Karin Klenke

Women in Leadership

Contextual Dynamics and Boundaries

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WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP: CONTEXTUAL DYNAMICS AND BOUNDARIES

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BY

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INVESTOR IN PEOPLE

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To the pantless horseman

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Preface

Women leaders, borrowing the title of Kelly's (2006) book, live in "powerful times." Expanding life expectancies, new fertility and contraceptive technologies, cures for diseases, knowledge economies, and advances in biotechnology and cognitive science have established a threshold that potentially enhances the quality of life for many people in developed and developing countries. On the other hand, in many parts of the world, problems of global climate change, environmental sustainability along with fears generated by terrorism, and nuclear and biological warfare are also among some of the critical factors that affect our lives in the years to come.

What does the future for women leaders in the various contexts discussed in this book hold? Or more importantly, how do women view their future as leaders in different contexts as organizations are transforming themselves from centralized, rational, efficient, machine-like structures with clearly defined lines of authority to decentralized, networked entities? What is the future of women's leadership in the global environment characterized by ambiguity, uncertainty, increasing interdependence, and interconnectivity in which managing paradox is an individual and organizational change and a key leadership responsibility and competency?

Envisioning probable and alternative futures is the work of scenario planners who are mapping future scenarios to allow leaders to make better decisions. Scenarios offer a link between a leader's vision, organizational strategy, and the future. According to Schwartz (1991), scenarios represent dimensions of the future that reflect the driving forces such as those mentioned above of that future. The author worked extensively with Royal Dutch/Shell after the company lost millions of dollars of profit, and used scenario planning to help make the company the largest in the world.

According to Wikipedia (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scenario_planning), scenario planning is based on systems thinking that allows the inclusion of factors that are difficult to formalize, such as novel insights about the future, deep shifts in values, unprecedented innovations, or significant shifts in demography. Women leaders skilled in scenario planning can, for example, identify several probable futures capturing their career path not knowing what kinds of careers to pursue when traditional progression through the ranks of management and numerous industries will no longer exist in a decade or two. Or they can design scenarios around a global world of quality for men and women knowing that such a scenario is more than a couple of decades away. Alternatively, they can create a scenario that paints a future in which women rule the Internet because presumably it is genderless. In all cases, forces and drivers of change need to be identified and assembled into a viable framework from which multiple scenarios can be generated. But whatever scenarios emerge from this activity, according to Kelly (2006), "ultimately the test of a good scenario is whether it helps us to see the world differently, read the morning paper with a new eye and to connect the dots and find patters that really matter in our future" (p. 245).

The contexts presented in this book were chosen because of their paradoxical nature. Despite the fact that women have made significant inroads in these contexts, they remain by and large male dominated illustrating the overriding paradoxical nature of women's leadership. In writing this book, I have consulted a variety of sources including scholarly work on women in leadership, the popular press, the world of the arts and technology, interspersed some of my own research on women in leadership, and have documented the disparities between the scientific literature and public opinion of women leaders as filtered through the mass media. The vignettes at the opening of each chapter are intended to portray a women leader in the specific context the chapter represents. In addition, in some cases, the leadership experiences of the women depicted in the chapter opening also illustrate key concepts. For example, in Chapter 4 on women business leaders, the story of Sallie Krawcheck, Chief Financial Officer at Citigroup, captures key concepts that are central in discussions of women in leadership such as the glass ceiling and the glass cliff. Although I have attempted to cover women leaders not only in different contexts but also different cultures, from Scandinavia to China, France to Kenya, the overall anglocentric flavor of the research presented here is undeniable.

Chapter 1 sets the stage for some of the recurring themes that undergird the chapters of this book — changing expectations of women leaders, yet persistence of communal stereotypes in many contexts including the media, arts, religion, and military; the gendered nature of organization; the importance of contexts and women leaders' ability to cross contexts such as moving from CEOs of major corporations into the political arena; and the dynamic tension women leaders experience all over the globe. Perhaps the most consistent common thread is the paradoxes women leaders are confronted with. In just about every context, I discovered paradox. Paradox is an important force in women's leadership which has received little attention in the literature.

Chapter 2 takes the reader on a historical journey chronicling women's achievements and competence as leaders from ancient civilizations through the 20th century. Since recorded history, women have served in positions as queens of nations, empresses, and tribal chiefs and occupied leadership roles in different contexts such as politics, science, and the arts. Some of the women leaders presented in this chapter such as Cleopatra and Messalina were famous and infamous. Others such as Eleanor Roosevelt transformed themselves from handmaidens behind a leading man into accomplished leaders in their own right.

Political leadership, the topic of Chapter 3, has a long and distinguished history. Political leaders often, but not always, derive power from the office they hold which gives them the authority and power to lead in times of peace and war. The discussion of female politicians was fueled by the 2008 presidential elections in the United States in which Hillary Clinton sought the presidency but lost to Barack Obama, and Sarah Palin ran as vice presidential nominee on the Republican ticket. The ability of female political leaders to handle war situations and international relations is often questioned. Despite a diversity of theoretical approaches to political leadership, the field lacks a model that illuminates the interactions between leaders and followers in the context of politics.

A woman as business and corporate leader is the topic of Chapter 4. As in politics, historically men have been perceived as being better fit for corporate leadership. As the economy continues its transformation from a manufacturing economy to a knowledge-based one, women's buying power is steadily increasing and more and more leadership opportunities are developing for them in this context. A recent report called women the "Third Billion" meaning that globally, they are the next emerging economy. Women business leaders have demonstrated that they have the ability to articulate a vision and use their talents, skills, and political savvy to break the glass ceiling. However, the percentage of women CEOs has yet to pass the 10% mark. Gender-based barriers to senior leadership positions in corporations include sex-role stereotyping and lack of access to social networks.

Chapter 5 focuses on information technology as the defining context. Women are finding information-intensive organization an environment congenial to their leadership style, especially in small- and medium-sized IT. Information and communication technologies have led to the development of virtual organizations in which leaders and followers are geographically and temporally dispersed and in which leaders must assume more responsibility for working with followers who are at a distance. Leadership mediated by technology is known as e-leadership as a new conceptual framework. In the aftermath of the dot.com bust, many women are starting their own e-commerce companies. With the explosive growth of online social networks, women have a new weapon to fight for visibility and recognition as leaders.

In Chapter 6 on the mass media which includes newspapers, television, film, and advertisement, women leaders are queens and villains. Despite the abundance of women on television, in leading roles in soap operas, cop shows, lawyer shows, and drama, the mass media remains a macho industry. Recent mergers between entertainment, telecommunications, and publishing firms have created huge monopolies that are dominated by men and the industry remains defined by a macho culture and patriarchal ideology. Leading women in this context include the queen of talk shows, Oprah Winfrey; female evening news anchors such as Dianne Sawyer, Katie Couric; and Oscar winning film director Kathryn Bigelow.

Chapter 7 analyzes women's leadership in the context of sports which, unlike other contexts such as technology which are assumed to be gender neutral, are clearly split along gender lines with some sports such as gymnastics sex-typed feminine and others such as wrestling sex-typed masculine. Women's participation in most sports has been greatly enhanced by Title IX legislation, a central contextual element, which mandates equal access of female athletes to participate in collegiate sports. In addition to leading female athletes in a variety of sports ranging from tennis to ski, women also find leadership opportunities as coaches and athletic directors.

The military context featured in Chapter 8 is contextually defined by its hierarchical structure, command-and-control leadership style, and increasingly shaped by computer and communications networks. Since the military academies opened their doors to women in 1975, women are playing important roles in all service branches in U.S. military organizations. They occupy leadership roles such as intelligence analysts and fighter pilots but are excluded from active combat. An important theoretical development in this context is terror management theory which postulates that when faced with their own mortality, individuals buffer themselves by developing cultural world views that provide meaningful interpretations of mortality salience and by relying on their self-esteem as psychological defenses. Female military leaders are now considered essential to the operation and transformation of the U.S. military as it adjusts to the changing nature of warfare and takes on new functions such as peacekeeping and humanitarian and disaster relief.

Women leaders in the world religions and the church, discussed in Chapter 9, are involved in a context defined by cultural and individual views of a supreme being, religious doctrine, personal charisma, tradition, and religious practices. According to many classic interpretations of scripture and church history, female leadership is not acceptable. In the United States, there are significant differences between democratically oriented religions such as Christianity and Judaism and authoritarian religions such as Roman Catholicism where gender equality is a distant goal. In many denominations, the ordination of women remains a contested issue. While there have been numerous female religious leaders throughout history from biblical times through the present, the recent spirituality movement, often described as a new paradigm, has yet to produce a female leader.

Chapter 10 features women leaders in the scientific, educational, and artistic arenas. The underrepresentation of women leaders in science is most clearly seen in the gender differences in the award of the Nobel Prize which has been given to more than 300 men compared to only 10 women. Despite affirmative action programs, highly publicized sex discrimination cases, and organized campaigns to raise awareness, women scientists lag behind their male counterparts, are paid less, receive fewer honors and grants, and hold fewer leadership positions. In education, which is usually considered a discipline congenial for women, at the upper echelons as university presidents for example, relatively few women become institutional leaders. In the arts including music, dance, painting, and sculpture which are discussed in this chapter, large gender gaps persist with few extraordinary leaders in each field such as Marin Alsop in music, Martha Graham in dance, Elizabeth Peyton in contemporary painting, and Magdalena Abakanowicz in sculpture.

Chapter 11 on global women leaders covers four different contexts: politics, information technology, sports, and female Nobel Peace Prize Laureates. In all four contexts, women representing every continent have demonstrated extraordinary accomplishments on the world stage; however, they remain the exception. Significant differences across the globe afford different leadership opportunities to women in these contexts. Strongly egalitarian Scandinavian countries stand in sharp contrast to most Latin American countries and the Islamic world where equality in the workplace is a distant goal. Asian countries including China, Japan, Singapore, and India are emerging as dominant economies and cultural forces in the 21st century where women are playing a central role in the transformation of developing countries, in part because Asian countries are producing a highly educated workforce as one of their greatest economic assets. Development of female global leaders has become an economic imperative for many organizations around the world.

In Chapter 12, I reflected on my own leadership journey which has been influenced by both changes and the continuance of the status quo. Women leaders in many parts of the world have leadership opportunities that never existed before as a result of technology, globalization, and demographic shifts that have produced more female graduates than in the past and created a workforce which consists almost 50% of women. At the same time, objectifying women in contexts such as sports and the media or the patriarchal ideology that permeates contexts such as the military and the church have changed very little. Current research findings on women leaders are intriguing because they illuminate the paradox of change versus persistence of the status quo. The epilog also discusses the need of equal access to a diverse array of leadership development, education, and training programs and for organizations to grow women as global leaders.

