathizing and men on average are better at systemizing, most women in public administration are also perfectly capable of systemizing. The main argument is that both types of competences should be recognized in public administration.

The investigated case also indicates that family-friendly policies (especially childcare facilities) mitigate differences in performance. Keep in mind, however, that gender gaps in wages and career positions still exist, even in Denmark, despite very family-friendly policies. The still existing (and stagnating) gender wage gap indicates that employers do not value women as highly as men (at least not in terms of rewarding them monetarily), and the proportion of women at high career steps is still too low. These persistent gender gaps in Denmark call attention to the drawbacks of family-friendly policies. Formal policies are not enough to ensure that women can realize their labor market potential. Many career jobs still indirectly favor men; it is difficult for women to perform well due to evaluation criteria that only favor male abilities or that even discriminate against women. This again points toward the importance of including broader performance measures in the discussion of women's contribution to public administration.

In addition to being insufficient, family-friendly policies can also be harmful. Long parental leave can thus be argued to be female unfriendly at the collective level. The 12 months of paid parental leave are, of course, an advantage for the individual woman because it solves the immediate childcare challenge after birth. Collectively, it can be a disadvantage for working women for two reasons. First, it is harder for young women without children (or with only one child) to get good jobs. Second, the rules for parental leave mean lower wages for women, because employers expect them to be away for long periods. This is linked to the fact that parental leave is often almost purely a maternity leave. In Denmark, 14 weeks are reserved for the mother and only 2 weeks for the father. The division of the remaining weeks are up to the parents, but the difference between normal wage and parental leave pay is smaller for the mother than for the (on average) higher paid father. This leads to a long maternity leave, which can have a "boomerang" effect on women's labor market position. Generous parental leave schemes with long leave

periods can, if only used by mothers, harm women's position in the labor market. Swedish and Danish women have actually experienced a complete stagnation of the gender wage gap and considerable child penalties on wages after the introduction of such schemes (Gupta, Smith, & Verner, 2008).

The implication in relation to women in public administration in the United States is that it is important to be aware of the dilemma between short-sighted benefits for the individual woman and collective disadvantages. This is especially true for career women, because the extensive schemes contribute to a "system-based glass ceiling" hindering women's career progression (Gupta et al., 2008). In Denmark there is a significant vertical difference between men's and women's positions (Deding & Larsen, 2008), which also applies to public administration. For example, only 7 of the 98 chief executives in Danish local authorities are women, although the majority of the rank and file employees are women. In other words, formal family-/female-friendly policies are not enough and might even be harmful.

## Conclusion

Based on an analysis of the association between gender and performance at Danish research institutions, this chapter discussed the potential benefits (in terms of organizational performance) of better integrating women in public administration.

The analysis of the empirical case (Danish research institutions) shows that neither gender nor gender diversity has a significant effect on performance, measured as scientific publications. Still, although the effect of individual gender is consistently negative across the different specifications of individual performance, gender diversity has a consistently positive effect on organizational performance. These results could be due to random variation, but they might also reflect the fundamental difference that the existing literature on women in public administration expects to exist between men and women. Women have better emotional/relational/empathizing competences, meaning they are better able to understand others' experiences and perspectives (Fletcher, 1999). The opposite expectation for men is that they are better at systemizing. If both types of competences are important (which they most likely are in public administration), this implies that both men and women are important and that both competences should be appreciated.

The results concerning individual gender indicate that family-friendly policies overcome at least some of the problems related to the productivity puzzle. The Danish gender difference in the number of publications is smaller than in other investigated countries, and this may be due to the family-friendly policies in Denmark. Family-friendly policies may, in other words, help mitigate differences between men and women. Keep in mind, however, that although family-friendly policies benefit individual women, policies granting long maternity leave can be a collective disadvantage for women, because employers expect women to be less stable employees.



If it is correct that women's relational competences contribute uniquely to organizational performance, exclusion of women is not only problematic for women, it is problematic for society as well, because women could have contributed to higher organizational performance. In this light, the greatest implication for public administration is that both women and men are needed, and that it is also important to focus on organizational performance to show the contribution of women.

## Discussion Questions

1. How does this chapter operationalize individual and organizational performance when investigating Danish researchers, and is this a good operationalization?
2. How could we investigate the association between gender and performance for public administration?
3. How could future research investigate whether family-friendly policies mitigate gender differences in performance, wage, and career possibilities?

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## Chapter 7

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# (Un)intended Consequences of Family-Friendly Workplace Policies

Sharon Mastracci

### Key Terms

Caretaking

Family-friendly policies

Flexible work

Gender and work

Time use

### Introduction

In this chapter I argue that ostensibly family-friendly workplace policies can be anti-woman in practice. Flexible work schedules, on-site day care, and nonstandard work arrangements merely allow women to uphold traditional roles; they do not address deeply-embedded gendered processes that define the workplace. Such policies are family friendly in that they preserve the *status quo* division of labor and meet the needs of the household, but they do not address women's double burden, as Ginn and Sandell (1997, p. 416) observe: "the ideology of gender roles persists in the expectation that mothers (but not fathers) should limit their employment commitments to fit their family responsibilities." If women do not wish to limit their employment commitments, then they must do both: Family-friendly workplace policies "may also have the potential to underscore, if not reinforce, women's 'double duty' at work and at home. Women continue to be responsible for a disproportionate share of domestic duties at the same time that they are continuing to enter the workforce in increasing numbers" (Newman & Matthews, 1999, p. 35). Likewise, Whittock, Edwards, McLaren, and Robinson (2002, p. 306) observe: "Although their rhetoric is based around the non-gendered 'employee', 'worker', 'family' or 'parent' . . . it is principally women who continue to make use of so-called family-friendly practices, usually to accommodate caring and domestic commitments." Paraphrasing Karin Jurczyk (1998), family-friendly workplace policies change the woman, not the job.

But government is different, right? Meredith Newman and Kay Matthews (1999, p. 36) identified President Clinton's initiatives to institutionalize and expand work-life balance

programs throughout the Executive Branch as “an exemplary first step which employers across the country could take” to support employees’ efforts to manage competing demands for their time. Further, Newman and Matthews credit federal agencies for setting the precedent for flexible work options more than 30 years ago with passage of the Federal Employees Flexible and Compressed Work Schedule Act in 1978, which created “an array of highly flexible work schedules and in pioneering the use of leave sharing and leave banks” (Newman & Matthews, 1999, p. 36).

Maybe the situation for women working in federal agencies is different. In this chapter I examine time use data and compare the experiences of women in federal service with those in the private sector. Have federal agency initiatives reduced women’s house- and care-work burdens or do they fail to do so, thereby reinforcing gendered divisions of labor without challenging traditional assumptions about work? Dex and Joshi (1999, p. 642) ask, “Can women only obtain gender equality by behaving like men, replicating men’s long working hours and forming workaholic partnerships, to the detriment of family life?” Unless policies aim to transform gender roles within and beyond the workplace, “policy makers will continue to ‘modify the woman’ as opposed to ‘modifying the model’ ” (Whittock et al., 2002, p. 322).

Federal agencies are ranked annually as “best places to work” according to, in large part, family-friendly policies (Partnership for Public Service, 2009). Feminist scholars emphasize that organizations must address the presence of deeply embedded gender processes in the workplace and take steps to mitigate their oppressive effects on female workers before real work–life balance can hope to be achieved. As McCurdy, Newman, and Lovrich (2002, p. 45) assert, “beyond the ‘mommy track’ accommodations that may serve to reinforce gender role stereotypes . . . the flexibility explicit in flextime and flexplace may exacerbate women’s ‘double duty’ at work and at home.”

First, organizations must cultivate a culture that is perceived to support both male and female employees, even though it is understood that work–life programs are “for” women (Hegtvedt, Clay-Warner, & Ferrigno 2002). Whittcock et al. (2002, p. 305) observe “so-called family-friendly policies must target both sexes and that the underlying attitudes of men to childcare and the domestic division of labor must change before the sexes can compete on equal terms in the workplace.”

Second, organizations need to examine their criteria for evaluating job performance and norms defining appropriate workplace behavior. Workplace norms—its organizational logic—are oppressive to women, most notably in the assumption that the public and private realms are separate; “in organizational logic, filling the abstract job is a disembodied worker who exists only for the work. Such a hypothetical worker cannot have other imperatives of existence that impinge upon the job” (Acker 1990, 149). This is deeply gendered, because to be a good worker means to put in long hours and perhaps to travel, to adhere to work hour norms, and to accept the demand for “face time” (Bailyn 1993); to participate in networking functions outside of work; to avoid calling in sick “too often”



or taking “too much” vacation time; and to maintain standards of professionalism and objectivity, which are meant to discourage emotional expression (Guy, Newman, & Mastracci, 2008). As Joan Acker asserts, “The closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children” (1990, p. 149). Mary Guy (2002) puts a finer point on it: “the core of the problem is that women are not men” (p. 267).

Performance evaluations that penalize workers who do not meet traditional expectations with respect to long work hours, travel, participation in social activities after work, and use of sick time and vacation time assume the presence of domestic support and the primacy of work over home. What is more, aspects of performance evaluations that address work behavior penalize emotional expression and reward “objectivity” and “professionalism” built from a male model, which also devalues care work (Guy et al., 2008).

Third, organizations must address gendered oppression of organizational logic on several fronts to affect real change. Joan Acker acknowledges that her recommended changes are radical and dismantle hierarchies as we know them. She calls on organizational reformers to redefine the “rhythm and timing” of work (1990, p. 155), to value the complexity and importance of “care work,” to dismantle hierarchy and put management and decision-making power in the hands of workers, to distribute tasks equally to women and men, and, perhaps most importantly, to eliminate the fictive public-private dichotomy. Interestingly, several guidelines and programs initiated by the Office of Personnel Management (OPM) in the mid-2000s for federal agencies take on Acker’s challenge to upend traditional organizational logic. In short, “the concept of workplace ‘norms’ is really referring to male norms—policies, processes, and practices that reflect the lives and experiences of men and reinforce the legitimacy of masculinist workplace assumptions” (McCurdy et al., 2002, p. 48).

In the next section, I review scholars’ arguments that efforts to alter organizational logic have had no effect on women’s double burden because fundamental gendered processes are not addressed. Then, other scholars’ claims are considered: that the federal government workplace is different, due to OPM’s efforts to take on some of the gendered processes found lacking in family-friendly policies in general. Then I examine evidence from a nationwide time use survey and compare respondents working in private sector firms with those in federal government agencies, while accounting for a wide range of demographic and economic factors. Have efforts of federal agencies helped to reallocate household and care work between women and men, or have broader cultural changes been underway anyway? Are federal agencies unique in their initiatives to help their workers genuinely achieve balance between work and community responsibilities, or do they follow the same trends as are found in the private sector—for better or worse? Do flexible work arrangements, telecommuting, on-site childcare facilities, leave policies, and other such programs benefit families at the expense of women by failing to alter women’s time



spent on housework and caring functions? If such programs have affected women workers' time use, has the effect been substantial, or are they only mucking about at the margins (Lewis, 1997)?

## Mixed Evidence of the Efficacy of “Family-Friendly” Policies

Work-life balance policies are no panacea. Or are they? McCurdy et al. (2002) point out that “The assumption that the implementation of family-friendly workplace policies will benefit an agency, either directly through enhanced productivity or indirectly through a greater ability to recruit high-quality employees, improved retention, and/or greater job satisfaction among employees . . . is largely untested . . . the evaluative effort has not been undertaken” (p. 44). What scant evidence there is to evaluate the impact of such policies is mixed. Vicki Smith (1997) concludes that although alternative work arrangements may have dismantled traditional gendered organizational hierarchies, they have not (so far) resulted in egalitarian, democratic work processes with empowered workers. Core workers benefit from new, flexible forms of work, but those in non-mission-critical positions do not (Mastracci & Thompson, 2009). Moreover, the ones who suffer oppression under hierarchical organizational forms remain at the bottom in a newly flexibilized but precarious employment landscape.

Batt and Valcour's “paradoxical results” demonstrate the apparent effectiveness of some approaches but not others (2003, 215):

[The] use of technologies at home (faxes, e-mail, home computers, pagers) does afford people greater control in managing work and family demands, it is also disruptive of family life. This finding of the mixed blessings of technology is similar to what researchers have found with respect to telecommuting, which provides flexibility but also allows work to invade family space.

Similarly, Glass and Estes (1997, p. 289) find, “flextime policies increase employee productivity by decreasing absenteeism and turnover, and they positively influence family functioning . . . [but] on-site child care appears to have little effect.” The outcomes of policies intended to help women balance disparate demands on their time do not appear to be well understood. Benefits that one would expect to generate positive outcomes—for instance, on-site childcare facilities—might not, whereas others—such as telecommuting—might exacerbate work-family time conflicts. What is more, Noonan, Estes, and Glass (2007, 263) muddy these waters further: “mothers' policy use has counterbalancing effects on their own and their spouses' domestic labor time, implying that policy use has little net impact on total domestic labor time within dual-earner families.”

Why are the dynamics of workplace policies and time use poorly understood? McCurdy et al. (2002, p. 47) suggest that “Our findings also illuminate some of the ‘externalities’ of family-friendly workplace policies, including the failure to systematically evaluate both

processes and outcomes and the insufficient appreciation for the gender inequities inherent in a number of these programs.” In other words, McCurdy et al. (2002) conclude that not only have researchers failed to determine whether so-called family-friendly workplace policies achieve their goals, but that the policies as designed fail to take on Joan Acker’s challenge to affect radical change and truly deconstruct traditional gendered workplace regimes.

## Access Versus Uptake

Uncertainty with respect to the distance between access and uptake further complicates our understanding of the effects of programs to foster work-life balance. Some evidence disturbingly suggests that the impact of work-life programs depends on the individual implementing them. Employees—women—interested in taking advantage of, say, flexible schedules or telecommuting must do so apologetically, perpetually in a subordinate position. As Blair-Loy and Wharton observe (2002, p. 838), “employees are more likely to use these policies if they work with powerful supervisors and colleagues, who can buffer them from . . . the real or perceived threats that using work-family policies pose to their career advancement.” One’s *perception* of the ability to take advantage of family-friendly workplace policies is more important than the presence or absence of written, formalized guidelines (Eaton, 2003). Newman and Matthews (1999) note that the gap between eligibility and takeup in federal agencies may well reflect the gap between symbol and substance in work-life balance policies. If policies are in place but organizational norms discourage use, there may as well be no policy at all.

Worse still, the evidence may indicate that they are used by managers to extract compromises on other fronts. Kelly & Kalev argue (2006, p. 379 [emphasis added]) as follows:

Most organizations have formalized [flexible work arrangements] with written policies, but these policies institutionalize *managerial discretion* rather than creating outright rights for employees. Even when organizations write a formal written policy, [they] are managed as negotiated perks available to valued workers *if* and *when* managers choose to allow them, [which] explains the low utilization and unequal access found in previous studies.

So what should be available to all employees becomes a favor granted by management in return for other concessions, which would have a chilling effect on program uptake. To wit, McCurdy et al. (2002, p. 47) conclude as follows: “Women are in a Catch-22 situation—if they take advantage of these policies, they run the risk of being perceived as less committed, less willing to make the necessary sacrifices for career advancement; if they do not take advantage of these same policies, they struggle with balance issues—[it’s] a zero-sum game.” Likewise, Anderson, Coffey, and Byerly (2002, p. 805) find that “employ-

ees need to know that managers support them in their efforts to balance work and family responsibilities. They must also believe that, when they take advantage of alternative work arrangements, their career advancement opportunities are not jeopardized.” Women in federal service are concerned about their career advancement, based on the levels of education in which they have invested. On average (variable means can be found in Appendix 7-A), women in federal employment are much more likely to have at least some postsecondary education compared with women working in the private sector (39.7% vs. 28.4%, respectively) or a 4-year degree (16.8% vs. 14.7%, respectively) and almost twice as likely to have postsecondary education or a graduate degree (18.1% vs. 9.46%, respectively). Given the high-quality human capital resources in federal service, federal agencies must make sincere efforts to retain women workers who would be competitive in other areas of employment.

Finally, even if an organization’s culture supports all available programs to manage the competing demands on workers’ time, practical barriers may remain: “Although these legislative and executive actions are commendable, they may be more symbolic than substantive. The [Family and Medical Leave Act] allows twelve weeks of *unpaid* leave, and work-life programs in the federal government remain sorely underused” (McCurdy et al., 2002, p. 29 [emphasis original]).

## Evidence From the American Time Use Survey

Examining time use is one step toward engaging in the “evaluative effort” for which McCurdy et al. (2002) request. The American Time Use Survey (ATUS) is conducted by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor and the U.S. Census Bureau. Studying women’s use of time on family care activities using ATUS data is unique to research in this area; that these data are gathered by the Census Bureau gives them further appeal. I use pooled, time-series data from 2003 to 2007 to test the following model:

The number of minutes per day that women spend on caring activities is a consequence of the number and ages of children in the household, educational attainment, marital status, full time/part time work schedule, whether one works in the private sector or in federal government, and whether one’s job is categorized as professional, administrative, technical, or clerical.

I use this model with ATUS data and compare time use of women working in the private sector to those in federal government employment. This approach indirectly assesses the effect of family-friendly workplace policies, which have been developed and implemented extensively by OPM in the past few years, by comparing federal government employment with that in the private sector, where such workplace policies have not been developed and implemented so systematically. To support my assertion that there has been a concerted effort to enhance the working experiences of women in federal employ-

ment, I point to the flurry of advisories and reports to federal agency human resource managers released by OPM in 2006 alone:

- *Adoption Benefits Guide*
- *Alcoholism in the Workplace: A Handbook for Supervisors*
- *Child Care Resources Handbook for Federal Employees*
- *Child Care/Out of School Guide*
- *Confidentiality and the Employee Assistance Program: A Question and Answer Guide for Federal Employees*
- *Elder Care Resources Handbook for the Federal Workplace*
- *Establishing a Nursing Mothers Program: A Guide for the Federal Workplace*
- *Establishing a Work-Site Parenting Support Group: A Guide for Group Leaders, Employee Assistance Counselors, Peer Coordinators, and Work/Family Specialists*
- *Fatherhood*
- *Guide for Implementing Child Care Legislation*
- *A Guide to Planning a Dependent-Care Fair*
- *Handbook on Alternative Work Schedules*
- *Kinship Care: A Resource Guide for Federal Work/Life Coordinators*
- *Part-Time Employment and Job Sharing Guide for Federal Employees*
- *Responding to Domestic Violence: Where Federal Employees Can Find Help*
- *Tobacco Cessation: Guidance to Establishing Programs Designed to Help Employees Stop Using Tobacco*
- *Your Federal Employee Assistance Program: A Question and Answer Guide for Employees*

It appears that in the early 2000s OPM accelerated its efforts to support the “whole employee,” a rejection of the “disembodied and universal worker” model (Acker, 1990, p. 139). Of the 27 reports and advisories published by the OPM Work/Life Office from as early as 1995, two-thirds were released to agencies in 2006. As the list above shows, the range of topics is considerable and covers diverse issues that affect federal workers as parents, caretakers, and friends, including adoption, alcoholism, child care, elder care, kinship care, nursing mothers, parenting support, fatherhood, domestic violence, quitting smoking, and employee assistance programs. Hoyman and Duer (2004, p. 113) categorize these as “pro employee” policies, compared with “old family friendly and personnel type policies [and] those that remove impediments to work,” which are “pro employer” policies.

Federal agencies genuinely aspire to live up to their reputation as model employers. In September 2008 the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board released “The Federal Govern-

ment: A Model Employer or a Work In Progress?”, a comprehensive report that examined the experience of federal employment based on Merit Systems Protection Board employee surveys from 1983 to 2007. OPM conducts its own studies to advise agencies and provide technical support on employment matters, and Merit Systems Protection Board survey data are another resource for federal agencies to (2008, p. 2)

[I]dentify issues of concern, such as staffing, training, performance management and recognition, job satisfaction, and employee perceptions of discrimination or unfair treatment. . . . managers and supervisors can use results to change human resources practices, examine work processes, or improve work relationships . . . Survey results also provide insight into Federal employee job satisfaction and morale, two concerns that are consequential for reasons beyond the Government’s desire to be a model employer.

It is appropriate, therefore, to compare federal government employment with that of the private sector, where “employment at will” remains a guiding ideology. Furthermore, it is appropriate to restrict the analysis to working women’s time use because “it is principally women who continue to make use of so-called family-friendly practices, usually to accommodate caring and domestic commitments” (Whittock et al., 2002, p. 306). Finally, it is appropriate to restrict the analysis to women’s time use in their roles as caretakers because ATUS data include both “indoor” and “outdoor” tasks (Baxter, 1997), so the category is shared somewhat evenly between women and men. The specific model run with ATUS data and the hypothesis they test are as follows:

*Caretaking Time* = f[*Number of Children, Federal, Infant, Toddler, Kid, Teen, Postsec, Colldeg, Postgrad, Married, Cohab, FT, P, A, T, O, 2006*]

*H1: Women working in federal government spend less Caretaking Time than do women working in the private sector.*

The ATUS definition of *Caretaking Time* is the number of minutes spent per day on activities related to household children’s education, activities related to household children’s health, caring for household adults, helping household adults, and caring for and helping household members (not elsewhere classified). On average, women spend about 40 minutes per day (39.56) on caretaking activities. Women in the private sector spend about the same amount of time (39.87), whereas women in federal service spend almost 10 fewer minutes per day (31.21) on caretaking activities. This alone does not address hypothesis 1, which states that working in federal service reduces *Caretaking Time*. The dichotomous variable denotes federal employment (*Federal*) so if the coefficient on *Federal* is negative and statistically significant, all things held constant, hypothesis 1 is confirmed. Hypothesis 1 is based on the efforts described above on how the federal government seeks to be a model employer and to support the whole employee.



*Number of Children* is the number of children in the household under age 18; *Infant*, *Toddler*, *Kid*, and *Teen* are dichotomous variables denoting whether there is an infant, child aged 3 to 5, child aged 6 to 12, or child aged 13 to 17, respectively, in the household. The number of children in the household and caretaking time should be directly related, other things held constant, as women “end up doing a larger share of family work as the number of children increases” (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1222). Guidance on the ages of children is somewhat less clear (Arrighi & Maume, 2000; Braun, Lewin-Epstein, Stier, & Baumgartner, 2008; Guendouzi, 2006); it may be that the presence of children of any age increases caretaking time. Then again, teenagers might assume more of their own caretaking duties, thereby having no effect on mothers’ time or perhaps even reducing it. I expect the presence of infants, toddlers, and kids, however, to have a direct effect on mothers’ caretaking time, all other things held constant (Sullivan & Gershuny, 2001). Further, I would expect that the magnitude of effect would be greatest for infants, less for toddlers, and even less for kids, as they become progressively self-sufficient (Sullivan & Gershuny, 2001).

*Postsec*, *Colldeg*, and *Postgrad* denote educational attainment: some postsecondary education, holding a 4-year degree, and having at least some postgraduate education, respectively. *High School Diploma* is the comparison category. As Coltrane (2000, p. 1221) notes, “In general, studies suggest that women with more education do less housework,” so these two variables should be positively related to *Caretaking Time*, relative to the comparison category.

*Married* denotes whether the respondent is married or not; *Cohab* denotes whether or not the respondent lives with a significant other, but is not married. *Single* is the comparison category, which includes never married, divorced, and widowed. “Women tend to feel more obligation to perform household labor when they have children, just as they do when they get married” (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1222), so *Married* should be directly related to *Caretaking Time*, and *Cohab* should be no different from *Single*. “Single and cohabiting women perform less housework than do married women” (Coltrane, 2000, p. 1222). So the direction of the relationship—positive or negative—of *Cohab* compared with *Single* is not clear, but the effect should not be statistically different from zero.

Dichotomous job characteristic variables include *FT* if the respondent works in a full-time job, and whether the job is *Professional*, *Administrative*, *Technical*, or *Other*, consistent with the federal government’s PATCO categories. We used our previously constructed crosswalk to translate Census job codes to PATCO categories (Mastracci & Thompson, 2009). *Clerical* is the comparison category. Working full time is expected to decrease the amount of time spent on caretaking activities, all other things being equal, because women have less time to spend. *Other* is something of a catch-all category, so the effect on the dependent variable is not clear. However, compared with *Clerical*, *P*, *A*, and *T* should be inversely related to *Caretaking Time*, if Hochschild (1997, p. 135 [emphasis original]) is right:

[This clerical worker] didn’t want to hire someone to pick up the children, as . . . top women managers did. She wanted to *be* that person. . . . Employees



higher up the . . . ladder happily delegated aspects of their parental role to others [who] had less money and less desire to outsource parts of . . . motherhood.

Coltrane (2000, p. 1221) further supports this assumption: “Women’s higher occupational status and income . . . is strongly associated with the purchase of domestic services.” The variable *2006* denotes the observations in that year, given the relatively high number of OPM advisories distributed to federal agencies in that year. If the spate of OPM advice and support to agencies had an effect that year, this variable should be inversely related to *Caretaking Time* for women in federal service, other things being equal.

## Results

Table 7-1 shows the results of ordinary least-squares analysis of the model using ATUS data. Both regression coefficients and the magnitudes of each effect based on the average amount of *Caretaking Time* spent are shown (all variable means can be found in Appendix 7-A).

Every additional child under age 18 in the household increases a woman’s time spent on caretaking by 45 minutes per day, more than double the average. The presence of an *Infant* at home (age <3 years) increases that amount by nearly 2 hours, almost a sixfold increase! *Toddlers* (3 ≤ age ≤ 5) increase time spent each day by more than half, about 20 minutes. The presence of *Kids* (6 ≤ age ≤ 12) reduces time spent by about one-third, an effect that was not entirely anticipated. Working mothers’ time spent caring for *Teens* (13 ≤ age ≤ 17) is nearly eliminated (note that an effect can be positive to infinity, but a negative effect can be no greater than /100%/). Being *Married* increases *Caretaking Time* only by 12.5%, but cohabiting increases it by 29%. The latter effect is contrary to expectations and deserves further study. The effects of educational attainment variables do not conform to expectations, but they are rather small (*Postsec* effect = 16.5%) and/or no different from zero. Likewise, the effects of job characteristic variables are contrary to expectations, but small and/or statistically insignificant. Working *Full Time* cuts *Caretaking Time* by one-third, but the job categories *P*, *A*, *T*, and *O* affect time spent by only 10% to 15%. Goodness-of-fit statistics indicate that the model is fairly strong and highly robust to changes.

Unfortunately, hypothesis 1 cannot be confirmed because the effect of *Federal* employment, though negative, is very small and statistically no different from zero. Sensitivity tests—adding and dropping variables, changing the universe of observations to include men and women—fail to alter the sign and significance of the *Federal* coefficient, much less any of the other independent variables. If the model is specified correctly, then the conclusion that *Federal* employment is no different from *Private Sector* employment when it comes to *Caretaking Time* spent by women is remarkably robust. Is federal employment truly no different from private sector employment for women? Is the model misspecified such that no conclusions can be drawn?

**TABLE 7-1. Effects on Time Spent Caring for Household Members**

	All Employed Women (Y-bar = 39.56)	
	Coefficient	Magnitude
Children in household		
Number of children > age 18	44.71***	+113%
Presence of child < age 3	113.00***	+593%
Presence of child aged 3–5	21.01***	+53%
Presence of child aged 6–12	–13.56***	–34%
Presence of child aged 13–17	–37.37***	–94.4%
Educational attainment		
Some postsecondary	6.54**	+16.5%
4-year degree	1.93	—
Some postgraduate	3.58	—
Marital status		
Married	4.93***	+12.5%
Cohabiting	11.46***	+29%
Job characteristics		
Full time	–13.02***	–33%
In federal government	–1.47	—
Professional (P)	5.93***	+15%
Administrative (A)	4.12***	+10.4%
Technical (T)	–4.23**	–10.7%
Other (O)	–1.03	—
Year 2006	–5.49***	–14%
Model characteristics		
Number of observations	15,521	
Model F	475.35***	
R <sup>2</sup>	0.3426	
Adjusted R <sup>2</sup>	0.3419	

\*Likelihood that the effect is due to chance <10%; \*\*<5%; \*\*\*<1%.

## Good or Good Enough?

OPM continues to study the work experience of federal employees and to advise federal agencies on ways to support the whole person and not just the worker. Furthermore, the time working women spend each day taking care of family members is nearly one-fourth lower if they work in federal government compared with the private sector. Have OPM's efforts, and those of federal agencies in general, altered "organizational logic" such to free women from oppression stemming from the gendered norms surrounding defining, eval-

uating, and rewarding acceptable workplace behavior? Or, have family-friendly programs and policies only served to legitimize women's double burden? For working women, perhaps federal employment is the worst type of employment except all the alternatives.<sup>1</sup> But is this good enough?

## Discussion Questions

1. What steps could be taken for a department or agency to alter the "organizational logic" as Joan Acker recommends?
2. Do family-friendly workplace policies "change the woman and not the job"? If so, what can policymakers do to avoid reinforcing status quo outcomes when developing new programs?
3. Is the federal government truly a "model employer"? Why or why not? Compared with employment in the private sector, how does federal employment differ? Does it?
4. Can workplace programs alter gendered divisions of labor? Should they? If women and men negotiate the household tasks that each will perform, is that a matter for public policy? In your opinion, what would need to happen for gendered dynamics surrounding caretaking to change?
5. What is the role of the OPM? Is it appropriate for OPM to study worker issues such as tobacco cessation, domestic violence, and substance abuse? What of the public-private dichotomy? Could programs such as these threaten worker privacy? Where does employer responsibility end and employee responsibility begin?
6. If given the choice, do you believe career-oriented women—in federal service or in the private sector—would want to spend more time taking care of family members or less time? Which objective should family-friendly workplace policy developers pursue—programs allowing women to spend more time with family, or less?

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<sup>1</sup>Apologies to Sir Churchill

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**APPENDIX 7-A. Variable Means for Women Working in Federal Government or Private Sector (pooled ATUS data, 2003–2007)**

	All Working Women	Federal Government	Private Sector
Dependent variable*			
Minutes per day caring for household members	39.56	31.21	39.87
Independent variables†			
Number and ages of children			
Number of children > age 18	<1 child per household	<1 child per household	<1 child per household
Infant in the household (age < 3)	3.27%	2.19%	3.31%
Toddler (aged 3–5)	9.12%	6.0%	9.24%
Kid (aged 6–12)	18.4%	13.7%	18.6%
Teen (aged 13–17)	14.4%	15.7%	14.4%
Educational attainment			
High school diploma	49.3%	33.8%	49.9%
Some postsecondary education	28.8%	39.7%	28.4%
Four-year degree	14.8%	16.8%	14.7%
At least some postgraduate education	9.77%	18.1%	9.46%
Marital status			
Married	50.6%	54.3%	50.5%
Cohabiting	4.86%	4.25%	4.89%
Single	44.5%	41.4%	44.6%
Job characteristics			
Full time	68.8%	84.0%	68.2%
In federal government	3.55%	100%	0%
In the private sector	96.4%	0%	100%
Professional (P)	16.6%	28.1%	16.2%
Administrative (A)	32.1%	21.5%	32.5%
Technical (T)	13.4%	6.2%	13.7%
Clerical (C)	24.0%	41.4%	23.3%
Other (O)	13.9%	2.83%	14.3%

Individual categories may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

\*“Caring for and Helping Household Members” includes Activities related to household children’s education; Activities related to household children’s health; Caring for household adults; Helping household adults; Caring for and helping household members not elsewhere classified

†All independent variables except number of children are measured as dichotomous variables where yes = 1 and no = 0, so the mean value is interpreted as a percent of all observations with that attribute.

## Part III

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# Diversity, Ethics, and Law



## Chapter 8

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# Women and the Law: Statutory and Constitutional Legal Frameworks for Gender Equality

Shelly L. Pepper

### Key Terms

Civil Rights Act of 1964  
Discrimination  
Due process  
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission  
Equal Pay Act of 1963  
Equal protection  
Family and Medical Leave Act  
Gender discrimination  
Gender equity  
Sexual harassment

### Introduction

From 1979 to 1998 Lilly Ledbetter worked for the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company in Gadsden, Alabama. During this time salaried employees at the plant were given or denied pay raises based on their supervisors' evaluation of their performance. In 1998 Ms. Ledbetter received an anonymous letter informing her that her salary was lower than that of her male counterparts, including those with far less seniority. Ms. Ledbetter was being paid \$3,727 per month, whereas the lowest paid male, in a comparable position, received \$4,286 per month and the highest paid male earned \$5,236 per month. Upon learning of this discrepancy, Ms. Ledbetter filed a discrimination complaint with the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

In her administrative complaint Ms. Ledbetter alleged that Goodyear discriminated against her by paying her a lower salary than her male counterparts in violation of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The case was eventually tried in the District Court, where the jury found that her evaluations had been discriminatory and based on her

gender, and consequently Ms. Ledbetter was discriminated against on the basis of her gender. The jury awarded her back pay and damages. Goodyear appealed, and the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the Eleventh Circuit reversed the decision, holding that the Title VII pay discrimination claim could not be based on any pay decision that occurred before the last pay decision that affected the employee's pay during the EEOC charging period—essentially Ms. Ledbetter had filed her claim too late to be considered in the courts—the claim was time barred (*Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.*, 421 F.3d 1169 (2005)).

Ms. Ledbetter appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, and the Court granted certiorari to hear the case. Justice Alito wrote the 5-4 decision of the Court. The Court upheld the decision of the Court of Appeals, reasoning that the claim was time barred. According to the Court, a charge of discrimination must be filed with the EEOC—either 180 days or 300 days, depending on the state—after the alleged unlawful employment practice occurred (*Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire and Rubber Co.*, 550 U.S. 618 [2007]). The court's ruling was based on the legal premise that Ms. Ledbetter should have filed suit within 180 days of receiving the first unequal paycheck, even if she had no knowledge at the time that her pay was unequal compared with the pay of her male counterparts.

The Court's decision in *Ledbetter* made it more difficult for women to file suit for pay inequities, raising concerns that pay disparities between men and women in the workplace would worsen. New legislation, however, essentially overruled the Court's decision. The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 was enacted by the 111th U.S. Congress and signed into law by President Barack Obama on January 29, 2009. The new Ledbetter Act amended the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to extend the 180-day statute of limitations for filing an equal pay discrimination lawsuit by interpreting the violation as repeating with each new discriminatory paycheck.

## Statutory Framework for Gender Equity

The Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act is the latest in a long line of legislative initiatives intended to ease disparities between men and women in society. Since the early 1960s a statutory legal framework for women's rights has slowly emerged. Legislation in this framework includes the Equal Pay Act of 1963, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and its amendments, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act of 1978, and the Family and Medical Leave Act. Each of these acts is discussed in further detail.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA) is part of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, and is administered and enforced by the EEOC. The EPA prohibits sex-based wage discrimination between men and women in the same establishment who perform jobs that require substantially equal skill, effort, and responsibility under similar working conditions (29 U.S.C. §206d [1998]). An employer who violates the EPA can be held liable for damages. Significantly, the EPA requires equal pay for equal work, not equal pay for

equal worth. To state a claim under the EPA, the job for which the female employee is being underpaid must be equal or comparable with the job of her higher paid male counterpart (see, e.g., *County of Washington, Oregon v. Gunther*, 452 U.S. 161 [1981]).

The next, and arguably most important, piece of legislation in the gender equity statutory framework is Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (42 U.S.C. §2000e [1981]). Title VII states, in part, as follows:

It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

- (1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or
- (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Title VII applies to both public and private employers with 15 or more employees, and, like the EPA, the Civil Rights Act is administered and enforced by the EEOC.

The EEOC was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was not until the 1972 amendments, however, that the EEOC was given enforcement authority. The EEOC has been one of the driving forces behind the fight for gender equity. According to the Commission: "Throughout its existence, the Commission has focused on but one simply stated mission: the elimination of illegal discrimination in the workplace" (EEOC, 2009a). The EEOC has an affirmative charge to remedy discrimination in the workplace.

The Civil Rights Amendments, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, and the Lily Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 added additional protections for women to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. One of the most significant protections added to the Civil Rights Act is the protection against sexual harassment. According to the EEOC (2009b), "sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Furthermore, "unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favors, and other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature constitute sexual harassment when this conduct explicitly or implicitly affects an individual's employment, unreasonably interferes with an individual's work performance, or creates an intimidating, hostile, or offensive work environment" (EEOC, 2009b). This type of harassment is known as hostile work environment harassment.

The EEOC provides guidelines and information for employees when confronted with possible sexual harassment issues. It is crucial that the employee understand what sexual harassment is and the various forms that it can take. To this end, the EEOC (2009b) provides a description of a various circumstances in which sexual harassment can occur:



- Both men and women can be the victims of harassment.
- Harassment can occur in same-sex situations.
- The harasser can be the victim's supervisor or coworker.
- The victim does not have to be the person being harassed, but could be anyone affected by the offensive conduct.
- The harasser's conduct must be unwelcome.

The EEOC guidelines advise the victim to inform the harasser directly that the conduct is unwelcome and must stop. Furthermore, it is crucial that the victim use the employer complaint procedure or grievance system to notify supervisors that the harassment is occurring. Finally, the Civil Rights Act prohibits an employer from retaliating against an individual for opposing employment practices that discriminate based on sex or for filing a discrimination charge, testifying, or participating in any investigation, proceeding, or litigation under Title VII (EEOC, 2009b).

Employers should be aware that they can be held liable for the harassing behavior of their employees if they are aware, or should be aware, of the unwelcome behavior of the employees. This type of liability is known as vicarious liability—the imposition of liability on one person for the actionable conduct of another, based solely on the relationship (employer–employee) between the two people (*Black's Law Dictionary*, 1990). This principle is illustrated in *Faragher v. City of Boca Raton*, 524 U.S. 775 (1998). In *Faragher*, a female lifeguard worked for the City of Boca Raton, Florida. Faragher brought an action against the City and her two immediate supervisors, asserting a claim under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended. The complaint alleged that the two supervisors had created a hostile work environment at the beach by repeatedly subjecting female lifeguards to uninvited and offensive touching and lewd comments.

The plaintiff further asserted that the supervisors were agents of the City, and the City should also be held liable for the unlawful conduct of the supervisors. The Supreme Court held that the conduct did create a hostile work environment and that the City may be held vicariously liable for the actionable discrimination caused by a supervisor, subject to a defense based on the reasonableness of the employers conduct (524 U.S. 775 [1998]). In other words, if the City did not have a valid justification for their failure to take action against the harassing behavior, they could be held liable for that behavior. Sexual harassment is a pervasive problem for women in the workplace, and since its inclusion in Title VII it has generated considerable litigation.

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, as amended, also provided new protections for pregnant women. The Pregnancy Discrimination Act (42 U.S.C. §2000e-k [1981]) came about after a series of lawsuits where women were alleging employment discrimination due to their pregnancy. The cases generally involved issues such as a pregnant employee being denied employment, being denied a promotion, or being forced to take a medical leave while pregnant even though there was no medical need for the leave, among other

issues (see, e.g., *Nashville Gas Co. v. Scotty*, 434 U.S. 136 [1977]). In codifying court decisions, the Pregnancy Discrimination Act prohibits an employer from refusing to hire a pregnant woman because of her pregnancy or a pregnancy-related condition. The statute further provides that pregnant employees must be permitted to work as long as they are able to perform their jobs. If an employee has been absent from work as a result of a pregnancy-related condition and recovers, her employer may not require her to remain on leave until the baby's birth. An employer also may not have a rule that prohibits an employee from returning to work for a predetermined length of time after childbirth. Finally, employers must hold open a job for a pregnancy-related absence the same length of time jobs are held open for employees on sick or disability leave (42 U.S.C. §2000e-k [1981]).

Like the Pregnancy Discrimination Act, the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA; 29 U.S.C. §2601–2654 [2003]) also provides protections for women (and men) who are dealing with family issues. The FMLA is administered and enforced by the U.S. Department of Labor. The FMLA requires covered employers to grant an eligible employee up to a total of 12 weeks of unpaid leave during any 12-month period where one or more of the following conditions apply: the birth and care of a newborn child of the employee, placement with the employee of a child for adoption or foster care, the need to care for an immediate family member with a serious health condition, or the need to take medical leave when the employee is unable to work because of a serious health condition.

The FMLA applies to all public agencies and private sector employers who employ 50 or more employees. To be eligible for FMLA benefits an employee must have worked for a covered employer for at least a year. Covered employees also retain their health benefits. The FMLA also contains a “job restoration” provision that requires, upon the employees return from leave, that the employer restore the employee to his or her original job or to an equivalent job with equivalent pay, benefits, and other terms and conditions of employment.

The final important statute in the gender equity statutory framework is Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 (20 U.S.C. §1618(a) [2000]). Title IX states as follows: “No person in the United States shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from participation in, be denied the benefits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any education program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance” (20 U.S.C. §1618(a) [2000]). This statute has broad application in education programs because most programs receive some type of federal financial assistance. Specifically with regard to admission to education programs, the statute applies to vocational education programs, professional education, graduate higher education, and public institutions of undergraduate higher education.

Although there have been other statutes enacted that affect women's rights (a noteworthy example is the Violence Against Women Act of 1994, which gives federal law enforcement an active role in the fight against domestic violence). The statutes previously discussed have had the largest impact on gender equality in education and employment. Legislation alone, however, is not enough; women must avail themselves of all the protec-

tions available to them under the law, and one area where this has been a contentious fight is in the protections offered in the U.S. Constitution.

## U.S. Constitutional Framework for Gender Equity

It is not surprising that it took congressional action with the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act to remedy a Supreme Court decision dealing with gender discrimination. The Court has been notoriously slow in recognizing gender discrimination, especially as applied to the U.S. Constitution. The main constitutional provision relied on in gender discrimination cases is the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Equal Protection Clause reads in part as follows (U.S. Const. amend XIX, §1):

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Although the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified in 1868, it has taken the Supreme Court a protracted amount of time to recognize that the Equal Protection Clause protects against gender discrimination. This is not the case just for gender discrimination; the same has been true for racial discrimination. It was not until 1954 that the Supreme Court recognized racial discrimination in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 349 U.S. 483 (1954), by overruling *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), and nearly 60 years of case law.

It took an explicit and long-term legal strategy by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) Women's Rights Project until the Court recognized women's rights under the U.S. Constitution and the Equal Protection Clause. The Women's Rights Project was founded in 1971 by future Supreme Court Justice, and then Columbia Law Professor, Ruth Bader Ginsburg.

The first case that Professor Ginsburg worked on at the Women's Rights Project was *Reed v. Reed*, 404 U.S. 71 (1971). In the *Reed* case when a minor child died without a will, both the mother and the father, who had separated, filed a petition with the probate court seeking appointment as the administrator of the child's estate. The probate court appointed the father as administrator of the estate, relying on a state code that gave preference to males over females. The mother then filed suit alleging gender discrimination. The case went to the State Supreme Court and the Court upheld the state code as constitutional. The U.S. Supreme Court, however, reversed the decision of the State Supreme Court, holding that the statute that gave mandatory preference to the appointment of the father over the mother as administrator of the deceased's estate because of gender was unconstitutional under the Fourteenth Amendment—the Equal Protection Clause. This case was precedent setting in that it was the first time the Court recognized that the

Fourteenth Amendment protects against gender discrimination just as it protects against race discrimination (Lapidus, 2002).

It is interesting to note that the *Reed* case was decided just 1 year before the U.S. Congress passed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) and sent it to the states for ratification. The proposed ERA stated the following: "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any State on account of sex." The states failed to ratify the amendment, falling three states short of the two-thirds necessary for ratification.

The failure of the ERA, however, did not deter the ACLU. Professor Ginsburg and the Women's Rights Project would bring gender discrimination cases before the Court for the next two decades in an attempt to build a gender discrimination constitutional framework. As part of Professor Ginsburg's strategy, a number of cases were brought where men were the victims of discrimination. In *Weinberger v. Weisenfeld*, 420 U.S. 636 (1975), a widower applied for Social Security survivor benefits but was denied because under the relevant statute benefits for surviving spouses were only available to women. The widower filed suit against the Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and alleged that the statute was unconstitutional. The case made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court. The Court found in favor of the widower and held that because the statute afforded men and women different treatment it violated the Due Process Clause of the Constitution. The Court further held that the Constitution forbade a gender-based differentiation that resulted in less protection for families of female workers who were required to pay Social Security than was given to the families of male workers.

In 1976 the Women's Rights Project brought the case of *Craig v. Boren*, 429 U.S. 190 (1976), before the Supreme Court. The *Craig* case involved a dispute with a male between 18 and 21 years old and a liquor vender who challenged the constitutionality of a state statute that prohibited the sale of three and two-tenths percent beer to males under the age of 21 and females under 18 years old. The Court held that the gender differentiation in the state statute constituted a denial of the equal protection of the laws to males who were 18 to 20 years of age. The Court further held that gender did not represent a legitimate, accurate proxy for the regulation of drinking and driving (the state's justification of the statute), and therefore the classification was not substantially related to a legitimate government objective.

The *Craig* case was especially important in the fight against gender discrimination because it resulted in the articulation by the Court of a new standard by which to judge gender discrimination actions. The new standard stated that gender discrimination claims should be judged under heightened scrutiny and that any distinction on the basis of sex must bear a substantial relationship to an important governmental interest. This intermediate-level scrutiny was a lesser standard than the strict scrutiny that the Court applied in race discrimination cases but was higher than discrimination based on other characteristics. Intermediate scrutiny remained the standard of review for gender discrimination actions until after Professor Ginsburg herself joined the Supreme Court in 1993.

In 1996 Justice Ginsburg authored the majority opinion of the Court in *United States v. Virginia*, 518 U.S. 515 (1996). The case, known as the VMI case, began in 1990 when a complaint was filed with the Attorney General by a female high school student seeking admission to Virginia Military Academy (VMI). In response to the complaint, the United States sued the Commonwealth of Virginia and VMI, alleging that VMI's exclusively male admission policy violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In her opinion, Justice Ginsburg reflected on the history of women and discrimination (518 U.S. 515, 531–532 [1996]):

Today's skeptical scrutiny of official action denying rights or opportunities based on sex responds to volumes of history. As a plurality of this Court acknowledged a generation ago, "our Nation has had a long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination." *Frontiero v. Richardson*, 411 U.S. 677, 684 (1973). Through a century plus three decades and more of that history, women did not count among voters composing "We the People"; not until 1920 did women gain a constitutional right to the franchise. And for a half century thereafter, it remained the prevailing doctrine that government, both federal and state, could withhold from women opportunities accorded men so long as any "basis in reason" could be conceived for the discrimination. In 1971, for the first time in our Nation's history, this Court ruled in favor of a woman who complained that her State had denied her the equal protection of its laws. Since *Reed*, the Court has repeatedly recognized that neither federal nor state government acts compatibly with the equal protection principle when a law or official policy denies to women, simply because they are women, full citizenship stature—equal opportunity to aspire, achieve, participate in and contribute to society based on their individual talents and capacities.

It is noteworthy that not only did Justice Ginsburg bring the *Reed* case before the Supreme Court when she was with the ACLU, but she also argued the *Frontiero* case before the Court.

In VMI, Justice Ginsburg summarized the Court's current directions for cases of official classifications based on gender (518 U.S. 515, 533 [1996]):

Focusing on the differential treatment or denial of opportunity for which relief is sought, the reviewing court must determine whether the proffered justification is "exceedingly persuasive." The burden of justification is demanding and it rests entirely on the State. The State must show "at least that the [challenged] classification serves important governmental objectives and that the discriminatory means employed are substantially related to the achievement of those objectives." The justification must be genuine, not hypothesized or invented post hoc in response to litigation. And it must not rely on overbroad generalizations about the different talents, capacities, or preferences of males and females.



The court held that VMI did not meet this burden, and consequently their admission policy was unconstitutional under the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although the decision in *Craig* still did not equate gender discrimination with race discrimination and afford it the highest level of Court scrutiny, it did make clear that the standard is very high and it is a difficult burden for governments who make gender classifications to meet. This is the current standard of the Court.

It is through these decisions that the constitutional framework for gender discrimination cases has progressed. Despite this progress, however, women can still not claim that they are treated equal to their male counterparts in society—yet another lesson illustrated in the *Ledbetter* case.

## Future of Women's Rights and Gender Equity

According to the 2000 U.S. Census Bureau, women made up 50.9% of the population. Women have not met that percentage of representation, however, in the federal government. Currently, of the 535 seats available in the U.S. Congress, women hold only 93 of those seats (17%). Women make up 17% of the Senate (17 of 100 seats) and 17% of the House of Representatives (76 of 435 seats) (Congress.org, 2009). Women hold only 2 of 9 positions on the U.S. Supreme Court and only 7 of 22 positions in President Barak Obama's Cabinet (including positions that have Cabinet rank). In the executive branch, in general, women are underrepresented. According to the Office of Personnel Management (2009), the Executive Branch had 1,848,330 employees in 2009. Of those positions only 816,306, or 44.2%, were held by women (Office of Personnel Management, 2009).

Groups like the ACLU's Women's Rights Project and the National Organization for Women are continuing the legal fight to abolish all forms of gender discrimination. The goals of these groups, and groups like them, are to achieve true equality in job opportunities, pay, government representation, and education to ensure women have the same advantages as their male counterparts in society. The methods used in the fight for gender equity remain the same as they did 50 years ago at the beginning of the civil rights movement: lobbying for fair legislation and legal actions to ensure that the protections afforded by the U.S. Constitution are available to women.

Gender equity issues that are covered, to some degree, by legislation or by court decisions are still ongoing discrimination issues for women. The legislation or decision does not magically end the unlawful behavior, and women must still fight for their rights under these laws. Issues such as equal pay, sexual harassment in both employment and in the classroom, equality in education and employment opportunities, and equality in government representation are but a few of the issues around which women and women's groups continue to organize and litigate. Ultimately, gender equity is an evolving area of law and will remain so as long as gender inequity exists.



## Discussion Questions

1. Discuss the legal strategy used by the ACLU Women's Rights Project and Professor Ginsburg. Do you believe this was an effective strategy? Are there other approaches that the ACLU could have taken instead of legal action?
2. Discuss whether the Equal Pay Act should have a provision that allows for equal pay for equal worth lawsuits instead of just equal pay for equal work.
3. Do you believe that Congress was right to overrule the *Ledbetter* case by enacting the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act? Discuss other legislative initiatives that you believe may be helpful in achieving gender equity.
4. Why do you believe that the courts have been so slow in recognizing protections against discrimination—both racial and gender—in the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution?
5. What equity discrimination issues do you believe will become major concerns in the future? How would you approach solving these issues?

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## Chapter 9

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# Minority Women and Public Administration

Lia Abney

### Key Terms

Affirmative action  
Analyzing  
Behaving  
Cognitive skills  
Disparity  
Emotion sensing  
Emotional labor  
Glass ceiling  
Judging  
Variables

### Introduction

This chapter reviews the theory of emotional labor that is often viewed as a barrier for women entering the labor workforce. There is a notion that emotional labor does not hold value as a positive attribute to making decisions or effectively contributing to the public administration profession. The less emotionally connected we are, the less prone we are to make decisions based on our emotions in assisting those in need. However, in a world that is growing more diverse, it is even more important that minority women know they will not be penalized or looked over because they are viewed as emotional beings and have a shared experience that connects them to those whom they are reaching.

Without the emotional connection, we would live in a world of chaos, with everyone only thinking of themselves. No one would have the compassion to care or think about the needs of others. The purpose of this chapter is to bring an understanding of the value of emotional labor and the balance it can provide alongside cognitive and leadership skills. If emotional labor is balanced, these “skills” can be realized as more of an asset than a barrier for minority women. This chapter continues to look at the discourse of gender

differences pertaining to challenges and barriers minority women face in the areas of hiring practices, ethical dilemmas, education, and policies. Finally, we examine current policies and programs in which minority women have played a major role in implementing at the local, state, and federal level to demonstrate a broad picture of the impact minority women have had and will continue to have on the public administration profession.

## Representation of Minority Women

Women are clearly underrepresented in the workforce. It is not uncommon knowledge that women in particular have had to struggle to make their mark in society. The ideology that women are to be “seen but not heard” no longer applies in today’s society. However, a muteness still exists. Women of all professions are standing tall despite the disparity that exists in the workforce. Women are not afraid of competing in male dominated fields even if it means dealing with disparity. Despite how far women have come, the difference that exists creates barriers that prevent women in some fields from being ideal candidates for senior level positions with higher paying wages. It was this existing disparity that brought about the need to enact federal laws to ensure minorities and women equally qualified for a job were not discriminated against. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 are such laws that were implemented and changed the dynamics of the labor workforce and hiring practices at all levels of government to increase job opportunities for minorities (Alkadry & Tower, 2006). U.S. Department of Labor statistics shows that the general workforces of women and minorities have increased over the years (Table 9-1).

The Current Population Survey (CPS) report for 2008 by the U.S Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics indicates based on data collected that women represented 59% of the labor workforce in Table 9-2. The breakdown of demographics for women in the labor workforce shown in Table 9-2 approximately indicates 61% were African American, 59% Asian, and 57% Hispanic compared with 59% White. The data indicate that African American women comprise most of women represented in the workforce. However, Asian and White women were more likely to hold higher paying management and professional positions, whereas African American and Hispanic women worked service occupations.

Women as a whole come a long way, but not without scrutiny. Even in 2009 with President Barack Obama as the first African American male to hold such a highly prestigious office, inequality still is evident regarding the presence of women in the workforce. Men represent 73% of the workforce, which is a 14% difference compared with women. The inequality that is still evident today is more prevalent with minority women and not without controversy, as is evident with President Obama’s nomination of Sonia Sotomayor, Judge for the New York Court of Appeals, as the first Hispanic woman to the Supreme Court. As a result with both historical events, public administration will go through its own changes that can improve the standard of living for society as a whole

**Table 9-1. Population, Persons Aged 16 and Over, by Race and Gender, 1998 and 2008**

Population	1998	2008	Percent Increase
Total population	205,220,000	233,788,000	13.9
Women	106,462,000	120,675,000	13.4
Men	98,758,000	113,113,000	14.5
White women	88,126,000	96,814,000	9.9
White men	83,352,000	92,725,000	11.2
Hispanic women	10,335,000	15,616,000	51.1
Hispanic men	10,734,000	16,524,000	53.9
Black women	13,446,000	15,328,000	14
Black men	10,927,000	12,516,000	14.5
Asian women	Not available	5,639,000	
Asian men	Not available	5,112,000	

For persons aged 16 to 19, men represented 51% and women represented 49%; for ages 20 to 24 and 25 to 34, men and women comprised 50%. Men were more prevalent in the younger age groups. In the remaining major age groups (35 to 44, 45 to 54, 55 to 64, and 65 and older), women outnumbered men.

For persons aged 16–19, 37.2% were either Hispanic, Black, or Asian in 2008.

From U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2008). Employment and Earnings, Annual averages 1998 and 2008. Retrieved June 4, 2009 from <http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/QF-ESWM08.htm>

**TABLE 9-2. Labor Force Participation Rates by Gender and Race, 2008**

Population	Percentage
White women	59.2
White men	73.7
Black women	61.3
Black men	66.7
Hispanic women	56.2
Hispanic men	80.2
Asian women	59.4
Asian men	75.3

59.5% of all women were in the labor force; 73.0% of all men were in the labor force. Sixty-three percent of women aged 16 and over with children under age 6 were in the labor force in March 2007 (up from 57% in March 1987). Sixty percent of women aged 16 and over with children under age 3 were in the labor force in March 2007 (up from 53% in March 1987).

From U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2008). Employment and Earnings: Annual averages 1998 and 2008. Retrieved June 4, 2009 from <http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/Qf-ESWM08.htm>



and increase opportunities for minority women to impact the public administration profession.

Public administration enables struggling families to tap into resources and services that otherwise are not available due to low income or circumstances. It is even more important as businesses and families struggle to stay afloat due to the economic turmoil of today. Minority women have assisted in the charge to ensure that the needs of the less fortunate are not forgotten among the “haves” since the Women’s Movement began in the 1960s. This chapter helps to understand the value that women of color bring to public administration and how they have influenced a profession that positively impacts all people regardless of race, gender, religion, or income level. By fully understanding the challenges and the barriers for women of color in the workplace, we can move toward change by working to make workplace inequality a thing of the past. Inequalities that manifest in the workplace support the notion that minority women or women in general are too emotional to be effective leaders.

## Emotional Labor

Stereotypically, women are thought to be emotional creatures, which can affect their ability to become effective leaders in top-level management positions. Studies show that including emotional labor as part of the educational curriculum increases opportunity for future public administrators to better perform and adapt to external and internal factors that may affect leadership decisions (Newman, Guy, & Mastracci, 2009). Minority women who serve as public administrators bring a distinct value to the workplace. These women understand variables or attributes that exist in the minority population, and they possess a cognitive understanding of how these variables have affected their lives. The lifelong experiences of these women often mirror the experience of those families they serve, allowing them to have a distinct compassion and understanding of the challenges many families face on a daily basis. It is important to the minority population to have someone represent its voice to ensure that policies or laws enacted allow for stability and progression in today’s society. Federal and local governments will need to identify individuals who have diverse skills to address the state of the economy and bring back the sense of security that makes America a place where dreams are possible.

Emotional labor allows for additional attributes such as strength and compassion to assist families with social issues of today. These attributes are beneficial to minority women when they fight for the rights of minority people across the nation. The ability to connect with others on an emotional level that is balanced as well as using personal skills are attributes very much familiar to women. Women are known as the primary caretaker in the home, therefore, this attribute can be considered useful in the field of public administration when addressing issues of diverse communities. Women’s experiences through motherhood provide the ability to multitask and to connect with their children on an emotional level. Mothers are able to understand the different cries of an infant to deter-

mine whether the infant is sleepy or hungry. The emotional connection that has often been looked upon as a menial skill can now be looked upon as valuable in connecting with and understanding people at all levels developmentally, socially, and economically.

Previous research has shown emotional labor, or “emotional intelligence”, to be a hindrance. Emotional labor is the result of interaction that occurs in the work environment and the ability to use emotional connection for the benefit of the organization. Emotional labor is believed to be gender specific and therefore can have a negative impact for women (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006). Women have been labeled as too emotional, so are overlooked in the selection process for senior-level positions, which sometimes results in less pay than their male counterparts. Minority women can become effective public administrators and are suitable for senior-level positions if they can balance emotions rather than being controlled by their emotions. Balance of emotional labor can therefore become a positive attribute rather than a hindrance to women in general.

Further studies are needed to determine the need for emotional labor as a viable attribute that allows public administrators to connect with others with different family traditions or values. Each culture has its own unique history, and the ability to connect to the underlying emotional layers can be valuable in addressing issues and providing adequate services. Quantitative and empirical studies can use balanced approach emotional labor to bring understanding of its critical use in creating a more caring and understanding workforce at the federal and local government levels (Kiel & Watson, 2009). Employers often select individuals because of the ability to positively communicate and connect with diverse cultures, therefore providing the opportunity to increase customer base and profitability.

Minority women do not have to hide away from attributes such as emotional labor that allow them to understand the struggles that others go through in order to make contributions to the public administration profession. Minority women’s experiences and knowledge can address today’s issues and turn the tables of time. Being able to understand and connect with others trials and tribulations other than through one’s own experiences along with knowledge of determining the best practices shows that emotional labor is a skill relevant to public administration. Having the means to assess situations and act accordingly can allow for all service providers, not just minority women, to make the right informed decision.

Newman et al (2009) describe four key communication requirements when emotional labor is involved in the decision-making process: emotion sensing, analyzing, judging, and behavior. *Emotion sensing* encompasses the ability to be able to understand, whereas *analyzing* is the ability to use that information to make an informed decision. Alternative solutions that might be considered require a *judging* process to determine any risks associated with the decision and select the best mitigating technique possible. Assessing the reaction of the respondent through expressed or suppressed emotion includes the *behaving* element in which a desired response is achieved. The four key elements provide a means for service providers to assess when and how to analyze a situation or issue and act accordingly.

However, emotional labor is not the final say on how to increase interaction in the workplace between public administrators and clients. Cognitive skills are equally important, and a clear understanding of the differences between cognitive skills and emotional labor is needed to bring balance. *Cognitive skills* are defined as the knowledge one possesses or is able to obtain through education, experience, or research. Minority women are more than a valuable representation of the diverse cultures that exist in the public administration profession. Researchers are cognizant of incorporating emotional and cognitive skills important to servicing those in need from every culture, and that minority women can impact other cultures in a positive way. Effective leadership is also a key factor to ensure efficiency in the workforce and is essential to an organization achieving strategic goals and objectives. Regardless of gender, the benefits can be essential when there is an equal balance of emotional labor, cognitive skills, and leadership skills. The impact minority women can have on linking their experiences and knowledge to helping families, children, and others struggling in today's economic strife can improve policies and programs. With more women entering the workforce the window of opportunities is increasing, and now is the time for universities to incorporate teaching on emotional labor and the connection to effective leadership. Understanding challenges and barriers that minority women face entering the workforce is an opportunity for universities to implement a recruitment program to attract them to the public administration profession.

## Challenges and Barriers for the Minority Women

Minority women over the years have become a driving force as public servants, alongside their White female and male counterparts, by pushing forward to ensure that policies set to address the needs of families, children, and the elderly are fair, just, and accessible. However, minority women are not without challenges and barriers that make it difficult to progress in such a constantly changing workforce. Minority women are faced with the same barriers and challenges that White women face when making the decision to work outside of the home. Generally, women in the workforce have to make difficult decisions regarding work and family. Making the decision to work outside of the home or to be a stay-at-home mom comes with many ethical dilemmas. When children are involved, being able to trust outside sources to care for children and being able to afford the fees can be dilemmas that affect whether a woman chooses to stay at home or make a career outside the home. There are times when the option does not exist for a woman to work outside the home, therefore making the decision more stressful due to necessity to survive economic strife. Organizations have made strides to meet the needs of working parents by providing on-site child care; however, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board reported that only 65 organizations have on-site care, meeting only a small portion of employee demand for childcare services (Riccucci, 2002). Today, many homes have two working parents, and often provider responsibilities are shared. Women have to balance being a "good" mother, getting an education, and meeting the demands of the office, which can

be representative of the “superwoman” syndrome. Strength, courage, and determination are the catalysts used by most minority women to enter senior-level positions mostly dominated by men.

Entering into a male-dominated profession can be very stressful, where a willingness to withstand the challenges can be trying to the morale and spirit of working women. All men and women, regardless of race, want to know that the color of their skin and their gender were not key factors in the hiring practice but rather that their knowledge, experience, and skills were valued. However, barriers still remain where minority women are reluctant to enter higher public administration positions outside of the local government, where there is less flexibility. There is a level of comfort to working at the local level rather than the federal level, because most positions require long hours or extensive travel for which men are more likely to be selected. More women are realizing the value and positive impact they can play in making lives for minorities better by taking a leap of faith and venturing into federal government. Once again, this does not come without challenges. The mindset that men are more capable of performing at a higher level than women, and therefore are compensated more, makes it difficult for some minority women to see a successful future for themselves; it is also a barrier to minority women in public administration profession. The differences in wage compositions between men and women have led to closer looks at hiring practices.

## Glass Ceiling

During the Bush Administration a 21-member body was appointed to identify *glass ceiling* barriers that prevented advancement of minorities and women. The body, known as the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, reported that hiring practices, lack of corporate development opportunities, and unequal access to top-level positions for minorities and women were key barriers. In addition, women and men were not equally compensated for work performed. Many efforts have been made in some professions concerning wages based on the skills and knowledge of the worker. Despite gender biases, minority women are standing strong and pushing the limits of the glass ceiling. The glass ceiling exists based on the old belief that minorities have inadequate abilities and skills when compared to their counterparts. This belief is changing because organizations have become more socially responsible, thus diversifying the workforce through the implementation of diversity programs and hiring practices. These efforts provide an increased opportunity for minority women competing in the labor market.

Even in Senior Executive Services, the representation of minorities and women are not equal to other groups. Twenty-eight Senior Executive Service federal civilian workforces are composed of women. The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was just one of the three agencies, which also included the U.S Office of Personnel Management and the Merit Systems Protection Board, that were initiated under the Civil Service Reform Act of 1978, which addressed hiring practices of the federal civilian workforce. In

addition, the Pendleton Civil Service Reform Act established the competitive exams for acceptance for federal jobs. Each of these laws laid a foundation for recognizing the disparity that exists for equal employment for minorities and women in federal jobs. The EEOC became responsible for enforcing laws that would deter discrimination and unfair hiring practices at the federal, state, and local levels. Unfair hiring practices have also prompted a closer look at the issue of equal pay between genders.

## Equal Pay

Continuing research has shown other inequalities that have affected minorities' opportunities to be an equal force in the labor market. Equal pay has been an issue for women in general for many years and continues to be a barrier for minority women. Based on the 2008 CPS by the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, wages for males are reported to be 80% higher than those for women (Table 9-3). White women make about \$100 more than African American women; however, Asian women make more than both groups. As noted in Table 9-3, the wages of Hispanic women are not considerably lower than African American women; however, a noticeable gap exists compared with Asian and White women.

The Equal Pay Act of 1963 was established to prevent discrimination in relation to gender and wages under the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. The law ensures that

**TABLE 9-3. Median Weekly Earnings, by Gender and Race, 2008**

Population	Earnings
White women	\$654
White men	\$825
Black women	\$554
Black men	\$620
Hispanic women	\$501
Hispanic men	\$559
Asian women	\$753
Asian men	\$966

Overall, women earned 80% of what men earned when comparing median-weekly earnings of all full-time wage and salary workers. Median yearly earnings for full-time year-round workers was \$35,102 for women and \$45,113 for men and in 2007.

From U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics. (2008). Employment and Earnings, Annual averages 1998 and 2008. Retrieved June 4, 2009 from <http://www.dol.gov/wb/factsheets/Qf-ESWM08.htm> and U.S. Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, (n.d.). Income, poverty and health insurance coverage in the United States: 2007. Retrieved June 4, 2009 from <http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p60-235.pdf>



women are afforded the same wages based on skills and knowledge of the job required. Although the law exists, as seen in Table 9-3 there is an enormous gap between wages of men and women. Further efforts to reduce wage discrimination between men and women were made based on the *Ledbetter v. Goodyear Tire & Rubber Company* when President Barack Obama enacted the Fair Pay Act of 2009, but the fight is far from over. Minority women who make a conscious decision to enter the profession of public administrator or other professions can further improve working conditions for all women, such as Lily Ledbetter, the namesake of the Lily Fair Pay Act of 2009. In addition, the U.S. Department of Labor has conducted research on addressing issues of discrimination and unfair practices that affect women under the glass ceiling initiative (Bullard & Wright, 1993). The Federal Glass Ceiling Commission has also made efforts through research and laws to break the barriers of wage differentials that exist due to gender stratification. It is highly important to identify gender bias practices that hinder the process of ensuring well-qualified and skilled minority women are included as part of the hiring pool. Identifying barriers that perpetuate discrimination against minorities and women provides an opportunity to design diversity programs. However, discrimination in the workplace is far from being eliminated. Minority women should be aware of their rights as an equal employee in an organization. Employers also have the responsibility of ensuring that all employees have an outlet to report acts of discrimination without backlash or reprisal.

## Affirmative Action

Title VII of the Civil Rights Act protects employees from discrimination in the workplace. This Act requires employers to be cognizant of the organization environment and promote equality for all employees of all races. Affirmative action was established for this purpose, to ensure that minority men and women have an equal chance at employment regardless of race, color, religion, gender, or national origin by preventing preference in hiring, and to level the playing field for minority women in education as well. Minority women now have the opportunity to enter professional fields usually dominated by men, such as construction, engineering, science, and medical industries. The lack of minority women represented in traditionally male-dominant industries is truly a representation of the number of minority women who currently hold positions as policymakers or those sitting on boards of directors. Affirmative action provides an opportunity for these positions to be evenly balanced between gender and race to ensure a diverse pool of experience, knowledge, and skills.

Affirmative action is just one of many laws that have historically transformed how organizations conduct business and provide equal treatment of employees. Through affirmative action minority women can achieve the “American Dream,” which at one time eluded them, along with the wonderful possibilities available in the “Land of the Free.” Of course, there is still more work needed before we overcome discrimination and inequality in the workplace. Advancement has been made and now it is time for minority women



to continue the charge to equality, along with others who have made a significant impact in the progression to equality.

### Backlash to Affirmative Action

Minority women should arm themselves to be aware of the laws against discrimination, and understand the proper steps that can be taken to report such behavior. The No Fear Act also known as the Retaliation Act of 2002, is just one of many laws the EEOC enforces that requires federal agencies to be held accountable for retaliation against employees who submit reports of discrimination in the workplace. In 2008, the EEOC reported over 95,000 charges, in which 35.6% was race based, 29.7% sex-based, 11% based on National Origin, and 1% based on Equal Pay Act (EEOC, n.d.a). The EEOC has taken on the mission of making every effort to eradicate discrimination against minority women and people of color according to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. In its efforts the EEOC's new strategic initiative known as E-RACE is designed to compliment Title VII. E-RACE objectives and goals include an opportunity to ensure a process and litigation system exists that will improve and enhance awareness of workplace discrimination against people of color and women (EEOC, n.d.b). Accountability is a key factor in the process; without it, discrimination and harassment will continue to exist.

The intention of affirmative action is to level the playing field for all; however, negative impacts of the law have resulted in backlash. Riccucci (2002) explores backlash and often seen consequences that occur when people of color report unfair practices, such as harassment and discrimination. The backlash that occurs is often from a disagreement with the affirmative action initiative, or employers who refuse to take appropriate action, or retaliation against the employee in whom discrimination or the harassment directly impacted. There are many cases that go unreported due to fear of backlash. The No Fear Act ensures employees are made aware of reporting procedures, and the Whistleblower Protection Law states retaliation is prohibited.

There were approximately 32,000 charges of discrimination received by the EEOC, of which over 25,000 were resolved. Approximately \$111 million was recovered through litigation against agencies on the complainants' behalf (EEOC, n.d.c). Riccucci (2002) states that employers continue to deny the existence of such reports instead of taking ownership and creating a work environment in which such behavior is not tolerated. In addition, organizations that provide opportunities to increase levels of professional knowledge through education also brings balance to a work environment that is inclusive of both genders.

### Affirmative Action and Education

One goal that most minorities believe is out of their grasp is obtaining higher education. An additional challenge and/or barrier women face is balancing work and caring for family while obtaining a higher education. In 2007, 35.9% working women were enrolled

in college (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Because of economic barriers the goal of education beyond high school seems unreachable for most, and in some cases minorities are overlooked in the process. However, minorities are realizing that alternative means through scholarships, grants, and financial aid are available, not to mention hard work and determination.

Traditionally, women enter teaching, nursing, or secretarial professions. A need exists to implement programs to reach out to young girls and women early on to introduce them to the science, medical, engineering, or political professions. According to the 2008 CPS report, minority women have a better chance of becoming more competitive in the workforce by obtaining an education above the high school level. The 2008 report indicates an increase of about 24% in 2007 of women obtaining college degrees compared with college graduates in 1970 (U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Minority women are still underrepresented, although reports show that women are more likely to obtain undergraduate degrees than their male counterparts (Wilson, 1989). It is important for colleges and universities to engage minority women at the early stages, as this can further the stance of academia in the public administration profession as a career option.

Minority women are faced with barriers when deciding to further their education beyond the high school level; however, through efforts like affirmative action the intent has been to make the decision a little bit more obtainable. Through financial aid and supplemental grants, the dream of obtaining an education is less difficult and stressful for most. However, many are still challenged with receiving enough encouragement and emotional support to know that they too are worthy of receiving a college degree that will make their future brighter.

Affirmative action was intended to provide an even balance of access to educational institutions afforded to White males and otherwise not available to people of color. However, the *University of California versus Bakke* case has set back the efforts of affirmative action by stating that the special admission program excluded Mr. Bakke as a White male applicant. The courts ruled that the special admissions program was in violation of the Equal Protection clause and therefore granted admission for Mr. Bakke. Colleges and universities have a level of social responsibility to make efforts to attract minority women through diversity programs despite the ruling.

Minority women are also underrepresented as faculty members in universities and colleges. Many colleges and universities offer fellowship programs to assist minorities in reaching goals of higher education as a means of attracting minority women as faculty members. Understanding differences between genders can provide an opportunity to develop strategies to implement diversity programs throughout universities and organizations. Diversity programs can result in creating a cultural environment where differences are celebrated and empowerment encouraged.

More now than in previous years, minority women have an opportunity to move to upper-level management positions, due to organizations that have pushed policymakers to increase diversity programs and to partner with universities in preparing candidates of public

administration degree programs for the profession out in the field. Partnerships developed between organizations and universities can both benefit from identifying the best practices and marketing strategies to attract minority women to the field of public administration. Through strategic partnership, an opportunity exists to prepare minority women to enter the workforce and to be well-informed and knowledgeable public administrators ready to make policy and program changes to meet the needs of diverse populations. Universities' knowing what is needed for minority women to advance as public administrators is just as important. Minority women need to be afforded the same opportunity for advancement as their White counterparts. Ongoing analysis on the trends and barriers in public administration in the field can provide opportunities for universities to design curriculums to maintain pace with the constant changes in society. Understanding concepts and methodology of public administration through a well-rounded curriculum will also provide confidence to minority women to join other known and unknown minority women trailblazers who have made an uncommon contribution to public administration.

## Minority Women Trailblazers

Many historical events have made significant headway in opening doors for minorities to have an opportunity for success in the workforce. The faces behind these events are often forgotten or are not recognized. The faces of these pioneer women are not known by many of today's minority women. The many contributions to the public administration profession have brought on a realization of the value minority women have as a diverse group in the workforce environment. Knowing where it all began can perhaps encourage others to realize the need for public administrators to be passionate about equality for all according to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

### Sojourner Truth

Sojourner Truth's crusade toward abolishment of slavery proved to be a major milestone to emancipation. Sojourner Truth's relentless efforts to ensure equality for African American women through her renowned speeches brought awareness to social issues that disenfranchised women and addressed masculine ideology, which at that time believed that women were chattel to be owned and abused by society. This same ideology agreed that African women had no rights at all. Although Sojourner Truth could not read or write, her descriptive literary works spoke volumes to people. Even today, the vast richness of her caring nature to bring equality to women is evident. Sojourner Truth continued to be a trailblazer for equal rights for African American women throughout her lifetime until her death in 1883. Her speech "Ain't I a Woman" in 1851 at a women's rights convention in Ohio for African American women supported the right to vote. Sojourner Truth had the courage to stand against barriers and challenged the notions of value of African American women in society as equals in the workforce (Aguirre & Baker, 2008).

Today, we can see how far women have come as a whole since the Women's Movement. Now, through different levels of federal, local, and state government offices and agencies,

minority women are becoming more visible. Minority women in senior-level positions are recognized as capable and active decision makers providing solutions to today's social issues that affect all diverse populations. This is evident in how Sojourner Truth and others like Harriet Tubman cared enough to put others before themselves for freedom, not just for slaves but for all who were treated unfairly due to the color of their skin, religion, or gender.

### Viola O. Baskerville

A minority woman, Viola O. Baskerville, made significant strides as the second African American woman to be appointed as the Secretary of Administration under the cabinet of Governor Tim Kaine for the state of Virginia (Hutchinson & Condit, 2009). Baskerville is just one of many minority women whose tireless efforts have significantly impacted the lives of many. Minority women have the ability, along with their counterparts, to be active participants in improving federal programs. Viola Baskerville was recognized as a trailblazer and role model while she served on the Health, Welfare, and Institutions Committee and on the Commerce and Labor Committee, where she pushed forward to ensure developmental opportunities were available for minority women. Baskerville's work ethic embodied the very characteristics that made her successful in breaking ground in often controversial situations when she would take the unpopular stance against policy and laws for enactment. However unpopular this was with her colleagues, she continued to stay the course to ensure that her commitment did not waiver in fighting for rights of women, children, and small businesses (Hutchinson & Condit, 2009).

Viola Baskerville is an advocate for mentoring, and she supports the idea that it has added value in molding women of color as leaders. Mentorship in an organization has more success when it is ingrained into the culture (Zachary, 2000). Understanding the organization's culture can ensure that treatment of all employees is fair and unbiased. Opportunity is often found through mentoring to increase the confidence of minority women in the realization that they have something to contribute to the success of the organization in meeting goals and objectives. Mentoring can have its drawbacks if the senior employee does not create a nonthreatening relationship with the less experienced employee. Ms. Baskerville has set the tone for mentoring during her tenure in office as one of a small population of African American women to serve in the Virginia State house and the first African American woman to hold a statewide elective office. Viola Baskerville realizes the benefits of mentoring and therefore takes every opportunity to reach out to other minority women; they too are encouraged to pay it forward (Hutchinson & Condit, 2009).

### Patricia Roberts Harris

Another role model for minority women is Patricia Roberts Harris, who is another example of how minority women have become champions toward equality to ensure social justice for all. Her strong characteristics are well known in the political community and have

allowed her to stay firm and committed to improving the standard of living, resulting in better welfare, education, and employment opportunities. Harris was the first woman of color nominated as ambassador to Luxembourg, as well as the first Black woman to serve three cabinet positions, including cabinet secretary of U.S. Housing and Urban Development, a position through which she made efforts to ensure that housing was constructed to be handicap accessible, and cabinet secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare (Williams, 2004). Her achievements during her lifetime allowed her to withstand adversity and the harsh ideas before and during such historical events as the enactment of the 1964 Civil Rights Act where she participated in sit-ins to address discrimination toward minorities and women. Her active membership as vice-chair of the campus chapter of the NAACP is an example of her exemplary service to ensure that those less fortunate have a voice against unfair treatment according to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act.

### Other Trailblazers

There is not enough space allotted to this chapter to recognize the efforts of many more notable women of color who have made significant strides toward equality for minorities, women, and the poor. However, a few more exemplary women of color are worth mentioning before putting this chapter to an end:

- Naomi B. Lynn: first female academic dean for the College of Public and Urban Affairs at Georgia State University, first Hispanic, and second President of the American Society for Public Administration (Richter, 2004).
- Patsy Mink: first Asian-American woman from Hawaii to the 89<sup>th</sup> Congress (1965–1967) and 94<sup>th</sup> Congress (1975–1977); served on several committees that included Education and Labor, Interior and Insular Affairs, and the Budget Committee (Women in Congress, n.d.a).
- Nancy Pelosi; first woman to serve as Speaker of U.S House of Representatives (January 2007) (Women in Congress, n.d.b).

### Conclusion

The theory of emotional labor clearly has a place for both genders. For programs and policies to be implemented, someone must care about the welfare of others enough to make changes happen. This means that there is a level of emotional connection associated with making things happen in the public administration profession. The challenge will be to determine the level of emotional labor needed to ensure a positive outcome to meet the overall goals and objectives desired. A holistic approach is needed to bring an understanding of discourses that minority women are challenged with in public administration. However, it should bring light to the fact that minority women are needed, and have



valued experience, knowledge, and skills pertinent to moving policies and programs in public administration to a higher level of success. Minority women in public administration can become major players in creating a better life for women, children, families, and minorities. The attributes possessed by minority women cannot be overlooked and therefore women in general can be an important presence in the public administration profession and in creating change and in today's economic state.

Many women have stepped up to the challenge of becoming the voice of the people by acting in the best interest of those who are in need so that they are not forgotten. What better way to show stewardship, kindness, and compassion for those whose voice is often not heard among the many fortunate. Minority women have strength and endurance to lend a voice during the decision-making process in the development of policy and laws that can improve the quality of life of citizens regardless of race or gender. By understanding challenges and barriers faced by minority women, we can begin to becoming active leaders in government, and to provide opportunity in creating professional developmental programs that provide knowledge and skills to become public servants. In addition, more experienced minority women in the field of public administration should realize their responsibility to mentor younger women so that they too can continue to move forward toward change and provide an uncommon contribution to the field of public administration. The bond that can be created can foster unity through a sustainable mentorship program.

Through the challenges and contributions of minority women trailblazers such as Vioia O. Baskerville and Patricia Roberts Harris, minority women can choose to enter the public administration profession knowing that they too can benefit from their experiences to become a part of a sisterhood and commonality of women service providers. Although significant strides have been made to bring balance to the profession, there still lacks a presence of minority women in some public service positions. Women still have to ensure that we stand out and are distinctive from our male counterparts in paving the way for positive change toward a better life for all.

## Discussion Questions

1. Describe the differences between emotional labor and cognitive skills as they relate to minority women as public administrators.
2. Describe the four key communication requirements in the decision-making process as they relate to emotional labor.
3. What are some barriers minority women face when entering the workforce?
4. Explain federal policies that have been enacted to eradicate discrimination against minority women in the workplace.
5. Explain the pros and cons of Affirmative Action.
6. Discuss the benefits of mentoring.



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# Women in Public Administration: Sustainable Development and Social Justice

Deniz Zeynep Leuenberger

### Key Terms

Social justice

Sustainability

Sustainable development

Systems theories

### Introduction

Gender is a critical consideration in sustainable development for social justice and public administration because the largest burden of environmental crisis is borne by women and specifically by women in developing countries (Berkovitch, 1999). This burden adds to the economic, political, and social inequities women disproportionately face in development, service provision, and resource allocation. In a world of diminishing resources, growing gaps between the rich and the poor and continued gender inequalities impacting women's political and economic access negatively impact both the environment and people. Government agencies and nonprofit organizations, with women as important partners and contributors in planning, have an opportunity to improve the well-being of citizens through participation, sustainable development, and systems-based developmental planning. The expanding role of women in development, as participants in decision making, as leaders of systemic change, and as caretakers of social welfare, is an opportunity for public administration to improve social and environmental justice. This chapter explores the role of women in addressing sustainable development in public administration and discusses the theoretical foundations of gender and equity in sustainability decision making.

## Public Administration and Sustainable Development Theory

In the field of public administration the added risk of environmental crisis and depletion of resources has led to an increasing emphasis on sustainability. Sustainability, in terms of natural capital, human welfare, and organizational stability, has highlighted the need to focus on the long-term availability of resources that maintain public and nonprofit organizations. Sustainability and sustainable development, the application of sustainability to planning and growth of communities and its structures, have been lauded as tools for promoting social justice, building equity, and increasing citizen participation in public administration practice (Weaver, Rock, & Kusterer, 1997; Williams & Matheny, 1995). They have emerged as important tools because they integrate concepts already considered components of good public administration, such as efficiency, equity, and citizen participation, and also foster intergenerational and intragenerational equity, discourage complete dependence on market-based decision making for environmental solutions, and preserve natural capital (Leuenberger, 2006; Leuenberger & Wakin, 2007). Sustainable development supports a balance between biological, social, and economic needs and an adoption of a holistic approach to community and economic development.

Sustainability and sustainable development theory and practice in public administration draw from the research, history, narrative, and theory on gender equity and women's labor and work. Women have been important contributors as leaders of change and have also been the victims of environmental degradation, especially in poor and developing nations. Several themes emerge in the discussion of women's role in sustainable development and in public administration. The first of these themes is that of social justice and the use of sustainable development as a tool for providing equity for women and minority groups in access to basic human rights and needs. Second, the impact of markets and economic opportunities for women is critical to consider. The provision of caring labor and under-compensation of the work of women are examples of issues impacting the ability of women to equally access natural resources. The third theme is the introduction of a style and hierarchy of management linked closely to the work of women. The implementation of systems theories, horizontal hierarchy, and gender-based communication styles in organizations and community relationships are vital to sustainable practice. Finally, participation is an important theme linking the role of women in decision making and sustainable development within public administration.

## Sustainable Development and Social Justice

According to the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development, all humans have the right to adequate food and nutrition, clean water, sanitation, health care, and of self-determination and of an equal share of the community benefits (Global Human Rights Education Network, 2009). In addition, "women have the right to work and to enjoy equal

pay, benefits, and opportunities for advancement” and have a right to protection from discrimination in the workplace and to “assured participation and access to benefits of development” through the planning process (Global Human Rights Education Network, 2009, p. 2). The 1979 Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women states that women have a right to participate in elections and policymaking and to hold public office (Global Human Rights Education Network, 2009). Social justice requires equal access to social and economic resources, to decision making and political participation, and to civic education. The equal distribution of the costs and benefits of development among all citizens is necessary (Shrader-Frechette, 2002).

Unfortunately, women are not able to access all these rights and increasingly carry the burden of environmental and economic crises (Berkovitch, 1999). Because environmental justice and social justice are critically tied to one another, the lack of access to decision making about environmental issues, development, and allocation of natural capital resources places women at increased risk worldwide (Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). Further, the future of children and women are also negatively impacted by lack of access. There is an increased need for sustainable development, which requires maintaining a balance between the needs of current and future generations while also promoting environmental welfare and the preservation of natural capital. The health of the environment is critical to the welfare of future generations and to promoting human social equity and justice (Weaver et al., 1997). Sustainable development supports equal access to natural capital held in common and requires full participation in planning its development. Further, it requires that natural resources be managed in a manner so that they are preserved for future peoples.

Amartya Sen, in his work, *Development as Freedom* (1999), places additional importance on development by tying it to political and civil rights. He asserts that freedoms depend on social and economic arrangements and are a necessary component of economic health and of effective development. “Unfreedoms,” such as the lack of access to health care, clean water, premature mortality, lack of education, lack of gainful employment, and lack of basic civil and political rights, impact women disproportionately (Sen, 1999). Freedoms and rights contribute directly to economic progress for those in poverty and at-risk minority groups (Sen, 1999). Public administration and sustainable development provide the normative orientation and the tools to facilitate increased social justice through education, participation, and protection of the democratic process. Citizens are provided education about their rights and responsibilities in managing natural and human capital and are provided protections and processes in accessing their rights and meeting their responsibilities (Shiva, 2005).

Public administration’s adoption of sustainable development is a step toward increasing women’s well-being and equity, as well as increasing opportunities for individuals in poverty and in minority populations. There is an increased need to integrate class, race, and gender equity in decision making about environmental and social justice (Agyeman, 2005). Without access to environmental decision making through public and nonprofit

organizations, paternalism prevails and public administration can, intentionally or unintentionally, “limit the rights of people in their own interest for their own good” (Shrader-Frechette, 2002, p. 122). Development and planning of natural capital or environmental resources must consider the perspective of women and integrate women’s leadership.

## Markets, Women’s Labor, and Equity

A discussion of sustainable development and the inclusion of women in public and non-profit decision-making theory must consider the role of the market on issues of equity and social justice. Smith and Pangsapa (2008) assert that there is too much focus on market-based solutions and rights of private ownership and that an increasing emphasis on the ethics of care is necessary. They suggest that domination of the environment, through economic and political power holding, is equivalent to the domination of women (Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). Further, they recommend a movement away from protection of individual rights and toward a protection of minority rights (Smith & Pangsapa, 2008).

Capitalism and free-market economics, although supporting some freedoms in exchanges between suppliers and buyers, also allow a number of negative externalities or market failures. Negative externalities, which force third parties to bear the damaging effects of market transactions, often harm the environment and the most disadvantaged of citizens. Pollution and environmental degradation often harm those in poverty and minority groups who are least able to bear these costs. Women in poverty are most at risk, and it comes as no surprise that some of the strongest efforts of environmental advocacy have been led by women (Berkovitch, 1999; Sandler & Phaendra, 2007; Shiva, 2005; Shrader-Frechette, 2002). The examples of Patsy Ruth Oliver, a citizen who advocated for government protections and compensations of minority residents living on the Superfund site in Carver Terrace in Texas, and of Betsey Gotbaum, who has served as a public advocate for promotion of Superfund sites cleanup in the City of New York, stand out.

An increased emphasis on care and on relationships in work, instead of on markets, provides another alternative for economic and environmental welfare improvements. Rooted in feminist theory, caring labor is performed “on a person-to-person basis” and “in relationships” and is a “nonmarket” asset (Folbre, 2001, p. xi). Responsibility, ethics, and human well-being are key considerations (Folbre, 2001; Gilligan, 1993; Hochschild, 2003; Jones, 2001). Like the work of women in general, caring labor is often under-compensated or uncompensated, yet provides a great deal of value to nonprofit and public organizations (Drucker, 1990; England & Folbre, 2003; Gibelman 1999; Helgesen, 1995; Hopfl, 2003; Leuenberger, 2005; Meyer, 2000; Perkins Gilman, 1975). Assignment of a price to caring labor and to natural capital poses a number of problems. Price is a mechanism of a contract during exchange, is based on assignment of property rights, does not include voluntary contributions, and is based on a short-term demand. Caring labor is underpriced because the value of relationships and the voluntary contribution of care are not included in the price. Environmental assets are underpriced because they are priced



only in relation to immediate benefit to humans. Exclusive reliance on market solutions for improving social and environmental justice and welfare is not likely to be successful because incomplete pricing signals and market failures prohibit it. Sustainable development in public administration can help to mitigate negative externalities and market failures through planning of incentives and regulations, can reduce risk to citizens and communities through resource use planning, can provide an alternative to market-based models through consideration of the labor of care and the value of natural capital, and can increase minority voice through increased participation in decision making (Fischer, 2000; Leuenberger and Wakin, 2007).

## Participation and the Democratic Process

Participation is another important component of sustainable public administration. Naff (2001) states that dismantling barriers for women and minority groups requires inclusion and representative democracy. She suggests the demographic makeup of citizens must be reflected in government participation if policy and action is to reflect the values of citizenry (Naff, 2001). Citizen participation in environmental and social justice decision making adds “democratic morality” to government action and improves the likelihood of achieving shared goals and outcomes (Simonsen & Robbins, 2000). Further, it creates an opportunity for a more equitable and sustainable plan of action in environmental policy making (Weaver et al., 1997). Civil society is strengthened by tying incentives to solutions, by self-monitoring of successes and infractions, and by sharing of responsibilities (O’Connell, 1999; Ostrom, 1990; Smith & Pangsapa, 2008).

In addition, decision making in public administration requires both technical knowledge held by public administration and local knowledge provided by citizen experts (Callway, 2005; Leuenberger, 2006). Partnerships between citizens and public and non-profit agency leaders are critical to achieving sound developmental plans because they provide balance through the tension of stakeholder interests (Callway, 2005; Fischer, 2000; Gibson, McKean, & Ostrom, 2000; O’Connell, 1999; Ostrom, Schroeder, & Wynne, 1993; Simonsen & Robbins, 2000; von Hayek, 1945). Decision making in social and environmental advocacy must move away from environmental advocacy to a process of deliberation and dialogue (Smith & Pangsapa, 2008). These processes are more likely to address external threats to the community, engage citizen responsibility, and encourage environmental stewardship and social equity (Agyeman, 2005).

Sustainable development in public administration, by including citizen and professional expertise in decision making, has the potential to improve social, economic, and environmental outcomes and to improve access to resources for minority groups and women. In including the voice of women in environmental decision making, communication styles and preferences should be a consideration. According to Helgesen (1995), women prefer face-to-face communication, maintain a complex network of work and personal relationships, and often prefer to lead through nonhierarchical organiza-



tional structures. Horizontal organizational structures and a focus on systems approaches are key to the meaningful inclusion of women in environmental policy and planning decisions.

## Horizontal Hierarchy and Systems Theories

Systems theories and horizontal organizational structures provide insight into the management of social and environmental justice in public administration. Built on the largely women-led settlement movement of the Progressive Era, systems theories offer a foundation for managing complex relationships between stakeholders and natural resources (Lee, 2008; Stivers, 2000). These theories support solutions for environmental health that are sensitive to the needs of individual stakeholders, avoid short-term, temporary solutions, and consider relationships and communication within and between systems.

A systems approach to development, such as sustainable development, assesses relationships between system components and their overlapping spheres of responsibility (Bertalanffy, 1968; Leuenberger, 2006). For example, a long-term development plan to provide food to those in poverty may also consider employment, transportation, education, access to water, and health care. Similarly, solutions to improve environmental well-being must consider impacts on other system components to be viable in the long run. For instance, ethanol use partially addresses dependence on nonrenewable fuels. However, it expends resources of water, land, and human labor, and contributes to increases in carbon dioxide from automobile emissions and in chemical pollution from pesticides and fertilizers. Solving problems of human and environmental welfare requires careful assessment of systems-wide impacts.

Another perspective informing social and environmental justice and contributed to by feminist approaches to organizational management is the use of horizontal organizational structures in public and nonprofit organization leadership. According to Helgesen (1995), women's leadership styles often support flat organizational structures over vertical structures. These structures are built on relationships and inclusion, promoting multi-level participation. In addition, labor is used as a commodity for social exchange, allowing women to strengthen bonds and build social capital (White, 1994). "For women, labor is a major currency of social exchange," creates solidarity, and defines group membership in community and family (White, 1994, pp. 9 and 15). Horizontal relationships in the work of governments and nonprofit organizations increases acceptance of pluralism and diversity in planning decisions and supports a moral focus over a market-based focus in decision making (Callway, 2005; Helgesen, 1995; Rung, 2002). Joined with systems approaches, these networks provide alternatives to the free-market economy, increase understanding of the connectedness of social and environmental issues, and promote incentives for individuals to meet their responsibilities (Shiva, 2005). Women's leadership and leadership styles in environmental decision making are therefore significant assets in creating sustainable community systems.

## Conclusion

Addressing gender inequalities is potentially one of the most important contributions of public administration to development decisions. The field is appropriately placed to provide mentorship and facilitation for women as government and nonprofit leaders and as citizen experts and advocates. Environmental sustainability, social justice, and women's rights are closely tied to one another, and development work must consider them simultaneously to improve long-term outcomes for citizens and for the environment. Voice and participation are critical to decision making in public administration, and inclusion of women in development decisions is necessary to sustainable development planning and action. Supporting women's well-being through development also means supporting women's rights and freedoms. Political freedoms, economic access, social opportunities, and transparent administrative process for women should be protected by public administration and by development actions (Sen, 1999). The contribution and value of women's leadership, as citizens and as professionals, to sustainable public administration practice is enormous. To create a more environmentally sustainable future, public administration must:

1. Understand the true contribution of women to social, environmental, and economic health.
2. Focus on community, civil society, and relationships.
3. Foster and support leadership positions for women in public and nonprofit agencies, especially in developing nations and in positions where women are underrepresented.
4. Increase the role of women as professional and as citizen experts in community decision making.
5. Reduce exclusive dependence on market-based solutions in development.
6. Provide education and civic education to women and to citizens as a whole.
7. Identify the economic, social, and political needs and wants of women and minorities through inclusion in the decision-making process.
8. Incorporate knowledge about women's leadership and communication styles.
9. Adopt systems approaches to managing environmental, economic, and social problems.
10. Consider the role of horizontal organizational structures in building consensus in decision making.
11. Include solutions that can be implemented at the micro-level, because the adoption of planning that is large in scale and unresponsive to household and community may not be as sustainable in the long run.

12. Engage in information gathering that respects individual narratives as well as quantitatively presented knowledge.
13. Avoid paternalistic planning solutions.
14. Understand and seek to resolve the tremendous negative impact of environmental degradation on women in poverty and in developing nations.

As leaders of government and nonprofit organizations, the increased presence and decision-making power of women in public administration is critical if decision making is to guide changes that benefit women as citizens. Especially in developing nations, the absence of women in public administration leadership positions weakens access to resources and participation for all women and their households. The link between women as public administration leaders and as citizen leaders is a vital one for social justice and sustainable development in public administration. An increased role for women as public administration professionals and as citizen experts in development and resource allocation is absolutely necessary for a sustainable and socially just global community. By drawing from and building on theories impacting gender equity within the field of public administration and in adjacent fields, public administration can continue to grow equitable, sustainable, inclusive, and just decision making, planning, and action.

## Discussion Questions

1. Women in poverty and in developing nations carry the largest burden of environmental crisis. What responsibility do women in public administration leadership positions have to women in poverty? What contributions can women in poverty and in developing nations make in promoting environmental and social justice?
2. Systems approaches are critical to sustainable development action and planning. Identify a social or environmental crisis impacting women and describe the system components that must be considered in decision making.
3. Citizen participation in decision making is an important component of social and environmental justice. What are specific examples of participation models or approaches that you have observed used in public administration practice?