Working on this manuscript has further fueled my passion for the subject matter. Often students ask me why I study leadership and my answer is threefold; teaching, researching, and practicing leadership for me is (1) intellectually challenging because of the paradoxes and multiple contradictions that it entails; (2) emotionally compelling; and (3) spiritually uplifting and transcendent. If this book convinces readers of the extraordinary nature of the study of leadership, its complexities and perplexities, the need of us as women leaders to continuously reinvent ourselves and the rewards, successes, and failures that shape our lives as women and leaders, and the power of the "both/and" thought processes, we are positioned to develop the next generation of passionate women leaders who lead effectively in the face of many polarities and paradoxes such as completion and collaboration, globalization and localization, centralization and decentralization, and hard power and soft power. As Kelly so eloquently summarizes it, "reframing our current thinking about leadership to acknowledge its increasingly paradoxical nature may help us create new approaches to liberating the talents of a new and much needed generation of leaders, well suited for their time and worth well worthy of being followed" (p. 258). This statement bodes well for women.

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Chapter 1

Women's Leadership in Context

One of Wall Street's most powerful women, Erin Callan, CFO of Lehman Brothers before the collapse of the financial giant, was the first woman to ever serve on the executive committee of a major US financial institution. Described as smart, sassy, and charismatic, Callan, the so-called Greta Garbo of Lehman Brothers who started off as a tax attorney and led some of the most important initial public offerings in the financial world, appeared to have won a high stakes game of last woman standing when she landed the chief number crunching job at Lehman Brothers in 2008 (Clark, 2010). Callan, the daughter of a police officer, abruptly ended a stellar 13-year tenure at Lehman Brothers just before the firm filed Chapter 11. She held the CFO position for six months after serving as investment banker for the company and then rose to hedge fund manager. Her appointment as CFO made her a bona fide breaker of the glass ceiling. But her promotion also stunned many people because she lacked a background in accounting, treasury, or operations — the usual routes to the CFO position (Sellers, 2010). The biggest mistake Callan made was to accept a job she was not qualified for. She was the unwitting face of a poorly judged effort by Lehman to boost diversity in its top ranks, promoting an individual who was not remotely qualified and making a big to do about it (Clark, 2010).

During the bankruptcy proceedings, she was one of Lehman's executives who had to account to the public and had to convince panicked shareholders that Lehman was in good shape. The CFO delivered — Callan succeeded, and Lehman's stock price jumped 15% in an hour. As long as she was on the phone with shareholders, Lehman's share price kept going up. When Lehman landed in the vortex of the financial crisis and CEO Fuld retreated from public view, for a short moment, Callan became the face of the firm (Sellers, 2010).

Accounts of her departure are conflicting. According to Callan, she quit Lehman in June 2008 claiming that she would not have left the firm because of the strong organizational culture that characterized the company before the meltdown. Newscasts, on the other hand, reported that she was ousted by her mentor and boss, Lehman's CEO Dick Field who was lampooned in the media for greed, arrogance, and hubris as rumors about the firm's imminent demise swirled (Clark, 2010). However, even without the meltdown in the financial system, Callan may have gone as far as she could having hit the glass wall. Although several major financial institutions including Merrill Lynch and Citigroup underwent CEO searches recently, no women appeared on any of their short *lists. Would senior female executives like Callan be promoted to CEO if there were more women on the board of directors of financial institutions?*

After Lehman filed for bankruptcy in September 2008, regulators continued to probe the downfall and Callan's role in it. She has been accused of breaching her duties by ignoring red flags over contentious deals to mask the company's financial condition (Clark, 2010). She has been subpoenaed by federal authorities and is likely to face lawsuits from investors and creditors. A few months before Lehman Brothers filed for Chapter 11, Callan took a position with Credit Suisse running the global hedge fund business only to depart five months later. After a short stint there, Callan vanished from the business world.

For a while, Erin Callan was the most powerful woman on Wall Street — a bright, glamorous figure which Wall Street had never seen in a finance chief. She burned out even more quickly (Sellers, 2010). She had adopted a risky, high-profile strategy, gave frequent television interviews to assure the world that nothing was wrong. Her flair for fashion attracted ample media attention which presented her stylish appearance as a refreshing change from the male executives surrounding her. After having experienced a short-lived dream as Wall Street's most powerful woman, Callan's fall raised new questions about female executives in the financial sector, particularly during a time of economic crisis and recession.

Introduction

Callan's story illustrates a number of topics discussed in this chapter and themes resonating throughout the book: women's spectacular successes in male-dominated industries and professions, education and politics, the importance of context in shaping leadership and most recently the economic recession as a context for women's leadership, and new leadership metaphors such as the glass cliff and the labyrinth. Callan took on a high-profile job just as Lehman Brother's financial problems and accusations of sing misleading gimmicks to bolster the firm's were surfacing. Partly because of her gender, she may have been promoted into an impossible, no-win position dubbed as the "glass cliff" (Ryan & Haslam, 2007), which refers to an organization's decision to move women into senior executive positions when the company is in a crisis or distress. At the time of Callan's promotion to CEO, Lehman was undergoing an aggressive company-wide effort to boost diversity in its top ranks. As will be shown later in this chapter, women tend to occupy these dangerous leadership positions, when things are getting hairy. When things are going great, the top leadership positions typically go to men.

Callan's story also illustrates women's continued underrepresentation in certain sectors of the industry such as finance, the lack of female voices on corporate top management teams and board of directors, persisting salary, and health care premium differentials for women and men. As a by-product of radical changes in organization structure from hierarchical, top-down to team-based, collaborative forms, more leadership opportunities for women exist. As a result of increasing globalization and the opening of new markets in developing countries, we are witnessing a new class of female leaders: female entrepreneurs. In view of the changing expectations regarding women's role in the family and the workplace and new gender roles for both sexes, the male model of leadership, which has dominated theory, research, and practice, is fading away. Is the economic recession becoming the Berlin Wall in the demise of leader-centric (spelled male) approaches to leadership? Does the economic recession mark the coming end of the era of male dominance or the macho paradigm? Is the 2008 Wall Street implosion which helped to foreshadow the broader economic crisis the Cassandra of women's leadership? In some modern adaptations of Greek mythology, the Cassandra metaphor refers to situations in which valid warnings (i.e., the current economic recession as breakthrough for women's leadership) are dismissed or disbelieved?

Leadership is one of the most studied issues of our times. There are close to 3000 books on the topic listed on Amazon, as well as a variety of academic, practitioner, and popular journals, conferences, education programs offering undergraduate, masters, and doctoral degrees in leadership. However, as Fairhurst's work (2007) attests the study of leadership remains fraught with tension, ambiguity, uncertainty, and paradox: so much scholarly fire and fury, so little illumination. On the one hand, our general fascination with leadership — and a concomitant belief that leaders are the key to solving our problems — remains intense. On the other hand, this fascination is combined with a diminishing confidence that leaders in politics, business, and the church can deliver anything worthwhile at all (Tourish, 2008). Meindl (1985) argued that despite the sheer volume of theory and research devoted to the study of leadership, we have been unable to generate an understanding of leadership that is both intellectually compelling and emotionally satisfying. As a result, the concept of leadership remains largely elusive and enigmatic.

The study of leadership, as we know it today, is based on the paradigms we have formulated, the theories we have developed, the methodologies we have established, and the benchmarks for the practice of leadership we have put into use in a state of transition. Is the study of leadership at the cusp of a paradigm shift? We have seen incremental shifts for decades. For example, transactional/transformational leadership (Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978, 2003) has been the poster child of leadership theory for over 30 years. Nevertheless, the theory still represents a two-dimensional model of leadership like earlier theories such as democratic and autocratic, task- and people-oriented, or initiating structure and consideration leadership styles. A paradigm shift, also called a scientific revolution (Kuhn, 1962), requires a radical break from existing models of leadership. Paradigm shifts happen when enough anomalies have accrued that the dominant paradigm can no longer accommodate. For example, in the case of transactional and transformational leadership, the theory cannot account for leadership phenomena that we are observing in team-based organizations where the single, omnipotent leader who resides at the apex of the organization has been replaced by a top management team populated by senior executives in the C-suite, a group of "chief officers" such as the chief executive officer (CEO), chief operation officer, (COO), chief financial officer (CFO), chief diversity officer (CDO), or chief information officer (CIO). The number of chief officers has greatly multiplied recently to include new position titles such as chief learning officer (CLO), chief ethics officer, and chief knowledge officer (CKO) signifying a shift in leadership from the individual to team or dispersed leadership. However, at this very top level of the organizational hierarchy, the number of women occupying positions in the C-suite remains very small.

Traditional theories of leadership such as trait (e.g., Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948, 1974), behavior (e.g., Halpin & Winer, 1957; Lickert, 1967), contingency (e.g., Fiedler, 1967; House, 1971; Kerr & Jermier, 1978) have given way to ''new'' theories (Bryman, 1992) including transactional/transformational (e.g., Bass, 1985; Burns, 1978, 2003) and visionary leadership (Sashkin & Sashkin, 2003). Although traditional theories have focused on physical, personality, or cognitive traits, behavioral styles, and specific situations, the new theories have shifted the emphasis from the focus on leaders as omnipotent heroes and saviors whose performance accounts for organizational successes and failures to leadership processes which include followers a vital part of the leader–follower equation. Virtually all of the traditional theories are leader centric. In contrast, the new theories take followers into account and some of them offer follower-centered perspectives (e.g., Meindl, 1985). As an alternative to the leader-centric theories, the author proposed a follower-centric approach that views both leadership and its consequences as largely constructed by followers and hence influenced by followers' cognitive processes and inter-follower influence processes (Meindl & Shamir, 2006). The newer leadership theories also increasingly take into account the role of time and place in leadership, as leaders and followers can be geographically dispersed cutting through time zones and localities around the globe.