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## Chapter 11

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# Women in Public Budgeting and Financial Management

Marilyn Marks Rubin  
John R. Bartle

### Key Terms

Chief financial officer  
Financial management  
Gender gap  
Gender-responsive budgets  
Government budgets

### Introduction

This chapter considers the evolving role of women in public budgeting and financial management. Budgeting is at the core of government at all levels in the United States and in most other countries and is “. . . the medium through which [flows] the essential life support systems of public policy” (Wildavsky & Caiden, 2001, xxvii). The two parts of a government’s budgetary system are its expenditures for a given period and the revenues for financing them. Financial management is the related system of accounting and auditing tools and mechanisms that ensures the efficiency and integrity of government budgets and its cash and debt management. Those who create and monitor public budgets and are responsible for financial management functions ensure that government’s life support system is in, and stays in, running order.

Historically, both public budgeting and financial management functions have been performed by men, with women having a relatively minor role in their provision. For example, every U.S. Secretary of the Treasury, the chief financial officer of the federal government, has been a man, and even today just one of five sitting members of the U.S. Federal Reserve Board of Governors is a woman. The Board is responsible for establishing U.S. monetary policy and for ensuring the safety and soundness of the nation’s banking and financial systems.

Although empirical and anecdotal evidence shows that women lag their male colleagues in all aspects of public budgeting and financial management, the evidence also



shows that women are making significant inroads into the field. This chapter considers women's evolving role in government budgeting and financial management from two perspectives. The first looks at this evolution using three indicators: (1) women's contributions to scholarship and research, (2) their participation in public budgeting and financial management organizations, and (3) their positions as practitioners and leaders in the field. The second perspective considers the role of women in promoting the concept and use of gender budgets; that is, budgets which account for the differential impacts of government expenditures and revenues on women and men. Gender budgets can be instrumental in holding governments accountable to their gender equality commitments.

## Evolving Role of Women in Public Budgeting and Financial Management: Three Indicators of Progress

The changing economic, political, and social fabric of American society has provided a positive environment for the progress of women in fields that were traditionally male dominated, such as public budgeting and financial management. Although women's presence is increasing across all facets of public budgeting and financial management, they are not yet fully on par with men in scholarship and research, organizational participation, or in leadership roles in the field.

### Scholarship and Research

Scholarship and research, which are key to advancing knowledge in all disciplines, are primarily disseminated in two formats: conference presentations and written works included in either books and monographs or professional journals. In recent years, most of these journals have become accessible via the Internet, making research findings available to a vast audience. Women have authored or coauthored many books on public budgeting and financial management (including this chapter's first citation). It is difficult, however, to choose which and how many of these books should be included in an analysis of women's contributions to the field.

Books reviewed in journals are generally selected by book editors and may or may not represent the field. Other lists of books may not be representative because of the subjectivity of the selection process. Thus, following the precedent established by Stallings and Ferris (1988) in their analysis of research in public administration and adopted by Rubin (1990, 2000) in her research on the history of women in public administration, the analysis of women's contributions to public budgeting and financial management is based on their journal contributions.

Furthermore, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to do an exhaustive review of all public budgeting and finance journals to trace the evolution of women's contributions. Instead, two representative journals, *Public Budgeting & Finance* and the *National Tax Journal*, have been selected to track this evolution. *Public Budgeting & Finance* (PBF) is the quar-

terly journal jointly sponsored by the Association for Budgeting and Financial Management (ABFM) of the American Society for Public Administration (ASPA) and the American Association for Budget and Program Analysis. It is “. . . clearly viewed as the strongest . . . among all of the budgeting and finance journals in public affairs,” according to the survey responses of editors and editorial board members—the “gatekeepers of journal quality”—of 39 public administration journals (Bernick & Krueger, Unpublished paper)<sup>1</sup> The *National Tax Journal* (NTJ), the quarterly journal of the National Tax Association (NTA), received the second highest ranking for budgeting and financial management journals in public affairs from this same group of editors and editorial board members (Bernick & Krueger, Unpublished paper).

### *Public Budgeting & Finance*

*PB&F* began publication in 1981. Its “. . . content . . . spans the spectrum of budget process and policy and financial management. . . .” (<http://www.wiley.com/bw/journal.asp?ref=0275-1100>). Since its inception, *PB&F* has had five editors-in-chief, of whom two have been women: Naomi Caiden (1989–1994) and Irene Rubin (1995–1996). Both women are luminaries in the field as are the three men who have been its editors: Allen Schick, Jesse Burkhead, and John Mikesell, the current editor. At the present time not only is the editor-in-chief a male, but so too are the managing editor, the four associate editors, and the book review editor. Of the 25 editorial board members, nine are women (36%), marginally above their 35% representation in ABFM’s membership.<sup>2</sup> In the journal’s early years, women constituted less than 20% of the Board. Their presence doubled and reached its high point in 2002 when women represented over 40% of the Board, slightly above their 38% membership in ABFM at that time.

Turning to an examination of articles published in *PB&F*, although the proportion of articles published by women remains below that of men, an upward trend in their representation is clear (Table 11-1). From 1981 to 1985, the first 5 years of the journal’s history, of all published articles 9% were authored or coauthored by women and 8% by a male–female or female–male team (order denotes the lead author). Taken together, the 17% was five percentage points below the 22% of women in ABFM during this period. Jumping forward to the present time, of all *PB&F* articles published from 2006 to 2009, 15% were authored or coauthored by women and 15% were coauthored by a male–female or female–male team. Taken together, the 30% was close to double the 17% in the journal’s early years but still five percentage points below the 35% female representation in ABFM—the same margin of difference as 25 years earlier.

Looking further at women’s progress in research and scholarship, they have not kept up with their male colleagues as recipients of ABFM’s prestigious Aaron Wildavsky Award, especially in recent years. This lifetime achievement award was established in 1993 for work in budgeting and financial management in memory of Dr. Aaron Wildavsky, a pioneering scholar in government budgeting, public policy, and policy analysis. Between 1993 and 2008, of the 17 recipients, 4 have been women (24%), of whom two (Irene Rubin and

**TABLE 11-1. Authors and Coauthors of *Public Budgeting & Finance* Articles, by Gender of Author, 1981–2009\* (Percent of Total)**

Year	Female Author	Female With Female Coauthor	Female–Male/ Male–Female Coauthors	Male Author	Male With Male Coauthor
1981–1985	8%	1%	8%	73%	10%
1986–1990	13%	2%	8%	60%	17%
1991–1995	16%	1%	8%	56%	20%
1996–2000	11%	2%	7%	57%	23%
2001–2005	6%	4%	9%	46%	35%
2006–2009	10%	5%	15%	35%	35%

\*Percentages are of all articles during time periods shown; excludes book reviews and editor's notes. Numbers in table may not add up to 100 due to statistical rounding.

Source: Information was calculated from tables of content published in online *Public Budgeting and Finance*.

Naomi Caiden) have also served as editors-in-chief of *PB&F*. Caiden was the first recipient, but the last six award winners have been men.

### *National Tax Journal*

The *NTJ* began publication in 1948 as the successor to the 33-year-old *National Tax Association Bulletin*. Its "... focus ... is economic, theoretical, and empirical analysis of tax and expenditure issues, with an emphasis on policy implications" (<http://ntanet.org/publications/national-tax-journal.html>). Two women have thus far been editors-in-chief of the journal (concurrently in 2007–2008). At the present time, of its 21 Editorial Advisory Board members, 6 are women (29%), marginally above their 26% representation in the NTA membership.<sup>3</sup>

Turning to an examination of articles published in the *NTJ*, as with *PB&F*, a clear upward trend is discernible in the number of articles authored and coauthored by women. As Table 11-2 indicates, from 1965 to 1969 a little more than 3% of the articles in *NTJ* were authored or coauthored by women, and 3% were coauthored by a male–female or female–male team.<sup>4</sup> Taken together, this 6% was greater than women's 2% proportion of the NTA membership in 1970. Jumping ahead to the present time, from 2005 to 2009 the number of articles authored or coauthored by women climbed to 12%, and those coauthored by a male–female or female–male team increased to 19%. Taken together, this 31% exceeded the 26% of women in the National Tax Association during this same period—the opposite of *PB&F*. In *PB&F* during the same time period, women constituted 30% of authors/coauthors relative to their 35% proportion of ABFM members. It should, of course, be noted here that publication in either journal is not limited to members of ABFM or the NTA.

As in the case of the ABFM award, men are generally the recipients of the Richard Musgrave Prize for the *NTJ*'s outstanding paper (selected by the *NTJ* Editorial Advisory

**TABLE 11-2. Authors and Coauthors of *National Tax Journal* Articles, by Gender of Author, 1965–2009\* (Percent of Total)**

Year	Female Author	Female With Female Coauthor	Female–Male/ Male–Female Coauthors	Male Author	Male With Male Coauthor
1965–1969	3%	<1%	3%	73%	21%
1970–1974	2%	0%	1%	77%	20%
1975–1979	4%	0%	2%	72%	23%
1980–1984	4%	2%	3%	65%	25%
1985–1989	5%	1%	7%	54%	33%
1990–1994	9%	2%	15%	44%	31%
1995–1999	8%	1%	13%	50%	28%
2000–2004	12%	4%	17%	34%	33%
2005–2009	7%	5%	19%	36%	33%

\*Percentages are of all articles during time periods shown with the exception of those written by authors whose names could not be identified by gender; excludes book reviews, winner presentations, and conferences. Numbers in table may not add up to 100 due to statistical rounding.

Source: Information was calculated from tables of content published in online *National Tax Journal*.

Board). This was true in all years since 1999 with the exception of 2002, when it was shared by a man and woman.

The findings presented here with regard to the gender gap in publishing and related activities are consistent with what Rubin (2000) found in her study of the history of women in ASPA. She reported that during the 1990s women authored/coauthored an average 29% of articles in the *Public Administration Review* annually and an average 25% of articles in the *Journal of Public Administration and Theory*, the two top “generalist journals” in public affairs, according to the survey of editors and editorial board members referred to earlier in this chapter. The findings are also consistent with other research that shows fewer journal articles authored by women.

Part of the gender gap in publishing can be attributed to the fact that academics are the predominant contributors to the types of journals discussed in this chapter and in Rubin’s earlier research (2000, 1990). Proportionately more men than women are in faculty positions.<sup>5</sup> However, even looking at women and men separately and not as a proportion of all academics, a Higher Education Research Institute survey found that 20% of women in universities failed to publish just one journal article compared with 7% of men (Schneider, 1998). No similar data are available that can be used to determine if individual women in budgeting and financial management publish less than individual men, but based on anecdotal evidence, the Higher Education Research Institute survey findings may apply to them as well.

Several reasons for the apparent gender disparity in publishing, in addition to fewer women in academia, have been advanced. Some of the explanations are professional in nature and others are related to lifestyle and responsibilities. Although it has been found that the gender gap still exists even after controlling for variables such as academic rank and type of institution (Schneider, 1998), it has also been found that women spend more time than their male colleagues on non-research-related time-consuming activities, such as advisement and serving on departmental and university committees (Schneider, 1998).

Considering personal characteristics, women are much more likely to interrupt or slow their careers, and thus their publishing in journals or elsewhere, to raise children or to provide other types of care, especially to aging parents (Schneider, 1998). Although no empirical evidence is specifically applicable to women in public budgeting and financial management, anecdotal evidence suggests that these personal characteristics have impacted their publishing records more than those of their male colleagues in the field.

### *Conference Participation*

Professional conferences provide a second path for the dissemination of research and knowledge and provide a venue for discourse between academics and practitioners in applied fields such as budgeting and financial management. They also allow for "... valuable input and constructive criticism before submitting manuscripts to journals, book publishers, or grantors" (Hildreth & Woodrum, 2009, p. 16). It is beyond the scope of this chapter to trace women's participation through the years across all government budgeting and financial management conferences. Instead, this evolution is tracked using their participation in the annual conferences sponsored by ASPA's ABFM.

Established in 1977 as ASPA's Section on Budgeting and Financial Management,<sup>6</sup> ABFM's objective is to promote the professional development of budgeting and financial management in the public and nonprofit sectors. Its annual conferences provide a forum for deliberations on both current issues and the conceptual underpinnings of government budgeting and financial management. Many prominent leaders in the field have participated in ABFM conferences, such as Alice Rivlin, the first Director of the U.S. Congressional Budget Office (CBO) and later Director of the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB) and to date the only person to hold both offices; Robert Reischauer, President of the Urban Institute and former Director of U.S. Congressional Budget Office; and Allen Schick, the first editor-in-chief of *PB&F* and a pre-eminent scholar in the field.

As overall participation in ABFM's annual conferences has increased over the years, so too has the representation of women (Table 11-3). In the five conferences held from 1989 (ABFM's first annual conference year) to 1993, of all participants 23% were women,<sup>7</sup> somewhat below their 29% to 30% representation in ABFM's membership during that time. Jumping ahead to the latest period, at the five annual conferences held from 2004 to 2008, of the 845 participants 32% were women. This represented an increase of nine percentage points over the earliest period. The difference between female representation at the conference and their representation in the Association fell to three percentage points, an



**TABLE 11-3. ABFM Conference Participants, 1989–2008\***

	Total Female Participants	Total Participants	Percent Female
1989–1993	79	348	23%
1994–1998	105	421	25%
1999–2003	186	617	30%
2004–2008	268	845	32%

\*Excludes participants whose names could not be identified by gender. Numbers and percentages refer to all participants during time periods shown.

Source: W. Bartley Hildreth and Michael Woodrum, ABFM Conference History Project.

improvement over the seven percentage point spread in the earliest period of conferences.

Individual male members have been more active participants in ABFM conferences than individual females. Conference participation includes, for example, presenting papers, acting as panel discussants and moderators, and speaking at plenary sessions. Looking at cumulative participation from 1989 through 2008, seven of the top 25 conference participants were women (28%) (Hildreth & Woodrum, 2009), less than their representation in ABFM during most of the 20 years.

### Participation in Professional Associations

A second measure of women's evolving role in government budgeting and financial management is the extent to which they participate in professional associations, which "... are one way that practitioners and academics can increase the quality of public administration through lifelong learning in the field" (Klinger, 2000, p. 1). It would take more than one complete book, rather than just part of a chapter, to explore the evolving role of women in the myriad of professional associations in government budgeting and financial management. Instead, this is done by tracking women's progress in two representative organizations: ASPA's ABFM and the National Tax Association.

#### *Association for Budgeting and Financial Management*

For several years ABFM has been ASPA's largest section. No gender-specific data are available to track women's membership in the Association over time. However, data relating to new members are available and were used as a proxy for the gender composition of ABFM's membership.<sup>8</sup> During ABFM's first 2 years an average 14% of new members were women, and during the next 5 years an average of 22% of new members were women. From 2000 to 2004 women as a proportion of new members jumped to 38% but fell slightly from 2005 to 2009 to 35% (Table 11-4).



**TABLE 11-4. Female New Members of ABFM, 1977–2009\***

Years	Percent Female
1977–1979	14%
1980–1984	22%
1985–1989	29%
1990–1994	30%
1995–1999	33%
2000–2004	38%
2005–2009	35%

\*Numbers refer to total new members during time periods shown.

Source: Calculated from membership data supplied to the authors by the American Society for Public Administration.

As women's membership in ASPA has increased, so too has their involvement in the Society's governance. It took ABFM 14 years after its establishment in 1977 to elect its first female chairperson and another 5 years to elect its second. From 1995 to 2004 three more women were chairpersons of ABFM, as were the two most recent chairpersons. The Chair-elect for 2010 is also a woman, and of the three candidates for 2011 vice-chair, one was a woman. Although she did not win the election, she received 31% of the vote compared with the 37% that went to the male victor.

The other locus of leadership in ABFM is its Executive Committee whose members are elected by the Association's membership. At the present time three of the nine members of the Committee are women, as were 4 of the 11 members who recently ran to fill soon-to-be vacant slots on the Committee. Although none of the four women running won the election, one woman placed fourth, slightly behind the third place winner. Although men have generally outnumbered women on this body, there is no strong trend by gender. Since 1994 female representation on the Committee has fluctuated from as low as 22% (1997) to as high as 63% (2003).

From the above discussion it is evident that women have progressed in ABFM's leadership but have not yet achieved across-the-board equality with men relative to their proportion of Association membership. This also holds true for women in the National Tax Association, the second organization examined in this chapter.

### *National Tax Association*

The NTA was established in 1907 and "... is the most prestigious professional tax organization and the premier forum for debating ... public finance issues. ..." (<http://www.ntanet.org/membership.html>). It took the NTA until 1993, almost a full century after its establishment, to elect its first woman president. Since 1993 the Association has had three more female presidents, all of whom have served within the past decade, the latest in

2007–2008. Currently, of its 15-member Board of Directors, 3 are women (20%) and of its five Advisory members, one is a woman (20%). Both of these proportions are below the 26% of women in the NTA's membership in 2008.<sup>9</sup>

Going back over women's membership in the NTA during the past 60 years, in 1950 they comprised a scant 2% of the Association's members (Table 11-5). This proportion increased to 5% by 1980 and to 8% in 1990. By the early years the twenty-first century, the proportion of women in the Association jumped to 21% and by 2008 to 26%.

It is interesting to note the somewhat greater presence of women in ABFM and its organizational governance compared with the NTA. The fact that ABFM is a section of ASPA in which females comprise about 40% of the total membership may contribute to this difference. Although it is not necessary for ABFM members to also belong to ASPA, most do.

## Women as Practitioners and Leaders

The third indicator of the evolution of women in government budgeting and financial management is their presence in the field as practitioners and as leaders. It is far beyond the scope of this chapter to fully address this topic, but a brief exposition of women's presence in federal and state agencies primarily involved in budgeting and financial management provides some insight as to their progress as practitioners and leaders in the field.

### Federal Government

Every department in the executive branch of the federal government has its own budget office and each has a chief financial officer (CFO). However, only two departments have functions that are principally related to budgeting and financial management: the OMB

**TABLE 11-5. Female NTA Members, 1950–2008\***

Year	Percent Female Members
1950	2%
1960	1%
1970	2%
1980	5%
1990	8%
2000–2004	21%†
2005–2008	26%†

\*Excludes library members estimated at 200; also excludes members for whom names were not identified by gender.

†Average annual percent during time periods shown.

Source: 2000–2008 data calculated from tables of content published in online National Tax Association *Annual Proceedings*. Earlier data supplied to authors by the National Tax Association.

and the Department of the Treasury. Women's representation at the OMB, the Department of the Treasury, and as CFOs is summarized briefly to provide some insight into their progress in budgeting and financial management in the federal government. The legislative branch of the federal government is not covered in this chapter. It should, however, be noted that anecdotal and empirical evidence shows a growing presence of women as staff to congressional committees involved in budgeting and finance and in high positions at congressional agencies such as the Government Accountability Office (GAO) and the Congressional Budget Office (CBO).

### **Office of Management and Budget**

The OMB has the primary responsibility for preparing and monitoring the President's budget. Created by the 1921 Budget and Accounting Act as the Bureau of the Budget in the Department of the Treasury, the Office was moved to the President's Executive Office in 1939. Renamed the Office of Management and Budget in 1970, today it constitutes the largest component of the Executive Office (Tomkin, 1998). Alice Rivlin has been the OMB's only female director since the office was established in 1921.

In 1939 Don Stone, one of ASPA's founding members and a long-time supporter of women in public administration, hired the first woman to work in a professional capacity in the Bureau of the Budget (Rubin, 1990). Anecdotal evidence, however, indicates that before the 1970s women's presence as professionals in the OMB was practically nonexistent (Tomkin, 1998). Today, women constitute about 50% of the OMB's staff of approximately 500 persons. As late as 1998 there was a glass ceiling for women in the managerial levels of the institution, with only 6 women serving as branch and division chiefs and 46 men working in comparable positions. Gender representation is more equal among program examiners, program analysts, and budget technicians, with women serving in slightly fewer than half of all such positions (Tomkin, 1998).

### **Department of the Treasury**

The second federal department primarily involved with budgeting and financial management is the Department of the Treasury. As mentioned earlier, no woman has ever served as Secretary of the Treasury, nor has a woman ever been Deputy Secretary of the Treasury or even an Under Secretary. One explanation for this could be that top officials in the Treasury have often been drawn from Wall Street firms that, until very recently, have had few if any women in top positions. No gender-specific data are readily available on the occupational distribution of all Treasury employees, but the Department's website shows that although women head some divisions, most top positions are held by men.

### **Chief Financial Officers**

The Chief Financial Officers Act, signed into law in 1990, established the position of CFO for 23 federal departments/agencies to improve financial management in the federal government, and to develop standards of financial performance and disclosure. The number

was later expanded to 25. At the present time women account for 4 of the 19 filled CFO positions (21%) (<http://www.cfoc.gov>). They account for more of the Deputy CFO spots, filling 8 of the 24 positions (33%) (one department has no Deputy CFO position).

### *State Governments*

Similar to the federal government, departments in the executive branch of each state have their own budget offices, but only two departments have functions that are principally related to budgeting and financial management: the office of the state treasurer or comptroller, and the office of the state budget director. Women's roles in these two offices within the states are summarized briefly to provide some insight into their progress in budgeting and financial management positions in state government. Again, as is the case with the federal government, women's leadership roles in state legislative branches are also growing. It is, however, not addressed in this chapter.

### **State Treasurers**

State treasurers or comptrollers are the states' CFOs. In 37 states they are elected by the voters, in 4 states they are selected by the state legislature, and in 9 states they are appointed by the governor (National Association of State Treasurers, 2005). Regarding their responsibilities (National Association of State Treasurers, 2005, p. 275),

All . . . are responsible for cash management. . . . All but three . . . are responsible for banking services and in 37 states . . . are responsible for some aspect of debt management—issuance, service or both. Thirty-two state treasurers are administrators of unclaimed property programs and 29 invest retirement or trust funds . . . for their respective state.

From 1979 to 1994 the number of states with female treasurers increased from 9 to 20. However, since 1994 there has been a slight drop-off. As of this writing, 16 states have a female treasurer (33%) and 33 states a male treasurer.<sup>10</sup> Here again, women have made progress in the field but have not yet achieved parity with their male colleagues. In fact, 10 states (Georgia, Michigan, Mississippi, New Mexico, Oregon, South Carolina, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, and West Virginia) have not had a female treasurer since 1973.

### **State Budget Officers**

State chief budget officers, or state officials with comparable functions but varying titles, are responsible for formulating and managing state budgets as well as other activities, such as revenue forecasting, program analysis, and cash management. In 2008, of the 50 states 17 had female chief budget officers (34%). This is up from 2001 when 13 states had female chief budget officers (26%).<sup>11</sup>

The National Association of State Budget Officers (NASBO)

. . . has served as the professional membership organization for state finance officers for more than sixty years. NASBO is the instrument through which the states

collectively advance state budget practices ... [it] is composed of the heads of state finance departments, the states' chief budget officers, and their deputies.

In 2008–2009, of the 12 filled positions on the Association's Executive Committee, 3 were held by women.

## Gender Budgeting: Women in Action

What has been the impact of the growth in the role of women as scholars and practitioners on government budgeting and financial management? There are many possible effects, some of which are directly relevant to gender equality. The one that has been selected here for illustrative purposes is known as gender-responsive budgeting (GRB). This is a global effort that has emerged in response to a growing acknowledgment in most parts of the world that gender inequality is inefficient and costly (Elson, 2002) and that government policies can redress some of this inequity through a variety of policy initiatives including the gender-informed allocation of public resources (Balmori, 2002). This section briefly discusses the evolution of GRB and the leading role that women have had in its implementation.

### Brief History and Overview of GRB

Several terms, including women's budgets, gender budgets, gender-sensitive budgets, and gender-responsive budgets, have been used to describe government budgets that incorporate a gender perspective. GRB is used to define a government budget that explicitly integrates gender into any or all parts of the decision-making process regarding expenditures and/or revenues. The term "GRB initiative" is used to include (1) the actual integration of a gender perspective into any or all aspects of budget decisions and (2) an organized movement to influence government to incorporate a gender perspective into its budget decisions (Rubin & Bartle, 2005). Thus defined, GRB initiatives have been implemented at varying levels of depth and breadth in over 70 nations (United Nations Development Fund for Women [UNIFEM], 2008). These initiatives have been undertaken within government and/or outside government by nongovernmental organizations and/or by independent researchers.

Regardless of how the GRB initiative has been introduced, it has always been led by women. For example, the initial implementation of GRB took place in Australia in 1985. It was initiated and led by Australia's "femocrats," a term derived from "feminist bureaucrat" that has been most generally applied to feminists working in Australia's bureaucracy. Australia's femocrats argued that because public expenditures can have a differential impact on women and men, acknowledgment and assessment of their gender impact has to be part of the budget process.

Another example of a female-led gender-budgeting initiative occurred in South Africa in the 1990s when the country was emerging from decades of apartheid. South Africa's



Women's Budget Initiative was a collaborative effort of female members of Parliament and nongovernmental organizations. Debbie Budlender, a researcher with the Community Agency for Social Enquiry in South Africa, was a predominant figure in the country's gender-budgeting initiative and is one of the leaders in moving the implementation of gender budgeting forward across the world.

Interest in GRB was galvanized after the 1995 Beijing Conference on Women, when governments throughout the world committed themselves to a Platform for Action in 12 critical areas of concern. The allocation of public funds by governments to meet the Platform for Action's strategic objectives emerged as one of the major areas of advocacy for women's groups all over the world. Since then, a number of international agencies, such as UNIFEM, have taken a leadership role in gender-budgeting initiatives. In 2001 UNIFEM launched an initiative, "Gender Strengthening Economic Governance: Applied Gender Analysis to Government Budgets," to provide "technical and financial support to gender budgets initiatives in Latin America, Africa, and Asia-Pacific" (UNIFEM, 2008). These initiatives have branched out to also include countries in Europe and the Middle East. More recently, in November 2008, UNIFEM, the U.N. Capital Development Fund, and the U.N. Development Program jointly agreed to sponsor a gender-equitable local development program to be launched in selected local governments in Senegal, Rwanda, Mozambique, Sierra Leone, and Tanzania. The program commits \$8 million from 2008 to 2011 with a goal of improving the capacity of local governments to apply a gender-responsive perspective on planning, programming, and budgeting, and to facilitate the participation of women in these processes (UNIFEM, 2008). Several international foundations have also funded and encouraged GRB initiatives.

Leaders in GRB initiatives have come from government, civil society, and academia. Their ability to effect change has depended, in part, on their understanding of the budget process, tools of fiscal analysis, and policy implementation. These reformers have had to believe there was a gender gap to be addressed and to have the courage to speak out. Both are evident in the only two initiatives that have thus far been undertaken in the United States: the city-county of San Francisco and Fulton County, Georgia. This is also true in Canada's GRB initiative.

### *San Francisco*

San Francisco was the first government in the United States to move toward using its budget to promote gender equity. The initiative was undertaken as an integral component of a local ordinance adopted in 1998 in response to the failure of the United States to ratify the 1979 U.N. Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), often described as the first international bill of rights for women. To date, the United States remains the only developed nation that has not ratified CEDAW.

San Francisco's CEDAW ordinance promotes the equitable treatment of all persons by the city/county government, based on an analysis of data collected about who receives



services, how effective these services are, and what funds are being expended to provide them. The adoption of the San Francisco CEDAW ordinance resulted from the efforts of a public/private coalition spearheaded by the Women's Institute for Leadership Development (WILD) and the San Francisco Commission on the Status of Women. Other members of the coalition included the Women's Foundation of California and Amnesty International. It had the support of many of the city's commissions and other institutions as well as California's two female U.S. Senators and several community-based organizations (Lehman, 2007).

Key to the adoption of the CEDAW ordinance was the strong support of Barbara Kaufman, then President of the County Board of Supervisors. The ordinance has resulted in some positive steps city-wide and in a few departments. However, with two exceptions, one in 2003 and one in 2009, the initiative has yet to become an integral part of the city's budget process as it already has in Fulton County, Georgia.

### *Fulton County, Georgia*

Fulton County is the largest county in Georgia and includes part of Atlanta, the site of several international meetings on gender-related issues, including gender budgeting, hosted by the United Nations in 2006 and 2007. The County's GRB initiative has been almost completely driven by its female elected and appointed officials, most importantly Nancy Boxill. She is one of the seven members of the Fulton County Board of Commissioners—the county's governing body—and the first woman to hold this position in the county's history.

Shortly after the 2006 U.N. meeting, the county began its gender equality initiative under the general direction of Boxill, by issuing a Gender Equality Policy Statement and establishing the Gender Equality Taskforce chaired by Dr. Ann Harris, Deputy Director of the County's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity. The county sponsored training sessions for more than 100 employees in five departments, referred to as "Round One Pilots," so they could apply the concepts of gender budgeting to their services and employment practices. Since then, the training has since been expanded to include five more departments referred to as "Round Two Pilots."

Fulton County's initiative is already impacting its budget process in several ways. Gender is now explicit in the county's budget guidelines, which direct departments to include gender-based data with their program summary information. New gender-based information is being incorporated into budget hearings by the Fulton County Commission, and "Round One Pilot" departments have used their gender analysis to ensure that funds are being used to promote gender equity.

### *Canada*

As with San Francisco and Fulton County, Canada's gender-budgeting initiative was primarily spearheaded by women. In November 2007 the Standing Committee on the Status of Women of the Canadian House of Commons began a study of GRB. Based on extensive

hearings that included testimony from budget and gender budget experts from all over the world, the Committee determined that GRB can be an important tool to correct gender inequities and enhance women's empowerment.

In June 2008 the Committee issued its report to Parliament and the Prime Minister with recommendations on implementing gender budgeting. The recommendations included developing a plan to incorporate gender into Canada's budget cycle by January 2010, creating a unit of gender analysis experts at the central level of government to undertake gender-based analysis of tax and other macroeconomic policy, and having Canada's Department of Finance undertake a gender-based analyses of new and current tax policy systems and the distribution of benefits of current and new government spending initiatives. Although these recommendations do not yet have the force of law, they represent substantial movement toward the implementation of gender budgeting in Canada.

## Conclusion

The historical gender gap between women and men in the field of budgeting and financial management is narrowing but still exists across the three measures identified in this chapter: research and scholarship, participation in professional organizations, and leadership in the field. In research and scholarship, women's contributions have increased markedly over time but are not yet equal to those of their male colleagues as authors/coauthors in the two budgeting and financial management journals surveyed in this chapter. However, no data are available to determine whether individual males and females differ in their publishing activity.

The gender gap is also getting smaller but still exists in budgeting and financial management organizations. In ABFM and the NTA, the two organizations covered in this chapter, women constitute a larger proportion of their membership and are more involved in their governance than they were in the past. However, they still have a way to go to achieve equality with men. Echoing these findings, the brief exposition in this chapter of women's progress as leaders in budgeting and financial management in federal and state government indicates that women's role is generally increasing but is still not equal to that of their male colleagues.

A look into the future will probably find more women in all aspects of budgeting and financial management. More than likely it will also show that as the presence of women in the field continues, their impact will grow. In this chapter GRB was selected to illustrate the potential of this impact. In some 70 countries around the world, GRB has been an important initiative made possible by the leadership of women and their belief that government budgets are a critical tool in promoting gender equality. Although there is no clearly identifiable connection between the advancement of women in budgeting and finance and the development of GRB, it is unlikely that GRB would have happened if the field were as male dominated as it was in earlier years.

## Discussion Questions

1. Determine the gender of high-ranking elected or appointed officials in your state government. How well are women represented? Then look at high-ranking officials working in budgeting and financial management positions in your state. Is the representation of women in these positions as high as the first group?
2. Examine the career of a leading woman in government budgeting and financial management. Are there specific issues she is associated with that are of particular importance to women or girls?
3. Pick an organization you are associated with or interested in such as a student group or a community organization. Are the organization's funds spent in a way that reduces or contributes to gender disparities?
4. Look at a year's worth of articles in an academic journal of your choice and as best you can, determine the gender of the authors. How well are women represented? Do you see a difference in the topics women write about compared with the topics men write about?

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## Notes

1. In spring 2007 Bernick and Krueger sent an e-mail survey to all the journal editors and editorial board members of 39 public administration journals. Of the 1,097 potential respondents "185 individuals completed the portion of the survey that asks respondents to rank the journals" (Unpublished Paper).
2. No gender-specific data were available for ABFM membership. Instead, a database was provided to the authors by ASPA consisting of all persons who have at one time been members of ABFM. The database, which includes gender as well as the year of entry into the Association, was used to estimate the proportion of new members who were female, by year. The data were then aggregated to 5-year totals. Assuming that women and men leave ABFM at the same rate, the new member data were used to approximate ABFM membership.
3. All NTA data are from member lists included in the Annual Proceedings of the Association. Membership data for 1950–1990 were compiled by the Association. For all other years data were based on computerized lists supplied to the authors by Sztrecska Publishing. Gender was not always obvious by name. An Internet search of questionable names, using several sources

- (including <http://www.behindthename.com>) revealed the gender of some. When initials were used instead of a first name, the person was assumed to be a male because the use of initials is more common among males (<http://www.tsroadmap.com/reality/nameindex.html>). All names that remained unidentifiable by gender were excluded from the database.
4. Gender of *NTJ* authors was not always obvious by name. See Note 3 for description of how “gender unknowns” were treated.
  5. No data are available on the proportion of faculty members teaching public budgeting and financial management that are female, and data are not available on the proportion of all public administration faculties that are women. Based on a nonrandom sample of member schools of the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, an estimated 20% of tenured faculty members are female. Anecdotal evidence suggests that women constitute a significantly larger proportion of all faculty members (tenured and non-tenured). In the 1990s, Rubin (2000) estimated that 28% of full-time faculty members at National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration member schools were women.
  6. ASPA established sections in 1973. As of August 2009 there were 20 sections. Each ASPA member is eligible to join from one to all sections.
  7. All conference data are from W. Bartley Hildreth and Michael Woodrum, ABFM Conference History Project (contact: [BartHildreth@gsu.edu](mailto:BartHildreth@gsu.edu)). All names for which gender was not identifiable were excluded from the conference database.
  8. All “unknown” gender names were treated as described in Note 3 above.
  9. All “unknown” gender names were treated as described in Note 3 above.
  10. Based on information supplied to the authors by the National Association of State Treasurers. Data refer to the 48 continental states plus the District of Columbia.
  11. Based on information from NASBO member directories.

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Part IV

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# **Public Administration In Practice: Issues and Obstacles**

## **Section A: The Female Practitioner**





## Chapter 12

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# Municipal Clerks: A Female Perspective of Local Government

Victoria Gordon

### Key Terms

City clerk  
Job satisfaction  
Municipality  
Public office  
Public service

### Introduction

This chapter explores the female perspective of local government by examining job satisfaction of female clerks in local government. In the United States there is approximately one municipal clerk for each of the 19,431 municipalities identified by the U.S. Census of Governments (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002). With only one in each municipality, why should we as students of public administration take an interest in studying municipal clerks? What importance do clerks hold for understanding public administration through a gendered perspective? Why should we care about what they do on a daily basis? Why should we be interested in whether clerks are satisfied with their jobs? This chapter explores these questions by presenting survey data collected from municipal clerks across the United States that focuses on job satisfaction.

A study of municipal clerks offers an opportunity for a gender-based study, as opposed to a gender difference study. The International Institute of Municipal Clerks (IIMC) (2006) reported a total membership of 10,200 in 2005, of which 85% of U.S. members are female. A century ago municipal clerks were primarily a male-dominated group. It was rare that a woman held such a position, and if she did she certainly earned less (Guy & Newman, 2004). Historically, Stivers (2000) describes the bureau men who set about to improve and reform city government through efficiency and business and scientific practices. Conversely, at that same time in history, Stivers describes the settlement women who were involved in the “helping” or “caring” professions such as teaching, nursing, or

social work, who worked toward improvements for the poor by concentrating on such things as cleanliness and sanitation in urban America. As Shields (2009) notes, a century ago women expressed a “sympathetic understanding of the plight of others and the dignity of the everyday” (p. 21) that was made important through their charitable work and efforts at home. The importance of this work took a long time to be fully recognized as important to public administration.

Another descriptor of this “helping” component in the public administration literature is compassion. In studies of gender differences in the public sector, women in public service are expected to be more motivated by compassion than their male counterparts (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, & Pandey, 2006). Women are more likely also to step in and help—despite the fact that offering help may not be recognized, valued, or rewarded by the organization. Further, if they do not help, they are often judged harshly or may be seen as uncooperative (Guy & Newman, 2004). It is perhaps not too surprising that over the last 100 years the position of municipal clerk has been increasingly likely to be filled by a female.

This female group of municipal employees is important to study because the position of clerk is neither wholly political nor wholly administrative. Municipal clerks may be appointed or elected depending on state law. Previous research of women who hold political office (i.e., mayors and city council members) shows that the less desirable and the less important an office, the more likely that a woman will hold it, and that women do better in obtaining the office when the salary is low (Welch & Karnig, 1979). These two very sad but true conclusions intuitively seem to make this position a plausible and desirable one to study in the field of public administration, especially when we consider that the office of the clerk is the first point of contact for most citizens when conducting business with the city. The municipal clerk is on the front line.

Additionally, a hierarchical reporting structure is often missing for clerks in local government. An appointed clerk may report to the council, mayor, or sometimes to the city administrator or manager, but elected clerks are responsible only to their constituents. Further, promotion opportunities are often not relevant for clerks because they are often viewed as being at the “top of their career ladder.” Clerks often hold a long tenure in their position. Women often find it particularly challenging to balance work and family responsibilities, sometimes because the burden of those dual responsibilities may fall on them disproportionately. Many employees today are part of the “sandwich generation”—caring for elderly parents or relatives and small children, sometimes grandchildren (Champion-Hughes, 2001), and these responsibilities in particular often fall on women. This domestic constraint has been suggested as a limitation that working women face that keeps them from advancing, relocating, or networking with their colleagues, which might lead to advancement.

In summary, municipal clerks are important and deserving of attention in the field of public administration research for the reasons outlined above. Specific to the purpose of this book—to explore public administration and gender—a study of municipal clerks is fitting at this point in history when municipal clerks are primarily a female-dominated

group of municipal workers. Returning to the theme of helping, Perry and Mankin (2007) and Lewis and Frank (2002) note that the desire to help people is often a deciding factor in whether a young person chooses a public sector career. This motivation may in turn affect the individual's feelings about the organization, the trust she places in superiors, and ultimately levels of work satisfaction. Thus, there may be no better reason than this to try to understand the job satisfaction of female municipal clerks.

## Role of the Clerk: What Are the Duties of Municipal Clerks?

Before turning to a discussion of job satisfaction, it is important to understand what clerks actually do. If you ask a municipal clerk what she does, you will hear a myriad of answers. The range of duties varies greatly across municipalities, often based on size of the municipality, and specific duties are commonly set out by statute. In small cities and villages the clerk is sometimes the sole full-time employee and has multiple responsibilities (Sokolow & Honadle, 1984; Van Wart, 2000). Among their duties, clerks are charged with keeping the city's official records, preparing agendas, taking minutes, processing payroll, paying the bills, preparing the budget, and collecting taxes and fees (Blackburn & Bruce, 1989; Sokolow & Honadle 1984; Van Wart, 2000). In other cities the clerk is responsible for duties that mirror what one might consider appropriate for a city administrator or city manager—budgeting and finance, personnel, planning, grant administration, economic development, and public relations. In other municipalities we find the clerk is the equivalent of a department head and often is responsible for administrative support, record keeping, election administration, and finance (Van Wart, 2000). In some cities the municipal clerk is the keeper of the corporate seal and all official papers belonging to the municipality—in short, the official historian. The clerk is charged with attending all official meetings and keeping a full and accurate record of each.

Municipal clerks have an intimate knowledge of the day-to-day operations of their municipality (Sokolow & Honadle, 1984). Although statutes or ordinances may set out the official duties of municipal clerk, the clerk must attend to countless unwritten and sometimes unspoken duties each day. Clerks often spend time listening to their citizens—about excuses for unpaid bills, or searches for lost dogs, or complaints about things over which they or the city have no control. It is perhaps these unofficial, unrecorded, and unnoticed interactions with citizens that influence most greatly the level of job satisfaction reported by municipal clerks.

## Job Satisfaction

### Meaning of Job Satisfaction

What do we really mean when we say we are satisfied with our jobs? Job satisfaction is defined as the employee's reaction to what he or she receives from the job (i.e., the work

environment). By looking at the differences between what employees want and what they get, public sector employers can make organizational improvements or changes to the work environment that may motivate employees (Wright, 2001). Ultimately, public organizational effectiveness may be improved by the presence of dedicated public servants who are motivated not by narrow economic self-interest but by organizational loyalty and identification (Rainey & Steinbauer, 1999; Simon, 1998). The usual story is that where there is job satisfaction, there is less absenteeism and less turnover, which in turn limits the turnover costs to the organization in terms of hiring and then training a new employee (Dawis, 1984).

Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) use another definition that suggests job satisfaction is how well an employee likes his or her work. Why is this important? The simplistic answer is that organizations are made up of people, and to improve organizational effectiveness we must first understand the people who comprise those organizations. To understand municipal clerks, we must first understand what makes them a unique subset of municipal employees worthy of study—what motivates, what inspires, what frustrates, and what satisfies them in their professional lives.

### Private and Public Sector Employees

Are there differences in job satisfaction levels for private and public sector employees? There is no shortage of studies on the topic of job satisfaction—estimates range in the thousands. Often, we find job satisfaction studies that compare private sector and public sector employees (Blunt & Spring, 1991; Bogg & Cooper, 1995; Gabris & Simo, 1995; Maidani, 1991; Rainey, 1989; Steel & Warner, 1990) based on the assumptions that the public sector employee differs from his or her private sector counterpart and that the public sector work environment differs from the private sector work environment. Unfortunately, although differences in job satisfaction appear to exist between sectors, there is no consistency in those results across the literature (Blunt & Spring, 1991; Bogg & Cooper, 1995; Gabris & Simo, 1995; Jurkiewicz, Massey, & Brown, 1998; Steel & Warner, 1990; Wright, 2001).

Another approach to studying job satisfaction of public sector employees is to look at comparisons between levels of governments. Durst and DeSantis (1997) compared job satisfaction differences among federal, state, and local government employees. Some focus on employees across one large organization (Ellickson & Logsdon, 2001; Kim, 2002; Luchak & Gellatly, 2002), whereas other researchers (Blackburn & Bruce, 1989; McCue & Gianakis, 1997; Ugorji, 1997; Wright & Davis, 2003) focus on employees across one state.

Blackburn and Bruce (1989) studied the relationship between job satisfaction and quality of work life of Nebraska municipal clerks. Using a survey that combined measures of job satisfaction and quality of work-life factors, they found that city clerks had a high level of job satisfaction even when the quality of work life was not high. Further, they found job satisfaction was correlated with age, length of tenure, and education. McCue

and Gianakis (1997) studied the relationship between job satisfaction and performance of Ohio local government finance officers, who incidentally were primarily male. Overall, they found that finance officers appear to be satisfied with their jobs. Gabris and Ihrke (2001) studied county government employees' perceptions of the performance appraisal process, employee burnout, and job satisfaction. They found that as approval of the performance appraisal process increases, so does job satisfaction. They also found that job satisfaction was significantly associated with employee burnout rates, in that the higher the level of job satisfaction, the lower the level of burnout.

In another study of county employees, Kim (2002) looked at the relationship between participatory management and job satisfaction of Clark County, Nevada, employees. The results indicated that managers' use of a participative management style is significantly associated with job satisfaction, that a participative strategic planning process is significantly associated with job satisfaction, and that effective communications with supervisors is significantly associated with job satisfaction. The only control variable that showed significance was years of work in the department, which indicated that those who worked shorter lengths of time have higher levels of job satisfaction.

Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) studied 1227 municipal employees in a large Midwestern city to study factors influencing variation in job satisfaction. They hypothesized that environmental factors would be more important than personal attributes. These environmental factors included equipment and resources, physical space, safe environment, training, work load, departmental esprit de corps, pay, benefits, promotional opportunities, performance appraisals, and supervisor relations. Personal attributes included gender, age, and job level. Specifically, they found that supervisors, managers, and department heads were more satisfied than nonsupervisory personnel. Nine of the 11 environmental factors listed above were statistically significant. Physical workspace and safety in the workplace did not reach levels of statistical significance. They found that departmental esprit de corps, promotional or advancement opportunities, pay, and satisfaction with the performance appraisal process were the strongest determinants of job satisfaction. They did not find that age had an effect on job satisfaction, which was contrary to what they expected. Also, they did not find that gender had an effect on job satisfaction. Their overall model for job satisfaction had a strong  $R^2$  of 0.51, indicating that 51% of the variation in job satisfaction could be explained by their model.

## Model of Job Satisfaction

### Research Questions

What questions should we ask to understand job satisfaction? The Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) model was the beginning point for this study of municipal clerks' job satisfaction. Each of their hypotheses was carefully considered in relation to the very unique position of municipal clerk, and the rationale for the inclusion or elimination of each hypothesis



is discussed below. The primary research questions for this study are as follows: What are the factors that influence the variation in the overall job satisfaction level of municipal clerks? Will the Ellickson and Logsdon model tested on clerks across the United States provide similar results to those found in their study of employees in one large city? Is it possible that there are alternative factors identified in our survey data that more completely explain the variation in the overall job satisfaction of municipal clerks? What might we learn about job satisfaction if we ask clerks some open-ended questions about job rewards and job frustrations?

### Factors of Job Satisfaction

What factors help us explain levels of job satisfaction? Satisfaction with opportunities for promotions or advancement is not associated with the overall job satisfaction of clerks. Clerks are typically at the top of their career ladder within the city government organization. This places clerks in a unique situation. With no hope for promotion the only way they can advance their career is to leave that city organization for another position in a larger city, or a different level of government, or for a position in the private sector. However, if they choose not to leave or cannot leave due to family obligations but see others advancing within the organization to positions of higher pay, they may as a result feel left behind or stuck and possibly report lower levels of satisfaction. Further, if elected, clerks cannot just choose to be elected in another community unless they move their personal residence to that locale.

The work of Balfour and Wechsler (1991) has some implication for this hypothesis. They looked at the organizational commitment and turnover intentions and found that a desire to remain affects general morale and is an antecedent to turnover. Lambert, Hogan, and Barton (2001) used turnover as a dependent variable in a study of the impact of job satisfaction on turnover. If we assume clerks are not likely to leave for the reasons presented above, as well as based on their long tenure, we may find a connection between low turnover and plateauing, as in the study of Beale and Holinsworth (2002), who looked at the addition of responsibilities that occurred without an official “promotion.”

### Pay and Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction with pay is not associated with the overall job satisfaction of clerks. Satisfaction with fringe benefits is positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. City clerks, whether elected or appointed, as are others in local government positions, are often underpaid compared with those doing similar work in the private sector. Clerks may work for intrinsic rewards instead of pay. Alternatively, excellent governmental fringe benefits such as paid holidays and retirement benefits may make up for the poor level of pay. However, Luchak and Gellatly (2002) found job satisfaction to be negatively related to expected pension accrual in a study of a large public utility in Canada. Clerks enrolled in any type

of municipal retirement fund are at a distinct financial advantage over clerks working for organizations who do not participate in such a plan. Of the survey respondents in this study, 95% reported participation in some type of employer-sponsored retirement fund, so there may not be enough variation to adequately test this hypothesis, at least as it relates to retirement. However, this variable encompasses more than retirement, because it asks about satisfaction with all fringe benefits, such as vacation, holidays, personal days, and sick leave.

## Resources and Job Satisfaction

Adequate work equipment and resources are positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. Adequate workspace is positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. A safe work environment is positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. The physical environment that clerks work in is fairly homogenous across jurisdictions, and it is safe to assume that clerks work in office environments that are clean, safe, hazard free, and conducive to satisfactorily performing the tasks required.

## Training and Job Satisfaction

Adequate training or training opportunities is positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. Wright and Davis (2003) found a direct, positive relationship among training opportunities, career growth opportunities, and job satisfaction. Unfortunately, most clerks begin their jobs with little or no training. If the position is an elected one, he or she may be at the mercy of the goodwill of the defeated city clerk to share information and provide training. For example, one new clerk reported finding that the previous clerk had filed everything chronologically, which made it impossible to access pertinent information without tremendous effort. State-sponsored training related to financial matters is always welcomed by clerks, and organizations such as the IIMC or state associations of municipal clerks either provide or endorse training opportunities for clerks. Shumaker (2004) suggests municipal clerk training is especially important because of the longevity of the training programs offered by IIMC, the clerk is an important position, and we can make the connection between better training for clerks and better services provided to the public. However, attending these training sessions can be difficult in small communities, especially if there is no one to relieve the clerk of her duties while she is gone.

## Work Load and Job Satisfaction

An evenly distributed work load among coworkers is positively associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Often, the clerk has the bulk of the work load, and certainly all the responsibility, even when he or she has help. Further, in small communities clerks typically work in offices with a small number of staff members, so for this reason alone they may believe they carry the bulk of the work load.

### Supervisors and Job Satisfaction

Satisfaction with supervisory relations is positively associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Satisfaction with the employee performance appraisal process is not associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Luchak and Gellatly (2002) found employees who were happy with their supervisory relationships were more satisfied with their jobs. Gabris and Ihrke (2001) found that as approval of performance appraisal processes increased, so did job satisfaction. Often, the clerk is elected and, as such, has no direct supervisor except for answering to the public. However, if it is an appointed position, he or she may answer to the city council or to the city administrator or manager, who might be more inclined to carry out a formal performance appraisal process.

### Esprit de Corps and Job Satisfaction

Feelings of departmental esprit de corps are positively related to overall job satisfaction of clerks. Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) found that departmental pride or workgroup pride was the most powerful determinant of variation in overall job satisfaction among municipal employees.

### Gender and Job Satisfaction

Employee gender is not associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. The literature suggests differences in job satisfaction between genders. Lambert et al. (2001) found that men reported a lower level of job satisfaction than women. Luchak and Gellatly (2002) found women to be more satisfied than men. Ugorji (1997) reported no gender differences in job satisfaction. McCue and Gianakis (1997) studied local government financial officials in Ohio in a group made up primarily of men, who were generally happy with their jobs. As was true for the Nebraska city clerk study by Blackburn and Bruce (1989), most city clerks in the United States are also female. Of our survey respondents, 90% were female and 10% were male. This closely reflects the makeup of the IIMC membership, but we expect there will not be enough variation to test for the difference in job satisfaction between genders.

### Age and Job Satisfaction

Age is not associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) and Luchak and Gellatly (2002) found no relationship between job satisfaction and age, although Lambert et al. (2001) did.

### Job Level and Job Satisfaction

Job level is not associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Ellickson and Logsdon (2001) found that supervisors, managers, and department heads expressed higher levels

of job satisfaction than nonsupervisory employees. Municipal clerks are often at the top of the career ladder, and as such the job level variable is not appropriate for inclusion in this model and is eliminated from consideration.

## Education and Job Satisfaction

Educational level is not associated with overall job satisfaction of clerks. Blackburn and Bruce (1989) found that the proportion of satisfied clerks decreased with educational attainment, i.e., education leads to higher expectations, which if not met leads to lower levels of job satisfaction. Similarly, Wright and Davis (2003) found job satisfaction decreased as education increased.

## Survey

Survey questions were developed and extended primarily from the work of Blackburn and Bruce (1989), Ellickson and Logsdon (2001), and Gordon, Osgood, and Phillips (in press) to measure the perceptions of clerks regarding variables identified in the literature as related to job satisfaction. The use of the survey instrument in previous studies of Illinois and Kentucky municipal clerks (Gordon, 2007a, 2007b, 2008a, 2008b; Gordon et al., in press) supports the reliability and validity of the survey instrument. In June 2008, 1000 surveys were mailed to a random sample of the IIMC membership mailing list. There were 9415 names and addresses of members in the United States provided—with 49 states represented on the list, absent Hawaii because they do not have local governmental units. Over the next 60 days, 321 surveys were returned for a 32% response rate. The survey respondents represented municipal clerks in 41 states. Demographic information on the survey respondents is summarized in Results.

## Measuring Factors

How do we measure the factors important in explaining job satisfaction? The rationale for the use of each key variable was presented in the previous hypotheses sections. Primarily, the variables are based on survey question responses that reflect perceptions of the clerks. The dependent variable is a measure of overall job satisfaction reported by the clerks ranging on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being very satisfied. Most of the independent variables are based on survey question responses ranging on a scale from 1 to 5, with 5 being strongly agree. The exceptions to this scale are questions requiring a “yes” or “no” response or a numeric response for age, length of tenure, salary, and education level. Open-ended questions were also asked about the rewards and frustrations of the job.

## Perceptions of Municipal Clerks: Clerks’ Responses

Selected descriptive statistics are described for all responding clerks. Selected bivariate data analysis results are presented to establish association between variables. Multivariate

data analysis is used to test the set of hypotheses using the Ellickson and Logsdon model. Finally, selected qualitative results are presented based on the open-ended questions asked on the survey about the rewards and frustrations of the position of municipal clerk.

## Descriptions and Characteristics of Clerks

### *Gender, Age, and Retirement Plan*

As noted previously, of the 319 survey respondents 90% were female and 10% were male. The mean age of responding clerks ( $n = 304$ ) was 49 years, with a range of 24 to 70 years. Only 39 clerks were under age 40, and 15 were age 65 and older. The median and mode was 51 years. Interestingly, only 27% of all respondents ( $n = 320$ ) reported that they planned to retire within the next 5 years.

### *Tenure*

For respondents ( $n = 316$ ) the minimum length of time on the job is less than 1 year and the maximum is 38 years. Clerks tend to report relatively long tenure—once there, they tend to stay. With this long tenure researchers are able to understand local government from the perspective of someone who has been in the organization for a long time. The average number of years in the position of clerk for respondents ( $n = 316$ ) was 10 years, the median was 8.75 years, and the mode was 5 years.

### *Education*

Clerks were asked to report on their educational attainment levels. Of the 317 who answered this question, 37 clerks (11.7%) reported attaining high school or the equivalent, 30 (9.5%) reported attaining some technical or business school, 97 (30.6%) reported some college attainment, 61 (19.2%) reported attaining an associate's degree, 70 (22.1%) a bachelor's degree, 20 (6.3%) a master's degree, and 2 (0.6%) a doctoral degree.

### *Sandwich Generation*

Only 51 responding clerks (16%;  $n = 316$ ) reported caring for an elderly relative, and only 20 (6%) reported having children in day care. Given the mean age of 49, it appears that these clerks are not overwhelmed with caring for two generations at the same time. About three-fourths of the respondents reported being married.

### *Elected or Appointed*

In some states clerks are elected, in others they are appointed, and in other states clerks may be elected or appointed. Thirteen percent of respondents ( $n = 318$ ) reported they held elected offices, whereas 87% were appointed. The percentages of full-time and part-time respondents were 93% and 7%, respectively.

### *Presence of a City Administrator or City Manager*

Seventy-one percent of the respondents ( $n = 312$ ) reported the presence of a city administrator or city manager in their city. The presence or absence of a paid professional manager may indirectly impact job satisfaction of clerks. For example, a professional manager may be more inclined to initiate a formal performance appraisal system within the city that may include the position of clerk, and the presence of a professional manager may contribute to the clerk's feelings about the quality of overall supervisory relationships. The presence of a paid professional manager may also be related to the ability of these clerks to belong to a professional association such as the IIMC and to take advantage of training opportunities.

### *Self-Reported Salaries*

Respondents ( $n = 308$ ) reported an average annual salary of \$54,339. Salaries ranged from \$5850 to \$155,000. However, because these figures are self-reported, it is important to note that some may have reported salary for clerk position only, whereas others reported salaries for all positions held by the clerk. For example, many responding clerks reported holding multiple positions or titles within their city organization, and they may have been compensated for holding those multiple positions.

### *Self-Reported Population*

Population size of a municipality may factor into the salaries earned. There is a strong positive correlation between self-reported salaries and self-reported population of municipality. The self-reported populations of the communities represented by the respondents ( $n = 314$ ) range from 140 to 1,000,000. The mean population was 33,301. The median was population was 7602. Twenty-seven percent were in cities of population 2500 and under, 22% were between 2501 and 7500, 35% were between 7501 and 50,000, 10% were between 50,001 and 100,000, and 6% were between 100,001 and 1,000,000.

## **Job Satisfaction**

Are clerks satisfied with their jobs? The mean response rate for selected survey questions are presented in Table 12-1. Overall, city clerks appear to be very satisfied with their jobs, with 91% of all responding clerks ( $n = 317$ ) reporting being *satisfied* or *very satisfied* with their jobs. The same results were found when clerks were asked whether their job gave them a sense of accomplishment (94%) and whether they take pride in their job (99%). As to pay and benefits, the picture is not so clear. Although 84% of responding clerks agreed or strongly agreed that they received adequate and fair benefits, only 65% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement on adequate and fair pay.

Of the responding clerks, 93% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they have good relations with their coworkers. Although 56% of clerks agreed or strongly agreed that they have a reasonable work load, only 26% agreed or strongly agreed that



**TABLE 12-1. Mean Responses for Selected Survey Questions**

Variable	Mean	Standard Deviation	n
Ellickson and Logsdon model			
Job satisfaction*	4.12	0.96	317
Opportunity for advancement or promotion	2.56	1.39	308
Pay	3.53	1.14	313
Fringe benefits	3.98	1.00	315
Equipment and resources	3.87	1.10	318
Physical workspace	3.92	1.03	318
Safe work environment	3.94	1.04	315
Training opportunities	3.65	1.26	316
Evenly distributed work load	3.02	1.28	315
Overall supervisory relations	3.50	1.13	302
Overall performance appraisal process	2.75	0.94	293
Departmental esprit de corps	3.97	1.19	320
Age	49	9	304
Other variables for further research			
Pleasant work environment	3.88	1.14	318
Educational opportunities	4.05	0.91	318
Security	3.66	1.32	319
No turnover intentions	3.88	1.22	317
Sense of community in organization	3.43	1.34	317
Personnel policies are fair	3.50	1.27	317
Decision input	3.46	1.32	318
Balance between work and home	3.45	1.23	314
Encourage own children to pursue local government career	3.09	1.43	316
Pride in my own job	4.50	0.60	318
Sense of accomplishment in job	4.26	0.91	319
Overall reputation of city is good	3.43	0.95	310

\*Scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being very satisfied. All other questions are on scale of 1 to 5, with 5 being strongly agree.

their work load is predictable and routine. When asked about the public's perception of their city, 73% of the respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that their city's reputation is good, and 62% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement that they trust the city's leaders to look out for the best interests of its employees. Interestingly, when asked whether they would recommend to their own children to pursue a career in local government, the picture looks a little less rosy: only 54% agreed or strongly agreed with the statement.

## Bivariate and Multivariate Results

How do we explain the variation in job satisfaction? Complete bivariate data analysis results are not presented here but were calculated and examined to measure the strength of the relationships between variables used in the Ellickson and Logsdon model. We also wanted to ensure that there were not high correlation values between independent variables, which can be an indication of multicollinearity. Further, we looked at the bivariate results, as summarized in Table 12-2, to determine if there were correlations between our dependent variable, job satisfaction, and other independent variables that might be used to develop an alternative model to more completely explain the variation in job satisfaction of municipal clerks. The correlation between job satisfaction and these variables will be explored in future research.

To test the research hypotheses, multivariate regression analysis was used by testing a slightly modified version of the Ellickson and Logsdon model of job satisfaction. Gender and job level were not used in this model as explained in the hypotheses section. The results of the regression analyses for municipal clerks using overall job satisfaction as the dependent variable and the independent variables used by Ellickson and Logsdon are presented in Table 12-3. In addition to the  $R^2$ , the regression coefficients and the standard error and  $t$ -statistics for each variable are presented, which are measures that indicate the statistical significance of the standardized regression coefficient. We are able to compare the impact of the different independent variables with the dependent variable. Table 12-3 also includes the hypothesized and actual relationships found in the model tested for municipal clerks.

Using a model that closely resembles Ellickson and Logsdon's model, the results indicate that the hypothesized independent variables—equipment and resources, overall supervisory relationships, departmental esprit de corps, and age—do help to explain the variation in overall job satisfaction for clerks. The remaining independent variables are not statistically significant in explaining the variation in overall job satisfaction. For this model the adjusted  $R^2$  is 0.24, indicating that 24% of the variation in overall job satisfaction is explained by the independent variables.

## What Can We Learn from the Survey Results?

The important contribution is that this model tested the relationships between the hypothesized explanatory variables and overall job satisfaction based on Ellickson and Logsdon's model. As expected, this model does not explain the variation in job satisfaction of municipal clerks across the United States as fully as the Ellickson and Logsdon's model did for their municipal employees in one city. The second important contribution to the research is that we can use our bivariate results from the survey data to identify other factors that may help us to explain the variation in the job satisfaction of municipal clerks. These variables described previously may be used to develop an alternative model of job satisfaction of municipal clerks, which is the next step in this research.

**TABLE 12-2. Correlation Between Job Satisfaction and Selected Variables**

Variable Name	Correlation with Job Satisfaction
Ellickson and Logsdon model	
Opportunity for advancement or promotion	0.06
Pay	0.17**
Fringe benefits	0.19**
Equipment and resources	0.38**
Physical workspace	0.22**
Safe work environment	0.33**
Training opportunities	0.23**
Evenly distributed work load	0.12*
Overall supervisory relations	0.37**
Overall performance appraisal process	0.14*
Departmental esprit de corps	0.41**
Age	0.11*
Other variables for further research	
Pleasant work environment	0.47**
Educational opportunities	0.30**
Security	0.35**
No turnover intentions	0.33**
Sense of community in organization	0.30**
Personnel policies are fair	0.31**
Decision input	0.32**
Balance between work and home	0.30**
Encourage own children to pursue local government career	0.30**
Pride in my own job	0.30**
Sense of accomplishment in job	0.48**
Overall reputation of city is good	0.32**

\*Significant at the 0.05 level.

\*\*Significant at the 0.01 level.

## Frustrations and Rewards

What can we learn from the written responses to open-ended questions? Saltzstein (1986) in a study of female mayors and municipal workers suggests that we need to look not only at what women do in the office, but what response their very presence elicits from others. Perhaps the most telling results of the survey are in the written responses to the two open-ended questions about the frustrations and rewards of the job of municipal clerk. Almost all clerks took the opportunity to respond to these two questions, and it

**TABLE 12-3. Regression Results—Job Satisfaction of Municipal Clerks**

Variables	B	SE	beta	t	Significance	Hypothesized	Actual
Opportunity for advancement or promotion	-0.04	0.040	-0.062	-1.086	0.278	None	-
Pay	0.00	0.051	0.007	0.112	0.911	None	+
Fringe benefits	0.00	0.061	0.009	0.145	0.885	+	+
Equipment and resources	0.14	0.056	0.165	2.551	0.011	+	+
Physical workspace	0.05	0.055	0.061	1.028	0.305	+	+
Safe work environment	0.09	0.057	0.105	1.664	0.097	+	+
Training opportunities	0.01	0.046	0.021	0.356	0.722	+	+
Evenly distributed work load	-0.02	0.043	-0.027	-0.462	0.644	+	-
Overall supervisory relations	0.19	0.057	0.235	3.436	0.001	+	+
Overall performance appraisal process	-0.03	0.064	-0.037	-0.605	0.546	None	-
Departmental esprit de corps	0.144	0.049	0.186	2.931	0.004	+	+
Age	0.012	0.006	0.120	2.124	0.035	None	+
Intercept	1.26	0.418		3.016	0.003		
$R^2 = 0.28$							
Adjusted $R^2 = 0.24$							
$F = 7.95, 0.000$							
$n = 261$							

SE, standard error.

was very evident that the rewards of the job outweigh the frustrations. However, very few of the male respondents answered these open-ended questions. The short answer responses were analyzed using content analysis software to look for common themes. Some examples of these are reported below.

As reported by Kim (2002), effective communication with supervisors is associated with job satisfaction. The concern with communication appears to hold true for our clerks who reported lack of communication, often with the elected officials, as a major cause for frustration. Some clerks expressed frustration with a lack of appreciation for their work, whereas others believed there was a lack of respect for the position and for their profession. Examples of comments from several clerks are presented in Table 12-4 to demonstrate the types of frustrations faced by clerks, most often in relation to their respective city councils and city managers.

When it comes to rewards, the overriding theme is the importance of “being able to help the citizens,” which indicates that municipal clerks do indeed view theirs as a helping profession and that they derive pleasure from serving the public and making a difference in the lives of their fellow citizens. Seventy-nine comments were written that used the words “help” or “helping.” The words “citizen,” “customer,” “residents,” “people,” “the public,” and “the community” were used a total of 206 times, and only 26 of these comments were found under the question about frustrations. An occasional thank you is appreciated, too. Table 12-4 includes comments from several clerks that embody the kind of comments received about helping citizens and making a difference.

As noted above, very few of the male respondents of this survey answered the open-ended questions. A word used heavily by the very female-dominated respondents was the word “love” to describe feelings about the job of municipal clerk. Examples are provided below from several clerks that used the word “love” in their written responses:

- I love being a municipal clerk, especially in my own town. Being elected gives me the freedom to uphold federal, state, and municipal laws regardless of who challenges or complains.
- I love my city, my job, and there is no place I would rather be. Are we all worth more compensation? Sure, but my job is a privilege and I love it.
- To make a good clerk you have to love your community and your job. In a small town they are very intertwined.
- Overall, I love my job and my community. I will always do 100% plus, no matter what the compensation.
- A municipal clerk is a professional. We constantly further our education and strive to be the best we can possibly be. I love the position.
- The people. I love working with the quality of folks I have the pleasure of working with. Also, I love being able to assist the members of the public who walk into my office.

**TABLE 12-4. Selected Responses to Open-Ended Questions About Frustrations and Rewards**

The most frustrating  
part of my job:

Lack of communication, appreciation, understanding of my job by the board.

Lack of intracommunications with other departments. Having to read what is happening in town in the local papers.

Lost communication among city departments and lack of loyalty among newer city employees.

Lack of clear direction, broken lines of communication, unreasonable expectations.

Disconnect between city manager and staff and our office. Lack of respect and communication.

Lack of total communication. Lack of respect for certain positions and lack of accountability by others in accomplishing city goals and objectives.

A lack of communication within city ranks. The lack of “ownership” to follow through with a project or paperwork.

When a citizen comes in upset or frustrated and I feel as though I didn’t help resolve their problem.

As you can tell from some of my responses, I am ready to leave employment. When city council members interfere with city management, and begin to micromanage and feed off of employee gossip, trust no longer exists.

Our city council looks upon the clerk and treasurer as if they are secretarial staff rather than department heads.

Basically having six bosses. It is also difficult to be stuck in the middle of the council, citizens, and employees. I end up playing mediator a lot.

Personality conflicts within the council.

Favoritism shown by the town manager, lack of ability of council members to show respect to one another, and their lack of trying to get along. The council, as a whole, acts very unprofessional!

Council and mayor refuse to listen to anyone but administrator. They are a “good ole boy” network.

The most rewarding  
part of my job:

Helping people in the community that need answers and helping with community projects—playground equip, parks, etc.

Helping citizens who truly need the help of our office.

(continues)



**TABLE 12-4. Selected Responses to Open-Ended Questions About Frustrations and Rewards (*continued*)**

Working with and helping the citizens of the community. Being there to answer their questions and address their concerns. Being an informed part of city government.

I enjoy helping people with their problems and concerns. I'd like to think that our taxpayers get excellent service and enjoy living in this community. My motto is to "make it better than it was."

The most rewarding part of my job is promotion of the village and helping citizens through tough issues.

I have worked for the city for 38 years. I love my job. I have a very strong feeling about community involvement and feel that I help "showcase" community pride.

Helping the public. They are always looking at me to help solve any problems. The clerk is the main hub of any village, town, or city.

The people I deal with on a daily basis. Nice feeling being able to help others.

Helping the citizens. Even if it isn't something that the village does, I can line up phone numbers for other agencies or businesses and the taxpayers are appreciative.

Knowing that I've completed my job in the best possible manner.

Hearing from the public and other city employees that our department has helped them.

Acting as the "doorway" for residents for most town business. Being the first place they turn to for help.

The ability to help implement policy that actually makes a difference in people's lives.

A thank you from a citizen or recognition of a staff member who has helped a citizen with a problem.

I love working for the town. I have the opportunity to make a difference.

Making a difference in the city I live in. Working to make it a great town! A town people will be proud of!

Making a positive difference for our residents.

Job satisfaction is not always about the money, more about feeling like you make a difference!

## Conclusion

### What More Can We Learn About Municipal Clerks and Job Satisfaction?

To return to a discussion of our purposes of this research, we learned something more about municipal clerks by testing the Ellickson and Logsdon model, and we identified new variables that may prove to influence the variation in overall job satisfaction of municipal clerks. Identifying these variables will be useful in helping to determine whether changes to the Ellickson and Logsdon model are logical and legitimate for further study of the job satisfaction of municipal clerks. As anticipated, our results do not fully support the Ellickson and Logsdon choice of independent variables, suggesting that clerks are indeed a unique subset of municipal employees and that further research is needed. Problems affecting the results may be the lack of variation across the job satisfaction variable (i.e., most respondents are satisfied with their jobs, and there is lack of variation across some independent variables), which is always a challenge with survey data.

This study has advanced our understanding of the job of municipal clerk through an identification of variables that are uniquely related to job satisfaction. Just as this model has built on previous research, others might wish to adapt and extend the Ellickson and Logsdon model to study the job satisfaction of other subsets of municipal employees that have unique characteristics. Further in-depth analysis of the short answer responses on job rewards and frustrations will be used to develop hypotheses for future empirical testing.

Perhaps most importantly, the qualitative results that demonstrate the importance that municipal clerks place on “helping” serves to solidify and support our belief that clerks are an important subset of municipal employees who are deserving of recognition and study in the context of public administration at this point in history. Further, municipal clerks are important to research in the context of the role of gender in public administration. Somewhere along the way, we as students of public administration may have lost sight of the important contribution that this group of female municipal employees makes on a daily basis, but clerks continue to understand that “sympathetic understanding is facilitated when the everyday is given dignity” (Shields, 2009, p. 33). Clerks are on the front line in city hall, and that is just where they want to be—helping and serving their citizens.

### What Can Be Done to Improve Relationships With Municipal Clerks?

It is apparent that clerks care about the reputation of their cities, take pride in their departments and in their jobs, and often work long hours to do their part in serving and helping citizens. Experienced and dedicated clerks can serve as examples to other city employees and would make wonderful mentors for new employees. Respondents clearly articulated that despite frustrations with their jobs, they are satisfied.

If elected and appointed municipal officials understand what factors influence the job satisfaction of clerks, they will be in a better position to make improvements to the work

environment, which will in turn improve the effectiveness of the organization. The survey results indicate that at a minimum city officials may find it beneficial to foster better communication with their clerks. Ideally, they may find it beneficial to both formally and informally recognize the hard work and dedication of the clerks that serve the citizens in their communities. Elected officials that overlook this untapped resource are doing their citizens a disservice. We have reached a better understanding of local government and job satisfaction through listening to the voices of a predominantly female group of municipal clerks across the United States. Imagine what else they might say if we only listened more closely.

## Discussion Questions

1. How do you define job satisfaction? What motivates you? What factors affect how you view the organization you work for?
2. After reading this chapter, how might you improve your managerial or supervisory skills in the public sector? What might you learn about job satisfaction in general? What other factors might contribute to the overall job satisfaction of municipal clerks? Are there other aspects that need to be considered?
3. If you were a council member or mayor in a city, what might you take away from this chapter? How might you use this information to improve relationships with the municipal clerk? What questions might you ask your municipal clerk? What if you were a female council member? A female city manager? Would this change your perspective?
4. Does it surprise you to find that the International Institute of Municipal Clerks reports that 85% of their U.S. members are female? What might other professional organizations learn from this chapter—organizations such as the International City/County Management Association?
5. Does it surprise you to learn that municipal clerks used the words “help” or “helping” 79 times in the open-ended responses? Is it easy for you to consider the position of municipal clerk as part of a helping profession—not unlike nurses, teachers, and social workers? Does it surprise you to learn that municipal clerks used the word “love” 23 times in the open-ended responses in the context of describing their feelings about their work? Do you believe in a similar study of a male-dominated profession we would find the same use of the word “love” to describe feelings about work? What does this say to you?

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## Chapter 13

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# Women in Public Sector Unions: Opportunities and Obstacles on the Path to Activism and Leadership

Patrice M. Mareschal

### Key Words

Collective bargaining

Public policy

Settlement women

Union

### Climbing Through Windows in Public Administration and Public Sector Unions

This chapter applies Stivers (2000) framework of Progressive Era settlement women to examine the stages of women's involvement in trade unions. Although women have always labored in the fields and domestic settings, their participation in public life was circumscribed. During the mid-1800s society gradually began to accept women's employment in clerical positions in the public sector (Van Riper, 1976). Throughout this same period public administration grew and more women sought public employment. Eventually, women came into numerical dominance in public service, yet they occupied primarily low-level clerical positions (Guy, 1993).

Women's entry into the public sphere is bound up in the administrative state's growing pains and the Progressive Era reform movement. The progressive reform movement sprang to life in response to the excesses and corruption of the patronage system of government. A condemnation of the political spoils system created an opening for women's participation in public service. Similarly, from 1976 to 1986 women entered the federal civil service in record numbers (Lewis, 1988). During this phase several presidential candidates focused their campaigns on criticizing the federal bureaucracy. Interestingly, negative public opinions about government facilitated women's entry into federal civil service. As Guy (1993, p. 287) notes, "Windows of opportunity open in ironic ways."



Collective bargaining developed in the public sector some years after the Progressive Era reforms, yet there are many parallels between women's engagement in the labor movement and women's engagement in public service. This chapter uses Stivers (2000) framework of Progressive Era settlement women in exploring union women's engagement in public life, commitment to citizenship, and community. Specifically, it examines the stages of women's involvement in trade union activism and leadership, from entry, to consolidating power, to taking responsibility for directing union affairs. Similar to Progressive Era women's focus on substantive social concerns, union leadership provides women the opportunity to put their commitment to the goal of giving workers a voice at their places of employment and the promise of justice and equality into action. In fact, the labor movement's traditional emphasis on workplace justice provides women activists with opportunities to advocate for equal pay, work-family balance, and greater control over working hours.

The chapter begins with a brief summary of Progressive Era reforms, the growth of the administrative state, and the windows of opportunity through which women entered and established a foothold in public service. Next, it provides an overview of the development of collective bargaining in the public sector. As with public administration, changing political and economic circumstances created windows of opportunity for women's engagement in the labor movement. Drawing on existing literature and qualitative interviews, this chapter examines the opportunities for women that have been created by shifting ground and crises in the labor movement, obstacles women face in public sector unions, and how the interview participants have overcome these obstacles. Throughout the chapter comparisons are drawn between women's engagement in public service and women's engagement in public sector unions.

## Science Versus Democracy: Progressive Era Reforms and the Administrative State

Public administrators occupy a unique position that enables them to make decisions that allocate resources and constrain the behavior of others. Public administrators exercise discretionary power and as a result need to defend their access to power. Early advocates of the administrative state justified their power to make decisions and control resources on the basis of their ability to provide leadership, expertise, and virtue to the public sector (Stivers, 2002). However, Stivers (2002) contends that the concepts of leadership, expertise, and virtue have been used to establish or preserve political and economic benefits for those who display masculine qualities at the expense of those who display feminine qualities.

This is due in large part to the liberal state's emphases on individualism and on establishing a clear boundary between the public arena and private lives. These combined forces exclude women from political participation and women's issues from the public agenda (Stivers, 2002). The home is treated as the domain of women. Women's issues and con-

cerns, especially as related to domestic responsibilities, have been viewed as private and therefore not political. Traditionally, women have been expected to provide a nurturing home environment to provide the men in their lives more free time and energy for public pursuits. Although women today have moved into the public sphere and work outside the home, this division of labor persists. For example, Guy (1993) notes that despite the rise in the proportion of women in professional and technical positions, women tend to be clustered in traditionally female areas such as health, human services, and education.

Progressive reformers helped justify the legitimacy of the administrative state and contributed to its growth. There were two goals of reform. One focused on regulation, rationalization, and bureaucracy. The other focused on social justice. Eventually, the two paths diverged, and Stivers (2000, p. 5) characterizes the split as the “divorce of substantive intent from instrumental methods.” The problem here is that public administrators became focused on scientific management and efficiency and ignored the questions of which public services helped those in need and benefited society. Those who desired to bring about reform were consigned to making incremental changes to avoid being politically shut out.

Women in the Progressive Era contributed to the debate about the proper role of government in society and the place of administration in it. Yet their perspectives were not included in most traditional historical accounts of the development of public administration. Stivers (2000) points out that gender is a critical element in social life, with accompanying power implications. Gender influences participation in public life just as it does the private sphere.

During the Progressive Era politics was considered a hard-edged masculine domain. Advancement occurred through partisan connections in the male-dominated club. Women were confined to indirect participation through instilling moral values in their families. Later, women’s engagement was expanded to voluntary community service and advocacy for causes such as temperance and abolition (Stivers, 2000).

Party politics were so strong at this time that male reformers ran the risk of being characterized as effeminate for promoting nonpartisan administration. Faced with push back from party bosses and pressure from the business community to support commerce, the male reformers, who Stivers (2000) labels “bureau men,” abandoned concern with improving the quality of people’s lives. Instead, they cloaked themselves in scientific efficiency to avoid being labeled effeminate. Science held out the promise of running government like a business, a theme that appealed to wealthy supporters of the Progressive Era reformers. With the embrace of scientific rationality, there was movement away from feelings, sympathy, and femininity and toward hard work, discipline, and masculinity. The ideals of social justice and caring were replaced by devotion to practicality, structure, efficiency, and cost-cutting (Stivers, 2000).

Near the close of the century, industrial capitalism gave rise to a host of social problems, such as long hours, low pay, poverty, child labor, urban crowding, disease, unsafe and unhealthy working conditions, and industrial accidents. Again, this created an opening

for women to advocate for poverty relief programs, social support policies, and regulatory policies. In addition, it aligned the goals of progressive reformers, particularly settlement women, with the goals of the labor movement. Settlement women continued to advocate for improvements in meeting human needs and successfully pushed for a social safety net and redistributive legislation.

A door was closed as the bureau men drove a wedge between themselves and the settlement women. At the same time the groundwork was established for an alliance between women in public service and the labor movement. Many social welfare programs and other government programs, along with the administrative processes to support them, are the direct result of pilot programs conducted by women working, living, and volunteering in settlement houses (Stivers, 2002). Both the field of public administration and the labor movement owe a debt of gratitude to women for their contributions to modern practice.

## Industrialization, Oppression, and the Emergence of the American Labor Movement: A Brief History

Workers in a democratic society often expect to be treated with dignity and respect and to participate in decision making in the workplace. Historically, the condition of workers under capitalism has been fraught with abuse and oppression: the employment relationship has been a source of conflict and suffering in society. After colonial times the U.S. economy witnessed the rise of merchant capitalists and the factory system. Workers responded by forming associations, societies, and fledgling craft unions to protect their wages and their autonomy in the employment relationship. However, employers used a variety of tactics, both legal and illegal, to quash the power of unions (Adler, 2006).

Labor unions and the labor movement emerged in the United States as an outgrowth of the industrialization process. Small craft unions had existed before this time, such as the Philadelphia Cordwainers founded in 1792. Women's participation began early on as well with the women workers striking in textile mills in Pawtucket, Rhode Island, in 1824. The strike took place in response to management's decision to extend the workday for all workers while simultaneously cutting wages for women (Foner, 1984). The first all women's labor union, The United Tailoresses of New York, was formed in 1825 to protest the 16-hour workday and advocate for a living wage (American Federation of Teachers, 2009).

The first permanent union of women workers was the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association (LFLRA), founded in 1845. The LFLRA advocated for a 10-hour workday. Similar to early progressive reformers, women's advocacy for a shortened work day was cloaked in the need to foster their spiritual and moral development. In addition, LFLRA president Sarah Bagley advocated for a greater role for women in the public sphere, as indicated in her speech to the New England Workingman's Association in 1845: "For the last half century it has been deemed a violation of a women's sphere to appear before the

public as a speaker; but when our rights are trampled upon and we appeal in vain to legislators, what shall we do but appeal to the people?" (Kleinberg 1999, p. 31).

## **Public Sector Unions: Serving Workers, Serving Society**

Several public sector unions were established in the late 1800s and early 1900s. For instance, the National Teachers Association (NTA) was founded in 1857. The NTA originally admitted only men as members; the two women who responded to the call for membership were granted status as honorary members and became signatories to the constitution. In 1866 the NTA opened full membership to women, and in 1869 Emily Rice was elected Vice President of the association. In 1870 the NTA became the National Education Association (Holcomb, 2006). The American Federation of Teachers was founded in 1916. Both the National Education Association and the American Federation of Teachers were advocates of public education, children's rights, and teacher's rights. Some of the more onerous working conditions included requirements that female teachers "must wear skirts of certain lengths, keep her galoshes buckled, not receive gentleman callers more than three times a week and teach a Sunday School class" (American Federation of Teachers, 2008).

In 1932 a group of white collar workers formed the Wisconsin State Employees Union/Council 24. The association worked to protect and improve the state civil service system in Wisconsin and to replace the spoils system with civil service protections across the country. In 1936 the Wisconsin State Employees Association joined the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and became the American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). To begin with, AFSCME members relied heavily on lobbying public officials to pass or strengthen civil service provisions. In the 1950s AFSCME participated in strikes and demonstration. By the 1960s AFSCME allied itself with activists in the civil rights movement to fight for social and economic justice (AFSCME, 2007).

One of the primary goals of the labor movement is to give workers a voice at their places of employment and in their community. As Freeman and Medoff (1979, 1984) demonstrate, the voice function of unions has a number of positive outcomes, including improving social welfare. The voice function of unions is especially important in the public sector because many public sector employees entered public service out of a sense of commitment to their clientele. This is especially true in fields dominated by women, such as education, health care, and caring professions. Public servants in these areas tend to have a strong sense of duty and civic responsibility (Gunderson, 2005). As with settlement women (Stivers, 2000), they have entered the public sector out of a desire to serve the community and make the world a better place. They perceive their work as a calling. These characteristics foster loyalty and increase public sector workers' use of voice.

In addition, unions have a long history of civic education and political participation, so much so that they have been described as "schools of democracy" (Sinyai, 2006, p. 231). In the public sector, union members are disproportionately drawn from the professional

ranks. Their professional status enhances their credibility when they advocate for issues that serve the public interest (Gunderson, 2005). This occurs in a variety of areas. For example, teachers may advocate for reduced class size and for funding for student enrichment programs. Health care professionals may advocate for safe staffing ratios, health care reform, and holding hospitals accountable for quality of care, good governance, and transparency in how they spend patient care resources. Social workers may advocate for child welfare, civil rights, and economic equity, including a universal system of support that provides an adequate social safety net, protection of equal rights for all citizens, and programs that help families move out of poverty and contribute to the economic productivity and social functioning of the nation.

## Constructing a Legal Framework for Public Sector Collective Bargaining

Although workers began organizing into associations during colonial times, they lacked protection under the law to engage in such activities. English common law prohibiting the restraint of trade was invoked to fight unionization. Workers who banded together to demand better terms and conditions of employment were charged with plotting to deprive business owners of their rights and property under the conspiracy doctrine (Budd, 2008). It was not until the mid-1930s that a legal framework protecting workers' rights to participate in workplace decisions and join together for mutual aid was established. Employees in the private sector gained collective bargaining rights with the passage of the National Labor Relations Act of 1935. However, the Act excluded federal and state governments from coverage.

Collective bargaining rights in the public sector were established somewhat later and differ across sectors of the government. At the federal level President Kennedy issued Executive Order (E.O.) 10988 in 1962, granting federal employees the right to form and join labor unions and to bargain collectively. In 1969 President Nixon issued E.O. 11491 to bolster the organizational structure of labor relations in the federal sector (Masters, 2004). Although E.O. 11491 strengthened federal sector labor protections, it could easily be rescinded by a new administration. As a result, federal sector unions advocated for statutory protections (Bennett & Masters, 2003). With passage of the 1978 Civil Service Reform Act, collective bargaining rights for federal employees were codified into law.

At the state and local levels the legal environment is more complex. To illustrate, before 1967 public employees' attempts to form and join unions were often thwarted by the legal precedent set in 1892 by the Massachusetts Supreme Court in *McAuliffe v. the City of New Bedford*. In that case Justice Holmes argued that public employers could require employees to forfeit their right to organize as a condition of accepting public employment. Holmes' arguments were used as recently as 1963 by the Michigan Supreme Court in the case of *AFSCME Local 201 v. City of Muskegon* to prevent police officers from forming a union (Kearney & Carnevale, 2001).



The federal system allows each state the right to craft its own policies regulating labor management relations for public employees. The legal system governing collective bargaining for state and local government employees varies across the 50 states and within states. Of the 50 states, 23 states and the District of Columbia have laws granting all public employees the right to bargain collectively (Bennett & Masters, 2003). Twenty-seven states lack a general law protecting public employees' rights to engage in collective bargaining. However, a portion of the public employees in those states practice collective bargaining under local ordinances, executive orders, and limited state laws (Kreisberg, 2004).

## Union Density: A Reversal of Fortune in Public and Private Sectors

In 1956 union density in the American private sector was 34.7%, more than three times as great as the public sector rate of 11.1% (Zipperer, 2007). By 2006 both sectors underwent a dramatic turnaround with public sector density at 36.2% and private sector density at 7.4%. Among public sector employees, those employed in local government had the highest union density rate of 41.9%. This group consists of several highly organized professions, including teachers, police officers, and firefighters (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2007). Table 13-1 shows the membership levels in 2008 in several of the larger public sector unions at the federal level, postal sector, and state and local levels. The massive shift

**TABLE 13-1. Membership in Major Public Employee Unions**

Sector	Union	Membership (2008)
Federal	American Federation of Government Employees	248,845
	National Association of Government Employees	44,305
	National Treasury Employees Union	79,193
Postal	American Postal Workers Union	269,243
	National Association of Letter Carriers	293,605
State and local	American Federation of State County and Municipal Employees	1,467,138
	American Federation of Teachers	856,178
	Fraternal Order of Police	325,000
	International Association of Firefighters	292,100
	National Education Association	3,215,904
Total		7,091,511

From Department of Labor (2009) and Fraternal Order of Police (2009).



toward the public sector means that the labor movement will be greatly influenced by issues concerning public employees.

Numerous researchers agree that the viability of the labor movement depends on expanding the resources devoted to organizing new members (Briskin, 1999; Fine, 2001; Hurd & Pinnock, 2004; Masters & Delaney, 2005; Rooks 2003). Women comprise approximately half of the workforce. Over the past 25 years women have surpassed men as new members of unions. During this time union-organizing campaigns in workplaces dominated by women have experienced greater success than campaigns elsewhere. Working women comprise 43% of union members but 55% of newly organized members (AFL-CIO, 2004). Taken together, the dramatic rise in public sector union density and the growth of women union members have created an opportunity for greater activism and leadership among women in public sector unions.

## Confronting Obstacles in the House of Labor

Guy (1993) finds that the number of women in management positions is disproportionately low when measured against their level of participation in the public sector workforce. Women's organizational experiences are markedly different from men's. Inequalities arise with respect to career advancement, family obligations, access to mentors, exposure to sexual harassment, ability to adjust to the organization culture, management style, and policy preferences (Guy, 1993). Gender is a primary determinant of status in public management.

As with public administration, women in unions remain under-represented in positions of leadership despite this rapid growth of women as union members (Cobble, 1990; Cranford, 2007a; Hallock, 1997; Hunt & Rayside, 2000; Kirton & Healy, 1999; Roth, 2003; Trebilcock, 1991). Women's under-representation has been attributed to a number of factors. Unions have historically functioned as patriarchal institutions, awash in masculine culture (Ledwith, Colgan, Joyce, & Hayes, 1990). For example, various scholars have identified patterns of behavior in which male union members improved their own status by excluding and marginalizing women. This includes sexist behavior and language, unfamiliar jargon and procedures, informal male networks, and a male-defined bargaining agenda (Kirton & Healy, 1999. Trebilcock, 1991). Moreover, unions reinforced the male-dominated culture by scheduling meetings at night or in local taverns, thereby limiting female participation (Cobble, 1990).

Traditional unions have been cynical about women's participation and have viewed women members as a threat to higher wages, job security, and union solidarity (Hunt & Rayside, 2000). Historically, unions mobilized male workers based on a wage model that would support a family consisting of a male wage earner, a stay-at-home wife, and children. Women were excluded from unions in an effort to secure higher wages for men (Cranford, 2007b). Much like the settlement women, union women were expected to play a supporting role as mothers and daughters on picket lines, in social protests, and in grassroots activities.

As Guy (1993) notes, sex segregation is an enduring characteristic of both the private and public sectors of the American labor market. Most of the female-dominated segments are disproportionately part time and poorly paid. Unions typically perceived women's lower wages as a threat to male workers and perceived female-dominated occupations as unorganizable (Briskin, 1999; Hunt & Rayside, 2000; Smith, 2000).

During the 1930s and 1940s women entered the workforce in greater numbers, and a few industrial unions organized female-dominated sectors. Yet very few women moved into leadership positions. As a result, unions remained unresponsive to women's needs. In the 1970s and 1980s women began to move into leadership positions in female-dominated occupations in the public sector and in private sector universities in large enough numbers to make their voices heard (Milkman, 1993).

Even so, women who do enter leadership often perceive a pushback from male leaders who see a gain for women as a loss for male members. For example, Healy and Kirton (2000) note that male leaders use symbolic power to challenge women's positional power. The challenges include male leaders talking down to women, referring to women leaders as trainees, and using offensive body language. In addition, male rank-and-file members often resist having women represent them (Ledwith et al., 1990).

Second, unions have been characterized as "greedy institutions" that require commitment and loyalty to the labor movement. By definition, "greedy institutions" require exclusive, undivided loyalty and attempt to squelch the demands of competing roles for those drawn into the organization's boundaries. No more than one greedy institution can be served at time (Franzway, 2000).

Yet women are typically confronted with the need to serve at least two greedy institutions—union and family. Most leaders start out as rank-and-file activists. This poses a steep obstacle for most women. In volunteering to participate in union activities, women must essentially take on a third job in addition to their paid work and domestic responsibilities (Roby & Uttal, 1993). Balancing the competing demands of work, family, and union usually does not become easier once women move into full-time positions. Union officials tend to have demanding jobs with extremely long hours, extensive travel, and emotionally demanding work. In some circles this is known as "the cowboy mentality" (Rooks, 2003, p. 33). For those truly committed to the cause, union work has no limits. There is always more that could be done to advance the labor movement, so work expands to fill all available time. Women are expected to demonstrate their commitment to the cause of the labor movement and at the same time place a high priority on caregiving in their families.

Other commonly identified obstacles to women's leadership include a lack of effective structures to help women gain the knowledge, skills, and experience required to become leaders and a lack of support networks to help qualified women advance as leaders and maintain their positions. Often, the programs that do exist lack sufficient funding and staffing. In some cases the programmatic objectives of the women's departments do not directly address the core economic issues of the union (AFL-CIO, 2004). Although in many cases women have secured gains in placing pro-women policies and issues on the national

union's agenda, decentralized bargaining structures mean that implementation of such policies is contingent on the support of paid regional staff and rank-and-file activists on the negotiating teams. The paid staff and negotiating teams may not share the national unions' commitment to equal opportunities (Kirton & Healy, 1999). Rising to the highest levels of leadership in which women consolidate power and take responsibility for directing union affairs requires sponsorship of female union officials as well as male leaders (Ledwith et al., 1990). The scarcity of women in leadership positions creates a vicious circle in which women entering leadership do not have mentors to support them. Women who rise to positions of leadership must confront the challenges of isolation and perceptions of tokenism from male leaders (AFL-CIO, 2004).

In the house of labor, as in public administration, the status and resources of leaders were historically marshaled to establish or preserve political and economic benefits for those who display masculine qualities at the expense of those who display feminine qualities. For example, Cranford (2007a) finds that union staff members creating leadership development programs often struggled with the prevailing notions that good leaders are those who displayed charisma, were able to deliver presentations in front of large groups, and commanded respect. Male activists and leaders displayed a tendency to dominate conversations and meetings in an attempt to bestow their knowledge on others. Ledwith et al. (1990) found that women who reached the upper echelons of union leadership were those who most closely fit with the male model. Yet the qualities needed to organize new members and encourage them to become active in the union were quite different. Instead, activists needed to be able to engage workers in one-on-one conversations, listen actively, and practice patience (Cranford, 2007a). Similarly, Hoerr (1997) found that an innovative style of leadership that emphasized informal conflict resolution, consensual decision making, and high rates of membership participation offers great promise for revitalizing the labor movement.

In essence, women are confronted with the arbitrary demands of work, the inequalities and hostility of a male-dominated union culture, and societal expectations that they will meet the personal needs of their family members. For women, the patriarchal gender relations of the private sphere are reproduced in the public spheres of their lives. They must assume primary responsibility for caregiving in the home and fend off competing demands from male union members for union positions and control over union affairs. To be admitted to the club, Gray (1993, p. 397) finds that women must be "strong, ambitious, bright, dogged, aggressive, charismatic, ruthless, shrewd, unconventional in their self confidence and life expectations—and very, very patient!"

## Opportunities

Unions profess to be democratic organizations, committed to representing the diverse interests of their membership. Unions publicly state the goal of giving workers a voice at their places of employment and promise to pursue social justice and equality of opportu-

nity. In practice, union bureaucracy often impedes democratic ideals (Lipset, Trow, & Coleman, 1956).

Nevertheless, the numerical significance of women as union members creates the opportunity to challenge oligarchic union leadership. As Cornfield (1993) notes, there are three conditions that must occur to bring about a change in leadership. First, the union must have a socially diverse membership. The growth in women union members satisfies this condition. Second, the union must experience threats to its continued growth and survival. Labor movements in industrialized democracies have been in decline for a number of years (Turner & Hurd, 2001). The crisis has been most pronounced in the United States. Third, the current leadership needs to acknowledge that the emerging activists/leaders from key social groups (such as women) play a critical role in revitalizing the union. The AFL-CIO commissioned the Executive Working Women's Commission to explore this issue and developed a list of recommendations for advancing women activists and leaders. The recommendations include building commitment among top leaders to advance women, mentoring women at all levels of leadership, expanding executive boards to include women, establishing structures for women, prioritizing women's issues, developing women's leadership skills, and promoting work and family programs and policies (AFL-CIO, 2004; Briskin, 1999).

Precious few public institutions are structured to promote women's leadership, gender equity, and women-oriented policies and practices. In this sense unions are no worse than other public or private sector institutions. In fact, the labor movement's traditional emphasis on workplace justice provides women activists with opportunities to advocate for equal pay, work family balance, and greater control over working hours (Franzway, 2000).

In addition, service to members is a primary component of union leadership. In other words, union leadership requires an element of emotional/caring labor. Women often care for others in the domestic sphere and transfer their caregiving skills into the public domain of the workplace (Franzway, 2000). Feminist scholars argue that by building a relationship with the recipients of care, caring laborers develop an ethic of care. Thus, they are more likely to view their work in broad social terms and to develop class consciousness. As a result, women may be particularly well suited to serving members, engaging in workplace negotiations, and solving workplace problems (Folbre, 1994; Himmelweit, 1999; Jones, 2001).

To illustrate, Cranford's (2007b) study of the Justice for Janitors movement found that women leaders constructed a concept of union motherhood that valued wage earning, union activism, and caregiving. The frame of union motherhood advocated for a family wage for all workers. It encouraged members to create an alternative family affair by sharing in the caregiving for other members' families. Shared caregiving allowed more women to participate in union activities. In addition, union motherhood encouraged women to participate in public speeches, marches, and picket lines with children in tow. Motherhood was used as a method to improve both union and political activism.

## Interviewing Three Daughters of the Dragon King

According to an ancient Chinese legend, the Dragon King of the Jinjiang River had three daughters. Each daughter used magic to bring forth a constant supply of fresh water to ease the suffering of drought-stricken villagers. The second daughter was harassed, but the harasser was punished by the second and third daughters (Chinese Folk Culture, 2008). In honor of these three women who exemplified the values of social justice and public service, I conducted structured interviews with three public service labor union leaders. “Rose,” now retired, was president of a faculty union at a state university. “Fran” is the current president of a union representing toll collectors and highway maintenance employees. “Jean” holds the position of “Policy Staff” for a union of health care workers of whom about one-third work in the public sector. I asked them how they became active with the union, how they overcame obstacles and challenges, what issues they consider to be most important, their greatest accomplishments, the most rewarding aspects of their jobs, and their advice for other women union members.