In addition to traditional and new leadership theories, we are now evidencing the emergence of a wide array of alternative models characterized by a focus on core concepts such as spiritual (e.g., Fry, 2003), authentic (e.g., Avolio, Gardner, Walumba, Luthans, & May, 2004; Gardner & Avolio, 2005; Harter, 2001; Klenke, 2005a, 2007), chaos and complexity (e.g., Marion & Uhl-Bien, 2001; Schneider & Somers, 2006; Uhl-Bien, Marion, & McKelvey, 2007), relationality (e.g., Uhl-Bien, 2006), ethical leadership (e.g., Ciulla, 2004; Brown & Treviño, 2006), and transcendence (e.g., Carey, 1992; Crossan, Veran, & Nanjad, 2008). These emergent theories attempt to accommodate new organizational structures characterized by more fluid, temporal arrangements, rapidly changing technologies, increased globalization, and changing workplace demography. If we were to use one word to characterize the contemporary study of leadership, that word is diversity: diversity of definitions, theories and paradigms; diversity of gender and ethnicity; and diversity of contexts. Furthermore, this body of literature continues to offer a contradictory and at times confusing picture that illustrates the dissonance between theory and practice. For example, on the one hand, the media (see Chapter 6) and popular literature emphasize women's success in leadership, and yet, on the other hand, they highlight their inability to succeed, especially in high-profile positions (Lamsa & Sintonen, 2001).

Much of what we currently know about leadership was learned in the context of hierarchical bureaucratic structures. Embedded in this form of organization is both an ideology that supports sharp gradations of power and authority and a centralized flow of information and top-down directions from the CEO as the omnipotent leader residing at the apex of the organization. The prevalent leadership style has been command and control with power and authority resting with the CEO and channeled down the organizational hierarchy.

Women in Leadership

In 1996, I published a book entitled *Women and Leadership: A Contextual Perspective* (Klenke, 1996) which chronicled how and why women rose to leadership and traced some of the obstacles women encounter in their quest for leadership and why they were underrepresented in leadership roles in many profit and nonprofit organizations. If women did occupy leadership positions, they were often evaluated less favorably than their male counterparts with similar backgrounds and experience and earned considerably less than their male colleagues. This is not only the prevailing pattern in the United States, but current research from abroad (e.g., Equal Opportunity Commission, 2007) indicates that based on a major study by the Equal Opportunity Commission in the UK women in the United Kingdom are also significantly underrepresented in senior leadership roles across public and private sector industries and professions.

The term ‘‘glass ceiling’’ was coined by Hymowitz and Schelhardt (1986) to denote an invisible barrier to the upward movement of women and minorities in management. It is a barrier that appears invisible but is strong enough to hold women back from top-level jobs merely because they are women rather than because they lack job-relevant skills, education, or experience (Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Morrison, White, Van Velsor, & the Center for Creative Leadership, 1992; Powell & Butterfield, 1994). Thus, even those women who rose steadily through the ranks eventually crashed into an impenetrable barrier while men are more likely to be accelerated into management positions by means of the ‘‘glass escalator’’ (Williams, 1992). For women, the executive suite seemed within their grasp, but they just could not break through the glass ceiling. The glass ceiling became a popular metaphor to explain why so few women moved up the organizational hierarchy and why they tended to be faced with more stringent requirements for promotion. Recent evidence suggests that women are breaking through the glass ceiling in many organizations (Dreher, 2003). For example, Goodman, Fields, and Blum (2003) found that women were more likely to crack the glass ceiling in organizations that have lower management positions filled by women, higher management turnover, lower average management salary levels, place greater emphasis on development and promotion of employees, and operate in nonmanufacturing industries. This study, along with others, showed that institutionalized structural characteristics and organizational practices represent impediments that make it difficult for women to break through the glass ceiling.

When women do break through the glass ceiling and reach senior executive positions, they are often faced with yet another barrier dubbed the ‘‘glass wall.’’ The glass wall became a metaphor for a double-pane barrier symbolic of the invisible barrier that surrounds the inner sanctum of powerful senior male executives. The glass wall implies that although some companies are promoting women to senior management levels, many women who shatter the glass ceiling are faced with yet another hurdle which often poses a bigger challenge and prevents them from rising to upper echelon leadership positions. Ryan and Haslam (2005, 2007) extended the glass ceiling and the glass wall concepts to yet another metaphor which suggests that women are likely to find themselves on a ''glass cliff'' — an allusion to the fact that women's leadership positions in some organizations are relatively risky or precarious because they are promoted in companies or divisions that are in a crisis. Such positions, according to the authors, ''are potentially dangerous for women who hold them, as companies that experience consistently bad performance are likely to attract attention, both to their financial circumstances and to those on their board of directors'' (Haslam & Ryan, 2008, p. 531).

Klenke (1997a) introduced the metaphor of the labyrinth to capture women's journeys as leaders. In Greek mythology, the labyrinth located on the island of Crete housed the Minotaur, a monster with a bull's body and a human head feasting on young Athenian girls and boys who were offered to break the curse hanging over the city of Athens. In order to break this spell, the gods sent Theseus, son of Poseidon, to kill the Minotaur. Ariadne, daughter of the king of Crete, fell in love with Theseus and furnished him with a ball of thread which guided himself out of the labyrinth after he slayed the Minotaur. I used the labyrinth metaphor to underscore the image of women leaders who make some initial inroads in the labyrinth of leadership but then may not find their way out (i.e., advancing to higher levels) without the thread of Ariadne. This thread may consist of a new leadership paradigm, new organizational structures that are more congenial to women's progress as leaders or revitalized industries that offer greater gender equality.

Eagly and Carli (2007b) agree that the labyrinth is a better metaphor than the glass ceiling for what confronts women in their leadership pursuits. The authors note that it is

> An image with a long and varied history in ancient Greece, India, Nepal, native North and South America, medieval Europe and elsewhere. As a contemporary symbol, it conveys the idea of a complex journey toward a goal worth striving for. Passage through a labyrinth is not simple or direct, but requires persistence, awareness of one's progress, and a careful analysis of the puzzles that lie ahead. For women who aspire to top leadership, routes exist but there are full of twists and turns, both expected and unexpected. Because all labyrinths have a viable route to the center, it is understood that the goals are attainable. The metaphor acknowledges obstacles but it is not ultimately discouraging. (p. x)

Despite the many roadblocks that appear to exist, a number of women have reached top management positions, permitting researchers to examine factors associated with their success. Furst and Reeves (2008) argued that women's emergence as leaders is due to the interaction of perceived personality characteristics, leadership styles, and accumulated experiences with the demands of a turbulent business environment. The authors note that "this type of environment demands leaders who communicate openly, encourage collaborative decision-making, take risks, share burdens with subordinates, and demonstrate integrity" (p. 381). In contemporary organizations which are flatter and less hierarchical compared to traditional bureaucratic organizations, women leaders are often consensus builders, conciliators, and collaborators; they are transformational leaders who are motivational and flexible in their leadership style who transcend their self-interests for the good of the group or organization.

Contextualizing Leadership

Klenke (1996) argued that context influences what leaders must do and what they can do. A leader's mission and purpose — her reason for serving as a leader in her family, organization, church, community, church, or nation — is partly dictated by the demands and constraints of context. At all levels — individual, group, organizational, and societal — leadership is tied to context. It is context that shapes the process of leadership. Therefore, examining women and leadership from this perspective means analyzing different contexts such as business, politics, technology, sports, the media, and the global village. According to Klenke (1996):

> Contextual factors set the boundaries within which leaders and followers interact and determine the constraints and demands that surround the leader-follower dyad. Therefore requirements and demands for leadership differ depending on contextual dynamics and boundaries. For example, exercising leadership in the context of political systems in which leaders are appointed or elected is different from practicing leadership in social movements such as the women's and civil rights movements, where leaders emerge as a function of a crisis. Evaluating a leading artist calls for a different set of criteria compared to assessing the contributions of a leading scientist. Religion, science, the arts, and informal and formal organizations are complex networks of relationships, each with its own contextual parameters. The context of leadership may be private or public, a small or large organization, an affluent or poor community, or a developed or underdeveloped nation, each with its own distinguishing contextual features. (p. 18)

In the past, leadership researchers paid little attention to the role of context in leadership theory and research. Porter and McLaughlin (2006), for example, estimated that three out of every four empirical articles ignore followers and organizational contexts, focusing instead on leader behaviors. The focus on individual leader behaviors, however, overlooks the broader social, political, or global forces that shape a given context. Likewise, little attention has been paid to the dynamic, interactional nature of different types and levels of context and therefore fails to explore the depth and complexity of the very phenomenon of context in the study of leadership. As a result, it remains unclear how far context influences individuals and, alternatively, the extent to which individuals draw on different contexts at different points in time to construct their own understanding of leadership. The leader-centric emphasis is related to our fascination with leaders (Burns 1978, 2003), the fact that popular conceptions of leadership focus on the top of the organization and organizational structures for answers to organizational problems (e.g., Heifitz, 1994; Kellerman, 2007; Meindl, Ehrlich, & Dukerich, 1988), and the fact that the simultaneous analysis of leaders, followers, and context is difficult have been cited as reasons for the lack of attention to context.

However, in recent years, the importance and criticality of context are increasingly recognized and often mandated in empirical studies because it is the context that shapes the performance standards and expectations which often define the roles of leaders and their spheres of influence. Osborn, Hunt, and Jauch (2002) referred to context as the "neglected side of leadership" (p. 797). The authors noted that leadership and its effectiveness are dependent on the context. Change the context and leadership changes. In most organizations, there is little need for innovative leadership when organizations face little conflict from the inside or the outside, when resources are abundant, and the environment is stable. However, when business conditions change, leadership is not only critical, it may be the sole path to successful adaptation and survival. This path is illuminated by numerous contextual factors which impinge upon the organization, leaders, and followers and seem to multiply during times of uncertainty and turbulence. As a result, research from a broader or systems perspective that includes context is needed.

However, the idea that leadership is shaped by context is by no means new. As far back as the 1960s, theorists such as Fiedler (1967) and House (1971) proposed that leader behaviors are contingent on situational factors such as follower readiness. House and Aditya (1997) discussed various situational variables such as the external environment, technology, organizational structure, and levels of management as structural characteristics. Hunt (1991) argued that context not only relates to leader behaviors but is also instrumental in shaping organizational outcomes. The author offered a compelling view that context shapes leader behavior, and that leader behavior, in turn, shapes context within a systems paradigm of organizations.

Leaders master their context by seizing opportunities for action. According to Ambler (2005), they have an innate ability to read the forces that shaped the times in which they live and to seize on the resulting opportunities. Business leaders like Henry Ray Kroc, Mary Kay, Estee Lauder, and Jack Welch shared one critical leadership competence, contextual intelligence. That is, they possessed an acute sensitivity to the social, political, technological, and demographic fabric of their time and place. And they adapted their enterprises to best respond to those forces. Contextual intelligence implies both a capability to discern trends in the face of complexity and adaptability while trying to shape events (Nye, 2008).

Mayo and Nohria (2005) describe the importance of contextual intelligence when they state that business leaders need to have certain personal characteristics to be successful, but it is often the application of those characteristics within a specific context that defines great success. Given the importance of context, it is important for leaders to be able to make sense of the changing environment and then adapt their leadership style and behavior to ensure they are effective in the new context. The ability of leaders to transfer their skills across contexts involves contextual intelligence. Earlier generations of leaders often have had a fixed repertoire of competencies. In today's multitasking environments, leaders need a broader repertoire of skills; to use an information age metaphor, they have a broader bandwidth and are able to tune carefully for different situations (Nye, 2008).

Although contingencies and situational factors have been considered in the past, what is missing in the current leadership literature is a greater focus on new contextual factors that are critical for the survival of 21st century organizations. As stable bureaucracies are giving way to new organizational forms, volatility, uncertainty, and complexity are critical factors that characterize the context in which many contemporary leaders operate. Women's lives are particularly contextualized and are often nonlinear, representing a complex fabric of personal, professional, and community involvements and responsibilities. Their leadership and personal development are characterized by multiple role patterns, role discontinuities along with the need to maintain a sense of self. As women change their roles, move in and out of leadership roles, issues of identity continually surface (Madsen, 2006) especially since women leaders typically operate in multiple, interacting, and at times overlapping contexts. Because many women leaders function in more than one context (family, workplace, community), managing different contexts simultaneously remains a major challenge for women leaders.

Defining Context

The term context comes from the Latin root meaning "to knit together" or "to make a connection." Cappelli and Sherer (1991) defined context as those surroundings associated with phenomena which help to illuminate that phenomena. The authors' definition reflects the idea of context as a sensitizing process, providing insights into how particular environmental factors may serve as temporal and/or spatial boundary conditions around a phenomenon of interest. According to Johns (2001), context involves those "situational opportunities and constraints that affect the occurrence and meaning of organizational behavior as well as functional relationships between variables" (p. 386). Johns defined context as a critical driver of cognition, attitudes, and behavior and a moderator of relations among lower level phenomena. Context, at a very basic level then, includes the environments, circumstances, and conditions within which leadership and followership are taking place. Understanding contexts from competing perspectives is a key to coping with the paradoxes and dilemmas of leadership. As one leadership theorist noted, "leadership is an interactive art in which the leader is dancing with the context, the problem, the faction, and the objective" (Williams, 2005, p. xiii).

Rousseau and Fried (2001) posited that context is a key factor in leadership and critical to fully understand leadership in practice. As defined by the authors, "contextualization means the linking of observations to a set of relevant facts, events or points of view that make possible research and theory that form part of a larger whole. Contextualization can occur at any stage of the leadership process. It can operate in such a way as to provide constraints or opportunities for behavior and attitudes in leader–follower interactions" (p. 2). Perhaps, the most compelling reason to pay attention to context resides in its capacity to explain anomalous leadership phenomena such as the moral failure of highly effective leaders such as former president William Clinton or Kenneth Lay of Enron. In both of these cases, context — political and corporate, respectively — was an explanatory factor for the observed failed decision-making processes that marred both Clinton and Lay (Allen & Klenke, 2009).

Ambler (2005) proposed a simple contextual model based on four levels, each requiring a different set of competencies, styles, and approaches:

- *Personal leadership* which provides the foundation for all other leadership contexts is driven by our personal values and sense of purpose.
- *Team leadership* builds on personal competencies to create a motivated and inspired team cooperating toward a shared vision of success. In this context, leaders are required to manage team dynamics, manage team processes and personalities, in a manner that enables each team member to contribute to the collective goals.
- The context of *business unit leadership* builds on team leadership practice by creating alignments across divisions and department based on a unified organizational strategy.
- *Organizational leadership* as a context occurs at the macro level and involves leading change and managing cultural transformation.

Ambler (2005) identified three levels of context that can potentially influence the understanding and practice of leadership in specific situations: (1) the immediate social context (e.g., job, technology, department, organization, industry); (2) the general cultural context (e.g., organizational culture, national culture); and (3) the historical, institutional context (e.g., education, socialization). Tosi (1991) suggested that setting leadership in the organizational context accomplishes two things. According to the author, "it first places a different focus on leadership/effectiveness relationships. Conventional leadership theories explicitly postulate effectiveness as a function of some measured dimensions (e.g., traits or behaviors) of a single leader, not the effectiveness of the organization in which the leader functions. Second, a focus on context recognizes that leadership effects are constrained by broader forces operating in conjunction with the structure of individual tasks and the interactions between leaders and followers" (p. 212).

Seddon (1993) pointed out that more work needs to be done to increase our understanding of how context is conceptualized or framed. The author distinguishes between three frames: first, the "categorical" assumes the possibility of framing or contextualizing the world in terms of simple categories like leaders and followers.

The second frame is the interpretivist frame which focuses on the specifics ignored by the first frame. The third frame is what Seddon terms the relational perspective which does not deny the second, but adds to it by suggesting that while much of the interpretivist perspective is described in terms of intentional meanings, there are many other influential factors that impinge on a particular context. As Gronn and Ribbins (1996) note, the relational context is composed of "networks of hierarchically stratified, material institutional arrangements, peculiar to different form of society or social formations which both provide opportunities for the expression, and constraint, of human agency" (p. 456).

The relational perspective on contexts is reflected in contemporary leadership theories such as leader–member exchange theory (e.g., Graen & Uhl-Bien, 1995; Uhl-Bien, 2006) or stratified systems theory (Jacques, 1986, 2006) and contemporary organizational forms such as the boundaryless organization (e.g., Arthur & Rousseau, 1996).

According to Gronn (2005), "the significance of context for social analysis, including leadership, is that a context acts as a vehicle for positioning a phenomenon in order to make it meaningful" (p. 486). The authors used the example of Mahatma Gandhi to demonstrate that like many leaders Gandhi led in many different contexts which included the Indian nationalist movement, nonviolent resistance, British Empire, spiritualism, and village lifestyles. Many women lead and follow in multiple contexts: their families, the workplace, the church, and sports they are involved in. Gronn explained that the "act of positioning a phenomenon in relation to a context means to consider it in relation to … the properties of a category of prior knowledge with a view to bringing to bear a perspective or angle that affords that phenomenon its distinctiveness" (p. 486). The author concluded that context is essentially another way of capturing the contingency of phenomena.

Pettigrew (1985) proposed "that one of the core requirements of a contextualist analysis is to understand the emergent, situational, and holistic features of a person or a process such as leadership" (p. 228). Traditionally, much of leadership research has been ahistorical, aprocessual, and acontextual. Now it is critical for theoretical developments in leadership to ensure that context is no longer defined just as an intraorganizational setting and that the organizational environment is not just defined in terms of activities of other organizations but reflects the values and experiences of organizational members.

Moreover, we have to factor in the prevailing socioeconomic, technological, and political contextual factors along with temporal and spatial constraints into our analyses of context. For example, Fournier, Lachance, and Bujold (2009) called attention to contextual factors produced by nonstandard work such as part-time, contract work, and self-employment which creates a context that is different from permanent, full-time employment. According to Fournier et al., "the prolonged unemployment instability generated by nonstandard work patterns results in strong general feelings of uncertainty in some people that provoke role conflicts, hampers work-family balance, particularly in the case of women" (p. 321).

Jepson (2009) discussed the pervasive neglect of deeper analyses of existing contexts and their importance for leadership noting that to date, "the dominant theoretical approach to the study of leadership has involved a focus on formulating models that primarily allow researchers to categorize leaders according to predetermined leadership styles and attributes. Only then do they take context into account via a narrow set of predefined contextual factors. Research in this tradition has treated the exploration of these contexts as a matter of secondary, rather than primary importance'' (pp. 37–38).

To test her assumptions about the importance of context, Jepson (2009), in a qualitative interviewing study, conducted 78 semi-structured interviews in 9 chemical companies located in Germany and another 27 interviews in 3 chemical companies located in the United Kingdom. The researcher found that it was the immediate organizational and social context that shaped the interviewees' perception of context and their leaders. For example, managers of labs described their own behavior as quite lasses-faire, participative, hands-off, and leading by example. Production or plant managers, on the hand, were more hands-on and controlling. Finally, sales and marketing managers seemed to utilize a combination of both the above approaches in response to the commercially driven, professional environment they are in. They were generally dealing with professionals who needed little control or supervision. The author concluded that ''the influences of cultural and institutional contexts are strongly affected by aspects of the immediate social context, such as stress levels, work load, employee skills/needs and that this latter context at times outweighs the importance of the other two. She also found that it was the 'department' that was the most important type of context influencing employees' understanding of leadership'' (p. 46).

The emergence of ''post-bureaucratic,'' ''boundaryless'' organizations raise new questions about the role of leadership in these types of organizations (Shamir, 1999) which represent new and unfamiliar contexts. New forms of organization include ad hoc, temporary, and virtual organization which may be arranged as information networks, flat structures characterized by professional autonomy, loose coupling, teamwork, and self-regulation (Cascio, 1995). Shamir (1999) suggested that one-way leadership may play itself out in the boundaryless organization is that the importance of leadership is diminished and the leader becomes disposable, much as in substitute theory of leadership (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) which proposed that certain organizational factors such as work group cohesion, formalization of structure, or workers desire for autonomy can negate the need for a formal leader. At the same time, however, the boundaryless organization may also render leadership indispensable because of the newness of this organizational structure that prompts followers to look at their leaders to make sense of these unfamiliar organizational forms.

Because leadership always occurs in context, this book is intended to illuminate the criticality of different contexts in women's leadership. Among the contexts in which women exercise leadership examined here are political systems, corporations and business organizations, information technology, the media, sports, the military, church, education, arts, and sciences and the global stage. Each context has its distinguishing characteristics and features which interact with assumptions regarding women's leadership competencies and sex role stereotypes which, in turn, are subject to temporal and cultural fluctuations. For example, in the past, technology was a macho-typed context for leadership that favored men, but now information- and communication-intensive organizations are looking for leadership skills such as willingness to share information and communication transparency, skill which open leadership opportunities for women since they build on feminine-typed attributes.