### How Did They Become Active?

All three women had family backgrounds in which community service was emphasized. Rose and Fran’s fathers were union members. However, none of them deliberately sought out leadership positions in the labor movement. Jean “needed to get a second job,” Rose “was asked to” run for president, and when Fran’s husband initially suggested that she run for president she “looked at him and said ‘you must be out of your mind.’”

### How Have They Overcome Obstacles and Challenges?

Courage and perseverance were the recurring themes in their accounts of overcoming obstacles. Fran has “tried to stand up for the things I think are right even sometimes when it’s not popular. We’ve had to deal with some legislators who haven’t been very labor-friendly who claim they’re labor people, and I’ve been the loudest mouth there trying to hold them accountable.” Jean has “never stopped trying to get to the goal that I had set, and if I couldn’t get directly to the goal I would find ways in and out and around to get to that goal.” Rose “overcame the challenges by working at them and most of the time I did not take opposition personally.”

### What Are Their Greatest Accomplishments?

There was wide divergence in their greatest accomplishments. For Jean, who played a major role in support of uniquely progressive legislation, it was “paid family leave, by and far. It’s not so much that it benefited the union, I think that it benefits everybody in the state.” Rose described the struggle for equal opportunity: “I don’t want anybody taken advantage of because of race, gender, political views. I think that’s for me the critical issue.” and “The growth of the union, I think that it had a pretty good reputation for



integrity.” Fran took the most pride in bringing the janitors back into the union because this “was instrumental in many minorities getting jobs, women and minorities that now have good full-time jobs.”

### What Is Most Rewarding About Their Jobs?

All three women used the word “family” in response to this question. Fran said, “I often think about the families of my members that benefit from the things that we do, whether it’s wages or health benefits or pensions. It’s really important to stay focused on those things, keep your feet on the ground.” According to Rose, “I felt that there was a sense that I saw the union as an extended family and I think many of my members accepted that.” Jean stated, “The ability to work with and to serve people. My family has always been involved in community activities.”

### What Advice Do They Have for Other Union Members?

All three women believed their gender made them as or more capable than any man. Rose stated, “Just do it, that’s all. My brother said he thinks women are the superior gender. And it’s funny because I have never thought of myself as a feminist.” According to Fran, “Women bring a lot to the table because they can multitask and when they get involved they really care about what they’re doing. It’s important to try to get involved, don’t be discouraged, and try to work.” And the last word goes to Jean, as follows: “Don’t ever let anybody think you’re incapable because you’re a woman. Don’t take no for an answer, believe in yourself, and just keep moving forward. A piece of advice I got from a very wise person was don’t let anybody tell you that you can’t do something, especially when they have skin in the game.”

## Conclusion

During the early years after the founding of the United States, the ideology of “republican motherhood” was used to legitimize women’s participation in public life as long as they focused on nurturing family roles, supporting their husbands’ public citizenship roles, and educating their sons about good citizenship (Stivers, 2000, p. 49). Later, women used the mantle of republican motherhood to gain entry to the public sphere through community service. Volunteer community service work with various institutions gave middle-class women independence from the bureau men’s reform platform and allowed them to carve out a gender-specific niche.

Settlement women tried to make urban life more accommodating and nurturing. Their achievements included improved health, sanitation, education, and social welfare. Their legislative efforts focused on improving the quality of life rather than cutting costs. They tended to support municipal ownership of public services, such as garbage collection, as opposed to contracting out. Eventually, women expanded the scope of their advocacy



beyond child welfare and education to public health, transportation, wages, and working conditions. In fact, many settlement women participated in the labor movement's efforts to organize workers, improve working conditions, and educate consumers to purchase only products manufactured under humane conditions (Stivers, 2000).

Why did educated women work in the settlement houses? Although middle-class women had access to higher education, they did not have access to careers in business and industry. Settlement work offered female college graduates an alternative to a "career" of marriage and child rearing. Settlement work served as a point of entry into public life. Settlement women were able to direct their efforts to promoting human dignity, justice, freedom, and equality (Stivers, 2000).

Today's female union leaders may never have heard of the settlement women. None of my interviewees discussed females who had previously held similar positions within the public sector labor movement. Nonetheless, there are obvious parallels between female leaders of the early 20th and 21st centuries. They all succeeded in male-dominated environments by working harder and smarter than men. And, like the mythical daughters of the Dragon King, they all cared about issues that had the most immediate impact on people who were less fortunate than themselves. They advocated for paid family leave, equality of opportunity, preventing the privatization of public assets, and creating access to public employment and advancement opportunities for low-skilled janitors.

The story of females as public sector union leaders is both inspiring and disheartening. It is impossible to be unmoved by the stories of my interviewees, which had to be truncated by the space limitations of a book chapter. On the other hand, there is a sense that the same battles for economic security and equality of opportunities are being fought over and over again. One wonders if women will ever receive the respect they should have earned by now within the labor movement, and if they will ever succeed in securing a full range of rights for public sector employees.

So how can women in public sector unions move forward without the "two steps backward" that Guy (1993) laments? Both the AFL-CIO (2004) and Guy (1993) recommend several tactics for bridging the gap: mentoring women and modifying the structures of institutions and organizations. Specifically, the leaders of public sector unions need to identify women activists at all levels and provide individual leadership development opportunities. Leadership development consists of formal training activities as well as informal processes such as helping them network, providing public speaking opportunities, and offering professional advice and guidance.

From an institutional perspective, the labor movement needs to restructure executive boards to include women. Public sector unions need to appoint women to leadership positions that engage them in decision making. Both the labor movement and the field of public administration need to develop structures for women that allow them to advance policies of concern to working women. In labor organizations these structures include women's departments, caucuses, committees, and councils. In addition, unions need to help women clear the barriers that interfere with women's need to balance work, family, and union activ-

ism. For example, unions can provide assistance with child care, schedule meetings at convenient times for women to attend, and hold meetings in locations that allow women to bring their children with them. Such practices would reinforce the concept of union motherhood and, as Guy (1993) suggests, avoid penalizing women for being female.

To truly reshape the houses of public administration and labor, we need to recognize gender issues in professional associations such as the American Society for Public Administration and the Labor Employment Relations Association and in scholarly research, journals, and conferences. As Burnier (2003) notes, women need a room of their own, a gender room to give voice to women's experiences. It is critical to record women's workplace and union experiences in memoirs and journals. These tools can then be used to influence teaching, practice, and research in public administration and public sector unions. When the knowledge gained in the gender room is spread to other rooms in the houses of public administration and labor, the whole house can be transformed.

The legitimacy of the public sector and the labor movement depend on casting a wider net to include women. The state is a key component in the existing gender order. As Connell (2006) argues, the state replicates the pattern of gender relations that occur in the corporate economy and civil society. Therefore, the gendered organizations of the state and civil society, such as labor unions, must be the focus of gender change. Both the public sector and labor organizations are currently undergoing structural change. New public management and market-based reforms have changed the nature of public sector agencies. An overall decline in union membership and a shift toward public sector unions have altered the labor movement. Moreover, the recent economic downturn has impacted male-dominated industries such as manufacturing and construction, resulting in heavy job losses for men. To a large extent, jobs have been preserved in government, health care, and education—all female strongholds.

Guy (1993) contends that women's disparate treatment in the workforce is the result of opportunity, power, and numbers. The current political and economic situation presents a critical juncture of opportunity, power, and numbers. Leaders, activists, and scholars in both public administration and the labor movement need to seize the opportunities provided by the growing numbers of women in the public sector and the complementary goals of workplace justice, social justice, and caring to claim their voice and alter the existing power structure.

## Discussion Questions

1. How should unions go about recruiting women for leadership positions? Should they use biographical data to identify those who are most likely to be interested, or should they try to reach out to nontraditional leaders such as new immigrants?
2. What, if anything, has changed for the better over the past century for women, as public administrators and/or as public sector union leaders?
3. Are women better suited than men to leading public sector unions?

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## Chapter 14

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# Women in the U.S. Military

Saundra J. Reinke  
Randall D. Miller

### Key Terms

Cohesion  
Combat exclusion  
Dual-service couples  
Gender integration  
Hypermasculinity  
Military sexual trauma  
Ops tempo

### Introduction

This chapter seeks to understand the challenges faced by women in the military—a decidedly masculine culture. Feminist theory suggests that women's influence in the public administration workplace significantly changes it in three primary ways. First, feminist theory suggests that organizational hierarchies become less rigid. Second, the climate in organizations becomes more cooperative, less competitive, and less aggressive. Finally, values of trust, openness, and acceptance replace competition and aggression (Guy, 1992). As a public institution with an explicitly aggressive purpose (i.e., combat) using a very hierarchal approach, the military provides the most significant challenge to feminist theory. Moreover, Solano (2006) suggests that feminist theory, and the feminist movement itself, because of its prominent involvement in peace movements, has contributed very little to our understanding of the problems and challenges facing women in this most masculine of environments.

The military is charged with a task that is central to public administration—the defense of that administration and the citizenry it serves from outside threats. Military culture is the bedrock of military effectiveness. Culture can be broadly defined as how things are done in an organization (Dorn & Graves, 2000). Huntington (1957) identifies discipline, tradition, unity, and cohesion as the core values that underpin military culture. These values flow logically from the unique role of the military in society and are viewed by many to be as essential to combat effectiveness as good training or weaponry (Hillen, 1999; Huntington, 1957). That unique role is in combat—the controlled application of violence



to achieve political goals (Huntington, 1957). Consequently, military culture is, and must remain, significantly different from civil culture (Dorn & Graves, 2000; Snider, 1999).

Although there is nothing specifically masculine about the military values of discipline, tradition, unity, and cohesion, the long-standing exclusion of women from the military has resulted in an organizational culture that is decidedly masculine. It is therefore not surprising that gender integration has been and continues to be a significant challenge to traditional military culture (Dorn & Graves, 2000). For women in the military this challenge manifests itself in three ways: professional opportunity, sexual harassment and assault, and family issues.

This chapter opens with a history of women's involvement in U.S. military operations before describing the current participation of women in the military. This is followed by a series of sections examining the current challenges facing women in terms of professional opportunity, sexual harassment and assault, and family issues. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion of the challenges facing female veterans and some concluding thoughts on the relevance of feminist theory in the military setting.

## Brief History

Women have always volunteered and served in the military since the Revolutionary War. Many women served in combat disguised as men, whereas others cooked and performed other essential chores necessary to keep soldiers ready to fight. In all, approximately 20,000 women served in some way on the battlefields of the Revolutionary War (Nathan, 2004; Solano, 2006; Wise & Baron, 2006).



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*My name is Deborah Sampson. I served in combat disguised as a male soldier under the name of Robert Shurtlieff during the Revolutionary War (1775–1783) until wounded in battle. My secret was discovered and ended my fighting days with an honorable discharge. I wasn't the only woman to serve with distinction in this war. A Native American woman, named Tyonajanegen, took up the fight by loading her husband's musket for him under fire from the enemy during the Battle for Oriskany, New York in 1777. At the Battle of Fort Washington in 1778, Margaret (Captain Molly as she was called) Corbin helped load and shoot her husband's cannon after he was wounded. Molly was the first woman to earn a soldier's pension at the end of the war. Tyonajanegen received the same twenty years later (Nathan, 2004).*

The Civil War (1861–1865) saw over 10,000 women nurses on both sides serve their country in time of war. Women (in the hundreds) again disguised themselves as male soldiers, whereas some were spies and others were battlefield helpers. One of the most important roles for women was nursing. Few people are aware that two times as many soldiers died of disease as from battlefield injuries. Diseases even struck down the nurses who treated these soldiers, such as Louisa May Scott, who died of typhoid fever in an army hospital in the capital. Many Civil war nurses are buried with honor at Arlington National Cemetery. Just as in the Revolutionary War and in the wars to come, women of color and ethnic minority served with honor (Nathan, 2004; Wise & Baron, 2006).



*My name is Clara Barton. I was a government clerk in Washington, DC, at the start of the war. It wasn't easy for me. Some men would spit tobacco juice at me as I walked in the hallways of my office building. However, I continued to do my job to the best of my ability until I began to bring donated supplies to wounded soldiers in Washington and eventually to the battlefield. After the war's end, I founded the American Red Cross in 1881 (Nathan, 2004).*

Courtesy of Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division [reproduction number LC-USZ62-48347], Photo by J.E. Purdy.



Photo Courtesy of U.S. Army.

*My name is Dr. Mary Walker. I am the first and only woman to be awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor (CMH). I received the award at the end of the Civil War, in which I was the only female Prisoner of War. A prisoner exchange freed me from a Confederate prison after four months. After volunteering for free at the start of the war, I was finally given the title of Acting Assistant Surgeon. In 1917, Congress rescinded my CMH, but I refused to return the medal. In the 1970s, the Congress of that time returned the honor of the medal to me posthumously (Nathan, 2004; Williams, 1999).*

The Civil War created a few new opportunities for women. It opened the way for the establishment of female nursing schools in the 1870s. However, the Army returned to all male nurses until the Spanish American War in 1898, which was a short war of only 4 months and limited in the extent of battle but extensive in the scope of operations. The war reached from Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands in the Caribbean to the Philippines and other islands in the Pacific Ocean. This was the last war where more soldiers died of diseases (malaria, typhoid, yellow fever, etc.) than from battlefield wounds (Nathan, 2004; Wise & Baron, 2006).

In an effort to become more professional, the Army began giving all new enlistments a physical examination. That eliminated the chance for women to fight disguised as men. However, some 1,500 women (including 80 African Americans and Native Americans) served as civilian nurses during the Spanish American War. They received salaries and pensions after the war without the need for a campaign to receive them. Finally, in 1901 the Army created the Army Nurse Corp, and the following year the Navy followed suit, making female nurses official members of the military, but without rank (Nathan, 2004; Wise & Baron, 2006).

In World War I (1917–1918) the number of women who served in the military greatly expanded. Loretta Walsh, at 20 years of age, became the first woman to become a full-fledged member of the Navy with a rank, that of Yeoman. She did the same work and earned the same pay as her male counterparts. Nearly 12,000 other female Yeomen served in World War I, performing office work as secretaries, clerks, messengers, or telephone operators in the States to free up men for the battlefield. The Marine Corps followed suit a year later, but only enlisted 305 female Marines for office work before the war ended in victory for the United States (Nathan, 2004).

In need of English-speaking telephone operators in France, the Army hired about 200 female civilians to do the job. Some of the women served at the front lines near the end of the war. In addition to telephone operators, 21,000 American female nurses served in the war, with nearly half of them in Europe. Some were at base hospitals. However, some served on the front lines, traveling with the troops to each battle. They lived in tents without such amenities as bathtubs or proper sanitation facilities (Nathan, 2004; Wise & Baron, 2006).



*My name is Helen Fairchild. I died in January, 1918 while giving care to soldiers who were bombed with mustard gas, which stayed on their clothing. While cleaning the soles of their boots, I breathed in the gas. I was given a military funeral and was buried in France, where I still remain. I had only been a nurse for six months. It is believed at least 359 service-women died in the First World War, most of them from the 1918 influenza epidemic that swept around the world (Women in Military Service for America Memorial Foundation [WIMSA], n.d.).*

Courtesy of Women in Military Service for  
America Memorial Foundation, Inc.



Hundreds of women received military awards at the end of World War I (Nathan, 2004). The Distinguished Service Medal, the highest honor for noncombat service, was presented to over 20 female service personnel, whereas four Army nurses won the second highest award for combat service: the Distinguished Service Cross. In all, 34,000 military and civilian women served in World War I. Their contributions were recognized in the highest possible way in 1920 when the 20th Amendment to the Constitution was ratified, giving all American women the right to vote. At the same time, through the Army Reorganization Act of 1920, military nurses were granted the relative ranks of second lieutenant to major, but without the full rights and privileges afforded to male officers (WIMSA, 2009b).

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii 20 years after the First World War brought the United States into the Second World War (1941–1945) against the Axis Powers. Servicewomen were there from the start at the Naval Hospital in Pearl Harbor. With a shortage of military personnel, Congress created the women's corps for the Army in May 1942. The other branches followed suit a few months later with similar all-women units. At first, the Army's women's corps was called the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps but was changed to the Women's Army Corps (WACs) a year later in 1943 (Treadwell, 1954). The Navy's all female unit was named Women Accepted for Voluntary Emergency Service (WAVES). Coast Guard women became SPARs, which represented the Coast Guard's motto: *Semper Paratus* (Always Ready). The Marine Corps created its Marine Corps Women's Reserve in 1943. Both Marine and Coast Guard women were assigned stateside-only duties during the war. WACs, WAVES, Army Nurse Corps, and Navy Nurse Corps units would distinguish themselves worldwide.

Since the Air Force would not be established as a separate unit from the Army until 1948, the Army Air Corps used civilian female pilots to ferry planes, as test pilots, and as anti-aircraft artillery trainers during the war. They were designated the Women's Airforce Service Pilots (WASPs) (Nathan, 2004; WIMSA, 2009b). As the war effort improved, the Army inexplicably ended the WASPs program in 1943. As civilians, WASPs did not receive pensions or other military benefits for their service to their country during the war. This injustice was eventually reversed in 1977, when they were finally granted full military veteran status.



© National Archives and Records Administration.

*My name is LTC Charity Adams Earley. I enlisted in the Army in 1942 when it was the only armed service branch in the war making a real, concerted effort to recruit black women into military service. I eventually commanded the first African American WAC unit to serve overseas. My postal service battalion went to Great Britain in 1945 and set records for the speedy delivery of mail. Just the same, we were not welcomed in the local Red Cross Club. They even sent us our own recreational equipment to encourage us to open our own separate club. I had every piece of equipment returned. It was insulting and discriminatory towards us (Nathan, 2004).*

The Army embraced most African American woman into military service during World War II, enlisting more than 4,000 in all-black units. About 500 black women served in the Army Nursing Corps. The Navy allowed a few in their nursing corps at the end of the war. Likewise, the WAVES and SPARs enlisted a few black women at the end of the war but did allow them to serve in integrated women units. Women from other American minorities were able to serve with integrated units throughout the war. The Marines had no black women, nor did the WASPs (Nathan, 2004).

There were at least 350,000 women who served in nursing units (Army and Navy Nursing Corps) and other all-female units. During 1942, 67 Army nurses were captured by the Japanese in the Pacific theater and held as prisoners of war for over 2½ years. When the war ended, more than 400 courageous servicewomen and nurses had given their lives in defense of the country. Over 2,000 women received military awards for their



service. Women of all ages and status served in a wide variety of roles during the war. Tens of thousands of civilian women filled the jobs men left behind as they filled the ranks of the military during World War II. As in previous wars, women were replaced in these civilian positions at war's end in September 1945 (Nathan, 2004). After the war the Army-Navy Nurse Act of 1947 gave permanent commissioned officer status to nurses (WIMSA, 2009b).

In 1948 Congress passed legislation to allow women to become permanent members of the armed services, but there were severe limits on their service. For example, the number of women in the military was capped at 2% of the total force and their promotions were limited by restrictions on their duty assignments, which excluded ground combat and service on combat ships or planes. Women with children could not be admitted into military service, and pregnant women were discharged from active duty. It would not be until a successful lawsuit in 1975 that servicewomen were allowed the option to remain or leave active duty upon pregnancy or adoption of a child (Nathan, 2004; Solano, 2006; WIMSA, 2009b; Wise & Burton, 2006).

The Korean War (1950–1953) was much smaller in scope than World War II; consequently, fewer women served in it. A mere 600 women (from all military branches) served, filling primarily the ranks of nurses (500) in the combat zone, offshore with hospital ships, and in Japan at large hospitals. WACs (as they were still known) worked at Army Headquarters in South Korea. Many of these women, who joined the Reserves after World War II, were involuntarily activated for the war. The Army commissioned its first woman physician as a Regular Army medical officer in 1953. The Korean War was also the first time racially integrated U.S. Armed Forces fought together. However, the duty restrictions placed on female service personnel before the Korean War in 1948 remained throughout the 1950s and into the early 1960s. Racial integration of males was achieved in 1948 by Presidential Executive Order 9981, but full gender integration would not be realized for another 30 years.

The Vietnam War (1959–1975) was the catalyst that “totally changed the role of women in the military” (Nathan, 2004, p. 55). In 1967 the old restriction on the number of women in the military was lifted, and the rank structure was completely opened to women. After the war the draft was abolished, and the U.S. military went to an all-volunteer force. Faced with having to attract individuals to military service, the military leaders quickly realized there would not be enough male volunteers to fill the ranks (Moskos, 1993). Hence, policy changed to improve working conditions for military women to make “military service more attractive and fair to women” (Nathan, 2004, p. 55). By 1975 the role of women had exploded in the range of jobs they held, and some were even promoted to brigadier generals and rear admirals.

In 1972 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the lesser benefits afforded to servicewomen's children (no housing, medical care, commissary, or post exchange privileges) were unconstitutional. Throughout the 1970s and 1980s jobs increasingly opened up to women, with the exception of direct combat. The Reserve Officer Training Corps was opened to women for the Air Force in 1969 and for the Army in 1972 (WIMSA, 2009b).

In 1976 the first women were admitted to the service academies. Two years later separate female units, along with their corresponding titles of WACs, WAVEs, and so on, were dropped. Women became simply soldiers, sailors, airmen, and marines as full integration (with the exception of direct combat roles) into the military was achieved. Additionally, the first women began service on noncombat ships. By 1980 over 100,000 women were on duty, a 300% increase from the mid-1960s (Nathan, 2004; Solano, 2006).

The Persian Gulf War (1990–1991) was the first war in which women played a major role in the new positions opened to them. More than 40,000 of the total forces were women (11%); African Americans made up half of these. Mothers arranged for their children's care before departure overseas. There was still some anti-women sentiment, but those who served overcame this attitude with their performance in the field; over a dozen lost their lives. Two women were captured as prisoners of war and survived the ordeal to return home (Nathan, 2004; WIMSA, n.d.). Women proved their worth to such a degree that in 1991 Congress allowed them to fly combat missions and in 1993 allowed women aboard combat ships, with the exception of submarines and some specialty ships. Women could now do almost every job in the military except for direct combat in the Infantry, Artillery, Armor, or Special Forces units and serving on submarines.



*My name is Army Specialist Lori Piestewa. I was killed in a convoy ambush during the Iraqi invasion in March 2003. I am the first Native American servicewoman to be killed in enemy action overseas. A mountain in Arizona near my Hopi homeland has been renamed Piestewa Peak in my honor.*

Photo Courtesy of U.S. Army.

## Military Women Today

Today, over 200,000 servicewomen (13.5%) are on active duty, with over 260,000 more in the National Guard and Reserves (17%) (WIMSA, 2009a). Ninety percent of military jobs are open to women (Nathan, 2004). The Air Force rates highest in integrating women into the ranks, with 99.7% of job specialties open to women (Harrell & Miller, 1997). The Navy is second at 91%. The Army still restricts direct combat assignments, as does the Marine Corps, with the Marine Corps also lagging behind in the percentage of females versus the other services (Table 14-1).

Unit readiness, cohesion, and morale have not been hindered by full inclusion of women into the military. In fact, over half of enlisted men and one-third of male officers favor some change in the combat exclusion rule. Eighty percent of military women support such a change but disagree on whether combat positions should be voluntary (Harrell & Miller, 1997; Miller, 1995). However, it should be noted that this research work was completed before the United States launched major military operations into Iraq.

**TABLE 14-1. Women in the U.S. Military as of September 30, 2009**

	Women	Total	% Women
<i>Active Duty</i>			
Army	74,411	553,044	13.5
Marine Corps	12,951	202,786	6.4
Navy	51,029	329,304	15.5
Air Force	64,984	333,408	19.6
Total DoD	203,375	1,418,542	14.3
	Women	Total	% Women
<i>Reserve and Guard</i>			
Army Reserve	62,879	282,262	28.7
Marine Corps Reserve	5,334	95,199	5.6
Navy Reserve	20,973	109,267	19.2
Air Force Reserve	29,201	111,168	26.3
Total DoD	189,577	1,070,213	17.7
Army National Guard	51,022	363,121	14.1
Air National Guard	20,168	109,196	18.5
National Guard Total	71,190	472,317	15.1

From WIMSA (2009a).

## Contemporary Challenges for Military Women and the U.S. Armed Services

### Professional Opportunity

As noted in the previous section, women began to join the military in large numbers in 1973 with the advent of the all-volunteer force. Unable to fill the ranks with male volunteers, the military services filled them with women (Moskos, 1993). But this does not mean that professional opportunities for women were equal. For military women combat exclusion is the major barrier to career advancement. Like all organizations, the military promotes to its top positions those with experience in its most important function—in this case, combat. Erin Solano states “a person who is categorically excluded from combat is a second-class member of the most hierarchical organization in the United States” (2006, p. 159).

In the wake of the Gulf War in 1991, a presidential commission was formed to study the DoD policy on the assignment of women. The result of this commission was then Secretary of Defense Les Aspin’s memorandum, “Direct Ground Combat Definition and Assignment Rule,” published January 13, 1994. The Aspin policy effectively opened virtually all career fields and positions to women with the exception of submariners, Special Forces, and Army and Marine Corps units that engaged in direct combat.

The current conflict in Iraq has led to increasing levels of discomfort with some aspects of the Aspin policy. Specifically, the policy’s approach assumes a linear battlefield, where the enemy and the front lines are easily recognized. In an insurgency situation featuring the use of suicide bombers and improvised explosive devices, or IEDs, such as Iraq and Afghanistan, the enemy could literally be anyone at anytime. Further, there is no easily identifiable front line. Because insurgents target U.S. military personnel, all of them are at risk of being attacked or “in combat” anywhere and anytime (Harrell et al., 2007). Moreover, the U.S. Army never updated its policy on the assignment of women after publication of the Aspin memorandum. The Army’s current policy was published in 1992 and differs from the Aspin policy in how it defines the term “combat” (Department of the Army, 1992). These differences, along with the way the Army actually uses women in Iraq and the guerrilla nature of the conflict, have led to charges that the Army is violating its own policies on the assignment of women as well as the Aspin memorandum (Solano, 2006). A study commissioned by Congress reported that the Army was complying with the DoD policy but may be in violation of its own policy (Harrell, et al., 2007).

### Sexual Harassment and Assault

As women’s professional opportunities have expanded, more servicewomen are entering workplaces and specializations that have been exclusively male until quite recently. Exclusively male units, particularly those units exposed to combat or in the field frequently,

develop very masculine cultures. Rosen, Knudson, and Fancher (2003) note that male-only groups are often associated with “hypermasculinity,” which they define as “expressions of extreme, exaggerated, or stereotypic masculine attributes and behaviors” (p. 326). When military women join a previously all-male unit, they can be seen as “outsiders” forced onto the unit. This can have negative consequences that manifest as sexual harassment and assault. In addition, this body of research suggests that when military units spend more time in the field or are exposed to combat more frequently, the culture of hypermasculinity becomes more dominant, with potentially negative consequences for servicewomen (Rosen et al., 2003).

The most recent statistical data available supports this theory. In 1995, 46% of women on active duty reported they had been sexually harassed. By 2002 the DoD’s emphasis on training to prevent sexual harassment had reduced this rate to 24%. But in the first survey completed after the invasion of Iraq, 34% of women reported they had been sexually harassed (Lipari, Cook, Rock, & Matos, 2008). It is notable that the services most exposed to combat, the U.S. Army and the Marines Corps, also had the highest reported rates of sexual harassment (42% and 44%, respectively), whereas the U.S. Air Force had the lowest rate (23%). This may also help explain why, with the exception of the Navy, military women are significantly more likely to leave the service before their first term of enlistment is over (Dorn & Graves, 2000).

Sexual assault trends are harder to analyze. The number of sexual assault cases reported has gone up significantly, but the increases could be attributable to policy change as much as any real change in how servicewomen are treated. As a consequence of several high-profile sexual assault cases in Iraq, the DoD made two major changes. The first change, in June 2005, gave victims two options for reporting a sexual assault. An “unrestricted report” is one that is handled through official military channels, which can include the filing of charges and a court martial (Department of Defense, 2009; Lipari et al., 2008). The second option, a “restricted report,” allows the victim to get medical attention and other assistance without having to press charges against the assailant and was added as a way of encouraging victims to come forward (Department of Defense, 2009). Like their civilian counterparts, military women often do not report either sexual harassment or assault (General Accounting Office [GAO], 2008; Lipari, et al., 2008).

A major survey of active-duty members concluded that of women who experienced at least one gender-related unprofessional incident, 87% did not report it. The most commonly cited reasons for not reporting were as follows: they took care of the problem themselves (67%), they did not believe the incident was worth reporting (65%), they were afraid of negative professional outcomes (33%), and they worried about being labeled a “troublemaker” (32%) (Lipari et al., 2008). These results echo the findings of a GAO report (2008) on the effectiveness of the DoD’s program to prevent and respond properly to allegations of sexual assault.

The second major change in DoD policy was to expand the definition of sexual assault to conform to Article 12 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice. The new definition



acknowledged that nonphysical threats could be coercive and expanded the definition of assault to include forced sexual acts other than intercourse. In fiscal year 2008 the DoD reported 2,265 unrestricted reports of sexual assault and 753 restricted reports. Military women composed the vast majority of victims (Department of Defense, 2009). These numbers are larger than in previous years. However, given changes in DoD policy, including the definition of what constitutes sexual assault, it is impossible to determine definitively if these numbers represent an increase in sexual assaults, an improvement in the number of women willing to file an official report, or the stress of combat.

To help further reduce sexual harassment and assault, the U.S. Army changed its recruiting process. All services set standards that recruits must meet and provide a waiver process. One type of waiver, known as a “moral waiver,” allows recruiters to enlist members with a criminal background. Between 2003 and 2006 the U.S. Army greatly expanded its use of moral waivers from 4,918 granted in 2003 to 8,129 in 2006, a 65% increase (Alvarez, 2007). This led to concern that the Army was recruiting sex offenders who, once enlisted, preyed upon female soldiers. In 2007 the Army regulation that governs recruitment was changed to require recruiters to check the sex offender registry for every state in which the applicant lived, worked, or studied. Moreover, applicants convicted of a sexually violent offense were automatically denied enlistment (Department of the Army, 2007).

Beyond the actual occurrence of sexual harassment and assault, servicewomen and the general public have expressed concerns about how these cases are dealt with in the military justice system. In fiscal year 2008 the DoD reported that 832 cases were investigated that led to some sort of commander action; 38% of those cases were tried in a court martial. Another way to look at these data is to examine what happened to the “subjects”—the suspected perpetrators of the sexual assault. For fiscal year 2008 the Department of Defense (2009) reported that cases involving 1,092 subjects were disposed of as shown in Table 14-2.

In the military it is the commander (with proper legal advice) who makes the decision on whether to pursue a court martial, nonjudicial punishment (Article 15), administrative action, or no action. The GAO’s (2008) report noted that some field commanders are not supportive of official policy in this area. The numbers presented in Table 14-2, along with the results of the GAO report, suggest that the DoD could do a better job of educating commanders on their responsibilities with respect to sexual assault allegations.

## Family Issues

Snider (1999) claims the advent of the married force is the biggest sociological change in the military as an institution since the creation of the all-volunteer force in the 1970s. At the beginning of 2004 approximately one-half of the active-duty enlisted force and 68% of the officer corps were married (Department of Defense, 2006). Like their civilian counterparts, many servicewomen face the challenge of balancing work with family life, but



**TABLE 14-2. Disposition of Sexual Assault Allegations in the Department of Defense for Fiscal Year 2008**

Number of Subjects	Disposition
38	Victim could not identify subject
413 (38%)	No action taken (includes cases where there was insufficient evidence, the victim withdrew the complaint, or the allegations were considered unsubstantiated or unfounded)
47	Case turned over to civilian or foreign authorities
187	Pending
407 (37%)	Action taken
215	Court martial
91	Article 15 (significant legal action that results in loss of rank or pay but no prison sentence)
13	Discharge in lieu of court martial or Article 15
88	"Other administrative action"—which includes letters of counseling or reprimand

From DoD (2009).

military women must perform this balancing act under the pressure of frequent deployments. And, unlike their male counterparts, servicewomen are significantly more likely to be members of a dual-service marriage, where both husband and wife are active-duty military. Almost half of the married women on active duty are in dual-service marriages as compared with just 7% of married men (Department of Defense, 2002). Female soldiers are also more likely than their male counterparts to be single parents (Department of the Army, 2005).

### Marriage and Ops Tempo

"Ops tempo," the increased number and length of deployments, has placed significant strain on a married force. Since the end of the Cold War, the number and frequency of deployments has steadily increased. The post-9/11 conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq led to even more frequent and longer deployments (Hosek, Kavanaugh, & Miller, 2006).

The stress of deployment begins months before departure because most military units go through extensive training to prepare. This additional training can result in long hours and family separations even before the deployment begins. Once deployed, married service members worry about their family's finances, access to health care, and how the family will adjust to their absence. These concerns are exacerbated by the difficulty service

members face communicating with their families. Mail is slow, and telephone and e-mail connections are often unreliable or not available. For many service members family separation reduces morale and increases the probability that they will leave the military. When service members return, the family must go through another adjustment as the returning member seeks to re-establish his or her place in the family (Benedict, 2009; Hosek et al., 2006).

This has led to concerns in all services about the effects of such stress on divorce rates, suicides, and domestic violence. For example, divorce rates in the U.S. Army doubled from 2000 to 2004 (Bethea, 2007). High levels of combat experience are associated with later-life marital problems (Gimbel & Booth, 1994). "The stress of combat, long separations and difficulty readjusting to family life after combat or hardship tours are key reasons for the surge in divorces" (Bethea, 2007, p. 12).

Moreover, domestic violence has been linked to combat-related disorders such as post-traumatic stress disorder (Gimbel & Booth, 1994). Domestic violence rates in the military are two to five times higher than civilian rates (Valente & Wight, 2007). After a series of well-publicized domestic violence incidents at Fort Campbell, the DoD, under the direction of the congressionally-chartered Task Force on Domestic Violence, worked to improve how it responded to domestic violence. Nonetheless, under the stress of war critics believe the DoD has done far too little (Alvarez & Sontag, 2008).

## Dual-Service Couples

For military women the concerns discussed above are amplified because they are significantly more likely than their male counterparts to be married to another military member (Bethea, 2007; Department of Defense, 2002). For a dual-service couple not only must two careers be managed, but two deployment schedules. All the military services work with dual-service couples to assign them to the same geographical area; however, they are typically assigned to different units. In the post-9/11 military, that results in even more separations as units rotate into Iraq or Afghanistan on different schedules (Bethea, 2007). As an example, U.S. Army Sergeant Brian Stewmon came back home after an 11½-month deployment to Iraq just in time to kiss his wife, Sergeant Michelle Stewmon, good-bye before she left for her own 1-year deployment (Liewer, 2004).

Military women are just as likely as their civilian counterparts to be victims of domestic violence. The only difference between them is that a woman in the military is more likely to know how to go about ensuring that her assailant is punished. But this does not necessarily mean the violence ends, as Sergeant Erin Edwards discovered. After she and her husband, Sergeant William Edwards, returned from Iraq to Fort Hood, he viciously assaulted her, choked her, dragged her over a fence, and slammed her into a sidewalk. She pressed charges, secured an order of protection, sent their two children to stay with her mother, and even got help arranging a transfer to a base in New York. His commanders assured her that her husband would be barred from leaving the fort without an escort.

But early on the morning of July 22, 2004 Sergeant William Edwards left the fort unescorted, drove to his wife's house, and shot her in the head before shooting himself (Alvarez & Sontag, 2008).

### Single Parents

Although the military services stopped accepting single parents after the Gulf War, service members with children who divorce or have a spouse die can remain in the service. Military women are more likely than their male counterparts to be single parents. In the U.S. Army 13.8% of women on active duty are single parents, as compared with 5.7% of men (Department of the Army, 2005). Like dual-service couples with children, single parents face the challenge of arranging for child care for routine work and frequent deployments. DoD policy is clear—single parents and dual-service couples are responsible for making appropriate childcare arrangements. Many turn to members of their family for help and support, potentially putting further strain on family relations (Benedict, 2009; Bethea, 2007).

### Challenges Facing Female Veterans

Sexual harassment, sexual assault, and domestic violence have effects that can last a lifetime. Taken together, sexual harassment, assault, and rape in the military setting are referred to as “military sexual trauma” or MST. Just over one-third of active-duty military women report being sexually harassed (Lipari et al., 2008). In the Reserves, 60% of women report experiencing MST at some point during their military service (Street, Stafford, Mahan, & Hendricks, 2008).

MST is associated with significantly poorer health status than those military veterans who have not had these experiences. This includes higher rates of substance abuse, depression, posttraumatic stress disorder, gastrointestinal problems, and difficulty in adjusting to civilian life after discharge. These are primarily mental health issues (Kelly et al., 2008; Kimmerling, Gima, Smith, Street, & Frayne, 2007; Street et al., 2008). The responsibility for caring for these veterans primarily falls to the Veterans Health Administration (VHA).

In 2008 there were an estimated 1.7 million women veterans in the United States (WIMSA, 2009a). Currently, women represent about 5.5% of patients in VHA facilities and are one of the fastest growing VHA patient populations (Kelly et al., 2008). Of these patients, approximately 22% of female veterans (29,418 patients) who participated in an MST screening process reported MST (Kelly, et al., 2008). Thus, MST is an important health issue for the VHA and for military women.

Unfortunately, it is clear that there are gaps in mental health care in both the current military and VHA health care systems. For active-duty personnel, only about one-third of those deployed who screened positive for a mental health condition reported receiving

care. The results after deployment were similar. There are gaps in the availability of care, particularly at deployed locations. In addition, seeking mental health care carries with it a significant stigma, making military personnel very reluctant to seek the help they need (Burnam et al., 2008).

## Conclusion

Women have made substantial progress since Revolutionary War days. This progress accelerated with the advent of the all-volunteer force and again in the wake of the Gulf War. Women now make up a substantial portion of the U.S. military. Virtually all career fields have been opened to them, and there are no artificial caps or quotas that restrict their entry into service or their promotions.

Women who have served our nation now have their own memorial. The Women's Memorial in Washington, DC provides space for female veterans to tell their story and have it preserved electronically. In addition, the memorial exhibits materials relating to women's service in the U.S. military throughout our history. Clearly, the presence and performance of women in the military has increased acceptance for them and their contributions, past and present, just as feminist theory would predict.

The current conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, however, have generated some controversy. In an insurgency, with its lack of "front lines," combat-exclusion policies developed for a linear battlefield result in confusion and charges that the Army in particular is violating its own policies and shortchanging female soldiers. Rising rates of sexual harassment, sexual assault, and domestic violence also raise questions about how seriously the military is committed to fully integrating women into its ranks. The need to treat victims of these problems has placed pressure on military health care facilities and the VHA, raising questions about their ability to meet rising demand for services.

As the most hierarchal of all public organizations, with a decidedly masculine culture, the military challenges feminist theory and public administration to face difficult questions. The history of the all-volunteer force clearly indicates that women are essential to today's military. How much must the military change to adapt to this reality? Is the military's masculine culture essential (as some claim) to combat effectiveness? If so, what trade-offs are appropriate between the values of social equity and institutional effectiveness? Much progress has been made, but more remains to be done before we can conclude "mission accomplished" and declare that women have become full and equal members of the U.S. military.

## Discussion Questions

1. Given the guerrilla nature of the conflicts in Iraq and Afghanistan, is it time for the DoD to revise its combat exclusion policy? If so, what should be changed?

2. Is an end to the combat exclusion rule incompatible with military effectiveness?
3. What should the DoD do to address rising rates of sexual harassment, domestic violence, and (possibly) sexual assault?
4. What could be done to encourage women to report sexual harassment and assault?
5. What could be done to overcome the reluctance of most military personnel to seek help for mental health issues?

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## Chapter 15

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# The Pipeline and Women Practitioners

J. L. Peters

### Key Terms

Facilitative leadership  
Gender mainstreaming  
Pipeline  
Succession planning

### Introduction

This chapter explores the shortcomings of the women's leadership pipeline theorized to ameliorate the gender gap. In 1999 the National Council on Research for Women convened an extraordinary conference at the United Nations to discuss the challenges facing women and girls in the 21st century. During the opening plenary session, a panel composed of educators, activists, and policymakers described their personal paths to success. In the course of their discussion they identified some of the elements of a strong pipeline for women's leadership. Among them were mentoring and training young women; building relationships across the traditional boundaries of race, gender, age, religion, and sexual preference; using shared values and clear objectives to achieve a vision; providing facilitative leadership to encourage the development of the next generation of leaders; and, perhaps most importantly, developing a leadership succession.

Does such a pipeline exist for women in public service? Formal pipeline programs, designed to encourage underrepresented groups to enter careers in the public service, do indeed exist and many have been quite successful in increasing the participation of women. But the data offer compelling evidence that the larger pipeline—the broader career path through which most people will pass—is inadequate. In spite of the progress that has been made over the past 40 years, women continue to lag behind men in the workplace. A number of researchers have written extensively on the challenges of seeking diversity from a social equity perspective (Crumpacker & Crumpacker, 2008; Dolan, 2001; Riccucci, 2006, 2009; Schalkwyk & Woroniuk, 1999). Rather than reiterating all their findings here, this chapter provides a brief overview of the gender gap in state and federal government

and then shifts the focus to the shortcomings of the pipeline that theoretically exists to combat it. In doing so, it is hoped that this chapter contributes to the dialogue of gender and public administration by shedding light on the urgency to address these challenges not only for the women currently in the workplace but for the generations to come.

## Looking at the Pipeline From Both Ends

Going strictly by the numbers, the news from the pipeline for women's leadership (on the front end, anyway) is encouraging. Educational attainment for women has improved significantly over the last four decades. This is particularly true in programs designed to prepare students for careers in public service. Women, in fact, outnumber men in public administration and public affairs programs both at the master's (58% female, 42% male) and doctoral levels (53% female, 47% male) (National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration, 2008), and the stream of women entering state and federal government has continued to grow. But the news is not entirely good. Progress at the front end of the pipeline has not been matched by commensurate gains at the other end. Women have yet to achieve parity and have made only modest headway toward that goal.

Although the number of women achieving high-ranking positions in the federal government has increased over the past decade, growth has not been consistent across the agencies and the pay rate for women still lags behind that of their male colleagues. And although data suggest that the wage and gender gaps are closing, recent data reveal that the gap has not narrowed as much as expected (Sherrill, 2009). Women account for 43.2% of the federal labor workforce but less than 30% of the Senior Executive Service (SES), the top level of management in the federal government (Crumpacker & Crumpacker, 2008). The General Accountability Office (2008) conducted a series of analyses to better understand the gender and racial/ethnic diversity factors contributing to the disparity, paying particular attention to what it referred to as the "SES pipeline," the recruitment pool from which SES appointments are generally made. The findings showed progress that was uneven and somewhat slower than expected.

At the state level the figures are even more sobering. Between 1997 and 2007 the percentage of women policy leaders in executive, administrative, and judicial posts increased by only 2.4% (Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, 2008). The majority of those appointments were in social service agencies, civil/human rights commissions, and educational programs—areas where women have been traditionally welcome.

The news is troubling from the pipeline to elected public office as well. The 91 women in the 111th session of Congress represented a record high.<sup>1</sup> However, the number of women running for office in 2008 was lower than in previous years. Approximately 76% of state legislators are men, leaving a gender gap that is nearly three times larger than the gender gap among top advisors in governors' offices (Center for Women in Government and Civil Society, 2006). The ratio of men to women has increased by only 4% over the

last 15 years (National Council of State Legislatures, 2009). Before the resignation of Alaska governor Sarah Palin in July 2009, there were seven women governors in office, down from a previous high of nine in 2008, which matched a previous record set in 2006. The number of women lieutenant governors has declined more significantly, from 15 to 8 between 2005 and 2009.

The figures above raise serious concerns about the efficacy of the pipeline. Educational institutions, professional organizations, government agencies, and other stakeholders committed to promoting the advancement of historically underrepresented groups have repeatedly fallen short of their objectives. The following are among their shortcomings:

- Inadequate attention to the unique needs of women
- Insufficient mentoring and training
- Failure to build a strong leadership succession
- Treating diversity issues as problems of discrete underrepresented groups rather than a problem for all employees

Women's work patterns differ significantly from those of their male colleagues (General Accountability Office, 2003), because women still are the primary caregivers at home and also are more likely than men to assume responsibility for infirm or elderly parents and other relatives. They are therefore more likely to take advantage of opportunities to work part time, to take family leave, or to leave the workforce for longer periods of time than men. As a result, women tend to have less work experience and shorter job tenure.

The pipeline does not sufficiently prepare women for the absence of support for such choices and too often presents an inaccurate picture of reality. Holmes and O'Connell (2007) demonstrate this point in academia, where women are often discouraged from seeking tenure track positions because they find little support if they have or want to have children.

Women and particularly people of color are often disadvantaged by a lack of exposure to career opportunities. Given limited access to information, they curb their ambitions. A female child grows up only knowing about jobs on the lower rungs of the ladder and never aspires to reach the higher rungs and inevitably falls behind her advantaged male peers. Women are also reluctant to apply for positions in institutions where there are no women in the upper echelons (Holmes & O'Connell, 2007) and are therefore prone to being segregated to traditional disciplines. In this regard role models can be both a help and a hindrance; although the presence of a woman in a leadership position may foster interest in a particular field, the absence of one may deter women from venturing into nontraditional fields and track them into more predictable ones.

Another problem with relying on role models is that it too often little is known about how they attained success. Available data on successful men and women focus on their education and achievements rather than on the career paths they took. Dolan (2001) was

perplexed by the dearth of useful information and longed to know whether women rose to their positions differently from men or if women bring different qualifications to their jobs than their male colleagues. Such information might be vital to young people in the pipeline, who too often assume that going to the right schools, attaining a high grade point average, joining the right organizations, and making good contacts is all it takes to reach the top. The recipe for success is more than a list of ingredients; it also requires a degree of skill, patience, planning, and effort. The pipeline is short on essential details, leaving the next generation to fend for itself as it figures things out.

Perhaps the most effective way of navigating the pipeline is by seeking out a mentor at the other end to guide one through. Mentoring relationships (whether woman-to-woman or woman-to-man) are invaluable, empowering young women and preparing them for careers in public service. Unfortunately, there are not enough mentors to go around, and women who have made their way to the top tend to be too focused on their own careers to worry about the next generation.

To recruit more women and prepare them for leadership roles, and especially to run for public office, a number of organizations have been established across the nation. Most, like the Center for American Women and Politics at Rutgers University or the Stennis Center for Public Service in Washington, DC, are affiliated with institutions of higher learning and conduct research as well as offer training for future political candidates. But although dozens of such organizations exist in the United States, relatively few women have access to their programs and services.

At the 1999 conference of the National Council for Research on Women, Jan Holmgren, president of Mills College, called for the development of leadership succession strategies. She said that women “shouldn’t shy away from developing paths for people to influence the system from a position of power” (National Council for Research on Women, 1999, p. 4). But women attending the conference complained that having clawed their way to the top of the ladder, they only see men following when they look back. The pipeline has primarily focused—and rightfully so—on getting women into the workplace and advancing their careers. Succession planning has only recently become a priority. A strong pipeline for women’s leadership must engage in developing a leadership succession, fostering the next generation of leaders as the first generation advances through the ranks.

The needs of women and men differ in many ways that are relevant to policy choices (Schalkwyk & Woroniuk, 1999). Although this article focuses on building the pipeline for women’s leadership, Riccucci (2009) advocates a broader approach to achieving social equity, suggesting that social equity be “integrated into the overall strategic goals of the organization” (p. 379) rather than embracing practices that may be perceived as divisive and polarizing. Gender mainstreaming “incorporates women’s views and priorities into the core of policy decisions, institutional structures, and resource allocations” (Saulnier et al., 1999). Such a holistic approach would mitigate if not eliminate the problems on the pipeline to women’s leadership.

## Conclusion

The existing pipeline has yet to achieve the expected level of diversity in the upper tiers of management. This chapter has presented a number of shortcomings: the pipeline does not provide sufficient mentoring and support for women embarking on careers in public service, nor has it helped women in leadership roles establish paths of succession for future leaders. More importantly, the pipeline does not prepare women for the unique challenges they face in their careers.