General Contextual Factors

There are general contextual factors that leaders in all organization are confronted with. They include complexity, instability and dynamism, and perceived threats (Mulvey & Padilla, 2010, p. 53). Organizations in newer and fast cycle industries with greater technological innovation mean more complex contexts for their leaders (Castrogiovanni, 2002). For example, the global financial crisis of 2008–2009 has created a substantial amount of instability in international markets. Governments in North America, Europe, and Asia have attempted to quell the financial unrest, with varying degrees of success. In doing so, governments have given their treasuries unprecedented power (Bailout Agreement, 2008) which placed increased cognitive demands on the leaders of these countries.

Advances in technology and rapidly changing market conditions reflect environmental dynamism which is determined by the degree of unpredictability and speed of change in a given industry (Zahra, Priem, & Rasheed, 2005). Instability is also related to perceptions of threat to the organization, to its leaders and followers. Some leaders create and heighten the perception of an internal or external threat in order to attain more power. For example, political leaders have been accused of manufacturing crises to enhance their power.

Gender and Culture as Contexts for Women's Leadership

In addition to the general contextual factor discussed above, gender and culture provide additional contextual prisms (Klenke, 1996) through which to analyze women's leadership. Occupational segregation is a manifestation of the symbolic role of gender in organizational contexts which opposes female to male. According to Gherardi (1994), gender is one of the most powerful symbols; indeed the very word "gender" encapsulates all the symbols that a culture elaborates to account for biological differences. Conducting "research that involves gender is a complex of socially guided perceptual, interactional, and micro-political activities that cast particular pursuits as expressions of masculine and feminine natures" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). According to this definition, gender is not simply a property of women and men but a social dynamic. As such, it can be used in the study of organizational culture because it makes us ask how we *do* gender in a particular organizational contexts and when we as women assume leadership roles. The concept of doing gender, as Fletcher (2004) stated, adds another layer of complexity to the context in which leadership is practiced.

There are two theoretical lenses through which gender has been conceptualized in the leadership and management literature. One perspective has been labeled the women-in-management perspective (Calas & Smircich, 2006). This approach focuses on tracking the challenges faced by individual women leaders and making a business argument for their inclusion at the top (Casell, 1997). Much of the argumentation in the women-in-management literature resides in the notion that individual women make a difference (Alvesson & Billing, 1997). Power is conceptualized as a resource for women to grasp and use. This viewpoint dominated earlier views of women in leadership and did not take into account the organizational and contextual factor emphasized here.

In the second perspective, known as doing gender (e.g., Gherardi, 1994; West & Zimmerman, 1987), gender is conceptualized as a social dynamic rather than a role. An example of doing gender comes from research on the underrepresentation of women on corporate boards (see Chapter 4) which has shown how powerful men engage in practices of homosociality when they make top management decisions such as the selection of CEOs or corporate directors following the similar-to-me principle, that is, knowingly or unwittingly appointing other men who resemble them in certain ways — similar levels of experience, education, and leadership competencies associated with men and masculinities (Pesonen, Tienari, & Vanhala, 2009, p. 330). Doing gender consists of engaging in actions that are part of the social processes. These actions include practices of power that support or challenge domination of men and subordination of women or practices of production that reinforce and/or challenge a gendered division of labor (Connell, 2005).

Gender and culture interact. Female and male leaders build different cultures in their societies. According to Strati's (1992) interpretive definition of culture:

> An organizational culture consists of the symbols, beliefs, and patterns of behaviour learned, produced and created by people who devote their energies and labour to the life of an organization. It is expressed in the design of the organization and of work, in the artifacts and services that the organization produces, in the architecture of its premises, in the technologies it employs, in its ceremonials of encounter and meeting, in the temporal structuring of organizational courses of action, in the quality and conditions of its working life, in the ideologies of work, in the corporate philosophy, in the jargon, lifestyle and the physical appearance of the organization's members. (pp. 1–2)

According to Hofstede (1980, 2001), culture is to human collectivity what personality is to an individual. Culture comprises the attitudes, experiences, beliefs, and values of a social organization. Gendered organizations, that is, those with a predominant male or female membership, have strong cultures in which gender, contextual characteristics, and cultural stereotypes interact. However, Bottery (2006) cautions that "the word culture should not be used interchangeably with 'context,' because 'culture' is but one component of a web of geographical, religious, political, technological, and economic contexts that can just as easily be included or singled out

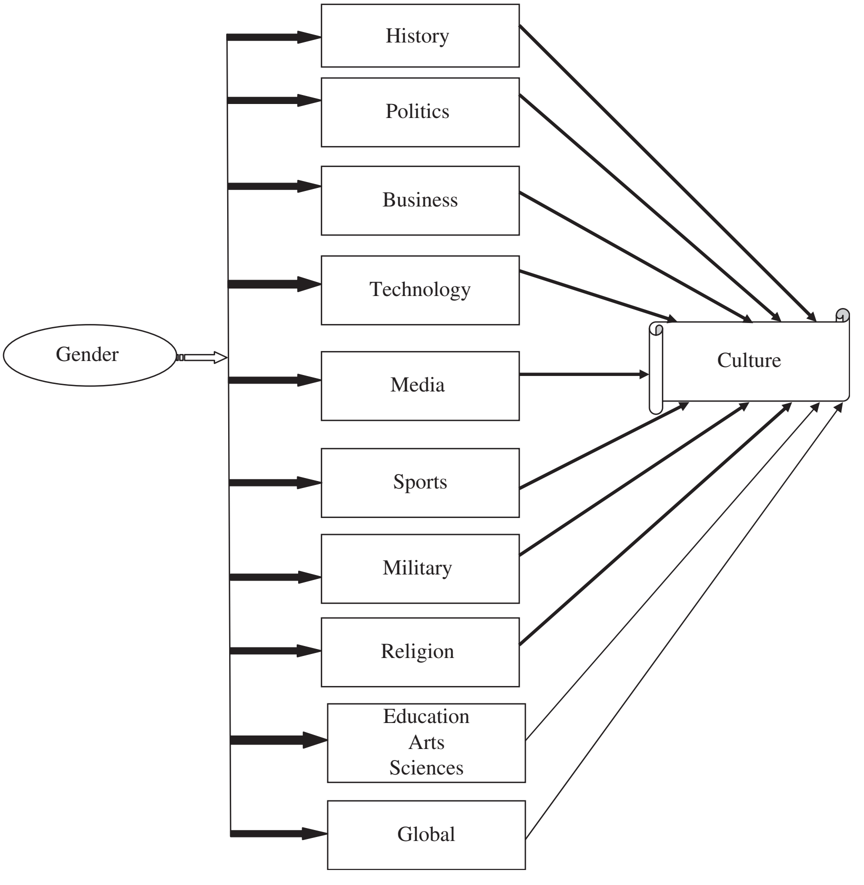

Figure 1.1: Contexts for women's leadership.

for attention'' (p. 169). Gender and culture are intertwined, coexisting in a reciprocal relationship. Gender is treated here as culture because gender-centric perspectives on leadership predominate resulting in male-dominated theories and research. Rather than treating gender as an individual characteristic, it is treated as culture emphasizing the social relationships and multiple identities that define leadership.

Figure 1.1 depicts a schematic that shows the links between gender, culture, and the diversity of contexts in which women lead.

Gender Differences in Leadership

The popular media (see Chapter 6) has portrayed women and men as psychologically as different as two planets — Venus and Mars — and the general public is captivated by findings of gender differences. Best-selling books and popular magazines assert that men and women cannot get along because they communicate too differently. In the popular press as well as the scientific literature, we find repeated references to leadership styles labeled as either masculine or feminine. Contemporary ideas about gender and leadership suggest that feminine characteristics afford women an advantage in today's workplace where more democratic and participatory styles are favored (Helgesen, 1995; Rosener, 1990; Vecchio, 2002). Helgesen (1995) popularized the idea of a female advantage of women leaders when she described their leadership style as a web of inclusion in which power and information are shared arguing that women leaders are participative and empowering consensus builders. Likewise, Rosener (1990) referred to women's approach to leadership as interactive and discussed hallmarks of women's leadership style such as motivating followers to transform their self-interests into those of the group. These popular descriptions of effective female leadership added to already existing paradoxes surrounding leadership. On the one hand, women's flexible approach to leadership, as opposed to the male command-and-control style, is critical in managing a heterogeneous, culturally diverse workforce. However, ironically enough, the very skills and traits women were once told have no place in the boardroom, are the very same which now presumably give them a leadership advantage.

Eagly and Johnson (1990) argued that different organizational contexts moderate the effects of gender differences. Contexts can be evaluated as more or less congenial for women leaders. Eagly and her collaborators (e.g., Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly, Karau, & Makhihijani, 1995) examined gender congeniality in several meta-analytic studies and found that a context is increasingly uncongenial for women leaders if it is male dominated, if the woman is a token or solo, if the task is masculine stereotypic, and if hierarchy and power are stressed over egalitarianism and influence.

van Engen, van der Leeden, and Willemsen (2001) tested the congeniality of context hypothesis in a field study to investigate whether the gender typing of the organizational context influenced leadership behaviors of male and female managers who employed task-oriented, people-oriented, or transformational leadership styles. The researchers sampled male and female managers in a single retail organization, which included masculine-typed contexts departments such as electronics and sports departments and feminine-typed contexts such as lingerie and cosmetics departments. They predicted no differences in leadership styles but hypothesized that gender typing of the department affects leadership behaviors. More specifically, they hypothesized that "when a department is more feminine-typed, male and female managers show more people-oriented and charismatic leadership styles and are less task-oriented" (p. 585). On the other hand, when a department is more masculine typed, they predicted male and female managers to exhibit more task-oriented leadership. The results showed that as predicted no differences between male and female managers in people-oriented, task-oriented, and transformational leadership were found. However, the hypothesis that gender typing of the context (departments) influenced the leadership style of female and male managers was not supported.

Gender Differences in Leadership Style

Numerous studies have examined gender differences in leadership style such as democratic, participatory, and transformational and evaluations of male and female leaders. Eagly and Johnson (1990), for instance, found that women adopted a more democratic and participatory style compared to the autocratic and directive style preferred by men. These gender differences held in the three types of leadership studies employed in this research: organizational studies, laboratory experiments, and assessment studies. However, the connection between women and participatory leadership (e.g., Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001), as Ashcraft and Mumby (2004) pointed out, has been challenged by other studies that suggest the relationship between gender and leadership style can be complicated by numerous factors including the organizational context (e.g., Butterfield & Grinnell, 1999), perceptions and expectations of leaders (e.g., Carless, 1998), and ambivalence toward women as leaders (Eagly, Makhihijani, & Otto, 1991). Given these considerations, gender cannot be regarded as an isolated feature of identity, but interacts with broader structural, social, political, historical, cultural, and institutional context (Klenke, 1996; Ashcraft & Mumby, 2004). We should be skeptical, Billing and Alvesson (2000) add, ''of the idea that the same characteristics (feminine orientations) which earlier on could be used to disqualify women now should be characteristics facilitating the entrance of women to, and functioning in, managerial jobs'' (p. 154).

Gender differences in transformational leadership have also attracted research attention. Eagly and Carli (2003), in a meta-analytic study, found that women were rated higher than men on most dimensions of transformational leadership. Transformational leadership is defined by four interrelated components: charismatic, inspirational, intellectually stimulating, and individually considerate (Bass, 1985; Bass & Avolio, 1989; Howell & Avolio, 1993). Earlier, Bass, Avolio, and Atwater (1996) reported inconsistent findings for sex differences in transformational leadership in three studies with different samples of managers. In the first study, the authors found that female upper-level managers in *Fortune 50* firms which are generally male dominated were more transformational than their male counterparts, but they did not find strong sex differences in either a sample of lower-level managers in small- to mid-size organizations, or in the third study, which had a diverse sample of organizations and managers.

These diverse findings may result from differences in research methods used (i.e., experiments, surveys), the different measuring instruments and procedures applied (i.e., observations, self- or other ratings), and, most importantly, the variety of organizational contexts studied (i.e., type of industry, type of organization, management level) (van Engen et al., 2001, p. 584). When female–male differences in transformational leadership and other leadership styles were observed, they tended to be relatively small. These results, along with similar findings obtained by a number of independent researchers, have been interpreted as a ''female advantage'' in leadership, a notion that has been hotly debated among scholars (Eagly & Carli, 2003;

Helgesen, 1995; Rosener, 1990; Powell, Butterfield, & Bartol, 2008; Vecchio, 2002). However, Lamsa and Sintonen (2001) pointed out that "leadership models which ostensibly promote 'feminine' leadership styles fail to address more structurally embedded organizational practices and procedures that continue to favor traditionally masculine ways of working" (p. 161).

Gender Differences in Evaluations of Female and Male Leaders

Studies of gender differences in evaluations of women as leaders in the workplace show that women leaders who embrace autocratic, task-oriented, agentic leadership styles that are incongruent with female stereotypes may pay for it in hiring decisions and performance evaluations. Eagly, Makhijani, and Klonsky's (1992) meta-analysis of studies on gender and the evaluation of leaders found that overall women leaders were evaluated as positively as male leaders. However, women leaders who were portrayed as autocrats were at a substantial disadvantage compared to their male counterparts who exhibited the same leadership style. Thus, this set of analyses led to the conclusion that the stereotype of women as nurturers leads to serious costs for women who violate this stereotype.

Powell et al. (2008) in a scenario study investigated the role of gender differences in evaluations of transformational and transactional leaders. The findings revealed that research participants evaluated female transformational leaders more positively on extra effort, satisfaction, and effectiveness. In addition, female research participants rated female transformational leaders more positively. The authors concluded that the results supported "a female advantage in evaluations of transformational leaders, especially when they were rated by women" (p. 167).

A number of theoretical perspectives have been advanced to account for gender differences in leadership style and evaluations of female and male leaders. They include role incongruity and tokenism theory. Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) argued that "perceived incongruity between the female gender role and typical leader roles tends to create prejudice toward female leaders that takes two form: (1) less favorable evaluation of women's (than men's) potential for leadership because leadership ability is more stereotypic of men than women and (2) less favorable evaluation of the actual leadership behavior of women than men because agentic behavior is perceived as less desirable in women than men" (p. 785). Moreover, as Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt suggested, gender-incongruent leaders such as female military officers may lack the authority to organize people and resources to accomplish the task-relevant goals that are inherent in the tasks.

Tokenism (Kanter, 1977) theory suggests that token status exacerbates the less favorable evaluations of women, because tokens receive considerable attention that heightens pressure on them to perform well. Tokens are often encouraged to act in accordance with gender-based differences. When they assume roles considered gender inappropriate, tokens may garner especially hostile reactions (Klenke, 1996; Yoder, 1991).

With much of the leadership managerial literature developed by men, and with many organization theories based on observations of male managers, it is not surprising that this focus on male leaders' experiences promotes male values as the managerial norms (Lamsa & Sintonen, 2001). Elliott and Stead's (2008) review of the literature suggested the following contradictions and paradoxes:

- The numbers of women leaders are increasing, yet still women are struggling to gain pay equity and standing in the workplace;
- Over recent years, the literature has ostensibly heralded female characteristics and ways of working as important, yet theory and practice continue to adopt masculine values that reify existing power relations as the norm;
- Policies and procedures within organizations offer a perception of fairness and objectivity, while women's leadership experience remains marginalized and excluded by masculine-oriented cultures and a preoccupation with traditional business organizations (p. 165).

The authors concluded that women's leadership is confrontational both empirically and theoretically. Although women's leadership may be different, the literature focuses on style and characteristics and continues to debate women and leadership separately from more detailed considerations of the broader sociocultural structures within which women live and work (p. 165).

Even though new models of leadership (e.g., Fletcher, 2004) emphasize the distributed nature of leadership, organizational reward systems continue to emphasize the importance of individual achievement and success. The heroic leader continues to attract attention and fascination of the public. In leaders' stories of their successes, the narratives tend to ignore the wider social networks and relational practices that helped them achieve prominence (Khurana, 2003).

Summary

New concepts of leadership need to evolve in order for organizations to react and proact to environmental changes. Organizations are moving from a local to a global orientation, from being solely competitive to being more collaborative, from structures based on hierarchy to flexible arrangements, and from an emphasis on individuals to an emphasis on teams. Understanding context is crucial for effective leadership, and a more diversified and integrative approach to understanding the different leadership contexts in which we find women leaders needs to find its way into the mainstream leadership literature. In addition to context, gender stereotypes continue to play an important role. As Klenke (1996) pointed out, gender is often the first prism through which women leaders are evaluated. Prejudice against female leaders emerges especially in leadership context that are male dominated or regarded as requiring masculine qualities. Although we have seen significant advances in women's access to leadership roles in a variety of types of organizations and industries, gender equality in leadership is probably a few generations into the future.

Chapter 2

History as Context for Women's Leadership

Theodora (c. 500–548) was Empress of the Byzantine Empire and wife of Emperor Justinian I. According to ancient sources, her father was an animal trainer in Constantinople's Hippodrome where Theodora worked as an actress, a profession that at the time was synonymous with prostitution. In due course, she became the mistress of an official named Hecebolus and traveled with him to North Africa where she converted to Monophysitism, a form of Christianity that believed that Jesus Christ was wholly divine and not both human and divine according to orthodox Christian doctrine. On conversion to Monophysitism, Theodora gave up her former lifestyle and settled down in Constantinople as a wool spinner in a house near the palace of the Emperor. Procopius of Caesarea in his Anekdota indicated what attracted Justinian to Theodora was pure, undiluted lust. The Anekdota I is full of scurrilous details about Theodora's early life as an actress and courtesan, and her intrigues at court. The author, who chronicled Theodora's life in three books, stated:

> *Thus it was that Theodora, though born and brought up as I have related, rose to royal dignity over all obstacles. For no thought of shame came to Justinian in marrying her, though he may have taken his pick of the noblest born, most highly educated, most modest, carefully nurtured, virtuous and beautiful virgins of all the ladies in the whole Roman Empire: as maiden, as they say, with upstanding breasts. Instead, he preferred to make his own what had been common to all men alike, careless of all of her revealed history, took in wedlock a woman who was not only guilty of every other contamination but boasted of many abortions (Procopius, 2009).*

The same author also portrayed her husband Justinian variously as senile, passive, and a demon in human form. He wrote, "Indeed how was this man likely to anything else but an evil spirit, who never knew honest satiety of drink or food or sleep, but only tasting at random from the meals that were set before him, roamed the palace at unseemly hours of the night and was possessed by the quenchless lust of a demon" (Procopius, 2009).

Most of the information concerning Theodora's childhood and early life comes from three books narrated by Procopius, a rather biased account of her courtly life.

The author noted that there was no shame in the girl and no role was too scandalous for her. Employment as an actress included both indecent exhibitions on stage and providing sexual services off stage. In the sixth century, the theater was considered the embodiment of immorality. Procopius also describes Theodora not only as ravishingly beautiful, but intelligent, witty, and amusing. Evans (2003), a modern historian, tells us that Theodora's mother put her on stage as soon as she arrived at the age of youth.

Upon her return to Constantinople, she was introduced to Justinian. They fell madly in love with each other and Theodora became Justinian's mistress. Under the old, still in existence Roman law, emperors and patricians were forbidden to marry actresses. However, Justinian repealed the law and married her in 525. The new law also included provisions which made children of relationships between nobles and courtesans legitimate, and gave former actresses the right to inherit estates and transfer property to others prior to their marriage (Gibbon & Womersley, 2001). Theodora is credited with having passed laws that increased women's rights, established homes for prostitutes, and created convents where ex-prostitutes could support themselves.

On April 4, 52 A.D., Justinian and Theodora were crowned emperor and empress and ruled Byzantium together until Theodora's death in 548. According to her commentators including Procopius, Theodora had significant effects on the decisions of the empire. Justinian consulted his wife when he promulgated a constitution which included reforms meant to end corruption by officials. She ruled the empire as Justinian's equal and within the civil and military militia, Theodora created her own centers of power. She influenced her husband's legal and spiritual reforms. But it was the Nika revolt between the two political rival groups, the Blues and Greens, that proved her leadership. During this event, the two rival parties started a riot at the Hippodrome in which they set many buildings on fire and proclaimed a new emperor. Justinian and his officials were unable to control the crowd and prepared to flee Constantinople. Theodora spoke up and gave a moving speech speaking out against leaving the palace and underlining the significance of someone who died as a ruler instead of living as nothing. Her determined speech resulted in the death of over 30,000 rebels and the survival of the empire. Historians agree that it was Theodora's courage and decisiveness that saved Justinian's reign.