While the inadequacies of the pipeline create problems for women, public organizations must also accept its share of the blame. They have had only partial success in addressing women's needs in the workplace. Initiatives undertaken to close the gender gap routinely fall short of their goals because they have not addressed critical differences between women and their male counterparts. Also, in their efforts to recruit and retain women and people of color, public organizations often overlook the fact that all underrepresented groups are not the same. Rather, they have tended to adopt broadband approaches that fall short of addressing the specific concerns of each group.

The pipeline will introduce a steady flow of women practitioners into public service. But until all of these issues are resolved, the gender gap in state and local government will remain a formidable impediment to social equity.

## Discussion Questions

1. Identify the elements you consider essential to a strong pipeline for women's leadership. Do they differ significantly from the list at the start of this article? If so, in what way?
2. Do you have, or have you ever had, a mentor? If so, describe your mentor's attributes, both positive and negative. If you have never had a mentor, what attributes would you look for in a mentor?
3. Find a pipeline organization in your area by doing an online search or by looking at your own institution. Do some research on that organization and share your findings with your peers, paying particular attention to the following questions: What is the organization's mission? What types of programs does it offer? Who are its clientele? Would the organization benefit your career ambitions?

## Note

1. There were 17 women in the Senate and 74 in the House before Hilary Rodham Clinton's resignation from the Senate to become Secretary of State. Kirsten Gillibrand resigned from the House upon being appointed to fill Clinton's position in the Senate, changing the numbers to 17 women in the Senate and 73 in the House.



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Part IV

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# **Public Administration In Practice: Issues and Obstacles**

## **Section B: The Female Manager**



## Chapter 16

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# Beating the Odds: Female Faculty, Students, and Administrators in Schools of Public Affairs

Cleopatra Charles  
Rachelle Brunn

### Key Terms

Child rearing  
Female academics  
Gender inequality  
Mentor  
Retention  
Socialization  
Tenure  
Trailing spouse  
Work-life balance

### Introduction

This chapter examines the current status of female faculty in schools of public affairs by documenting and identifying socialization and recruitment patterns as well as barriers that women continue to experience in the workplace. For many female students across campuses throughout the United States, a lack of female professors and more generally a lack of women in key administrative positions within the university are problems with which they are too familiar. In the classroom this lack of female professors contributes to a number of serious issues, including a dearth of courses that use gender as a lens, a shortage of mentors for female students, and the under-representation of female faculty on dissertation and thesis committees. It is important to note that male students are also adversely affected by this lack of exposure to a gendered perspective in academe.

In the growing field of public administration/public affairs, despite substantial gains in the number of women in the field in recent decades, women continue to be under-represented in numerical terms in the academy. Currently, women hold 30% of the faculty appointments in National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration

(NASPAA)—accredited institutions. This gender disparity is even more extreme among full-time tenured faculty. Currently, there are more women employed as adjunct faculty or in non-tenure track positions: only 19% of tenured faculty are female (M. Wanna, personal communication, June 24, 2009). Although major progress has been made in many segments of our society, we ask how much has the field of public affairs really changed for female scholars and administrators. Do female academics enjoy equal employment opportunities, full participation, and recognition in all areas of the academy?

Historically, the literature on the status of female faculty and administrators in schools of public administration/affairs has not been as well developed as the literature on female faculty in science and engineering (see, for example, Fox 2000, 2001, 2003, and 2004), yet research has shown that a dearth of female role models, especially in high level positions, in an organization signals to new employees that women are not welcome (Hale & Kelly, 1989). This can be particularly problematic for female students of public administration. In contrast, having access to successful women (like college professors) as role models is associated with occupational achievement (Basow, 1980).

In this chapter our analysis opens with a survey of the literature to examine women's experience in academia. We then review and analyze data from NASPAA to show that women's gains in the graduate student population are gradually diminished as they advance to first jobs, tenure, and eventually to senior positions. In addition, we present summaries of in-depth interviews conducted with female academics from the top 20 public affairs programs<sup>1</sup> in the United States. We conclude this chapter by highlighting some of the areas where changes have occurred, where parity has been achieved, and where problems still exist in an effort to chart a course forward. Finally, we provide a list of best practices and recommendations for successfully recruiting, promoting, and retaining female academics that can be used by college and university administrators, politicians, and policymakers to stop what the National Academy of Science (2007, ix) has described as a "... needless waste of the nation's ... talent."

## Women's Experience in Academia

Progress has been made over the past four decades to increase women's representation in academe. More and more women have entered the professoriate since the 1970s and especially since male faculty hired in the 1960s begin to retire (Spalter-Roth, Erskine, & Besic, 2006). However, despite the many advances made by women to date, women still are not proportionately represented in the ranks of tenured faculty at the world's major research universities (Mason & Goulden, 2002). In the 2005–2006 academic year women earned approximately 58% of all bachelor's degrees, 60% of master's degrees, 50% of professional degrees, and 49% of doctoral degrees in the United States (Snyder, Dillow, & Hoffman, 2008). Yet, in 2007, whereas women comprised approximately 42% of faculty in degree-granting institutions in the United States, only 34% of tenured faculty members were female (Knapp, Kelly-Reid, & Ginder, 2008).

Historically, one of the most commonly cited reasons for the absence of female faculty on university campuses was that not enough women were in the interview pool. Today, this is not the case as the above-referenced numbers show, which begs the questions of why women are not moving into the professoriate at rates proportionate to their representation among doctoral degree recipients and why they are even less represented among tenured faculty.

The primary difference documented in the literature between male and female academics is that of compensation that exists at all levels of the academy (Leatherman, 1991). In addition, a number of studies found that women have a higher teaching and advising load and spend less time on research activities, on average, than men (Finkelstein, 1984; Johnsrud & Des Jarlais, 1994; Russell, 1991). Additionally, women report more difficulty in relationships with departmental colleagues and department chairs (Johnsrud & Des Jarlais, 1994). Many female scholars are also very concerned with "... the potentially damaging effects of gender bias in student evaluations of teaching, specifically with regard to student expectations" (Andersen & Miller, 1997). A number of studies have examined possible biases in student evaluations and have found that all else being equal, male professors receive higher scores than their female counterparts (Basow & Silberg, 1987; Kierstead, D'Agnostino, & Dill, 1988; Sidanius & Crane, 1989).

One area that has been examined extensively in the research is childbearing, which is often perceived as an impediment to the professional career of female faculty (Finkel & Olswang, 1996; Hensel, 1991). A study of sociology PhDs found that mothers are less likely to be employed in research and doctoral universities (Spalter-Roth et al., 2006). Having a child before tenure also reduces the likelihood that tenure will be granted (Mason & Goulden, 2002). Yet, many women faculty begin their careers during the prime childbearing years, and although some are able to successfully balance career and family, many women have had to leave the academy or settle for less lucrative and less fulfilling positions outside of academia. Some women may decide to put off starting a family until after they achieve tenure, but not all women have that option. For a woman starting her career late, making the choice to postpone childbearing may mean never having children.

University paid leave policies also vary widely: Some schools have no policy, whereas other schools have policies that range from a few paid weeks to several paid months, leave for adoptive parents, and extensions on the tenure clock. Finkel, Olswang, and She (1994) found that although faculty overwhelmingly support both paid and unpaid leave, when they actually have children only a small percentage of faculty took all allowable leave. The faculty in the study report that taking time off for infant care would hurt them professionally even if they were tenured (Finkel et al., 1994).

Another difference cited in earlier research is publication in scholarly journals, which is an integral part of gaining equality for women in public affairs, because a lack of scholarly publications usually means great difficulties in obtaining tenure and funding for research. Slack, Meyers, Nelson, and Sirk analyzed research-based articles in all issues of



*Public Administration Review* from 1940 to 1995 and observed that slightly more than 7% of the articles were written exclusively by women and that “. . . throughout the first three decades of PAR there were years in which women were not published” (1996, p. 455).

In addition, they also found that men were more likely to enter into joint research and coauthor with other men, whereas women were less likely to enter into such ventures. Further, only 4% of the total number of articles accepted for publication during that period was authored jointly by women and men. Research in related disciplines indicates that these patterns may begin in graduate school. For example, recent female sociology PhDs reported less faculty help with publication than did their male counterparts (Spalter-Roth & Lee, 2000).

The role of the editor in scholarly publications as a gatekeeper is important to the future of all scholars. An examination of the editorial boards of 10 top journals<sup>2</sup> in public administration and public policy today reveals that of these 10 journals, only 1, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, has a female editor or editor in chief. This result is not surprising and validates the results of an earlier study by Moore and Sagaria (1991), who found that, overall, women account for only 15% of the editors of scholarly journals. The lack of female editors can be partially attributed to women’s under-representation among full professors. Nevertheless, the scarcity of female journal editors is particularly unfortunate given that female editors in chief might be more willing to publish articles written by women or which address issues that may be particularly salient for women (Ward & Grant, 1996). This is significant given that a study of eight public administration and political science journals between 1960 and 1995 found that less than 1.4% of the articles were focused on gender issues (Condit & Hutchinson, 1997).

## Data and Methods

We use both quantitative and qualitative data to examine the representation and experiences of female faculty and administrators working in schools of public affairs. Data on degree recipients come from NASPAA’s Fall 2007 Enrollment and Academic Year 2006–2007 Degrees Awarded Survey (NASPAA, 2008). The survey was administered by NASPAA in spring 2008. The institutional member response rate was 61%.<sup>3</sup> Faculty information gathered from member schools is also voluntary. The data discussed in this chapter cover a period of 8 years.<sup>4</sup> Between 25% and 45% of institutional members submit updates each year (M. Wanna, personal communication, June 24, 2009). This is the most recent data available.

To better understand socialization and recruitment patterns as well as barriers that female professors and administrators have confronted and overcome, we conduct open-ended interviews with a group of women from the top 20 public affairs programs in the United States. The interviews focused on their academic training, career trajectory, professional responsibilities, and outlook on public affairs as a field for women. We also asked respondents how they balance work and family, their views on the value of mentorship,

and diversity's relevance to the field of public affairs. Additionally, we asked interviewees to identify programs and practices they thought were successful for hiring and retaining female faculty and administrators. Interviews were transcribed by the authors and coded for themes.

## Students in Schools of Public Affairs

Female students earned 58% of master's degrees awarded in schools of public affairs in 2006–2007. Similarly, they comprised 54% of doctoral degree recipients (NASPAA, 2008). Although not the primary goal of this chapter, students' racial and ethnic background merits a brief discussion. Fifty-eight percent of master's degree recipients were White in 2006–2007. Seventeen percent identified as Black, 8% Hispanic, 5% Asian/Pacific Islander, and 1% American Indian/Alaskan Native. International students comprised 6% of the student population. The corresponding percentages for doctoral degree holders were 56% White, 11% Black, 7% Asian/Pacific Islander, 5% Hispanic, and 1% American Indian/Alaskan Native. A full 17% of doctoral degree recipients are international students. These percentages are consistent with other disciplines. In 2000, the latest data available, 59% of PhDs in sociology were women (Grant et al., 2004). A greater share of PhDs in sociology are women than in political science and economics (Spalter-Roth & Lee, 2000).

## Public Affairs Faculty

The gender distribution of faculty working in schools of public affairs differs markedly from the student population. Females hold 30% of the faculty appointments in these institutions (M. Wanna, personal communication, June 24, 2009). The gender disparity is even more extreme among full-time tenured faculty. Nineteen percent of tenured faculty are female. Women of color are especially under-represented given that 87% of full-time tenured faculty are White. Black professors comprise 7% of tenured faculty members, and Hispanic and Asian faculty each comprise 3% (M. Wanna, personal communication, June 24, 2009). These numbers are consistent with other disciplines in the social sciences; for example, of the nearly 13,000 political science professors in the United States, women comprise 36% of assistant professors, 28% of associate professors, and 17% of full professors (American Political Science Association, 2005). Similarly, for PhD granting economics departments in the United States in 2008, women comprise 28.9% of assistant professors, 22.1% of associate professors, and 8.9% of full professors (Fraumeni, 2008). Further, only 16.7% of all tenured/tenure track positions in PhD granting economics departments are held by women (Fraumeni, 2008).

Female faculty also tend to be excluded from the most powerful positions in the academy. For example, faculty members in schools of public affairs often occupy leadership positions such as program directors and deans. Women comprise just 21% of tenured faculty serving in this capacity. Similarly, male sociology professors are also much

more likely than their female counterparts to serve as department chairs (Grant et al., 2004).

Women's under-representation among the upper ranks of faculty has implications for their average salaries. According to the 2008 Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management salary survey, assistant professors on 9-month contracts working at schools of public affairs earned approximately \$72,358 (Cawley, 2009). The average salary for an associate professor was \$87,509, and full professors made \$143,834 per academic year, on average. Administrators earned \$124,837 over the 9-month period (Cawley, 2009).

## Classroom Dynamics

A number of our interviewees mentioned they experienced challenges in the classroom that were likely due to their gender. Previous research has shown that female political scientists have been concerned about potential gender bias in student evaluations (Andersen & Miller, 1997). When asked about challenges she faced in the classroom, one recently tenured associate professor replied, "I feel pressure to be really nice to students . . . not be too critical. Yes, I believe that men have it easier in the classroom, but gender bias can be hard to substantiate. It is not like a student will say to you directly . . . well I am not taking you seriously because you're a girl."

Other women tell similar stories. One first-year assistant professor remarked, "I am often challenged by students in the classroom and for me it is not only about the gender but my height and size as well. I am very small in stature and the students perceive that I am very young. Another female colleague of mine has also expressed having the same issues." On average, female professors are more likely to encourage and value student participation, whereas their male colleagues adopt a more distanced, authoritative style. Students tend to rate professors more highly if they conform to these gender roles (Statham, Richardson, & Cook, 1991). This may cause female professors to feel they are in a "double bind" (Andersen & Miller, 1997).

Women faculty are also viewed as being more supportive and consequently advise more students—both formally and informally (Andersen & Miller, 1997). This sentiment was also echoed by our interviewees and could be especially problematic given that a recently tenured professor and administrator suggested that women seemed to take on more administrative work across schools: "They have high standards for how things should be done. . . . Women take on administrative work that doesn't come with high level prestige or power."

## Work–Family Conflicts

Advising more students and doing a greater share of administrative work in the department or school than their male colleagues puts additional constraints on female scholars' time. Previous research has suggested that women experience the most intense work–

family conflicts at the rank of assistant professor. This research also indicated that the assistant professor level is the time when women are more vulnerable to discrimination (Grant et al., 2004). A number of our interviewees mentioned that the problem of finding an academic position for “trailing spouses” was more often an issue for women job candidates than men. Previous research has shown that women are slightly more likely to be married to other academics (Astin & Milem, 1997; Creamer, 2001; Ferber & Loeb, 1997). However, conclusions about whether being part of a dual-career couple is beneficial or harmful for the career are mixed (Grant et al., 2004). Our interviewees suggested, and personally exhibited, the tendency for women academics to be more likely to move to follow their husbands. One tenured faculty member and administrator noted, “I found myself as someone who is more flexible, more able to be happy in whatever position I was in. . . . As a woman, I saw myself as someone who could give up the job and still be happy and succeed, but I didn’t think he could.”

A strong theme that emerged through the conversations with female faculty members was how best to balance career and family responsibilities. They all agreed that children affect productivity. One assistant professor currently going up for tenure remarked, “I have two colleagues who put off starting a family until they received tenure. For me, when I got my first job I was already in my mid-30s so that was not an option. My colleagues are very supportive and my school offers a one year extension on the tenure clock.” Many other women interviewed echoed these sentiments. “In terms of retention, for most women I think it comes down to the kid issue.” Similarly, “I believe that the biggest issue facing women in academia today is how they can balance having a family and a career at the same time.” Another professor commented, “Recently, a female colleague expressed concern that the women on faculty were all having more than one child. She did not think they understood how detrimental it could be to their career. That was coming from a woman.” However, all women interviewed also admitted that although it may be a contradiction, this was also the best job to have in terms of flexibility for someone with children. “I can take my child to the doctor during the day if I have to and work on my research at night.”

## Mentorship

One young professor and administrator remarked, “I think absolutely you have to have mentors. . . . Being able to call them has been really invaluable. They are also able to vouch for me when I’m going up for a job.” This young woman of color emphasized that most of her mentors were also women of color, and although many of them were not in public affairs, she could relate to them based on their shared experience of being one of a few. A more seasoned faculty member discussed her positive experiences with being mentored as a graduate student and a junior faculty member. “I take my responsibility for female faculty mentoring very seriously. . . . I was very well taken care of . . . and I want to do the same thing. It makes such a huge difference.” Another recently tenured faculty member

said that she really understood just how important mentoring relationships were post-tenure. However, she also emphasized that peers could help mentor each other. “The two best things I’ve done over the past few years were to become part of a writing group and a career development group.” These groups were mainly composed of women she attended graduate school with and other female scholars in her social network.

## Conclusions and Recommendations

Given the relatively large share of females among doctoral degree recipients and the slightly better representation of women among all faculty (as opposed to tenured faculty), it seems likely that women will be represented more equally among the professoriate in the coming years. A number of our interviewees mentioned that their male colleagues were, on average, older and held more senior positions. As these men begin to retire, spaces for women at the top should open up, assuming that the female favorable trend in PhD completion continues. Unfortunately, because organizations themselves are gendered (Acker, 1990), simply increasing the numbers of women is not sufficient to affect systemic change.

There is a growing but still marginalized literature in public administration that has focused on issues of particular interest to women in the field, such as equal pay, the glass ceiling, and work–family conflicts. However, to date there is no established canon of feminist theory in public administration (Bearfield, 2009; Hutchinson & Mann, 2004; Stivers, 2005). Nevertheless, the work of Camilla Stivers (1993, 2005) has pushed us forward in this direction. Stivers argues that public administration as a field is gendered masculine despite emphasizing seemingly neutral traits such as professionalism, leadership, and expertise. In this chapter our finding that the overwhelming majority of editors of public administration’s flagship journals are male illustrates this assertion. Stivers (1993) also asserts that a dichotomy exists whereby men’s roles are viewed as public (work and politics) and women’s primary responsibilities are in the private sphere (home and family). Working women face a “double burden of housework and paid employment” (Stivers, 1993, p. 123). Hale and Kelly (1989) also note that domestic responsibilities restrict the career trajectory of women more than their male counterparts.

Our interviews indicate that the requirements for tenure, which often includes working long hours to publish as many articles and/or books as possible, rather than blatant gender discrimination is the reason women have difficulty gaining access to the most prestigious positions in the academy. Previous research has also come to similar conclusions (Hargens & Long, 2002; Jacobs & Winslow, 2004; Mason & Goulden, 2004a,b).

Although several of our interviewees recommend better leave policies to attract and retain more female faculty, research has shown that few faculty members report taking leave because they are afraid it will harm their professional reputation (Ward & Wolf-Wendel, 2004). However, mothers are more likely to use work–family policies than fathers. More specifically, mothers who earned their PhDs at more prestigious institutions, pub-



lished while in graduate school, and taught fewer course loads were more likely to take leave (Spalter-Roth et al., 2006).

Department chairs, deans, and/or human resource departments must also approve faculty leave (Spalter-Roth et al., 2006). A culture must be developed whereby taking leave to handle family responsibilities loses its stigma and becomes a norm similar to going on sabbatical.

In addition, professional organizations like the Association for Public Policy Analysis and Management and the American Society for Public Administration should develop special workshops before their annual meetings to provide clearer information, earlier, to women in doctoral programs as well as women starting their first academic position about academic careers, getting published in academic journals, and the tenure process. This would help women be better prepared for the challenges they will face in academia. It would also be helpful to institute mentorship programs and provide the opportunity for senior faculty to collaborate with junior faculty and “share the social capital they accumulated over the course of their careers” (Philipsen & Bostic, 2008 p.233).

Future research on female faculty and administrators in schools of public affairs should examine the visibility and impact of female faculty members’ research. Other indicators of academic success such as holding office in national organizations, receiving prestigious awards and grants, and holding endowed professorships should also be examined. Additionally, future research should study faculty and administrators at the intersection of race and gender. Bearfield argues that “the future of social equity research lies in questions that address the intersection of race and gender” (2009, p. 383). It would also be beneficial to learn more about the experiences of gay, lesbian, and transgender faculty—another group that is marginalized in the academy and who likely face additional stressors surrounding work–family issues such as dual-career couples and taking leave.

## Discussion Questions

1. What are some of the barriers faced by women faculty in the workplace?
2. How are these barriers legitimized by the priorities and standards that exist within academia?
3. What are some of the institutional initiatives that need to be adopted by universities to help attract and retain more female faculty?
4. What factors contribute to women being less likely to engage in joint/collaborative research efforts with male colleagues?
5. Will an increased proportion of women in the academic ranks affect the values regarding opportunity and rewards that are ingrained in academic culture?
6. Is affirmative action an effective and adequate tool for recruiting and retaining female faculty in academia today?



## Notes

1. Best Graduate Schools (American's Best Graduate Schools, 2009). Washington DC: U.S. News & World Report; 2009.
2. The 10 journals examined were *Public Administration Review*, *Administration & Society*, *American Review of Public Administration*, *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *Public Administration Quarterly*, *Journal of Policy Analysis and Management*, *International Journal of Public Administration*, *Public Budgeting and Finance*, *Policy Studies Journal*, and *Social Science Quarterly*.
3. Visit <http://www.naspaa.org/principals/almanac/Survey2007/participatingschools.asp> for a complete list of participating institutions.
4. Obtained from National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration headquarters, Washington, DC, June 24, 2009.

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## Chapter 17

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# In Their Own Words: Profiling Women Strategic Managers in Award-Winning Programs

Kathryn Kloby

### Key Terms

Performance management  
Performance measurement  
Performance reporting  
Public sector outcomes  
Strategic manager

### Introduction

Now more than ever, public administrators conduct the business of government in environments with diminishing resources, increasing demands for accountability, and mounting pressures to measure outcomes and show results. This requires public administrators to be strategic in the sense that they have an eye on long-term and broad goals as well as the short-term intricacies associated with daily operations and service delivery. Government, for example, can play a significant role in addressing broader societal concerns such as ensuring economic vitality, healthy communities, and the well-being of the natural environment. Government also plays a more tenable role in creating new jobs, of monitoring and disseminating information on viral outbreaks, and of determining how much green space should be available for the enjoyment of the public. The challenge rests in determining what outcomes matter to the public and making connections between these two spheres of government activity and investment.

The obstacles associated with determining the goals of government action and measuring outcomes are well documented. Performance measurement processes, for example, are often internally focused because they are designed by public managers and staff to measure outputs (Callahan, 2007). Performance information is often abundant, creating reams of data, but there is little likelihood that such information facilitates learning and improved decision making (Moynihan, 2005). Measurement strategies are often top-down mandates

with requirements that are described as fitting “square pegs into round holes” (Radin, 2000). They are often mistakenly in search of the “one best measure” (Behn, 2003). They can potentially alienate staff (Radin, 2006) and most likely neglect citizen involvement (Berman, 2005; Callahan, 2004; King, Feltey, & O’Neill, 1998). In many instances, they fall short of stimulating performance and result in compliance (Behn, 2001).

Performance measurement is often conceptualized as a technical accounting tool rather than a potentially inclusive process that can stimulate learning and determine how government impacts broader society. Examining this aspect of public administration through a gendered lens suggests that the former is a more masculine approach, whereas the latter is more feminine. In her research of the historical roots of public sector performance measurement during the progressive era, for example, Stivers (2002) presents how men and women struggled for urban reform using distinctly different techniques. Adhering to gender roles of the time, men worked through independent research bureaus and applied scientific and business practices to expose and reform corrupt city governments. Women, on the other hand, gave momentum to the settlement house movement and worked to improve the lives of the urban poor by testing new services and working with governments to adopt them. Although the two approaches were somewhat interconnected early on, Stivers argues that the contributions of these “settlement women” to the development of the administrative state is largely forgotten and is overshadowed by the more masculine approaches of science and business.

Some research also highlights the influence gender has on agency performance and contemporary performance measurement approaches. Organizations, for example, with more women at the street level have higher overall organizational performance with more effective interactions with service recipients, better relationships among agency personnel, and high levels of program performance (Meier, Mastracci, & Wilson, 2006). Other research finds that women city managers are more likely to include citizen input, facilitate communication, and encourage citizen involvement in their decision-making process (Fox & Schuhmann, 1999). Further yet, women are more likely to position themselves as part of a “web” of communication and interactions with various stakeholders rather than at the top of a hierarchical chain of command. Others find that women approach their work with more compassion, which can have an impact on how citizens are treated when interacting with public organizations and their personnel (DeHart-Davis, Marlowe, & Pandey, 2006).

It is not altogether surprising that the women profiled for this chapter are the champions of state-level performance measurement and reporting initiatives that are recognized for their measurement sophistication and strategies to connect with and communicate to the public. These women are considered *strategic managers* because they are affiliated with programs designed to connect the dots between the day-to-day operations of government and the big picture concerns of the public (such as a healthy economy, community, and environment). These programs are directed by women who conceptualize the work of government as something that should be shaped by citizen perceptions and



demands, as something that can benefit from strategic vision and meaningful performance measures, and as something that should be available for citizens to assess.

The state-level programs of Washington, Oregon, and Virginia are award-winning initiatives that strive to measure results using strategies to engage the public to determine meaningful results and realistic targets and tangible outcomes for government services. All three programs are lauded for their innovation, transparency, responsiveness, and exemplary performance reporting techniques by professional associations, policy institutes, and researchers. The state-level initiatives and their directors are as follows:

- Larisa Benson of Government Management Accountability and Performance (GMAP; <http://www.accountability.wa.gov/>) and Washington's Statewide Performance Review (<http://www.sao.wa.gov/EN/Audits/SGPR/Pages/default.aspx>)
- Rita Conrad of the Oregon Progress Board (<http://www.oregon.gov/DAS/OPB/>)
- Jane Kusiak of Virginia Performs (<http://vaperforms.virginia.gov/>)

Each woman highlighted above participated in in-depth interviews for approximately 60 to 75 minutes in the summer of 2009. During the course of this semistructured conversation they were asked to describe their programs, their role in them, their management style, the role of gender and their approach, their greatest achievements and challenges associated with their affiliated programs, and the advice they would give women who are entering or moving through the field of public management. The interviews were recorded and transcribed so that this chapter could include ample quotes and illustrations provided directly from the interviewee.

These women are compelling and are self-described as “stealth leaders,” “mama bears,” and the “Charlie’s Angels” of state-level initiatives that are designed to measure outcomes. With that said, the results of the interviews are insightful and intriguing as we learn more about how these women manage large-scale and complex public programs. Given the importance of the institutions through which they work, a short description of each affiliated program is provided and is then followed by a profile of its strategic manager. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the compelling features of these women.

## State of Washington’s GMAP and Performance Review

Conceptualized by Governor Chris Gregoire, GMAP is designed to get better results from state programs through a rigorous, disciplined focus on performance. More importantly, GMAP works to document and show results that matter to citizens through citizen involvement and processes that support transparency through meaningful performance reports using a plain-talk approach. Public forums serve as a mechanism through which the governor and state managers gain feedback on issues related to economic development, health care, public safety, and transportation. As a result government performance is evaluated by many stakeholders, with opportunities for the governor and state manag-



ers to report on progress or deficiencies directly to the public. Emerging problems are also openly addressed as new action plans are developed with deadlines and the promise of tangible results. GMAP uses a “management framework” that depicts the program’s progression from planning to measuring results and engaging citizens. (For the program’s leading philosophy and a diagrammatic overview of the approach, see [http://www.accountability.wa.gov/leadership/framework/management\\_framework.pdf](http://www.accountability.wa.gov/leadership/framework/management_framework.pdf).) The work of GMAP is recognized by the Council of State Governments, Governing’s Public Official of the Year Award program, and Grading the States, the State of Washington, for its transparency, innovation, and responsiveness to citizens.

In addition to GMAP, the State of Washington is implementing a Statewide Performance Review with the aim of inspiring innovative thinking among managers to find new and better ways to conduct the business of government in conditions of fiscal scarcity. This involves a statewide look at government operations with the objective to streamline processes, to work better while costing less, and to deliver results that citizens value. It falls under the auspices of initiative I900 that was passed by citizens in 2005 giving the state auditor’s office the authority and resources to conduct performance audits. The review is designed to answer the following questions: Should government be doing this? And, if so, how can it be better, faster, and cheaper? In search of answers, the review process involves mapping the state government terrain to come up with a “picture” of state government depicting what works and what does not. A meta-analysis will be conducted to gather ideas from citizens, state employees, agency leaders, previous audits, and best practices across sectors. Some promising ideas will be tested to determine if they lead to cost savings and effectiveness. Key assumptions are that this new idea-sharing approach will change the status quo, will lead to shared services to eliminate redundancies, and will determine areas in need of a closer look. The result will be a set of recommendations presented to the governor and legislature for review and potential enactment.

### Leading the Way with Larisa Benson

Larisa Benson is the deputy of statewide performance review for the Washington State Auditor’s Office. Before this most recent undertaking she served as the director of Government Management Accountability and Performance for the Washington State Office of the Governor from 2005 to 2009. She is undoubtedly fit for the task of fostering real and positive change in government because she has played a lead role in financial management and results-based budgeting reforms in city government and has served as a contract negotiator, teacher/trainer, and strategic manager.

A few days before this interview Benson launched the statewide Performance Review. She spent the previous day orienting her team, which she often refers to as awesome, top notch, and gifted. She felt privileged to work with so many exceptional individuals and to take on the work desired by citizens to determine ways to make sure that government works better at achieving results that matter to the public. She is philosophical as she

reflects on her management style, the intent of her work, and the reason why the work of government is so important to the broader society. Benson is driven by what she sees as a “what am I getting for my money” revolution among citizens—where citizens are asking government to show what their tax dollars are producing. She believes that people too often underestimate how cognizant citizens are about the value of government services and also fail to fully engage the intelligence and energy of the people who work in government to increase that bottom line value to citizens. She is energized and ready for the challenge of finding new and better ways to conduct the affairs of government, while seeking new opportunities to communicate government achievements to the public.

## Managing Change

So how does one manage a major reform? For one thing, Benson begins her day at 4:00 AM every morning. The mornings are, for her, a time of clarity, a time to meditate and map out the terrain of the day. She arrives at the office an hour before her staff to “read and write and respond to the inevitable flood” of e-mails and voice mails left from the afternoon before. She is continuously engaged in meetings—half of which entail talking to influences external to government and the other half focusing on running the project internally. Benson is on the cusp of change, and in doing so she realizes that she has to keep her eyes and ears open to respond to the many questions and concerns on the horizon. She notes the following:

If I’m not listening to people from the multiple different perspectives, whether that’s the person on the front lines who drops a new idea, or the manager who just received a new mandate to do business differently, the customer or client at the end of the chain who is receiving the services, or all of the decision makers in between, then we are going to miss some key aspect that could be the one brilliant idea that could help us move forward, or the one clue that could remove the barrier that is going to prevent the positive change from happening.

One such barrier is the resistance, fear, or skepticism associated with pulling off such an ambitious goal as to promote new ways of thinking and doing. When asked to discuss how she interprets and manages these responses (whether by staff, legislators, or members of the public), Benson stresses the importance of her listening skills. She admits that

The biggest challenge is fear. I am hearing people’s worries about what could go wrong, what they will lose if they change, and the chronic fear that any mistake will be magnified by the media and lead to their persecution. Think about it—how can you ask a manager to be creative and innovative and outside the box, when they know that as soon as they do that, they will be hit over the head with the “government screwed up again” stick? The irony, of course, is that government succeeds in many ways every day but we don’t focus enough on telling our story in ways that are clear, compelling, and backed up by solid performance results.

Benson draws attention to the challenges of explaining the good works of government, especially considering the size and scope of the social issues it sets out to address. She notes, for example, “The fact that we have chosen as part of our mission and goals to eradicate poverty or elevate a whole school district, a state, or the nation’s level of education means that we sort of set ourselves up to work on a problem that by its nature is not easy to solve.” The problem, she admits, is that government has a tendency to get stuck on the notion that successfully addressing these issues is not possible, and what results is the status quo.

Regardless of these challenges Benson is an optimist, and she perceives fear and skepticism as manifestations of hope and an intrinsic will to make a difference through government action. Her role as a listener is not to function as a “general counseling session,” but rather as an opportunity to “listen through the worry and get back to the heart of hope and say okay that’s what we are here for.”

## Management Style

When asked to describe her management style, Benson says “my management style is whatever it takes to get the job done.” She believes that others perceive her as very driven, mission focused, and flat out obsessed with making government work better and she is unapologetic about it. “I never hold back. I don’t care if people think I’m a data geek or an idealist. That passion to make government better drives me, gives me energy, and then other people get attracted to that because they want to express that passion too.”

This led to a discussion of how she interacts with the members of her team. Having recently held an orientation for her team working on the statewide review, Benson described her process for a strong beginning. They spent a day together—with the early portion of the day dedicated to exploring, clarifying, perfecting, and polishing their mission and goals. They spent the afternoon sharing who they are as people. Benson notes, “I think the key is that if you are going to ask people to work that hard on something that difficult, that if you don’t treat them as the whole person, if you don’t engage with their hearts and spirits as well as their minds, then the sheer effort required to create change is just not sustainable.” It is not enough to attract people to a cause, you have to find ways to work with them and sustain healthy relationships among members of the team.

In addition to describing her team as an exceptional group of individuals, she also acknowledges their diversity in skills, experiences, and backgrounds. One of her aims as a strategic manager is to find ways in which diverse people can fit together to accomplish great things. She welcomes diversity and notes, “My goal is to not try to make robots out of each one.” She goes on to say, “The result is beautiful when you have people who are as different from each other as they can be but you find a way to harness all of those differences for one shared purpose. It may sound corny, but that is the magic that makes it happen. It’s all about channeling the positive energy.”

Benson stresses that her approach is the opposite of competitive management. “Everybody here exhibits the kind of energy and focus and drive that is associated with competition . . . but they are not competing against each other; they are competing against a common goal . . . and that is very different . . . and that’s why we spend so much time focusing on our purpose. We ask ourselves: What are we trying to achieve? How will we know if we get there? And, we discuss how it’s going to take each team member’s personal best to get there.”

## Gender and the Perceptions of Others

When asked how gender impacts her management style and how she is perceived by others, she replies, “It’s been a big factor. I have this moniker of mama bear . . . as if to say, ‘don’t mess with her cubs’ . . . the image of the bear is big and strong and powerful, not like a feminine flower, but it’s clear that all of that power is coming from maternal instinct.” That is not to say that she is a cute and cuddly kind of teddy bear: “I am a tough negotiator. I am persistent and have been accused of being relentless. Those are not soft and yielding characteristics by any means.” She often needs to project warmth to soften that tough exterior:

The whole nature of what I’m trying to do, shining the light on the problem, means asking the hard poky questions all the time . . . the pokiest of questions. But I’m not asking the way a trial lawyer or cop would ask them. There is a whole lot of compassion behind the poky question. I want honesty in the answer, and to get honesty you have to create an environment of safety. Transparency scares people, because they are assuming that you will show a picture of them with their pants down. That’s not what it’s about . . . but how do you communicate that when you are essentially asking—why isn’t your performance better than it is?

Benson openly expresses her feelings and in many instances finds that the pride in her work and in the work of government often reveals itself when delivering presentations. She states, “I would say that 40% of the time I’m brought to tears during a public presentation. I’ve learned to manage it, so I’m not blubbing at the podium, but I can tell from the connection after I’ve spoken with people that they’ve had the same experience.” She does not perceive her expressiveness as gender specific or a sign of weakness, nor does she fully understand its source. Instead, she harnesses and exploits this energy because it works. Surprisingly, the emotionalism increases her credibility in the eyes of her audience because she is able to foster an emotional connection.

## Balancing Personal and Professional Demands (or Not)

When asked how Benson balances the personal and professional demands and whether she treats herself (in addition to her staff) as a whole person, Benson rejected the notion that there has to be balance. Instead, she focuses her effort on clarifying her place in the

world. Referring to this as a shaving process, she lets the things that do not matter fall away. She strives to shed bad habits and insecurities and embraces those things most important to her. Her aim is to move between her home and work environments with greater ease:

Focusing on that clarity eliminates the need for transition between work and home. I move more fluidly between work environments, social environments, being a mom, being a wife. The whole notion of balance is a faulty proposition—if I keep trying to do that balance thing, I’m doomed to fail. I’m thinking of the bear on the circus ball, moving a little in one direction then in the other direction. . . . I would rather have the clarity than balance. . . . I think balance is a false proposition.

Benson described herself as “fully present” wherever she is. It is the way she is built and she admits, “I will work at home, if I’m obsessed with something I have to give my attention to it. But if it’s time for dinner or tae kwondo, I’m fully there—I’ll get to the work later that night.”

### Advice to New Professionals

Benson’s advice for professionals seeking a leadership role in government is to take the time to get “incredibly clear” on what they want to do and why they want to do it. She adds, “From clarity comes courage and you have to find that courage because it’s a long hard road . . . but there is a lot of joy and satisfaction along the way.” She explains that without clarity one can get distracted and falter when encountering obstacles. Having a clear vision and focus brings out the “courage within yourself to ask for the truth or say the truth. People perceive clarity as sincerity and that’s when they are going to buy in to what you are saying and trust you. It takes time and work to get clear.”

## Oregon Progress Board

Established by the State Legislature in 1989, the Oregon Progress Board is an independent state planning and oversight agency that monitors state conditions through a set of economic, environmental, and community-related benchmarks. With direct oversight by the governor and a diverse board of citizens, the Progress Board was designed to achieve the goals of the state’s 20-year strategic plan, Oregon Shines. In addition to having an influence on key pieces of state legislation, the Oregon Progress Board also played a significant role in designing a performance-based management strategy for state agencies as they find linkages to the Oregon Benchmarks that are aligned with the high-level goals of the statewide Oregon Shines strategic plan.

In 2007 the Progress Board published <http://benchmarks.oregon.gov>, a website that shows the connections between Oregon Shines goals and 91 high-level benchmarks to



state agency performance measures through report generating and interactive capabilities. Among the website's many offerings, visitors can determine whether an agency is on target and can explore further by clicking directly to that agency's annual performance progress report. Ensuring the utilization of performance information in decision making, it provides legislators with "one-stop shopping" for a range of benchmark information and custom slide shows for counties in his or her district. The portal also offers a range of county data and information for local users.

Benchmarks are conceptualized as the "yardsticks" that track Oregon's progress in meeting its broader societal concerns and strategic goals. As a way of determining progress, state agencies link their key performance measures to relevant Oregon benchmarks. In the case of the broader goal to ensure quality jobs for all Oregonians, for example, 17 benchmarks address the economy with regard to job growth, diversifying the economy, and worker pay rates. For the benchmark that addresses job growth, eight state agencies align key performance measures to demonstrate progress toward increased jobs in rural and urban areas of the state. Each key performance measure presents the data and what it means, what impacts the data, and what can be done to make improvements. All benchmarks and key performance measure information are readily available on the program website along with interactive, report-generating features. In addition to agency reports and report-generating capabilities, the biennial Benchmark Highlights Reports, other snapshots, and reports on special topics such as race and ethnicity are prepared to show where state efforts meet or fall short of strategic goals.

Although the Oregon Progress Board has gained notoriety for its sophisticated and strategic approach to measuring government performance and progress, it is not immune to budget shortfalls and cutbacks. As of June 30, 2009, the Oregon Progress Board's budget was eliminated from the state budget, translating into the loss of its executive director and other key personnel. The content of the Progress Board's website is intact, meaning that the online benchmark report generator, Oregon Population Survey, county data, and state agency key performance measure-benchmark linkages are all, and will continue to be, accessible.

## Reflections of Former Executive Director Rita Conrad

Rita Conrad has worked nearly a decade at the Oregon Progress Board as a senior policy analyst and as the executive director from 2005 to 2009. She brought to the position years of professional experience in public health in the public and nonprofit sectors, undertaking program planning, grant writing, and advocating for improved health care coverage for senior citizens. She balanced her years of service with a few entrepreneurial projects with her husband as they collaborated on business ventures. She "fell in love" with the Oregon Progress Board when she and her husband moved to Oregon and eventually took a job as a senior policy analyst.



This interview was conducted during Conrad's final days as the executive director of the Progress Board due to deep budget cuts in the State of Oregon. She was essentially "putting the program into mothballs" as she was packing up and making sure that the next executive director (whoever and whenever that might be) would have everything they needed to get the program up and running without missing a beat. Rita Conrad is passionate about her work and it shows in her assumptions about the value of the Progress Board, her management approach, and overall philosophy on what needs to happen to be a good strategic manager. She attributes her focus and professional achievements to her happy personal life and meditation, as they have allowed her to devote the time needed to her work and to keep a positive outlook in uncertain and challenging times.

### Why the Work Matters

When asked to describe what she finds so fundamentally important about the Oregon Progress Board approach to strategic planning, measurement, and reporting progress, Conrad replied that it is a program that asks the question, "Why does government exist?" She went on to say, "It should exist in some form or another to advance the economic, social and environmental well-being of its taxpayers and constituents. And that's what the OPB measures." She emphasized the ability of the program to convey how government influences broader societal indicators through biennial reports on progress and report generating capabilities on the website that are presented for anyone to access and understand. Highlighting the value of determining the impact of government efforts, Conrad notes the following:

What happens in state government, that is so big, is that when you finally drill down to a program, there is so much language and bureaucratese and jargon that normal people can't understand—they are in their own little world. The role of the benchmarks is to force people in state government to relate back to why government exists in the first place.

She stressed that applying the benchmark philosophy in state government reminds people that government can have a positive impact on people and whether they are, for example, healthy, educated, and safe. Using benchmarks helps people see the big picture and what matters to the broader public. It is a measurement and reporting approach that simply tells it "like it is without the spin" so that legislators can make informed decisions and citizens can see for themselves how government relates to their expectations and aspirations.

### Management Style

When asked to describe an average day as the executive director of the Progress Board, Conrad acknowledged that the job varies significantly on a daily basis. Sometimes there are long days to address special initiatives or prepare Progress Board reports. In many

instances she is in constant contact with board members, legislators, and the public to discuss the benchmarks, what the data means, and whether Oregon is making progress. She points out that there are many ambiguities and that her job requires her to “roll with the punches.” She admits that this ability to deal with so many unknowns is a skill she has developed during her years of professional and personal experiences.

Conrad describes herself as “stealth,” where she finds ways to be influential in how others think about government and the Progress Board. Her style is not aggressive, and when challenged by a colleague, elected official, or critic in general, she uses the Aikido approach, a martial arts technique for addressing conflict. Conrad describes this strategy:

One of the basic the precepts of Aikido is that if someone is coming at you aggressively, that you don’t try to stay in that line of attack and push back, which is the reflex of many people where they get defensive or angry. The idea is to get out of that line of attack and turn around and face the same direction your opponent is facing and understand where your opponent is coming from and help your opponent. I realized that this reflects my style—I really try to approach situations and people more collaboratively.

She admits that she has worked with others who use a more direct style to managing and noted that they may have had the right intentions or strategies for getting the work of government done, but they often overlooked the fact that they were dealing with people. While reflecting on the core values of her management style she noted, “I have come to truly believe that we are all in various systems together and that everybody is connected to everyone else.”

Building on the notion that people within organizations are connected to one another, Conrad emphasizes her collaborative and hands-on approach by highlighting a core belief that “doing is knowing.” In other words, Conrad believes that to function in a learning organization there needs to be continuous interactions and listening between front-line workers as well as key leaders and high-level managers to gain a better understanding of how the work happens and what needs to happen to “conserve what’s good and to make things better.” Learning how agencies measure performance and what needs to be done to increase precision and the utilization of performance information ultimately “flattens the organizational structure—where you value what people have to say and contribute and you truly listen to what they have to say.” In the end, people understand each other and learn from each other.

## Gender and the Perceptions of Others

When asked to consider the degree to which gender impacts her management style or the perceptions that others have of her, Conrad described herself as a “stealth” worker who uses more low key strategies such as empathy and listening to understand the positions

of others. Although she did not believe her gender played a significant role in her work, she highlights personal characteristics that have helped her along the way. She describes herself, for example, as loyal person who does not betray people and who goes out of her way to make people feel comfortable:

When you're dealing with personalities and leadership figures, you don't want to burn any bridges. I'm generally upfront about what I am doing and what needs to happen. I try to remember that measurement matters, but people matter too. People are connected. You cannot do anything on your own. You've got to do it with other people. Even if I had all of the resources I needed, my work would still require relationships and relationships require respect and candor.

### Advice to New Professionals

When asked to highlight what is important for new professionals who aspire to take leadership positions, Conrad stresses that “you need to be comfortable with a lot of moving parts, ambiguity, and unanswered questions.” She described government as a “constantly moving dynamic that is made up of people and circumstances that change.” She emphasizes that while managing the unknowns and large-scale organizations, it is important to remember that not everything can be controlled: “You personally are in control of yourself in terms of what you think and what you project to others.” Understanding that there are only so many things within her control has helped Conrad to develop her ability to roll with the punches while still being able to think strategically and act accordingly. She notes, “I am very strict with myself in the kinds of thoughts that I think. I don't let myself go down trails of despair and negativity because that just attracts more of it.” She also emphasizes the power of learning, as she also states, “I learn new information and try to use it to impact the way that I do things. It has taken away a lot of the stress, self-blaming, insecurities, evolving into a style where the core value is continuous learning.”

### Virginia Performs

Virginia Performs, a signature initiative of the Council on Virginia's Future, is a performance leadership and accountability system within state government. It is guided by a vision for Virginia's future that includes responsible economic growth, a high quality of life, good government practices, and a well-educated citizenry.

Established in 2003 the Council on Virginia's Future oversees Virginia Performs as it facilitates the visioning process for determining long-term goals and continues to foster improved policy and budget decision making, accountability and transparency, improved performance, and opportunities for dialogue with citizens. As it builds these processes, state agencies work to determine how their work contributes to the following long-term goals (see <http://future.virginia.gov/aboutVAPerforms.php>):

- Preserve and enhance the economy (Economy)
- Elevate the levels of educational preparedness and attainment of citizens (Education)
- Support healthy lives and strong and resilient families (Health and Family)
- Protect, conserve, and wisely develop natural, cultural, and historic resources (Natural, Historic, and Cultural Resources)
- Promote public safety and security through a fair and effective system of justice and provide a prepared response to emergencies & disasters of all kinds (Public Safety)
- Maintain a safe transportation system that allows the easy movement of people and goods, enhances the economy, and improves quality of life (Transportation)
- Gain recognition as the best-managed state in the nation (Government and Citizens)

The Council, which is chaired by the Governor and includes senior members of Virginia's General Assembly and the business community, serves as an advisory board to the Governor and the General Assembly and supports the development and implementation of the Virginia Performs system. Although implementation is the responsibility of elected and appointed officials, regional and community leaders, and the people of Virginia, the Council plays a leadership role in the process as it provides a forum where legislative, executive branch, and citizen leaders can come together for work that transcends election cycles, partisanship, limited organizational boundaries, and short-term thinking.

One of the key functions of the Council on Virginia's Future is to help connect the dots between service area expectations, agency activities, and broader societal concerns and goals. The Virginia Performs system coordinates expectations, actions, and performance measurement efforts to show how service delivery can be efficient, can show results, and can have a transformative effect on the state as a whole. For a graphic model of the Virginia Performs System, see <http://future.virginia.gov/aboutVAPerforms.php>.

To answer the question, "How is Virginia doing?," progress is monitored and reported with a Scorecard at a Glance for each long-term goal and societal indicator showing progress over time and in comparison with other regions and states. Objectives and measures have been established by state agencies during strategic planning that show results of agency activities and how they relate to the long-term goals and societal indicators. To achieve the long-term goal of a safe transportation system, for example, programs emphasizing safety, education, and infrastructure maintenance are implemented. As a result, data collected by the Virginia Department of Motor Vehicles indicates a significant decline in traffic-related deaths. Comparing the data with national and state statistics, Virginia's traffic fatality rate is below the national average and the state ranked as the 21st best in the nation in 2008. This and other detailed information is available on the program

website, with a discussion of why traffic fatalities is an important issue, how Virginia is doing, what factors influence the data, and the state's role.