Following the Nika revolt, Theodora and Justinian rebuilt Constantinople transforming it into one of the most splendid cities in the world. They built aqueducts, bridges, new government buildings, public baths, and more than 25 churches, the greatest of which is the Hagia Sophia, Church of the Holy Wisdom. Theodora died of cancer in 548, 17 years before Justinian (Diehl, 1972). She is considered a pioneer of feminism whose efforts resulted in the elevation of the status of women in the Middle East and the rest of Europe (Cesaretti, 2004).

Introduction

Women have been leaders as queens of nations, tribal chiefs, and empresses throughout history. They sailed around the globe and discovered new territories. They founded religious organizations and social movements. They led literary salons. They conquered diseases. They ran for top political offices. They became presidents of universities and advanced education. They served as commanders, defenders, and mercenaries of armies around the world including women leaders in the warrior classes during the early history of Japan. Women leaders revitalized moribund organizations, turned defeat into victory, loss into profit, and moral decay into purpose. They changed the course of organizations and nations and rewrote history. Each of these settings and circumstances represents a different context in which women led throughout history.

In this chapter, I look at history from antiquity to the end of the 20th century as the context for women's leadership. Bottery (2006) points out that a historical perspective on the study of leadership not only provides a deepened understanding of the nature of leadership, but that the nature of this "context" has changed over time. History acts as a mirror through which we can view the rise and fall of nations, organizations, educational institutions, and world religions.

Women Leaders in Antiquity

Ancient civilizations, from the dawn of history to the fall of Rome in 476 when Romulus Augustus, the last emperor of the Western Roman Empire was deposed by Odoacer and into the 20th century, have produced a significant number of women leaders in a variety of contexts including religion, politics, and social movement. Female leaders in ancient Egypt included Queen Hatshepsut, Nefertiti, Arsinoe II, and Cleopatra.

Ancient Egypt

Queen Hatshepsut (1501–1498 B.C.) was an 18th dynasty pharaoh whose reign was one of the longest of all female pharaohs. Born in the 15th century B.C., daughter of Thutmose I and Aahames, she held the powerful office of *God's Wife* during her father's reign. She married her half brother, Thutmose II, and assumed the title of *Great Royal Wife*. Upon the death of her husband, Hatshepsut ascended the throne of Egypt since her son, Thutmose III, was too young to take over the rulership of the country but was designated as a co-regent. She claimed double legitimacy — as King Thutmose I's oldest daughter and by virtue of her mythic self-proclaimed descent from the great god Amun. The Oracle of Amun proclaimed that it was the will of Amun that Hatshepsut be pharaoh. Once she became pharaoh herself, Hatshepsut supported her assertion that she was her father's designated successor with inscriptions on the walls of her funeral temple:

> Then his majesty said to them: "This daughter of mine, Khnumetamun Hatshepsut — May she live! — I have appointed her as my successor upon my throne … she shall direct the people in every sphere of the palace; it is she who is intended to lead you. Obey her words, unite

> yourselves at her command." The royal nobles, the dignitaries, the leaders of the people heard this proclamation of the promotion of his daughter, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maatkare — may she live eternally (Naville, 1898, pp. 5–6).

These inscriptions which biographer Tyldesley refers to as "propaganda in stone" (1998a, p. 154) effectively made Hatshepsut the daughter of the chief god in the Egyptian pantheon.

As Queen of Egypt, she overcame many obstacles and developed herself into a charismatic and politically skilled leader. She surrounded herself by men with outstanding administrative and intellectual ability. A master politician and elegant stateswomen, she ordered expeditions throughout her empire in search of animals, spices, and gold and oversaw funding for a mission to the Land of Punt. Hatshepsut initiated a number of impressive building projects including her three-tiered funeral temple in the Valley of the Kings across the Nile from Thebes which still stands as a tribute to her power. Arts and especially architecture flourished, as Hatshepsut became one of the most prolific builders in ancient Egypt commissioning hundreds of projects throughout Upper and Lower Egypt. According to Tyldesley (1998a), she was a model regent at first, but in the seventh year of her reign she became pharaoh, assuming the title King of Egypt (there was no term for queen) and took on the symbolic masculine aspects of her role. It is interesting to note that in most of her images, Queen Hatshepsut posed as a male ruler.

She depicted herself in temple paintings as a man who hunted, fished, and even sported the pharaoh's hallmark false beard. However, although Hatshepsut was depicted in official art wearing the regalia of a pharaoh, such as the false beard that male pharaohs also wore, Egyptologists believe that it is unlikely that she ever wore such ceremonial decorations. They point to statues such as those at the Metropolitan Museum of Art that show her seated in a tight fitting dress and the nemes crown which they believe are more accurate representations of how she appeared in public.

During her reign, she brought long-standing peace, wealth, and stable government to Egypt. She established trade relationships with neighboring nations and opened new sea routes to replace the long overland journeys. Her many accomplishments included impressive architectural restoration and adventurous foreign trade. The expedition to the land Punt gave Hatshepsut control over the army, which was led by her stepson Thutmose III so that he could pose no danger to her throne while at the same time bringing a variety of exotic and valuable goods to Egypt. As a king of Egypt, Hatshepsut was entitled to a splendid mortuary temple which was constructed for her at Deir el-Bahiri, a regal building complex resting in a natural bay in the mountain of Thebes on the west bank of the Nile.

Many believe that Hatshepsut accomplished more in her over 20-year reign than any other women before her. She was one of the most successful pharaohs in Egyptian history and flourished as a pragmatic ruler. After her death, all references to her on monuments and statues were obliterated presumably by the order of her stepson, Thutmose III, in revenge for his long wait for power and the throne. He was so successful that Hatshepsut was totally erased from Egyptian history until 1903 when British archaeologist Howard Carter discovered her tomb. Tyldesley (1998a) speculated that physically removing her presence from the historical record was not merely an act of hatred. By removing the female king, it was actually possible to rewrite Egyptian history. If Hatshepsut's name was completely erased, she would cease to exist, and the succession could now run from Thutmose I to Thutmose III without any female interference.

Another well known and much written about women leader in ancient Egypt was *Nefertiti* (ca. 1372–1350 B.C.), one of the most famous women in antiquity. Nefertiti (which translates into "The Beautiful One is Come") was known by many names: *heiress, Great of Favor, Possessed of Charm, Exuding Happiness, Mistress of Sweetness, Mistress of Upper and Lower Egypt, Lady of the Two Lands* (Dodson & Hilton, 2004). Some believe that Nefertiti was of Egyptian blood, others that she was a foreign princess. She married Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (later known as Akhenaten) and was the mother-in-law of Pharaoh Tutankhamen.

Nefertiti enjoyed a high profile during the first years of her husband's rulership. She is depicted in carvings as in important political figure accompanying her husband during the many ceremonial acts he performed as a religious reformer. She enjoyed unprecedented power during her husband's reign and according to some sources was elevated to co-regent giving her equal status with the pharaoh as evidenced on temple walls where she is featured the same size as the king. Some have hypothesized that she was the power behind the throne and was responsible for the innovations during her husband's rule. Later, after the 14th year of Akhenaten's rule, Nefertiti disappeared from the historical records (Tyldesley, 1998b). Many scholars believe that she died shortly after his death. After Cleopatra, Nefertiti was the second most famous female leader of ancient Egypt.

Arsinoe II (316–270 B.C.) was the queen of Thrace, Macedonia, and later coruler of Egypt with her brother and husband Ptolemy II of Egypt. She was first married to King Lysimachus of Thrace and Macedonia with whom she had three sons. After the death of her first husband in the battle of Corupedium in 281, Arsinoe II married her half brother, King Ptolemy of Ceraunus; the marriage terminated with his murder. It was during her third marriage to her full brother Ptolemy II of Egypt when Arsinoe was elevated to royal status. In Egypt, she instigated the accusation and exile of Ptolemy's first wife, Arsinoe I. Apparently, she contributed greatly to her husband's foreign policy and shared all of her husband's titles as seen in coins and statues that depicted her. The Greek poet Theocritus of Syracuse in *Idylls* depicted her as a semidivine Greek and Egyptian queen in the tradition of Homer's women in the *Odyssey*. After her death, Ptolemy continued to refer to her in official documents, as well as supporting her coinage and cult (Arsinoe II of Egypt, 2009).

Cleopatra (51–30 B.C.), ancient Egypt's last pharaoh, is credited with restoring Egypt to power and is glorified in plays, poems, novels, movies, and TV shows. Some of her fame and notoriety were derived from her irresistible beauty and tumultuous affairs with Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Cleopatra forged a liaison with Roman political and military leader Julius Caesar. After his assassination, she continued her alliance with Rome by entering into a relationship with Mark Antony with whom she had twins.

In the media, Cleopatra is portrayed as the femme fatale who drove men to obsession until she committed suicide. Grant (1992) called our attention to the fact that although she was queen of Egypt, Cleopatra did not possess a drop of Egyptian blood but was more Greek than anything else. The last ruler of the Ptolemies, "she was of wholly Greek upbringing consumed by the perpetual ambition to revive the former glories of her Greek kingdom and house" (p. xi). With the help of the Romans, Cleopatra extended the Ptolemaic Empire far beyond the Egyptian borders. In the wake of the battle of Actium, Cleopatra wrote her own final act when she chose sacrifice over dishonor and the betrayal of the man whose fate had merged with her own (Essex, 2002).

Ancient Greece

During the Golden Age of Greece (5th B.C.), **Aspasia** (lived ca. 440 B.C.), described as one of the most beautiful and educated women of her era, was the hetaera or courtesan of Pericles, the leader of democratic Athens. Hetaerae in ancient Greece were more than concubines. Although they were sexual partners, they were educated in philosophy, history, politics, science, art, and literature, so that they could converse intelligently with sophisticated and powerful men. Aspasia was considered by many to be the most powerful and intelligent of Athens's hetaerae. Contrary to the customs of her time which did not allow women a role in Athenian public life but sequestered them to bedrooms and dining rooms, Aspasia was very much part of Athens's social and political life. When other women were systematically relegated to the domestic sphere, Aspasia seems to have been the only woman in classical Greece to have distinguished herself in the public domain. Since she was a foreigner and hetaera, she was free of the legal constraints that traditionally confined married women to their homes.

Aspasia entertained the most powerful men of Athens at her symposia (dinner parties) and her house became a fashionable place for the Athenian elite. She opened an academy for young women of good families that soon became a popular salon for the most influential men of the day: Socrates, Plato, Sophocles, Phidias, and Pericles. According to Plutarch, her house became an intellectual center in Athens, attracting the most prominent writers and thinkers.