### Transcending Administrative Boundaries with Jane Kusiak

Jane Kusiak is the founding director of the Council on Virginia's Future, which is the driving force behind the Virginia Performs initiative. Before her current position she worked in county and state government since 1984 on both the legislative and executive sides. She has developed a keen awareness of how government works and takes great pleasure in her current position working to redefine the role of government in the policy process. Working on the Virginia Performs initiative, she is able to think strategically about what the state looks like now, what it should look like in the future, and how government and the private sector can build partnerships to continuously improve the great Commonwealth of Virginia. Kusiak is witty, energetic, and convivial as she describes her work and the focus of Virginia Performs. Her positive energy and thoughtful reflections on how government should measure up to the expectations of its citizens undoubtedly impacts her approach as a strategic manager and key promoter of Virginia Performs.

As the executive director of the Council on Virginia's Future Kusiak is an employee of the University of Virginia, which steers the Virginia Performs initiative through a memorandum of understanding with the Virginia Department of Planning and Budget—the administrative entity that works directly with all of the agency specific metrics. Kusiak and her team work with key staff in the governor's office and the members of the council as they refine the Virginia Performs measurement system, evaluate the data, report on the results and what they mean for the state, and maintain the project's brand and web presence.

### Management Style

An average day for Kusiak entails interactions with staff who are working hands-on to administer Virginia Performs to ensure the relevance of the measurement system, determine how it can be improved, and develop new initiatives throughout the state to increase the precision of public sector performance measurement. She is driven by the question, "What is the next generation of ideas that can create opportunities for effective and efficient government *and* opportunities for civic engagement?"

While thinking about new endeavors and evolving existing programs, Kusiak is also responsive to areas that need increased government attention. The Council identified educational attainment, for example, as an issue that needs to be measured and analyzed more carefully and addressed through long-term planning. She prepares informational materials or legislative cards with snapshots of relevant demographic and other data so that legislators are informed as they talk with their respective communities. Kusiak is an active member of the community as she often delivers formal and informal presentations



about the program. She describes herself as the program's champion, because her role is to fuel the conversation about measuring outcomes to determine how government is doing and where the business community and citizens can pitch in to improve quality of life and the overall standing of Virginia in relation to other states and the global market. When asked how she and her program are received by the public, Kusiak states as follows:

I think people are very interested in outcomes. Where they get challenged is in how to make a difference. For example, when the Governor and the State Health Department made a commitment to reduce our infant mortality rate, it was essential to move the conversation beyond state health boundaries. We needed to ask ourselves, how do we get this discussion into the mainstream as an important thing for all of us to consider? Then the next question becomes, what is the role of state and local government, of private and public money. Virginia Performs helps to focus the conversation, but the challenging part begins when figuring out how to make progress and determining how to motivate individuals, government, and society at large to bring about change.

Determining where the locus of government responsibility rests in relation to the private sector and the broader community has its challenges and requires a manager capable of generating interest, buy-in, and recognition of the value of outcome information in decision making. Taking these things into consideration, Kusiak reflects on her management style and candidly admits that the traditional management approach is not her strength (and most likely not the best fit for this initiative). She considers herself a skilled "strategic thinker" who can bring a lot of different people toward a shared vision and process. She goes on to say, "what works for me is having a lean team with a great deal of connectivity with the line agencies. I like the energy that it develops and I like the nimbleness of working with people across agencies to come up and achieve specified goals and objectives." To some extent, Kusiak credits her ability to connect with so many people with her years of experience in state government and the many people she has gotten to know along the way. Knowing people is something she identifies as making her job a little easier when she took on this new initiative and as something that new professionals should consider important. She highlights, "when you're doing anything to assess progress, you can't take it lightly or come into it a gruff way. You have to form a partnership. I knew a lot of people in state government so it wasn't like a totally new pallet for me."

### Working at Arm's Length From Government

The organizational structure of this initiative establishes the Council on Virginia's Future as an independent source for outcome information. Kusiak describes it as "a place that aspires for great things while working on difficult issues that transcend administrations and generations." It is a nonpartisan venue intended to capture and report on information



without bias. When highlighting the advantages of its independence, Kusiak goes on to say the following:

It is nimble and the success of it lies in its ability to be flexible and to keep an eye on what it is that we want to accomplish. I think that if this organization was created and housed in the executive branch without any input with the broader and academic community it would be very different. Being independent means that we can take a step back and talk about how some of these societal metrics and our vision line up with the actual performance metrics utilized by state agencies.

When reflecting on the way the initiative is presented to state managers and staff, Kusiak points out that the Council and the governor work in partnership to avoid a stick approach. She notes that, “we want to use a carrot approach where people genuinely want to make progress. We don’t want people to think that if they don’t measure up it will automatically lead to a budget cut. We understand that identifying the root causes of a failure to perform is an essential part of performance improvement.” Overall, Kusiak points out that the Virginia Performs measurement and reporting process is simple. She states, “We are mining the data with an independent voice. It is verified independently—giving us the natural objectivity and ability to communicate, in a very pure voice, what the outcomes are without having to defend your program.” As an independent provider of performance information, her program is transcending government and managing to “to avoid the vulnerability associated with being in and of government operations.”

## Strategic Challenges

Kusiak highlights some of the challenges of measuring government performance and thinking more strategically about what the data means and how resources can be aligned to increase the impact of government services. What follows is one of her fundamental goals as the executive director of the Council on Virginia’s Future:

. . . to change the dialogue from output to outcome . . . so you’re not only talking about whether a specific program is effective but rather you are expanding the conversation to include whether or not you are changing the lives of citizens. So you can enroll more people in Medicaid, but are our children healthier? You can do a more aggressive job with your standard of learning or testing at the elementary school level, but are your children learning and what does that look like across the state?

Making this transition in thinking is easier said than done. The greatest challenge, Kusiak argues, is that these issues cannot be solved by government alone. Therefore, people in government and public administration are tempted to say that they can not be held accountable for performance measures or metrics they cannot control. The culture of Virginia Performs is balanced in the sense that agency measures matter, but there are

frequent discussions on their validity, what they are capable of determining, and how much influence they should have on decision making. Commenting on the Virginia Performs approach to designing and linking broad societal goals to specific agency activities, Kusiak notes as follows:

This is the issue—if we shy away from looking at outcomes and societal indicators, we dwarf our effectiveness. If we get too hung up on the broader pieces and don't spend enough time on really managing the actual programs we are administering . . . we are subject to a lot of criticism. So if someone needs a birth certificate, a driver's license, things that are totally within the control of government we have to be efficient and effective.

Overall, finding the right balance, finding linkages between agency activities and long-term goals, and enlightening public policy discussions with performance information are key goals for Kusiak. In particular, she and her team strive to keep Virginia Performs integrated into ongoing policy decision making rather than using the system occasionally or as a mechanism for compliance. To do this Kusiak notes, "My goal is to play it straight, to provide as much information as we can to show our relevance, and to be as welcoming into our environment as possible to promote discussion, learning, and the utilization of Virginia Performs."

## Balancing Gender and Career Options

Career choices stand out as the greatest influence of gender for Jane Kusiak. As she reflects on her career, being a woman and managing work and her family life as a wife and mother of two has made a significant impact on her professional choices. Kusiak reflects, "My family life is top priority. I have had jobs that did not mesh with the demands of family life and I have had to change jobs to allow the freedom to be responsive to my family." She admits that the notion that women can have it all (in terms of a productive professional life and a thriving family at home) did not necessarily fit with the demands of her circumstances. She has found that "in public administration, you may be able to have it all . . . but it may not be all at same time." She stresses that being a wife and mother and professional woman in a leadership position requires focus and commitment, where one makes employment decisions that are suitable for their skills and circumstances so that they can be effective on the job. Kusiak adds, "As women, we need to realize that we have to be our own people. We have to work very hard to be in an accepting environment, and willing to move if the environment doesn't fit our circumstances." Kusiak emphasizes that finding the right level of flexibility is challenging and that one may need to create a new environment rather than fit into an existing position.

## Advice for New Professionals

When thinking about what is important for new and emerging professionals as they consider taking leadership roles, Kusiak believes that a willingness to work with people at all

levels of the bureaucracy is very important. It allows one to cut through the rhetoric that often surrounds effectiveness and efficiency. Most importantly, public administration will be most gratifying if career decisions are based on passion for the work so that it is a vocation rather than just a job.

## Conclusion

This chapter set out to learn about the approaches of three women strategic managers in acclaimed state-level programs designed to measure what matters to citizens, improve government operations and its outcomes, and communicate more directly with the public. The results of these profiles provide insight as to how the executive directors of these programs interact with a diverse set of stakeholders, coordinate efforts across state agencies, and increase the relevance of government actions and the strategies to measure and report them to the public. Furthermore, they discuss the influence of their gender on how they are perceived, how they manage, and how they negotiate their personal and professional worlds.

Although the results of these interviews do not support broad-sweeping generalizations, they do provide very personal accounts as to how these women in high-level, strategic management positions think about their work, its role in government, and the impact they are making on society. Although each woman offers unique experiences and insights, there are some common themes that emerge in their perceptions of their work. They stress the importance of their passion for their work as a motivating force for themselves and the people around them. They emphasize the role of clarity in the focus of their work and the strategies to achieve them. They highlight their skill with managing in dynamic environments and emphasize the value added by including the voices of the public to assess government performance and shape public policy.

This research suggests that the success of these programs is influenced by their leadership, and their leadership is influenced by their gender. They are responsible for managing initiatives that measure and show progress on things that are hard to measure. As program champions they are the face of their programs—and they spend a great deal of face time talking with internal personnel and the public explaining the strengths, limitations, and role of government in their communities. Rather than building bureaucratic, hierarchical, or punitive systems to determine short-term outcomes, they work with many stakeholders to get it right and to develop a system capable of telling them if children are learning, if people are healthy and safe, and how government can have a positive influence. These concerns and techniques are somewhat reminiscent of the “settlement women” and their effort to have a positive impact on communities. The contributions of the women profiled in this chapter remind us that the business of government is and should be concerned with broader definitions of service that move beyond the widely accepted goals of scientific, objective, and business-like management techniques and give more attention to the things that affect the lives of people and include them in the deliberative process.

## Discussion Questions

1. Consider the management styles of the strategic managers profiled in this chapter. What characteristics stand out as strategies that could be applied in many management circumstances? What characteristics, if any, would you adopt?
2. What do you think these women have in common in terms of their philosophy and management approaches?
3. What role has gender had on their management approach? Are there surprising elements to their comments on gender and its impact on their management style, the perceptions of others, or their career decisions?
4. List and discuss five elements you believe are essential for being a strategic manager?
5. Visit the program websites highlighted in this chapter. What do these programs have in common? How do they differ from the measurement efforts in your state?

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## Chapter 18

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# Managing Gendered Politics in Careers: A Case of Women Managers in the Federal Government

A. Carol Rusaw

### Key Terms

Human resource development

Organizational politics

Power

Public organizations

Women managers

### Introduction

This chapter examines how female managers address organizational politics in relation to career progression obstacles. Women in public administration face continuing gender bias in their careers (Kelly & Guy, 1991; Stivers, 2002). Gender refers to the socialization processes that men and women undergo to learn norms, roles, relationships, and behavior appropriate and expected for cultural membership. Women often find their socially learned values and behaviors are at odds with the prevailing set of masculine values and behaviors (Bierma, 2001; Gallos, 1989). In reviewing literature describing these masculine-dominant values and practices, Hearn (2002) identified five key values and behaviors:

- *Authoritarianism*, by which men produce and reinforce aggressiveness in relationships
- *Paternalism*, which subordinates relationships based on age as well as gender on moral cooperation
- *Entrepreneurialism*, which includes actions promoting independent and competitive identifications with like-minded men
- *Informalism*, the establishment and maintenance of informal relationship ties based on currency of conversation (such as cars, drink, and sport)
- *Careerism*, in which concern with impressive management and elevation of self are paramount.



Hearn added that these dominant, gender-based values and practices limit women's career participation through enactment of political power. Political power defines the criteria and establishes the means for gaining access to resources, circles of influence, decision making, and movement into and within organizations. Women may experience gender-based political power both overtly and subtly whenever policies and programs uphold and perpetuate patriarchal dominance (Nicolson, 1996).

Public organizations have multiple streams of political power that strongly influence roles, positions, and structures. Political power may come from elected and appointed officials, career bureaucrats, legal and regulatory interests, and taxpayers. Power may form in varieties of emergent coalitions that are arenas for power contests (Terry, 2003). Those who administer laws and regulations carved through political contests find that they must learn how to understand the complex intentions, goals, and expected outcomes of bill creators. Implementing regulations also requires knowledge of constituent needs and demands as well as expectations for success within a bureaucratic hierarchy. Given the masculine-oriented values of political coalitions, women face multiple sources of gender bias in administrative management careers (Kelly & Guy, 1991; Stivers, 2002). However, little is known about how such women define the experience of gender bias and how they address it in their careers. This chapter sheds some light in this area by examining career histories of 14 female managers in the federal government.

The chapter defines politics as *the use of power and influence that creates or shapes career advancement options and strategies of others in an organization*. The dynamics of the distribution of power become part of an organization's rationality in decision making (Clegg, 1975) in terms of who advances and why. This rationality becomes embedded in policies and everyday practice (Weick, 1995). Pfeffer (1981, p. 7) defined politics as "the study of power in action." Building on Pfeffer, Mumby (1988) observed that organizational politics rests not only on the structural distribution of power, but also on how the uses of power become legitimated. Hence, politics is concerned with the processes by which power is produced and reproduced in organizational structures and practices.

The definition assumes that politics does not necessarily have a pejorative connotation. This is based on Mead's notion (Mead, 1938, cited in Turner, 1988) of symbolic interactionism, in which individuals create meaning through social relationships. Creating meaning, in this sense, involves understanding of the self in relationship to others and the role of context in social interaction. Politics derives meaning from individuals' interpretations of experience. Politics may influence choices and strategies, resulting in disadvantages for some individuals. However, these individuals may also identify or create strategies of power and influence to counteract disadvantageous effects on them. Learning project management skills, for instance, may benefit the career of someone whose current job is chiefly clerical and whose mobility prospects are limited. Gaining skills for promotability and using network resources to locate and secure a better job may be seen as positive politics in that the individual has earned advantage without necessarily disadvantaging others.

Power in political actions may refer to the extent of resource controls apparent in affecting options and strategies of others' career development (Ferris, Perrewe, Anthony, & Gilmore, 2003). Resources can include traditional use of organizational position to achieve ends, such as ability to assign work, appraise performance, recommend training and promotion, and regulate performance rewards and bonuses. Resources may also encompass job-related knowledge and skills, information about informal organizational structures and processes, technical or material assets, and budget or revenues.

Because influence is instrumental in developing relationships, it plays a role in organizational politics. Influence often appears as informal methods of control, such as the use of persuasion, personal characteristics (such as humor, creativity, risk taking, and attentiveness), and degree to which one believes the other supports his or her best interests. Individuals often perceive influence consciously and subconsciously. Influence tips, rather than coerces, individuals toward making certain choices. Although individuals retain their right to choose or refuse a particular option, influence from those whom they acknowledge and respect shapes decisions (Rubenstein & Lawler, 1990).

The well-known "glass ceiling" phenomenon suggests that particular conditions affect women's career advancement (Davies-Netzley, 1998; Stivers, 2002). Although both male and female leaders contend with a myriad of politics in public bureaucracies, a review of management literature suggests women may find such navigation more perilous for several reasons:

1. Women leaders frequently experience isolation in organizations (Davies-Netzley, 1998; Gallos, 1989; Oakley, 2000; Payne, Fuqua, & Canegamy, 1997).
2. Although the number of women in public administration is increasing in relation to men, women's positional power remains in staff functions. Mobility continues to lag for women in all sectors for reasons such as inadequate training, mentor and sponsorship opportunities, and few delegated responsibilities having high visibility and high payoffs (Bierma, 2001; Kelly & Guy, 1991; Kram & Hampton, 2004; O'Brien, 1989; Rhode, 2004; Stivers, 2002).
3. Isolation and lack of positional authority keep women from seeing the "big picture" or overall relationships of political forces, their dynamics within organizations, and their effects on individuals, teams, programs, and goals (Belle, 2002; Kram & Hampton, 2004; Ohlott, Ruderman, & McCauley, 1994).
4. The problems of isolation, mobility, and limited organizational relationships often stem from political forces that adversely influence power distributions (Griscom, 1992; Kram & Hampton, 2004). Kanter's (1977) seminal study of male and female managers in a large corporation revealed that women failed to advance as quickly as men because top managers expected less productivity from women and placed them in positions where they would fulfill these expectations. By being stuck in

low-opportunity, subordinate jobs, women had fewer chances to produce high visibility, high payoff results that top managers prized in making promotions.

Analysis of female managers' perspectives from a symbolic interactionism framework can reveal interpretations of political forces and how these interpretations in particular contexts influenced career outcomes. Symbolic interactionism is an approach to understanding the meaning of events through social interaction and interpretation. Based on the research of George Herbert Mead (1938), symbolic interactionism maintains that humans form meaning socially through constructing a set of linguistic symbols to characterize their interpretation of events. Meaning is conveyed when it denotes a shared set of experiences. The interpretive aspect of symbolic interactionism enables researchers to infer perceptual meanings of events that are shared socially. From this research lens, the present study formulated and answered the question of how female managers in federal organizations address organizational politics in the context of their career advancement.

## Symbolic Interactionism

Using a symbolic interactionism view, the researcher reviewed studies of female managers in both public and private sector organizations. The individual, social, and contextual contributions to the symbolic interactionism approach to understanding women's experiences provided the basis for categorizing studies reviewed.

On the individual level, organizational politics involves an understanding of how the self assesses and monitors attitudes, values, and skills and creates and adapts strategies for action. Self-definition involves perception of self-in-relation-to-other in particular contexts (Surrey, 1985). Perception includes psychological as well as cultural knowledge that evolves with social learning (Rubenstein & Lawler, 1990). In relation to organizations, self is a construct that emerges from socially derived assumptions, beliefs, values, and expected behaviors that define one's role and relationships. Growth of self as a construct occurs with changes in perceptual definition and adaptation as relationships with others form and are enacted (Gallos, 1989).

Relational skills play pivotal roles not only in self-perception, but also in adaptation to changing contexts. Central skills in relationship building are abilities to identify personal and interpersonal resource persons in network associations. Resources provide encouragement and personal support as well as critique and information, material, financial, and technological assistance in achieving one's goals and needs. Relationship skills, built on mutual regard, inclusion, and exchange, enable cultivation of tacit knowledge with which individuals define and react to contextual demands, challenges, and opportunities. Through this form of knowledge creation, individuals come to define and contend with undercurrents in political organizations (Ferris et al., 2003; Howell, 1988; Lahtinen & Wilson, 1994).

Contextual meaning involves interpreting organizational cultures and climates that may foster gender bias reflected in their assumptions in policies and practices (Grasmick, Hagen, Blackwell, & Arnaklev, 1996; Griscom, 1992; Kelly & Guy, 1991; Rutherford, 2001). Climate and culture are based on interpretations of various “rules” that govern gendered relationships (Mills, 1988). Although the rules may not be written into formal policy, their effects acquire meaning through patterns—manifestations observed in conflicts as well as harmonies among groups. Patterns distinguish dominant and subordinate group positions that come to perpetuate relationships (Martin, 2002). Power and gender in organizations are culturally determined (Martin, 2002; Mills, 1988; Mumby, 1988).

## Method

Based on Mumby's (1988) idea that politics mediates career advancement through structural and rational processes, the research operationally defined organizational politics as conditions that both enabled and inhibited career development of women managers in the federal government. The rationale was based on the assumption that careers of female managers follow paths that differ from those of majority members, who are often White and male. To identify this from the perspective of those experiencing the dynamics of organizational politics in career histories, a case study of 14 female managers in five federal organizations was undertaken (Strauss & Corbin, 1998). Respondents varied in terms of grade (first-level supervisor, mid-level manager, and senior executive), race, age, and experience in government. Organizations were civilian and military federal establishments in the Washington, DC area and varied by size, mission, gender and racial balance, and structural leadership. The study was based on dissertation research completed at Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University (Rusaw, 1990).

The researcher established permission to interview respondents in their organizations through letters from agency heads. Lists of respondents were obtained through a combination of human resource directors, professional organizations, and the researcher's friendship networks. From an initial list of 19 potential respondents, 14 agreed to be interviewed. Each respondent was given written guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality of information; all interviewee names, organizational affiliations, and other potential personal identifiers were changed. The researcher conducted taped interviews of approximately 1 hour each in respondents' offices. Tapes were transcribed and copies given to respondents for verification. The researcher then analyzed and coded the data, observing common themes as they emerged. When additional information was needed, the researcher contacted five respondents for second interviews. Data were reanalyzed. When subsequent interviews and document analysis were compared with existing literature and yielded consistent information, data gathering and analysis ceased (Yin, 2008).

## Thematic Analysis

Learning to define, understand, and manage organizational politics centered on the women's experiences and relationships within their organizations. In large part the process involved participation in interpersonal relationships with mentors and role models; it also included observation of how others were treated. Women encountered several types of obstacles that they defined in the context of "political games" and "hardball" cultures. The types of obstacles are discussed first, followed by ways in which women dealt with them. Coping mechanisms were often self-learned techniques gained through experiences. Positive uses of politics, on the other hand, were proactive strategies that enabled women to gain recognition, visibility, and credibility as managers. Women may have initiated these strategies, but their origin typically was through personal and professional resources, such as mentors, supportive top managers, female role models, and skills learned through professional association participation.

### Political Games

One might characterize the political games women managers described as *zero sum*: an individual or group of individuals gains advantage by undermining or sabotaging the actions of others (Plon, 1974; Rapoport, 1966). Margie Benet, a Senior Executive Service member, defined the games as "hardball politics":

I think hardball politics is when you go after the individual. The primary objective is to undermine the individual . . . [If you are attacked . . .] you go back after them and you get them and you make sure you know you've got them, however you can do that [second interview].

Respondents cited conflicts with male managers at meetings as a common example of hardball politics. One recurrent issue was women managers would not be recognized or called upon to give advice, opinions, or solutions. Katherine Pierce, for example, said that if she wanted to speak up about an issue, she was met with "funny looks, like, 'What do you really know?'" (second interview). Dr. Ann Marie Jones, who had been a university professor, stated that when she raised her hand to provide important information on a topic being discussed, the leader ignored her and waited for the men to respond.

In cases of conflicts with male peers, respondents indicated they used a range of assertiveness (Dr. Jones and Kim Ferris). Ramona Chisholm, an African American mid-level manager, described a "taking it in the audience" attitude in which she mentally detached herself from the conflict. Ms. Benet and Megan Logan, however, developed roles as information coordinators during the meetings. Both stated that these roles not only reduced the tensions of disagreement and alienation, but also created a sense of inclusion in the



decision-making process and gained males' respect. Ms. Benet also cultivated support from male managers whom she knew would take over if the arguments became particularly nettlesome. Citing these men as her "allies and protectors," Ms. Benet noted that they often interceded:

I don't think there's any point, as a woman, you can win. Maybe that's why I don't get into the vindictiveness . . . I think that all it does is further undercut you [second interview].

## Restrictive Organizational Cultures

Organizational cultures consist of values, norms, beliefs, and practices that have accrued over time and to which members tacitly agree enable consistency of mission and purpose as well as adapting and surviving environmental changes (Schein, 1985). Martin (2002) noted that cultures are seldom gender neutral; in organizations such as those women described as aggressively male dominant, organizational cultures restrict women's advancement. Data analyzed from this study suggest that such government cultures promoted norms that limited women's success through (1) work assignments limited in scope and importance but having high political outcomes, (2) pressure to perform outstandingly, and (3) failure to recognize women managers as professionals.

## Assignments of Limited Significance

Some respondents described types of assignments as "overprotective" in that they failed to allow respondents to use their expertise to the fullest. Tara Murphy, a lawyer, recalled that she had been hired to resolve employee grievances but after 3 years had done only one. She stated that her supervisor believed women should not deal with "mean people." Ms. Chisholm's politically appointed manager routinely gave her ceremonial roles, such as "passing out papers and pens" at a reception for a Presidential Council.

## High Pressure to Succeed

On the other hand, respondents characterized other assignments as "set-ups for failure" (Katherine Pierce, first interview). On certain occasions, managers gave little definitive guidance, information, and technical and financial resources but imposed unrealistic expectations of success. Dr. Mary Frances Delaney described an instance in which as a manager of women's interest programs she sought to involve all stakeholders' views in making a particular decision. However, when she did not weight the views of a group her politically appointed supervisor favored, her supervisor removed her to a "nonassignment: a program that had no funding and was of minor political importance." Ms. Pierce recalled several "sink or swim" assignments she was given. In one, her supervisor sent her



to speak at a conference to discuss technical aspects of a new inventory parts system. She noted she was very unfamiliar with the new system and had only 1 week to prepare for the presentation. Ms. Benet pointed out that in her agency, if a female manager makes a mistake, the consequences can be “fatal.” She added that “. . . everything is so visible that even a small mistake . . . will just finish you off” (second interview).

### Nonrecognition as Professionals

Respondents’ agencies valued technical specialties, such as in law or engineering, rather than generalist managerial skills. Because women often lacked technical competencies, many male managers did not see them as “professionals.” For this reason, Alice Thompson said, “Women must demonstrate competence in each new situation and must work hard to gain access to key individuals in organizations.”

### Credibility

Having technical credentials, the respondents noted, usually gave one a reputation for competence and earned credibility: a feeling that one was accepted and valued. However, for women with these credentials, recognition was not a direct outcome (interviews with Ms. Pierce, Ms. Benet, and Dr. Jones). Respondents suggested that “credibility” entailed a mutual-accommodation process. Ms. Pierce observed that women who “had come up through the ranks” as secretaries and who had remained in the organization a long time over time accepted the dominant cultural values and norms and, in turn, received male recognition for their competence. To gain credibility, women allied with others, particularly men, who played influential roles in key organization networks. Barbara Henry’s description of this suggests that such contacts also provided tutelage:

[Dr. Solomon] would say, “This is how you should approach that.” . . . Your personality is warmer if you don’t go for the jugular . . . instantly. . . . That isn’t the way to play. It’s like chess. You make a move, and then your opponent does. You build credibility . . . the whole time. But if you always are out to change the world, you cannot do it by 3:00 p.m. It’s an evolving process [second interview].

### Positive Political Strategies

To manage obstacles, respondents constructed strategies to gain recognition, credibility, and competitiveness. In some cases they turned negative organizational conditions, such as reorganizations and resource cuts, into opportunities to advance. In others, they used self-initiative to demonstrate their competence, willingness to assume significant assignment challenges, and gain experience through voluntary roles. In developing strategies respondents learned to cultivate and use influence of highly regarded people both within and outside respondents’ organizations. Importantly, the respondents converted negative political forces into positive ones.

## Turning Negative Conditions Into an Advantage

In each case history that involved structural, political, or economic organizational change, respondents saw opportunities to develop and demonstrate leadership. A typical example was what happened to Dr. Delaney after she was transferred to a “nonassignment” and was put in charge of reorganizing her division. She took training in managing reorganizations and tapped the expertise of an agency consultant. She credited the experience with giving her opportunities she would not have had otherwise to qualify for an executive-level position.

Several respondents, knowing that promotability rested on high-level recognition for competency demonstration, initiated demonstration activities. Ms. Henry, for example, expanded her responsibilities as an equal employment opportunity officer by giving speeches, taking classes at her own expense, and taking leadership roles in professional societies. Ms. Pierce became a sought-after expert in a new agency program in planning, programming, and budgeting. Ms. Chisholm volunteered to work on a difficult, agency-wide problem by serving on an executive-appointed task force.

## Enlisting Support

Sponsorship came from primarily male managers who benefited from the women’s expertise and who also defended respondents. These sponsors became mentors and role models and provided referrals for promotion opportunities.

### *Use of Referral Agents*

Some high-level persons not in respondents’ immediate chains of command passed on important job opportunities and volunteered as references (Jane Rogers and Megan Logan interviews). Another was a senior female manager who saw to it that Ms. Chisholm was placed on an executive task force (Ms. Chisholm, first interview). In some cases referral agents were familiar with respondents’ past performance or reputations for competency and talked directly to individuals having job vacancies respondents could fill (Hilda Harris and Jane Rogers interviews).

Referral agents also included respondent supervisors. Ms. Benet and Ms. Murphy (interviews) described how their supervisors helped them manage difficult start-up projects. Ms. Benet related that her supervisor, a political appointee, enabled her to build and expand her program. Ms. Murphy noted that her male supervisor invited her to top-management meetings and provided her opportunities to demonstrate her legal knowledge to them.

Referrals also came from coworkers and clients. Kim Ferris, for example, told of a colleague who had given her information about a promotion opportunity in another agency; external stakeholders in one of Ms. Murphy’s client agencies passed along their recommendations for promotion to Ms. Murphy’s supervisor.

*Adopting Mentors and Role Models*

Mentors and role models played more diverse roles than referral agents in helping respondents succeed. They not only provided information about job openings, but also provided clues, knowledge, and advice about socialization in male-dominated organizational cultures. Mentors were more often male and held high positions in the respondents' organizations; many were the respondents' supervisors. Although some role models were career and politically appointed male executives, a few were high-level career women. Analysis of interview data showed common characteristics of respondent mentors and role models: (1) high positional power; (2) advanced degrees; (3) completed significant developmental experiences outside their organizations; (4) understood power dynamics in individuals and their effects, particularly for women and minorities; (5) surrounded themselves with competent people; (6) treated each staff member fairly; (7) encouraged innovation; and (8) showed humor when they were under pressure.

*Cultivating Protectors and Allies*

Interview data showed that respondents surmounted political obstacles through the help of protectors and allies: individuals who spoke on their behalf or who interceded for them in difficult interpersonal relationships. Protectors and allies were sometimes also referral agents and resource providers (information, material, or funding). Ms. Benet, who used them extensively, defined protectors and allies as people who can "back you up, who can say, 'This is how it really happened' " (first interview). She related that one of them told her, "If you get into trouble, let me know and I'll find a place for you" (first interview). Ms. Pierce recalled that her allies allowed her to gain leverage in getting funds for a new program and provided her with funds for training when training money was reduced substantially (second interview). Allies also stepped in when Ms. Pierce's supervisor questioned her performance competence and also recommended her for promotion (second interview).

Garnering protectors and allies involved developing an ongoing assessment of relationships with them and willingness to adapt to changes in the relationships. Ms. Benet remarked as follows:

If you fail, you're so obvious. If you don't have some allies in the agency, you just wouldn't survive. And I think that's one thing I've been able to do. Every two or three months, I really take stock. I go down the list . . . of the 20 senior managers here and say, "Where do I stand with each one of these people?" [second interview].

**Findings**

Using a framework of symbolic interactionism to analyze career histories of female managers in the federal government gave insight into how the women dealt with organiza-

tional politics. Symbolic interactionism showed how women created knowledge for naming and overcoming negative political forces. In organizations, these forces are frequently subtle, directed at marginalized individuals and groups in subcultures. Respondent perceptions characterized manifestations of political forces as “hardball politics”: zero-sum games that set up unreasonably high performance expectations, provided limited resources to achieve ends, and created pressures to succeed in every detail.

Through external relationships, however, respondents created tacit knowledge from which they developed strategies of influence. This occurred through the interventions of resource persons and the demonstration of trustworthy relationships. In the latter, respondents developed such influence strategies as giving policy guidance as a task force member, showing high-quality program management skills, and providing needed technical and interpersonal expertise that male peers and superiors lacked. Resource persons referred respondents to powerful individuals who could observe task and relationship skills. Resources also intervened when respondents faced difficult encounters, either with opponents or with getting jobs commensurate with their professional qualifications. Through interpersonal relationships and demonstration of credibility, respondents crafted positive political strategies: helping their own careers without disadvantaging others.

Gender-based bias limited career advancement by creating a culture that devalued expertise, provided few opportunities to learn skills for obtaining jobs critical to organizational mission and program success, and limited building a basis for credibility. Women encountered such biases informally rather than as explicitly defined policies and programs. Political power manifested itself through relationships, often between the female manager and her male supervisor. Women who endured enlisted supportive men who knew the political power games but refused to play them. Such men retained ties with the players, however, and were able to give “insider” interpretation and guidance to women. It would be instructive for future research to examine the values, characteristics, and motivations of the “allies and protectors” and how they were able to gain status among political power players and to cross gender-defined boundaries to create a more inclusive organization.

## Conclusion

An analysis of the case histories suggests that human capital officers can take several important steps to facilitate women managers’ career advancement opportunities:

1. *Train women to recognize political cues.* Because cues are subtle and learned from experience, training should include a discussion of women’s stories and strategies that have helped them survive. Training can draw on organizational culture and theory to provide additional insights and provide a broad base of possible actions.
2. *Involve potential resource persons in training.* Human capital specialists might select individuals to serve as mentors, allies, and protectors from network recommenda-

tions of individuals who have attained organizational credibility. Potential resource persons may be invited to share their stories of encountering and overcoming negative political forces and offer consultation to female managers who face similar situations.

3. *Seek out high-level, inclusive advancement opportunities.* Questioning the efficacy of laws as well as practices for training and promoting female managers can identify areas that keep women isolated and in limited jobs. This process can also help staff identify assignments and programs where women having key technical and interpersonal communications skills can exert influence.

Promoting training and informal learning activities such as these provides several benefits to government and human capital organizations. As forums, the events can allow women managers to understand the undercurrents of elected and organizational politics affecting careers. Creating meaning through dialogue can lead to formation of strategies for converting career disadvantage into opportunities. Training can enhance career development by promoting positive politics and by building managerial and leadership inclusively. In this way the formation of social capital appears at each demographic stratum in organizations and collectively enriches the whole.

## Discussion Questions

1. What does the case study data suggest in asserting that gender is a concept that is constructed in organizations? How is this done?
2. What are the differences between positive and negative organizational politics? What are the criteria for determining negative organizational politics? What roles do power and influence play in each?
3. What is the importance of obtaining valid data on how one is doing in relationships with others at work? What are some potential obstacles to valid data gathering? How can women managers obtain this?
4. What are some examples of “hardball politics” that you have observed in interpersonal relationships, particularly those at work? How did individuals describe them? How did they manage them?
5. Why do managers need “allies and protectors”? What characteristics and behaviors, in your view, are important in seeking them out? How might you cultivate their relationships?
6. What is organizational culture? Organizational climate? What are the similarities and differences?
7. Female managers are frequently isolated in organizations. However, some forms of visibility can create stress and threaten credibility. In your opinion, what are some



ways women managers might create strategies to enhance their visibility without undue pressure?

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## Chapter 19

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# Women and the Nonprofit Sector

Renee Nank

### Key Terms

Alexis de Tocqueville

Associations

Association of Fundraising Professionals

Civil society

Emotional intelligence

Nineteenth amendment

Private–public realm

Settlement house

### Introduction

This chapter examines feminist theory in the nonprofit sector. The nonprofit sector plays a unique role in American society. A vibrant nonprofit sector allows its citizens to come together to pursue common interests through a wide range of activities, such as creating a community senior center, transitioning refugees into life in America, and advocating for national legislation supporting gay and lesbian rights. Nonprofit organizations, also called charitable, independent, civil society, or third sector organizations, or simply associations, permit democracy to thrive by promoting participation and efforts toward equality. Nonprofit organizations help citizens create and broaden their personal and social identity through connection to others with similar concerns. By coming together over shared concerns, citizens begin to create legitimacy for their issues and, over time, may successfully generate supportive public sentiment and influence change in public policy.

The nonprofit sector provides space for participation, engagement, collective action, and affiliation that is the necessary support structure for civil society. A vibrant civil society, as Putnam notes (1995), is characterized by a mixture of voluntary associations and groups that provide individuals with the opportunity to become engaged and participate in affairs of collective concern, bringing some of these concerns into the political process. Further, the sector serves as a bulwark against too much or too little public and

private sector power because it is composed of freely associating individuals who come together outside of the purview of government and the private sector to share ideas and information and effect change (Alexander, Nank, & Stivers, 1999).

Civil society has been referred to as “the space of uncoerced human association and also the set of relational networks” where individuals freely join to share, and perhaps act, in tandem on common interests (Walzer, as cited in Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 132). Ehrenberg (1999) notes that civil society is composed of associations that promote private matters in a public sphere. Indeed, de Tocqueville (1969), famous for his volumes on associations and their relationship to democracy in America, saw associations as a way to save democratic communities by bringing individuals together united for a cause: “[associations bring people] together and [put] them in contact. Once they have met, they always know how to meet again” (p. 521).

The “associational life,” as de Tocqueville called it, was an early and primary source for women, whether they were poor, wealthy, or minority, to move the concerns affecting their individual lives—their private selves—into the public realm. Women, during the early formation of the United States and throughout the early 1900s, can be characterized largely as inhabiting the “private.” Women were relegated to maintenance of the home or to menial, low status employment. Indeed, poor women have a long history of participating in the workforce. Women could not vote, they did not hold political office, and they were charged with keeping their role as “guardian(s) of virtue” (Stivers, 2000, p. 9). Men, on the other hand, inhabited the “public.” They held political positions, owned businesses, and inhabited the world of status and power that accompanies the public.

Associations, or nonprofit organizations, afford women an avenue to meet, share experiences, and over time, “add up” their shared perspectives thus enabling them to define obstacles, issues, opportunities, and solutions. This space for “adding up” allows a constellation of individuals to consolidate and make sense of their experiences and to develop strategies for support and change. De Tocqueville (1969) understood the importance of associations in relation to providing an opportunity for equality (p.514):

. . . Americans form associations for no matter how small a matter. . . . Thus the most democratic country in the world now is that in which men have in our time carried to the highest perfection the art of pursuing in common the objects of common desires and have applied this technique to the greatest number of purposes. Is that just an accident, or is there really some necessary connection between associations and equality?

Indeed, associations have been and remain central to creating greater equality between men and women. In particular, associations have allowed women to increase their numbers in all sectors of the workforce and imbued them with greater influence in the political sphere through voting, advocacy, holding political office, and other public activities. These opportunities include participation *in* the nonprofit sector and the greater gender equalization of opportunities *because* of the work of nonprofit organizations. Although

there are exceptions, much of the research on gender as it relates to nonprofit organizations focuses on summary data regarding gender and wage parity, leadership, trends in women's philanthropic giving, and volunteerism.

## **Women in Nonprofit Organizations**

The nonprofit sector is shaped by women both in employment and volunteerism (Pynes, 2000). In 2007 more than 1.64 million nonprofit organizations were registered in the United States (Butler, 2009), employing 8.7 million workers, or approximately 6% of all workers (Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2008). Approximately 22 million women worked in educational services, health care, and social assistance industries in 2006—more women working than in any other industry (U.S. Census Bureau, 2007).

Available data indicate that the gender gap is shrinking in nonprofit employment and wages. There has been an upward trend in the percentage of nonprofits being led by women (Guidestar, 2008), but although research shows increased representation of women in leadership roles, gender disparity remains in terms of the size and types of nonprofit organizations where women hold executive positions. In 2006, despite being 66% of the overall executive population, women made up only 46% of executive leadership in nonprofit organizations with budgets of \$10 million or more (Bell, Moyers, & Wolfred, 2006).

Further, there is still disparity in compensation. The pay gap is greatest among the largest nonprofits (Guidestar, 2008; Mesch & Rooney, 2008). Multiple surveys indicate that women, in general, make less than men in similar positions (Gibelman, 2000; Gray & Benson, 2003; Ye & Manzo, 2004). In one study, for example, on average, men made \$12,651 more in salaries than women in comparable positions (Bell et al., 2006). More specifically, in organizations with budgets over \$7.5 million, the reported mean male executive salary was \$159,130, whereas the reported mean female executive salary was \$114,352. In organizations where budgets ranged from \$0 to \$7.5 million, discrepancies between mean salaries were anywhere between \$3,442 and \$7,872 (Bell et al., 2006). However, in a comparison of public and nonprofit agencies, LeRoux and Sneed (2006) found that the nonprofit sector offers better earning potential for both women and minorities at the chief executive level.

More recently, there has been a “feminization of fundraising” in the nonprofit sector (Conry, as cited by Mesch & Rooney, 2008, p. 438). The top three professional organizations that represent fundraising professionals, such as the Association for Fundraising Professionals, are now made up of a majority of women professionals, and more women than men are entering the fundraising profession (Mesch & Rooney, 2008). As is seen in executive leadership positions, however, recent studies indicate a gender-pay gap in the field of fundraising as well. Indeed, women who hold the title of chief development officer earn significantly lower salaries and smaller bonuses than their male counterparts (Mesch & Rooney, 2008). Consequently, nonprofit organizations may pay women comparatively

higher salaries than the public sector but with a less robust benefits package (LeRoux & Sneed, 2006).

Women are also actively involved in providing philanthropic and voluntary services to the nonprofit sector. In fact, women are shown to be more likely than men to volunteer (Wing, Pollack, & Blackwood 2008). In 2007, 29.3% of women volunteered as opposed to 22.9% of men (U.S. Census Bureau, 2009). Additionally, in 2006 total private giving reached \$295 billion, more than double from 1996 (Wing et al., 2008). As women assume leadership roles in the private sector, philanthropic giving to the nonprofit sector is likely to rise. Beyond giving by individual women, philanthropic decisions by corporate boards indicate that women are playing larger roles in determining how their firms will allocate their budget dollars and to which charitable organizations (Williams, 2003).

## Women and Associations: Historical Perspectives on Gender and the Sector

Though often overlooked as leaders who were active in shaping the sector, women have a long history of participating in nonprofit organizations as organizers, board members, philanthropists, and clients that spans close to two centuries. Camilla Stivers (2000, p. 9) notes the following:

Denied the vote from the country's founding moment, women had to content themselves with indirect involvement in politics. . . . During the nineteenth century, however, women's roles as vessel and guardian of virtue had given them another opening into the public sphere, that is, charitable work and involvement in the causes such as temperance and abolition.

Indeed, it is largely due to the advocacy efforts of women that the Eighteenth Amendment (prohibition) and the Nineteenth Amendment (women's suffrage) were enacted (Dobkin-Hall, 2006).

In the mid- and late-19th century women were at the center of the establishment of the Young Women's Christian Association in 1858, the College Settlements Association in 1887, and the National Association of Colored Women in 1896 (Spain, 2001). Much of this early work was voluntary and involved the provision of services like vocational training, providing baths, and building playgrounds (Spain, 2001). Women were not only volunteers who provided services, but they were also often the clients. Daphne Spain (2001) divides women clients into four categories: European immigrants, African American southern migrants, independent or single women from small towns, and the volunteers themselves. It is the otherness of these female clients that often formed the purpose for these associations. "Otherness" has been a framing tool to critically explore multiple experiences and perspectives in the social sciences (Brubaker, 2004; de Beauvoir, 1989; Hardt & Negri, 2001; Hegel, 1991). The term is used here to describe a dominant view of, and experience by, women who are of a racial or ethnic minority, who are living outside



of cultural expectations of the roles of women, and individuals who may not be afforded the full rights of citizenship because of their gender, race, and/or ethnicity. Most of these women were largely former slaves or children of slaves, immigrants with little knowledge of the English language, and women who chose to pursue a less traditional career or lifestyle.

African American women have a long history of forming and participating in associations. Rouse (1989) notes that in the southern African American women's movement "two themes are paramount: social reform and race consciousness" (p.118). Spain (2001) identifies voluntary associations led by African American women that focused on antislavery efforts, education, racial equality, and community improvement such as the United Daughters of Allen, Daughters of Zion, and the Epworth Leagues. The National Council of Negro Women, the National Welfare Rights Organization, and the National Association of Colored Women are several examples of other organizations led by African American women. Many of these women started their work at the grassroots level and then moved into leadership positions. For example, Lugenia Burns Hope was an African American settlement worker who established the Neighborhood Union near Morehouse in Georgia and went on to play a central role in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People in Georgia (Rouse, 1989).

Women's efforts in the late 1800s and early 1900s were bolstered by the precipitous and sudden leap in populations in cities. Millions of immigrants were settling in American cities, and African American populations were moving from rural areas in the south to urban areas in the northeast and Midwest. This rapid influx of non-English-speaking immigrants and African American women shortly after the abolition of slavery into poorly equipped cities, with declining employment opportunities and few public services, "prompted women to establish places that cleansed bodies, saved souls, and created American citizens" (Spain, 2001, p. 238).

Many of these early voluntary associations started as religious affiliations, but their work often shifted to more secular goals, such as improving living conditions and sponsoring kindergartens (Spain, 2001). As populations became more densely situated in cities, the work of associations concurrently became stronger and more centralized, and advocacy efforts grew more effective in influencing policy. As a result the efforts of these associations gained greater traction in communities as their activism reached larger numbers of women, men, and policy actors. Indeed, concern for these women resulted in advocacy for improved working conditions, public assistance, and cleaning up the city. Policy advocacy also included the call for shorter working hours, social security and other public benefits, better sanitation, and clean drinking water (Spain, 2001).

Philanthropy in America boomed in the late 1800s and early 1900s as businessmen who benefited from the Industrial Revolution sought to remedy the inequality that grew due to industrial progress. Carnegie, Rockwell, and Morgan are chief among these well-known philanthropists. However, Margaret Olivia Sage, the widow of a successful financier, founded the Russell Sage Foundation for "the improvement of social and living



conditions in the United States” in 1907 with a gift of \$10 million dollars (Dobkin-Hall, 2006, p. 44).

Much of the effort of nonprofit organizations in the early 20th century focused on service provision for the poor and disenfranchised and on advocacy for improving living conditions in cities primarily through education, poverty reduction, safe housing, and equality for women and minorities. Many of the notable advocacy efforts by associations led by women in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were primarily secular in nature. For example, women’s suffrage was spearheaded by the women’s rights organization, National American Woman Suffrage Movement. Susan B. Anthony was the first director of this organization, and, after the passage of the 19th amendment the organization became the League of Women Voters.

The Great Depression of the 1930s caused great strain for the sector overall: “Many nonprofit organizations were forced to close or merge, and many were simply overwhelmed by the demand for help” (Salamon, 2003, p. 159). The growth of the nonprofit sector was slow throughout the 1940s, but the commitment by Industrial Era philanthropists, World War I, and the growth of the research university laid the foundation for greater acceptance of philanthropy as a compliment to business and government (Dobkin-Hall, 2006; Salamon, 2003).

After World War II and throughout the 1950s, momentum for addressing discrimination against African Americans—and to a lesser extent, women—grew (Dobkin-Hall, 2006). Women who had entered the workforce during World War II were unemployed by the thousands. Dobkin-Hall (2006) and Salamon (2003) note that multiple forces in post-World War II America laid the framework for a boom in the growth of the nonprofit sector. First was the experience of 7 million women who were forced or pressured to resign from employment after answering the call to enter the workforce during World War II. Many of these women wanted to be part of the workforce and began to organize to create employment opportunities. A second force was the increased presence and acceptance of philanthropy, particularly as it relates to foundations as centers of influence in American society. Finally, there was growing sentiment that racism and gender inequity were incompatible with postwar America. The climate was ripe for growth in the sector generally and specifically in nonprofit organizations that address women’s equality.

The passage of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Civil Rights Act of 1964 marked a transformative time for women and the nonprofit sector. The number of women-led nonprofit organizations grew in the 1960s and 1970s. These organizations included the National Organization for Women; the first battered women’s shelter, which opened in 1973 in Arizona; and the 1974 formation of the Mexican American Women’s National Association. Since the 1970s the nonprofit sector has exploded in size. In fact, in 1970 the number of tax-exempt organizations was close to 400,000, compared with 800,000 in 1980 (Burke, 2001).

Today, the total number of registered nonprofit organizations filing a 990 tax return in the United States is 1,554,277 (National Center for Charitable Statistics, n.d.). The Internal Revenue Service (IRS) Form 990 is an annual return that select federally tax-

exempt organizations must file with the IRS; it includes the organization's mission and finances. Most organizations filing with the IRS are "human service" nonprofits, which are the most diverse of the nonprofit organizations. They can include soup kitchens, organizations dedicated to recreation and sports, and housing and shelter organizations (Cryer, 2008). This total number of registered nonprofits does not include the many nonprofit organizations that are not required by the IRS to file a tax return because they do not have gross receipts of more than \$25,000.

## **Onward: Current Issues and Future Trends for Women and the Nonprofit Sector**

### **Leadership Gap Opportunity**

The impending leadership gap in the nonprofit sector has been the focus of recent scholarship and research (Bell et al., 2006; Cryer, 2008). As baby boomers retire, the concern is that there are insufficient numbers of experienced nonprofit managers prepared to replace them. This gap may prove to be an opportunity for women to assume executive-level positions in both large and small nonprofits in greater numbers. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (2007) projects a positive growth rate in labor force participation for older workers.

Although this may mitigate some of the leadership gap, research predicts that the labor force participation rates for women will increase even faster than men of the same age (Johnson, 2009). Yet, in a recent survey of current or recently employed nonprofit workers, only 4% of respondents explicitly stated they were being groomed to take over as their organization's executive director, and women were being developed at a lower rate than men (Cornelius, Covington, & Ruesga 2008). This indicates that although women over the age of 55 may make up more of the nonprofit sector's available staff, particularly a pool of experienced executive-ready staff, in the coming years organizations may not be engaging in directed succession planning or "grooming" that will advance these women to leadership positions.

This is not for lack of initiative among women. A survey of 5,754 individuals who work, or have worked, in the nonprofit sector by Idealist.org showed that among respondents claiming they do aspire to become executive directors, 70% were women (Cornelius et al., 2008). Additionally, although data do not indicate that women are less experienced than men, women did express a greater need to develop their skills and increase their leadership capabilities before assuming executive leadership responsibilities (Cornelius et al., 2008).

### **Leadership Styles and Gender: Balancing Tensions or Disappearing the Feminine?**

Although women may represent most of the nonprofit workforce, the dominant, executive-level culture has been largely male, thereby necessitating female nonprofit executives

to adapt to “traditionally masculine models of management” (Goldman & Kahnweiler, 2000, p. 445). Further, literature notes that women’s leadership styles, such as being cooperative and collaborative, may inhibit their ascension into executive positions (English, 2006). Literature in organizational theory, however, suggests that women in leadership positions tend to lead with more power-sharing mechanisms and modes of participative management (Bradshaw, Murray, & Wolpin, 1996). Indeed, women are more likely to be found in higher proportions on nonprofit boards where power is distributed or shared rather than on boards that are more hierarchical. (Bradshaw et al., 1996). The effects or transference of women’s leadership styles, however, may be limited by the fact that women are represented in higher numbers on boards in smaller organizations with smaller budgets (Bradshaw et al., 1996).

Research shows that female managers have higher scores on emotional intelligence than male managers (Mandell & Pherwani, 2003; Mayer, Caruso, & Salovey, 1999). Emotional intelligence enables people to identify and exhibit emotions—particularly empathy, self-regulation of mood, and self-presentation—to achieve desired outcomes (Fox & Spector, 2000). Emotional intelligence has also been linked to the transformational leader (Cooper, 1997; Goleman, 1995; Mandell & Pherwani, 2003). Research has shown that transformational leadership is one of the most effective approaches to leading (Bass & Avolio, 1994; Burns, 1978; Parry & Proctor-Thomas, 2002). Burns (1978) introduced the theory of “transforming leadership,” defining it as when “one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality” (as cited in Parry & Proctor-Thomas, 2002, p. 75). As an extension to Burns’ original ideas, Bass (1985) coined “transformational leadership,” which is “a process by which followers trust, admire, and respect their leader, and are consequently motivated to do more than they were originally expected to do” (Parry & Proctor-Thomas, 2002, p. 75).

Women in executive-level positions in nonprofit organizations must balance multiple tensions with regard to their leadership and management styles. Women who adopt a traditionally masculine approach to managing—one that is more direct, less likely to counsel, and with more attention paid to the bottom line—will likely not be received by her employees in the same way a man likely would. That is, perceptions of gender roles and characteristics contextualize people’s perceptions. There is a “cultural masculinity” in the images we hold of managers and leaders (Stivers, 2002, p. 135). When behavior is perceived as outside of the expected—even preferred—role, women’s efficacy as leaders may suffer. In these instances women managers may be seen as uncaring about employees and as less concerned with client welfare and service provision. The same behaviors exhibited by a male manager may make more sense for his subordinates, and therefore his leadership efforts may be more readily accepted.

The tension here is exacerbated by the fact that graduate schools, nonprofit boards, and funders place a premium on values that focus on creating more business-like nonprofits by emphasizing entrepreneurship, the bottom line, and professionalization.

(Brinckerhoff, 2000; Dees, Emerson, & Economy, 2001). The nonprofit sector has “increasingly adopted the approaches and values of the private sector” (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004, p. 132). Approaches to nonprofit management that center on professionalization and business practices emphasize hierarchy, achievement, and result. Management behaviors that are participatory, inclusive, and empathetic are often acknowledged as important to organizational success, and yet professional education, funder expectations, and board priorities are often incongruent with these values.

Wacjman, who conducted a study on gender images and leadership, argued that turbulence and uncertainty may make the “practice of ‘soft’ management styles seem too risky for managers being held to ‘hard’ performance standards” (as cited in Stivers, 2002, p. 74). Although the literature notes an increase in the trend toward participatory and transformative management, it is rare to find graduate programs in public administration, nonprofit management, or business administration that do not emphasize management skills modeled largely on classic management topics. As Stivers (2002) notes in her seminal book, responsiveness, caring, and service remain “culturally feminine” and “we are ambivalent about them for this very reason” (p. 58). The values that are touted in the literature as critical to success, such as trust, concern for clients and colleagues, and participatory decision making practices, may not be transitioning into practice in nonprofit management because of the demand by funders for a business-like infrastructure that may crowd out the characteristics of the nonprofit sector that give it value in preserving participation, representing minority interests, and contesting the decisions and policies of government (Alexander & Nank, 2009).

To be sure, proficiency in business practices is an important and central requirement for an executive to ensure a nonprofit organization’s capacity and the maintenance of its legitimacy among funders and the community. In addition, these skills cannot be defined simplistically as “male” or “female”—certainly men can be empathetic and inclusive and women can be directive and results oriented. Rather, the type of management values that are fast becoming the yardstick of a nonprofit’s capacity to achieve its mission and determine its worthiness when it comes to funding decisions have a masculine bias. They are rooted in a culture within which these values are preferred and are also assumed to be genderless, when in fact they are not (Stivers, 2002). The concern is that the business values that are pervasive in nonprofit education and practices may eclipse the capacity of the sector to be a space for minority concerns and the under-represented. In effect, there is a risk that the very space that women helped to define and sustain and that concurrently afforded women a mechanism for many of the gains they have made will be crowded out by a sector that looks more like the private or public sectors.

This is the time to develop a feminist theory of the nonprofit sector that holds the tensions between what have been culturally and historically situated as masculine and feminine characteristics for leadership and management. Such theorizing may help to address two key issues for the sector. First, whereas the nonprofit sector becomes more diverse in terms of gender and leadership, women get paid less overall and are still not

well represented as leaders in the largest nonprofit organizations. Second, a feminist theory allows the culturally feminine characteristics, some of which are defined by Stivers (2002), some of which I define here, and some that have yet to be defined, as responsiveness, trust building, and relationship centered, to rise back into the priorities and values of the sector and create a needed counterweight to the insistent call that the sector prioritize and operate more like a business.

## Discussion Questions

1. What is the unique role of the nonprofit sector in America? Why is it important to preserving an active and healthy democracy?
2. How has the nonprofit sector been a means for women to improve their opportunities and achieve greater equality? Do you see this trend continuing? Is this trend evident in other groups like refugees? Women of color? Other?
3. What should a nonprofit executive or leader remember as he or she leads a nonprofit in a climate that asks nonprofit leaders to run their organization like a business? What is at risk in such a climate? How can a nonprofit leader minimize this risk?

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Part V

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## **The Future of Women in Public Administration**



## Chapter 20

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# In Search of a Middle Ground: Preachy, Screechy, and Angry Versus Soft, Sweet, and Compliant

Mary E. Guy

### Key Terms

Gendered governance  
Glass ceilings  
Glass walls  
Nurturant versus agentic  
Power capacity  
Pseudopower  
Sticky floors  
Trap doors

### Introduction

The highest hurdles for career women are the biases that relegate their voices to whispers, their contributions to footnotes, and their lived experience to oblivion. The public's limited expectations about the proper role of wives, and to a large extent women in general, complicates the work lives of women in public service. The objective of this chapter is to show that idols and images of women persist in the public mind and make it difficult for them to assume autonomous power. Until this is overcome, women's accomplishments will continue to be treated as exceptions rather than the rule.

To make my point, I draw examples from Hillary Clinton's recent run for the Democratic nomination for President and the public's reaction to the most stereotyped role of all, that of First Lady. Although it is difficult to back away from everyday experiences to understand the processes on which they rest, studying a dynamic from a distance makes things more clear. This is why studying First Ladies provides a useful lens for understanding gender power. Such examples present in bas relief the cultural expectations surrounding the role of women and the backlash that occurs when powerful women step out of role. Although such examples are extreme, similar but dialed back dynamics accompany the performance of women at all levels.

To draw the distinction, the quotes below were written by newspaper columnist Susan Campbell (2009) in response to Michelle Obama's controversial statement during her husband's presidential campaign that she was, finally, proud of her country: "Despite the gains of the last few decades, we still mostly like our women soft, sweet and not angry," she wrote. We also like women not to criticize the status quo: "Let Michelle Obama say she's finally proud of her country because people are embracing hope, and suddenly she's called angry." "Why would a woman be angry, do you think? Just off the top of my head: The whole wage-disparity thing, the speaking up in meetings and being ignored thing, the lack of female clergy thing, the lack of female CEOs thing, the notion that you can and should have it all thing. You try bringing home the bacon and frying it up in a pan day in and day out, and suddenly that pan might start to look pretty good as a weapon. . . ."

Several wives of Presidents stand above the rest. The most current is Michelle Obama, a Harvard Law School educated success story who excelled intellectually and professionally. Unwilling to challenge the standard role for wives of Presidents, she receives high praise from the press for playing the traditional role of wife and mother. This is unlike Hillary Clinton, another highly educated successful professional, who early in President Clinton's first term headed the health reform initiative. Doing so violated gender power shibboleths and criticisms redound to her almost 20 years later. During President Clinton's second term, Hillary's voice was diminished and she came closer to living the life of a traditional wife and mother. When she ran for the Democratic presidential nomination in 2008, however, her use of power reminded the public of her influential presence in the first administration, and although this helped her case in some quarters, it threatened enough voters to cause them to turn away from her candidacy and toward Barack Obama's.

This is the case because gender shapes power capacity in such a way that the public prefers a man of a minority race over a woman of any race. Although it is not popular to draw the distinction, men have considerable and broad latitude to exercise power, whereas women have limited and highly circumscribed latitude. In other words, gender trumps race in terms of public opinion about proper behavior. Just as with the 2008 presidential nomination outcome, cultural values gave the nod to Barack Obama over Hillary Clinton. Values drive the public to attempt to overcome racism more than sexism. Gender was a pervasive force affecting all aspects of Hillary Clinton's campaign and the public's reaction to her (Carroll, 2009).

To understand the impact of gender on power, think about the conflation of gender, power, and leadership. It occurs in three dimensions: institutional, symbolic, and individual. *Institutional* refers to whatever is considered normal in a particular circumstance. For example, if the usual spokesperson for the Department of Homeland Security is a man who is a former military officer, then it is more likely that a woman with a civilian background will have difficulty conveying the same message. *Symbolic* refers to the norms that are expressed—or denied—through a woman's actions. When a woman holds an office that has been traditionally held by a man, the symbolic message is that she is capable of walking in the shoes of the man. This violates carefully nurtured notions of masculinity.

Most powerful women purposefully diminish their impact in order *not* to commit such violations. For example, *Life* magazine (2009) published an issue shortly after Obama's election that depicted Michele as a model wife, mother, and style setter. The article did not emphasize her successful career as a lawyer. *Individual* refers to the unique traits and characteristics of the woman in question. For example, Hillary Clinton fulfills her role as Secretary of State differently from her predecessors because of her own interests and self-confidence. These three attributes shape the capacity and style available to women. As long as women in influential positions behave in ways that comport with the cultural straitjacket of these forces, their performance is acceptable and their power is circumscribed.

When First Ladies take policy initiatives that are stereotypically feminine, such as Michelle Obama's emphasis on homegrown foods, she cements herself on the pedestal. Her work is within the confines of institutional and symbolic constraints and does not threaten the status quo. When they take policy initiatives that are outside the stereotype, however, such as Hillary's work on health reform when she was First Lady or her run for the Democratic Presidential nomination, they fall off the pedestal and subject themselves to vitriol for being "out of role." Wifely and motherly duties are not power duties. Being a hostess and helpmate do not threaten the status quo. When women step into power duties, however, traditionalists find it jarring.

Michelle Obama is focusing on wifely and motherly duties to avoid violating gender norms. First Ladies have pseudopower, which is the power invested in a wife of an important man, allowing her to serve as his proxy. Her influence inheres because of her affiliation with an important man. In contrast, when the wife of the President attempts to step off the pedestal and actually use the power as Hillary did, there is resistance. Such behavior threatens power relations and violates the "gentle lady" image.

In 1995 I wrote that Hillary Clinton was on a path that would create a new paradigm for First Ladies and, with it, a new paradigm for gender power in governance and leadership (Guy, 1995). In hindsight, that did not happen. Hillary's period as First Lady represents a pinnacle in gender power relations. First Ladies since her time have elected not to walk through the door she cracked open. President George W. Bush's wife, Laura, played the role of the adoring wife, living her life through his achievements and initiatives rather than through her own individuality. This made her noncontroversial and situated her as his loyal helpmate. She practiced customary gender role behavior and threatened no one. To date, Michele Obama has adopted a more energetic and visible role for herself as First Lady, but her initiatives are firmly within the customary activities of a traditional woman's role. By not pushing boundaries, the spotlight stays on her husband and no one is threatened by out-of-role behavior.

Such highly visible women provide crystalline examples of gender roles. Their activities, speeches, body language, and dress amplify gender differences. By behaving "in role" they cement notions about proper behavior for women. By shorting their own strengths, they diminish their power while helping their husbands to seem more powerful, more in



charge. Now I turn the discussion to a more general presentation of how gender differences affect the performance of women in public service.

## The Difference that Gender Makes

There is a hunger among public administration scholars to know more about the impact of gender on the practice of public administration. I reported the continuous increase in the number of papers published in public administration journals on the subject of gender (Guy, 2010). In the last four decades the number of papers published on the subject has increased each year, starting at fewer than half a dozen to almost a hundred now. This number is far larger than any other dimension of diversity. It indicates an increasing thirst for knowledge on how the difference that gender makes plays out, what effect it has, and what changes are being seen.

Intellectually, men have defined our field of inquiry and women's voices have been rendered into whispers. Suppressed, silenced, marginalized, their views have been written out of what counts as authoritative knowledge. For example, in 1918 Mary Parker Follett wrote about the nexus of citizenship and life in community in *The New State*. She explained how healthy neighborhoods and person-to-person connections provide the best opportunity for the training and practice of citizenship. Ninety years later, public administrationists believe they have discovered something new by extolling the virtues of civil society, networks, and citizenship. Stunned that Follett's writings covered this same ground almost a century earlier, her work is now required reading. Had Follett's work resonated as well during her own time, it is likely that her arguments would have had a substantial influence on the development of the field. As it is, her voice is just now being heard, nearly 100 years later. The fact that gender affects the capacity to engage in meaningful interpersonal relationships results in differences in the scholarship of women and men. Although men are less likely to emphasize the interpersonal aspect of policy development and public management, women are more likely to focus on it.

To look closely at most public institutions is to see that reward structures place greater value on traditional male activities than on women's activities. For example, Joyce Fletcher (1999) makes clear that women are more likely to spend more time "greasing the wheels" so that teams work collaboratively and productively. Their acts of caring, relationship building, and going the extra mile to communicate empathically get "disappeared" with no tangible reward. Instead, men are the beneficiaries of the nurturance such that their acts of decision making, which are enabled by the camaraderie of the team, are counted as the productive output of the group rather than the instrumental activities that precede the actual, tangible, output.

There seems no way out of a conundrum for women in leadership roles. Susan Carroll (2009) reports findings from examination of biases in perceptions of equivalent behavior on the part of men and women. Women leaders are rated lower than their male counterparts when they occupy male-dominated roles and use stereotypically male leadership

styles. When subjects are presented with equivalent resumes, speeches, or essays, one attributed to a man and one attributed to a woman, and the focus is on a stereotypical masculine or gender neutral issue, study after study finds that men are preferred over women (Eagly, Makhijani, & Klonsky, 1992). Based on this and related research, Carroll concludes that the mere fact of running for president and engaging in necessary campaign behaviors costs a woman candidate significant support due solely to her gender. This is especially true in terms of how men perceive her.

Women are trapped: They either stay in a gilded cage, soft, sweet, compliant, and powerless, or step out of it, only to be labeled as preachy, screechy, and angry. They are perceived as communal and nurturant but not agentic, meaning assertive and instrumental. Men, on the other hand, are perceived as the opposite. Because agentic characteristics are attached to leadership, women who wish to be leaders are held to a far higher standard of competence than men. They have to do more to demonstrate their qualifications and abilities. However, when they do they appear too agentic—too masculine—and not sufficiently communal.

Caught in the cross-hairs women lose—to be agentic enough requires being not feminine enough. Not being agentic enough is interpreted as not being strong enough to lead. This fine line is difficult for any woman to tread. Throughout Hillary's campaign she depicted herself as tough and as a fighter. The strategic mistake may have been that she did not simultaneously show herself to be sufficiently communal, if doing so is even possible. It is possible that the next woman to run for president may find herself less constrained by these stereotypes, but Hillary had to take it on the chin because she was the path breaker. Toughness, valued in a man, was deemed icy and rigid in Hillary's case. Whereas a man knows how to "work the system," she was termed "manipulative and calculating" when she did the same.

Although racist comments during the Obama–Clinton race for the nomination were newsworthy, sexist comments went without reproach. And negative news stories were much more frequent for Hillary than for Obama. For example, the Center for Media and Public Affairs (2008) reviewed 933 election news stories that aired on the evening news shows of the three major networks from mid-December 2007 through mid-March 2008. They reported that coverage of Clinton was much less favorable than coverage of Obama on all networks throughout the period. This happened to the extent that a writer for *Newsweek* warned that unless the press actually wanted Clinton to win the White House, it had better stow the sarcastic Hillary one-liners and kill the caustic sound bites lest a backlash among women voters occurred (Depke, 2008). In fact, some analyses of the Obama–Clinton race concluded that had the election occurred a few weeks later, the backlash would have been forceful enough to sway the outcome. Moreover, media criticism of Hillary focused on behaviors for which male candidates are not held accountable: her moods, her emotions, how she looked, the tone of her voice, what she was wearing, and even her laugh (Thomas, with Brant, Breslau, Campo-Flores, & Smalley, 2008).

## Opportunity, Power, and Numbers

Opportunity, power, and numbers are three significant features that differentiate men from women in leadership posts. There is an asymmetry between women and men in public management in terms of these three attributes, to such a point that we have gendered governance. This means that men hold a disproportionate number of key posts, affording them much more discretion and decision-making authority than women have.

The consequence of high or low opportunity, high or low power, and high or low numerical representation affects the delivery of public services. Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) hypothesized that people low in career opportunity behave differently from people high in career opportunity. Opportunity relates to expectations for future prospects for mobility and growth. Those with low opportunity limit their aspirations and seek satisfaction in activities outside of work.

Power is the capacity to mobilize resources. Numbers, better thought of as proportions, refer to how many people of a kind are present. Those whose type is represented in very small proportion tend to be more visible, making them “on display.” They feel more pressure to conform and to make fewer mistakes. They find it harder to gain credibility, they are more isolated and peripheral, and they are more likely to find themselves without mentors and informal peer networks. Thus, they are limited in their source of power-through-alliance. And they are stereotyped and placed in role traps that limit their discretion and effectiveness. The opposite is true for those who are members of the majority.

The number of women in decision-making positions is disproportionately low compared with their numbers in the public workforce. This creates problems associated with tokenism. For example, Frances Perkins, the first woman to be appointed to a cabinet post, was named Secretary of Labor in 1933. She was wary of being identified as a special champion of women. So, she went to great lengths to quell such fears by not catering to concerns of women in the Department’s Women’s Bureau (Sealand, 1983). Such is the dilemma of tokens: If they respond too directly to the expectations of their group, they lose credibility in the eyes of the dominant group. If they ignore the expectations of their own group, they are accused of being mere tokens. If women are too assertive, they are castigated as being too aggressive and “unfeminine,” making them unworthy representatives of their gender. If they are too cooperative and conciliatory, they are seen as being too weak to be an effective representative of their gender. When a chasm exists between stereotypical woman’s behavior and a woman’s actual behavior, the power differential is challenged.

So it is that these three resources, opportunity, power, and numbers, combine to produce self-perpetuating cycles. The confluence of these resources produces upward cycles of advantage or downward cycles of disadvantage. Lacking a critical mass around the conference table, it is difficult for women to break into the upward cycle or out of the downward cycle. But if it is that gender makes a difference in the workplace, then the feminine

strengths of mediation, facilitation, and consensus building are too valuable to ignore. Competing demands on the government require negotiation and consensus building.

The fact that women pay attention to the human dimension is exactly the reason they should have a place on center stage as governments grapple with immense economic, education, health, and environmental challenges. If ever there were a need for building bridges, it is now. If ever there were a need to build on the skills that women bring to governance, it is now. But lessons from organization theory temper optimistic projections of feminine influence with lessons from organizational maintenance habits and cultural inertia. No organization operates in a vacuum devoid of the pushes and pulls that societal values exert. Sex segregation has been a remarkably stable feature of the American workforce. Whereas women are employed in nursing, elementary and secondary education, and social work, men are disproportionately employed in engineering, transportation, defense, and law enforcement.

Glass ceilings confront women as they climb career ladders and prevent them from gaining leadership posts. Glass walls encase women in staff positions and constrain them to jobs that are traditionally reserved for women—jobs thought unworthy for promotions into top management echelons. Sticky floors hold them to low-level, nondiscretionary positions, and trap doors await them when they make the mistake of thinking they have all the respect and power of their male peers (Guy, 1994). These metaphors are levers for examining the realities of women's careers. They combine to make a formidable hurdle for women who challenge the status quo. Hillary almost escaped the glass ceilings and walls. She did escape the sticky floor and, so far, as Secretary of State, she has avoided the trap door. Michelle Obama, on the other hand, is perched on the pedestal, surrounded by her gilded cage.

## Conclusion

Surely there is a middle ground between being preachy, screechy, and angry versus being soft, sweet, and compliant. This is the challenge for women for whom the responsibility lies to find a place between extremes—extremes that silence their voice, sequester their views, and stymie their impact. Like walking a balance beam over a cultural divide, women who address the challenge only succeed when they find just the right touch. The degrees of freedom are few, and to miss the mark is to fall off the beam.

No one believes it is unusual that men hold positions of power. There are still so few women in such positions, however, that it continues to be noteworthy. Women will have met the challenge when no one has a second thought about women heading large agencies and holding Cabinet offices, running for high office and winning, or being married to an officeholder without being condemned to wearing a straitjacket.

If history teaches us anything about women's advancement into public service, it is that progress toward equity is not linear. It occurs only with constant pushing and prodding. Even then, the pattern is more like three steps forward and two steps backward than

a continuous upward slope. But if one were to chart it, it would be a jagged line, not straight and upward. We have a gendered concept of governance with a man in charge and women subordinate to him. The reverse is still an exception.

Cultural images govern promotion as much as, if not more than, actual performance. The legitimacy of governmental action depends on broadening the scope of vision to understand the confluence of opportunity, power, and numbers. Integrating women into public administration requires reweaving the fabric of societal expectations about the rightful place of women. When a voice is but a whisper, there is still much work to be done.

To borrow from Maya Angelou (1969), if the caged bird sings because it is making the best of its circumstances, is there much difference between that and how women subordinate themselves to fit with cultural expectations and appease those around them? If a woman is not to show anger lest she is thought to be out of her proper place—to be uppity—isn't this like being in a cage? If a woman is constrained to being the helpmate rather than the leader, isn't this like being in a cage? Somewhere there is a middle ground that will accommodate not only the strengths of men but also the strengths of women.

## Discussion Questions

1. Select a recent First Lady. Discuss her image portrayed by the media. What attributes are most noticeable and how do these either amplify or negate gender differences?
2. Select a woman in a highly visible public service position. What characteristics does she embody?
3. Ask three of your friends to list the names of two powerful men in public service and the names of two powerful women in public service. Then ask them to describe the most notable characteristics of each. What are the notable gender differences in their descriptions?
4. List and explain three forces that perpetuate the status quo in terms of expectations about men's versus women's use of power.
5. Do you believe that in your lifetime women will have parity with men when it comes to holding positions of power? Explain the reasoning for your answer.

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# Concluding Remarks

Helisse Levine  
Maria J. D'Agostino

The intent of this edited volume is to inform the theory and practice of public administration through a gendered perspective by exploring the ideas, scholarship, and practices of women in public administration. Although many of the topics covered in this volume are not unique to existing research and literature, the theories developed, positions taken, and generalizations made throughout this book are the results of the real lived experiences and familiarities of our female contributors. Whether the context is gender budgeting, trade unions, military organizations, municipal clerks, or the academe, the usefulness of generalizations made, as Stivers (2000) avows, “lies not in the number of other situations from which they have been derived but in what managers or workers make of them in the situation at hand” (p. 134). The contributors to this volume inform the theory and practice of public administration by examining what female public administrators make of their generalizations in the situations at hand. The purpose of this concluding chapter is to emphasize common themes and continued challenges and to offer glimpses to the future.

Given the recent presidential election, one may wrongly conclude that the proverbial glass ceiling is obsolete. However, a closer look by our contributors suggests that although some progress has been made, the public sector falls short of achieving equality. Women still work within the confines of stereotypical societal expectations and male-biased and male-dominated institutional structures. Although the number of women in public service has increased, women still lag in decision-making and leadership positions. After all, how can public administration benefit from the female lens if women remain outside the decision-making realm? Although female-friendly policies are intended to level the playing field, they often fall short when applied within existing male structures with existing male biases (Stivers, 2002). As Mastracci suggests in Chapter 7, “the organizational logic must be challenged to free women from gendered norms surrounding defining, evaluating, and rewarding acceptable behavior.”

Therefore, more women need to be included in the field *and* in the decision-making process. A gender dimension in public administration is not defined simply as providing a different perspective to problem solving. Rather, its value is realized only when the needs to achieve gender equity are articulated. In other words, only by including women in the

conversation will we hear the “female” approach to management and decision making and acknowledge the structural and policy changes needed to accommodate a gender dimension in the workplace. For example, in Kloby’s discussion in Chapter 17 of female strategic managers, we learn that many women are interested not in “balancing” work and family but in “meshing” diverse aspects of their lives.

We are further challenged by the lack of a feminist theory to public administration or perhaps defined by too many. Or rather, is the attempt to find “one model that fits all” like trying to fit a square peg in a round whole? In Chapter 1, Hutchinson advises that theories of feminisms should not be viewed as separate from the public administration discipline or even as merely contributing to the general body of theory in public administration. One hopes, as Hutchinson continues, that all public administrationists will eventually become feminists and that important public administration theories will incorporate feminist perspectives.

Getting back to the question posed in this volume, to what extent since the writings of Stivers, Guy, and other female voices of the past has the administrative state recognized that public administration’s legitimacy problem, enveloped under the purview of the political versus administrative dichotomy, is further defined, recognized, and necessitated by a gender dimension? We encouragingly suggest that a great deal of strides have been made in the revisioning and resituating of women in public administration theory and practice. However, at a time in our history when women’s roles in the public sector and contributions to public service once shadowed by a structurally White male establishment are being celebrated (President Barack Obama proclaimed August 26, 2009 Women’s Equality Day) and acknowledged (signing of the Lilly Ledbetter Fair Pay Act of 2009 and establishment of the White House Council on Women and Girls), much work still remains. Perhaps Hutchinson sums it up best in the first chapter saying “a feminist revisioning of public administration, is indeed possible, but is the work of generations and one we are beginning none too soon.” This edited volume is a contribution toward that work.

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# GLOSSARY

**Affirmative action** Initiative to address discrimination against minorities and women as related to employment and education.

**Alexis de Tocqueville** French historian and author of *Democracy in America Volumes 1 and 2*, written in 1835 and 1840, respectively. The book identifies the importance of ‘associations’ in America for maintaining democratic values in the United States by allowing individuals to voluntarily organize, outside of the state, in order to act upon political and social concerns.

**Analyzing** Awareness of one’s own emotional state and comparing it with the emotions of others.

**Associations** Sometimes called voluntary organizations, the term describes a broad range of organizational structures associated with voluntary participation. Associations may be incorporated or unincorporated and formal or informal.

**Association of Fundraising Professionals** A professional, membership organization for fundraisers that seeks to advance effective and ethical philanthropy. ([www.afpnet.org](http://www.afpnet.org))

**Behaving** Assesses the reaction of the respondent through expressed or suppressed emotion with a desired response.

**Bias avoidance** Behaviors that minimize or conceal family commitments for the purpose of professional success; e.g., avoiding the use of family-friendly policies for fear of being perceived as less capable by colleagues or superiors.

**Biological clock** Reproductive life cycle among women; often used to refer to age-related decline in fertility.

**Career trajectory** A trajectory is a pathway or a direction. For faculty members it is the progression from assistant to associate to full professorship.

**Caretaking** The number of minutes per week engaged in a number of activities, including primary childcare (“babysitting”), housework, laundry, shopping, playing or reading with children in the household, transporting children, doing homework, attending meetings at school or other organizations related to children, physical care for dependent

adults in the household, obtaining or providing medical care for children and adults in the household, as well as other caretaking activities.

**Carnegie classification** Classification system of various universities in the United States. The current system classifies universities into the following categories: 1. Doctoral Granting Universities that further are classified into RU/VH: Research Universities (very high research activity), RU/H: Research Universities (high research activity), and DRU: Doctoral/Research Universities; 2. Master's Colleges and Universities: Master's/L: Master's Colleges and Universities (larger programs), Master's/M: Master's Colleges and Universities (medium programs), and Master's/S: Master's Colleges and Universities (smaller programs); 3. Baccalaureate Colleges: Bac/A&S: Baccalaureate Colleges—Arts & Sciences, Bac/Diverse: Baccalaureate Colleges—Diverse Fields, and Bac/Assoc: Baccalaureate/Associate's Colleges; 4. Associate's Colleges: have 14 different subclassification of all colleges offering 2-year degrees; 5. Special Focus Institutions; and 6. Tribal colleges.

**Chief financial officer (CFO)** The person in a public or private organization with lead responsibility for the financial management, and sometimes, the budget of the organization.

**Child rearing** Tasks and behaviors necessary to raise a child.

**City clerk** A title for a municipal administrator; the duties and responsibilities of a city clerk vary tremendously.

**Civil Rights Act of 1964** Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 states, in part, as follows:

It shall be an unlawful employment practice for an employer—

- (1) to fail or refuse to hire or to discharge any individual, or otherwise to discriminate against any individual with respect to his compensation, terms, conditions, or privileges of employment, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin; or
- (2) to limit, segregate, or classify his employees or applicants for employment in any way which would deprive or tend to deprive any individual of employment opportunities or otherwise adversely affect his status as an employee, because of such individual's race, color, religion, sex, or national origin.

Title VII applies to both public and private employers with 15 or more employees, and, like the EPA, the Civil Rights Act is administered and enforced by the EEOC.

**Civil society** Though the meaning of civil society has changed over time, currently it is commonly viewed as the space in a society made up of social, political, and civic organizations wherein citizens can voluntarily come together, outside of the state and the private market, to express values, act on mutual interests, and share experiences.

**Cognitive skills** Ability to reason and think critically to make sound decisions.

**Cohesion** The shared sense of sacrifice and identity that binds service members to each other.

**Collective bargaining** A process in which representatives of employers and employees meet to discuss and negotiate the terms and conditions of employment. Employees are typically represented in negotiations by a union. The result of collective bargaining procedures is a collective agreement. In the United States collective bargaining is governed by federal and state statutory laws, local ordinances, administrative agency regulations, executive orders, and judicial decisions.

**Combat exclusion** Prohibitions on women participating in direct combat. Combat exclusion rules limit job and assignment opportunities for women and consequently negatively affect their promotion opportunities.

**Cultural imperialism** Defining a global polity from a unified and universal point of view that both privileges and “homogenizes” the white, heterosexual, middle class, Western woman as the paragon for the rest of the world.

**Decolonization** A process wherein a colonized people, by developing a consciousness based on the remnants of the traditional culture, redefine themselves as peoples and reassert the distinct qualities that historically guided their existence.

**Discrimination** The unequal treatment of parties who are similarly situated. Federal law prohibits discrimination on the basis of race, sex, nationality, religion, and age in matters of employment, housing, education, voting rights, and access to public facilities.

**Disparity** A fact of being different in gender, age, or position.

**Dual-service couples** Marriages where both spouses are military members.

**Emotion sensing** Ability to analyze the emotional state of another person and using the information to determine the best response.

**Emotional intelligence** Refers to one’s capacity to discern and manage his or her emotions, and to gauge and respond to the emotions of others. Emotional intelligence has been linked to greater career success than intelligence.

**Emotional labor** Analytical decision making as related to the understanding of the expression of emotions based on presented or omitted facts.

**Equal Employment Opportunity Commission** The EEOC was created by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. It was not until the 1972 amendments, however, that the EEOC was given enforcement authority. The EEOC has been one of the driving forces behind the



fight for gender equity. The EEOC has an affirmative charge to remedy discrimination in the workplace.

**Equal Pay Act of 1963** The Equal Pay Act of 1963 (EPA) is part of the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, as amended, and is administered and enforced by the EEOC. The EPA prohibits sex-based wage discrimination between men and women in the same establishment who perform jobs that require substantially equal skill, effort, and responsibility under similar working conditions (29 U.S.C. §206d (1998)). An employer who violates the EPA can be held liable for damages. Significantly, the EPA requires equal pay for equal work, not equal pay for equal worth. To state a claim under the EPA, the job for which the female employee is being underpaid must be equal or comparable with the job of her higher paid male counterpart.

**Equal protection** The Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment reads, in part, as follows (U.S. Const. amend XIX, §1):

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

**Facilitative leadership** A leadership style that emphasizes building capacity among employees to help them develop their potential.

**Family-friendly policies** Can include any range of resources made available to employees including (paid or unpaid) leaves of absence, on-site childcare facilities or subsidies to purchase childcare services, employee assistance programs, wellness programs, and can also include resources to support employees with elder care responsibilities. Perhaps the most well-known law in this area is the Family and Medical Leave Act (FMLA) of 1993. Per the U.S. Office of Personnel Management (OPM), under FMLA, employees are entitled to a total of up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave during any 12-month period in the event of:

- The birth or adoption of a son or daughter of the employee;
- The care of spouse, son, daughter, or parent of the employee who has a serious health condition; or
- A serious health condition of the employee that makes the employee unable to perform the essential functions of his or her positions.

**Family and Medical Leave Act** Passed by Congress in 1993, the FMLA is administered and enforced by the U.S. Department of Labor. The FMLA requires covered employers to

grant an eligible employee up to a total of 12 weeks of unpaid leave during any 12-month period where one or more of the following conditions apply: the birth and care of a newborn child of the employee, placement with the employee of a child for adoption or foster care, the need to care for an immediate family member with a serious health condition, or the need to take medical leave when the employee is unable to work because of a serious health condition. The FMLA applies to all public agencies and private sector employers who employ 50 or more employees. To be eligible for FMLA benefits an employee must have worked for a covered employer for at least a year. Covered employees also retain their health benefits. The FMLA also contains a “job restoration” provision that requires, upon the employee’s return from leave, that the employer restore the employee to his or her original job or to an equivalent job with equivalent pay, benefits, and other terms and conditions of employment.

**Female academics** Female professors, researchers, and/or administrators.

**Financial management** The process of managing the finances of an organization. In the public sector, this often includes several functions, such as revenue estimating, controlling disbursement of funds, purchasing, and managing cash and investments, debt, risk policies and pensions.

**Flexible work** The ability to exercise autonomy over one’s schedule, whether the number of hours one works per day, the location of work including telecommuting, and/or the days of the week during which one works. Flexible work can also include arrangements such as job sharing.

**Gender and work** The use of the term “gender” is meant to differentiate from the physiological concept of “sex,” which is literally the biological characteristic of being either male or female. Gender is defined in a range of ways, but generally refers to the sociological differences between men and women, arguing that these are social constructs and not physiological facts. For instance, the concepts of “men’s work” and “women’s work” are the product of gendered constructions of work and not the physical requirements of a job that relate to biological differences. An extreme example of a sex-typed activity that is not a social construction is sperm donor and wet nurse. Only men can do the former and only women the latter. Arguably all other sex-typed jobs are categorized as such due to gendered processes, not physiological facts.

**Gender discrimination** The unequal treatment of parties based solely on their gender.

**Gender diversity** Collective mix of men and women in an organization. Higher gender diversity means a more equal division between men and women.

**Gender equity** Equality and fairness under the law for all persons regardless of their gender.

**Gender gap** The difference that exists between males and females based solely on their gender.

**Gender inequality** The systematic (whether unconscious or conscious) differential treatment of males and females in the same social setting.

**Gender integration** Extent to which women are included in the military personnel structure and treated equally with their male counterparts.

**Gender mainstreaming** A management approach that incorporates gender issues into the core policymaking process to encourage full participation of under-represented groups.

**Gender-responsive budgets** Government budgets that incorporate analyses of the differential gender impacts of government expenditure and revenue policies.

**Gendered governance** When men hold a disproportionate number of key posts in government, affording them much more discretion and decision-making authority than women.

**Glass ceilings** Existing barriers that prevent minorities and women from progressing to senior-level positions. For example, qualified women are often passed over for promotion to top posts because the organization's culture dictates masculine characteristics for those in top decision-making posts.

**Glass walls** Barriers to job opportunities based on job segregation; for example, women are often concentrated in staff positions, such as human resources, whereas men are more often concentrated in line positions with direct management responsibility.

**Government budgets** The document or adopted policy that establishes the revenues and expenditures of a government.

**Human resource development** Systematic process of promoting individual and organizational improvement through education, training, and work structuring.

**Hypermasculinity** Expressions of extreme, exaggerated, or stereotypic masculine attributes and behaviors.

**Ideal worker norm** Refers to the structure of work and expectations of productivity among employers that is based on the assumption of traditional family arrangements when men had stay-at-home wives.

**Individual performance** Degree to which an employee lives up to the relevant organizational goals stated by the politicians or (for private organizations) the owners (in this chapter, for example, operationalized as many ISI articles).

**Job satisfaction** The totality of employees' feelings about the various aspects of their work; the emotional appraisal of whether a job lives up to an employee's values.

**Judging** Analyzing the effects of possible responses to determine the best alternative response to use.

**Mentor** Trusted counselor or coach who helps to guide an individual toward success.

**Military sexual trauma** Sexual harassment, assault, and rape that occur in the military setting.

**Municipality** A municipal corporation; the officials who manage a municipal corporation.

**Nineteenth amendment** Adopted in 1920, this amendment to the Constitution disallows states from refusing the right to vote based on sex.

**Nurturant versus agentic** Contrast between traditional women's roles and men's roles. Women are expected to be caring and nurturant, whereas men are expected to be directive, activist, and leaders.

**Ops tempo** Number and length of deployments. The more frequently members deploy and the more they deploy for longer periods, the higher the "ops tempo" is said to be.

**Organizational culture** Definitions of organizational culture vary; however, most definitions incorporate elements introduced by Edgar Schein. The shared values, customs, and norms held by members of an organization that determine how it interprets and reacts to events and its environment.

**Organizational performance** The degree to which an organization lives up to the organizational goals stated by the politicians or (for private organizations) the owners (in this chapter, for example, operationalized as many scientific articles per researcher).

**Organizational politics** Exchange of power and influence between individuals or groups within and outside government entities resulting in differentiated relationships.

**Participatory democracy** A way of communicating that incorporates an egalitarian sense. It is contrasted with political democracy, which uses the vote and political institutions to address societies problems. Participatory democracy works within and outside of political institutions. For Jane Addams, participatory democracy took into account the social claim, the role of the situation and experience, sympathetic understanding, scientific attitude, the dignity of the everyday. In addition, it was viewed as an idealized rule for living and faith.

**Peer review** Assesses the quality of a researcher's work and is often used as a measure for quality control by serving as a screening mechanism for research products that are

deemed below average. Peer review thus serves as a method for assessing scholarly productivity because the work is evaluated by a team of professionals who are considered experts in that area.

**Performance management** A management framework that incorporates an intentional and meaningful performance measurement approach into other management functions, such as strategic planning, budgeting, evaluation, and performance reporting.

**Performance measurement** A management tool that fosters the measurement of how much and how well government delivers a service or product.

**Performance reporting** A strategy for reporting the results of government measurement efforts in the form of reports/documents or other innovative ways that engage the public.

**Pipeline** A vehicle for promoting diversity by exposing people in under-represented groups to opportunities, providing mentorship and training, and supporting the advancement of their careers.

**Power** Use of tactics and resources by individuals to gain advantage in controlling or influencing the decisions and actions of others.

**Power capacity** Amount of power that is ascribed. Gender shapes power capacity such that men have considerable and broad latitude to exercise power, whereas women have limited and highly circumscribed latitude. Public opinion about the proper role of women circumscribes a woman's power and maximizes a man's.

**Pragmatism** A philosophy attributed to Charles Sanders Peirce, William James, John Dewey, and Jane Addams that determines the truth and meaning in concepts and tests their validity through practical consequences. It is also an experimental method of inquiry that is purposeful, grounded in a problematic situation, and provisional. Inquiry is not viewed as an individualistic activity, but rather one that incorporates a community of inquirers.

**Private–public realm** The distinction between the public and private realm has a long history in political thought. This thought centered largely on the reach of government into the private lives of citizens, as well as what, and how, aspects of the private lives of individuals gain traction in the public sphere. Arendt posits a different conception of the private and public realm in society. Arendt states that the private interests of individuals are important, but should not merely be added up and advanced in the public sphere. Rather, individuals should participate in the public sphere simply because the values preserved in the public realm, in essence, are bigger than the interests of the individual; it is the realm of freedom, equality, and the institutions that support citizens long after our individual lives are over.

**Productivity** Output of some kind. Research or scholarly productivity refers to the number of journal articles and books published or accepted for publication and the number of papers presented at regional, national, or international conferences by faculty members.

**Pseudopower** Power invested in a wife of an important man, allowing her to serve as his proxy. Her influence inheres because of her affiliation with an important man rather than in her personal capacity.

**Public office** An elected or appointed government job; a public trust.

**Public organizations** Administrative agencies, commissions, or boards chartered and given oversight by the U.S. Congress.

**Public policy** A course of action or decisions taken by governmental entities to address perceived public problems and issues. Public policies encompass the social, moral, and economic values that connect a society.

**Public sector outcomes** Performance indicators or matrices that measure how well government impacts or benefits a society and its people.

**Public service** Participation in public life; voluntary acts for one's community; government employment.

**Retention** Act of retaining in a position for a period of time.

**Role conflict** Incompatibility between different expectations; often occurs when there are competing demands between personal and professional responsibilities.

**Scientific attitude** The ability to approach a problem or issue with an open mind. This implies a willingness to suspend existing belief systems and examine evidence without bias. Although it is impossible to completely examine a problem without bias, the scientific attitudes is an awareness of possible biases and an intention to use objectivity.

**Settlement house** Rooted in the Progressive Era in the United States, settlement houses developed largely in the late 1800's and early 1900's in urban areas that provided housing, education, job training primarily to women who were immigrants, migrants from rural areas, and former slaves. Settlement houses are commonly viewed as the birthplace of modern social work. Chicago's Hull House and Cleveland's University Settlement are among the most well-known settlement houses in the United States.

**Settlement women** In the late 1800s, middle-class women began to found "settlement houses" in poor and working-class neighborhoods in urban areas. Settlement women focused on helping the poor and disadvantaged by addressing the environmental factors involved in poverty. Settlement women, living side-by-side with poor and working class immigrants, carried out sociological research in the community. They used their settle-



ment house experiences to determine the causes of poverty and social unrest and to propose policy solutions. Settlement women lobbied municipal and state governments to assume responsibility for programs they had initiated. In addition to programs offered within the settlement houses, settlement women lobbied for reform legislation such as minimum wage laws, child labor laws, workplace safety standards, and sanitation regulations.

**Sexual harassment** According to the EEOC both men and women can be the victims of harassment; Harassment can occur in same-sex situations; The harasser can be the victim's supervisor or coworker; The victim does not have to be the person being harassed, but could be anyone affected by the offensive conduct, and; The harasser's conduct must be unwelcome. The EEOC guidelines advise the victim to inform the harasser directly that the conduct is unwelcome and must stop. Furthermore, it is crucial that the victim use the employer complaint procedure or grievance system to notify supervisors that the harassment is occurring.

**Social claim** During Jane Addams' time women were expected to devote time and talent to the home (family claim) and avoid contact with the problems of wider society (social claim). The family and social claim were viewed as in conflict. Addams showed that the demands of family and society were well within the women's sphere. Indeed, avoiding the social claim (unsanitary water/sewer) would actually threaten the family.

**Social justice** In the context of sustainable development, the inclusion and careful consideration of human equity in decision making, emphasizing economic and social well-being.

**Socialization** Process by which an individual learns to become a member of a group by learning the group's norms and values and the individual's social roles.

**Sticky floors** Barriers to job mobility because one's job is stereotypically a "woman's job," such as clerical posts or social casework. Having management experience in "women's jobs" is often not given as much credit toward promotions as having management experience in traditional "men's jobs."

**Straight counts** A count of various articles, books, or monographs published by an author. Straight counts are collected through conducting an author search of various indices or through administering surveys.

**Strategic manager** Managers who conduct their day-to-day business with long-term and broad goals of the organization in mind, while finding and promoting the linkages of the short-term intricacies associated with daily operations and service delivery to these broader goals.

**Succession planning** A process that facilitates promoting from within an organization by identifying talented employees and developing them for future leadership.

**Sustainability** A philosophy that supports the long-term management of natural resources so that resources are preserved for future generations at their current level or better.

**Sustainable development** Planning and action that integrates the principles of sustainability in decision making.

**Sympathetic understanding** The ability to place oneself in the circumstances of another. Jane Addams' social ethics and democracy rested on this principle. Sympathetic understanding helps one make sense of others experiences and thus facilitates meaningful communication and social change. Sympathetic understanding and the resultant fellowship facilitated participatory democracy because it was an alternative to dogmatism, rigid moralism, and self-centered righteousness, which stops communication.

**Systems theories** A theoretical approach that explores the social, economic, and natural interrelationships of society, the environment, civil society, and other systems.

**Tenure** Status granted to a professor (typically after 5 or 6 years of full-time employment) that provides protection from dismissal.

**Tenure clock stop** University policies may vary; however, a tenure clock stop typically refers to a 1- to 2-year pause in the tenure clock. Tenure clock stops do not require the faculty member to be on leave.

**Theory of difference** The idea that specifics of women's differences should be exalted rather than compromised in the equalization process by recognizing individual diversity in terms of national, linguistic, religious, and cultural forms.

**Time use** The number of minutes per day engaged in caretaking activities. Respondents to the time use survey completed a detailed time use diary for one 24-hour period during a "typical week" as identified by the respondent.

**Trailing spouse** Professional who follows his or her partner to a new job.

**Trap doors** Figurative term that captures how those who perturb the status quo are treated by their employer. For example, those who take umbrage with discriminatory workplace practices and file complaints of sexual harassment or unequal pay often find themselves being reassigned to undesirable tasks or unpleasant office locations and/or withdrawal of promotion opportunities.

**Union** A group of workers who band together to achieve shared goals in the workplace. They seek a voice in determining the nature of the employment relationship, improving working conditions, achieving dignity in the workplace, and providing meaningful input in decision making. Unions often seek protection for members against unfair treatment and discharge that may threaten job security and impede job performance.

**Variables** Key factors that present a certain outcome.

**Women faculty** In this study women faculty refer to female full-time academics working of a four-year college or university. These individuals hold a doctorate degree in Public Administration or Public Policy.

**Women managers** Women in the federal government who supervise others or who are responsible for the effective and efficient administration of programs.

**Work-life balance** Ensuring adequate time for both professional and personal activities and responsibilities.

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