Lucian, the Syrian rhetorician and satirist, said of Aspasia:

> It is that maid of Miletus, Aspasia, the consort of the Olympian [Pericles], himself a marvel beyond compare. Putting before us, in her, no mean pattern of understanding, let us take all that she had of experience in affairs, shrewdness in statescraft, quick-wittedness, and penetration, and transfer the whole of it to our own picture by accurate measurement (Lucian, 1925, p. 19).

Aspasia grew up in Miletus, an Ionian Greek settlement located in what is now Turkey. Miletus was a cultivated city, renowned for its literacy and philosophies of moral thought and nature (Vernant, 1980). She was the second daughter born into an aristocratic family which afforded her an excellent education. As a child, she was exposed to a melting pot of ideas and cultures and even as a young woman was known for the power and eloquence of her speech. Other than that, little is known about Aspasia's early life in Miletus. She immigrated to Athens about 450 B.C. and met Pericles soon after her arrival.

Since Aspasia was not an Athenian woman, she could not be recognized as Pericles's wife but lived with him until his death in 429 B.C. Under Periclean Citizenship Law (451/450 B.C.), no children born to a citizen (by definition, a male) with a foreign-born wife could be Athenian citizen. It was imperative to the citizens of Athens to keep citizenship restricted to legitimate citizen offspring. Since Aspasia was a metic or foreign born in Athens not grandfathered into the pre-Citizenship Law, her prospects of marrying Pericles were nonexistent. Pericles treated her as an equal and by all accounts loved her with a passion. Plutarch, in *Life of Pericles*, commented that the Athenian statesman was so smitten with his companion that he kissed her when he left in the morning and again when he returned at night, a very unusual custom at the time.

Aspasia had two sons with Pericles who were killed during the 430 B.C. plague that struck Athens. Pericles died the following year. Just before his death, the Periclean law of Citizenship was changed allowing his half-Athenian son with Aspasia to become a citizen and Pericles's legitimate heir. After the death of Pericles, Aspasia found another protector in Lysicles, an Athenian general who served as commander of the battle of Chaeronea and with whom she had another son. After Lysicles death, the historical record of Aspasia ends. Little is known about the last years of Aspasia's life.

Aspasia was criticized and ridiculed by the writers and comic poets of her time. The best-known source of information about Aspasia is Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans and Life of Pericles* (XXIV, XXXII), accounts written several hundred years after her death. He notes that she was held in high favor because of her rare political wisdom and that she had a reputation of being associated with a whole succession of Athenians, who came to her to learn rhetoric (Podlecki, 1998). She was also mentioned in the writings of Plato, Aristophanes, Xenophon, and other authors of the day. Invariably she was attacked for her sexual allure and significant influence over Pericles. Cratinus, the Athenian comic poet, called Aspasia "a dog-eyed concubine." Aristophanes in *The Acharnians* attributed the Megarian Decree of Pericles, which excluded Megara from trade with Athens due to prostitutes being taken from the house of Aspasia in retaliation for one of them having been kidnapped from Megara. The poet Antisthenes believed that Aspasia presented the personification of the life of sexual indulgence and that Pericles chose a life of pleasure over virtue (Kahn, 1997).

Aspasia exercised leadership through her significant influence on Pericles. Some, such as Aristophanes in *The Acharnians*, his earliest surviving play, accused her of persuading Pericles to go to war with Samos in order to help her native Miletus;

others blamed her for the Peloponnesian War (against Sparta). Her influence was so great that Plato later joked that she had written Pericles most famous speech, The Funeral Oration, honoring those killed at the end of the first year of the Peloponnesian War. In addition, she was an influential thought leader of her time with a reputation as a rhetorician, philosopher, and colleague in the Socratic movement. Next to Hatsheput and Cleopatra, Aspasia is the best-known woman of the ancient Mediterranean. She practiced leadership through her influence on Pericles as well as her cultural contributions to Athenian life. According to Henry (1995), she became an icon of the sexually attractive and politically influential female. The gossip in Athens was always vicious and Aspasia and Pericles were popular scapegoats. In Athenian comedies, Aspasia is called a harlot and a brothel keeper. According to Henry, the slanderous reports of ancient writers and comic poets were intended to ridicule Athens' leadership and Pericles' entire family.

Ancient Rome

In theory, Roman women were better off than their Athenian sisters. Roman society placed high value on marriage and the family, especially after Augustus introduced a series of laws designed to restore morality, although they met with limited success. Roman women in the upper class had wealth and influence but, at the same time, no public political roles and limited legal rights and were the objects of a misogynist invective and an ideology that rewarded female subservience (Joshel, 1995, p. 58).

Messalina (ca. 18–48 A.D.) was a Roman Empress and third wife of Roman Emperor Claudius. Her ancestry was every bit as illustrious as was her husband's. A direct relative of the Caesars, and a member of Caligula's court as a young girl, by the time she married Claudius, he was 50 and she 16. In fact, it was Caligula who had Claudius marry Messalina. After he became emperor, they had two children, Britannicus and Octavia.

Messalina became a major political player. She was the most influential woman in the Roman Empire and the power behind the throne. Roman sources claim that Messalina used sex to enforce her power and control politicians. She ruled contractors of public works as well as most of the emperor's freedman, former slaves who were freed by their masters and could rise to respectable positions in society Roman. Narcissus, who later played a major role in Messalina's fall was one of the few exceptions.

However, according to Tacitus, Messalina played with state affairs not for political ends but to satisfy her sexual appetites. It was her capriciousness, unscrupulousness, promiscuity, sexual depravity, adulterous and scandalous behavior that earned her a place in history. Not willing to tolerate rejection from the succession of consuls, heads of state, gladiators, and actors she pursued, Messalina manipulated her husband into executing a number of those who refused her advances. Messalina wanted to expand pleasure beyond illicit sexual relations per se. She did not simply engage in sexual affairs that brought disgrace, instead she sought the resulting disgrace of adultery rather than adultery itself. Adultery, as other crimes, brought infamia or dishonor and disgrace as a legal penalty. Yet, as Gardner (1991) pointed out, it was the quest for infamia that motivated Messalina's acceptance of Silius's marriage proposal.

Eventually, public opinion turned against her. The populace wanted to see a virtuous woman at the side of the emperor, not a prostitute nick-named "the wolf-girl" who ran a brothel known for all-night sex competitions. For example, Livia, the first empress of Rome, wife of Augustus and mother of the second emperor Tiberius, is described a model of modesty, faithfulness, and dignity, although later in life, she too displayed cravings for power and status. But during most of her marriage, like a traditional Roman wife, Livia remained very much in the background. Good wives submitted to their husband's control and lacked desire. Messalina, on the other hand, epitomized the bad wife.

Messalina's affair with Senator Gaius Silius, supposedly the most attractive man in Rome, marked the beginning of Messalina's fall. At the time, the senator and consul-designate was married, but Messalina coerced him to divorce his wife and lived openly with him although the emperor was the last person to learn of the affair. The affair culminated in an opulent, outlandish marriage ceremony. Together they plotted to kill Claudius and for Silius to become the next emperor of Rome.

While Claudius was in Ostia, the harbor of Rome, inspecting the construction work done on the harbor there, his freedman Narcissus informed Claudius of Messalina's secret marriage to Silius, which was celebrated while the emperor was in Ostia. Messalina received a message during her wedding feast that informed her that troops were coming on behalf of the emperor. On the road between Rome and Ostia, Messalina encountered the emperor but found him unresponsive to her pleas. Her mother who was with her encouraged her to commit suicide but Messalina lacked the courage. She was beheaded by a guard at the order of her husband.

Tacitus tells us that when the news of Messalina's execution reached Claudius at dinner time, he did not asked how she died, he simply asked for more wine. Subsequently, the Roman Senate had her name removed from all public and private places and statues. The ancient Roman sources (particularly Tacitus and Suetonious) portray Messalina as disgraceful, cruel, avaricious, and an adolescent nymphomaniac. Messalina's fall is detailed in Tacitus' *Annals* in Book 11. Tacitus created a narrative of an adulterous wife whose desire created disorder in the family, household, and the social hierarchy (Edwards, 1993). In his account of Claudius, Tacitus depicted the fourth emperor as a fool, emasculated, either ignorant of the machinations of his freedman and wives or else subservient to their wishes. As the arbiter of public morals, Claudius harbored immorality at home. Passive, manipulated, or befuddled, the emperor seemed incapable of independent action (Martin, 1981). Several authors note that ancient sources are unreliable on sexual misconduct and that adultery was a commonplace of political invective (e.g., Edwards, 1993; Richlin, 1981). When not dismissed as pure invective, female lust has been explained as political manipulation as by Levick (1990) who rejects the view of Messalina as an adolescent nymphomaniac. Joshel (1995) concluded that in Tacitus's description of an empress who enacted her unconstrained desires in a political context, the Roman writer and historian projected onto Messalina the power and action he lacked as a senator (p. 65).

Women Leaders from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance

Women leaders in different contexts contributed to the transformation of the early medieval world and wielded considerable power and influence. During the Middle Ages, a number of women achieved fame by their participation or leadership in time of war. Notable women warriors included Eleanor of Aquitaine, a powerful personality in feudal Europe; Joan of Arc, also known as the Maid of Orleans; and Elizabeth I of England. **Eleanor of Aquitaine** (1122–1204 A.D.), first married to Louis VII of France and, after the annulment of the marriage, later to King Henry II of England, played a controversial role in the Second Crusade. Maier (2004) discussed the role of women in the crusade movement. Particularly interesting is the story of Margaret of Beverly whose pilgrimage coincided with the capture of Jerusalem by Saladin in 1187. She was wounded while fighting on the ramparts wearing makeshift armor, paid a ransom after the city fell, and continued on in the East for another four years during which she became involved in fighting and took part in subsequent plundering. Like Margaret of Beverly, Eleanor dressed in armor and carried lances when she rode into Constantinople in 1147. She took part in the crusade as the feudal leader of the soldiers of her Duchess Eleanor's court, associated with the arts of the troubadours, and was a trendsetter in the medieval world known for her sophistication, luxury, and pomp.

Joan of Arc (1412–1431) became a revered symbol of French nationalism and was canonized by the Roman Catholic Church some 500 years after her death. Her two major accomplishments were the defeat of the English, which led to the deliverance of Orleans and the coronation of the Dauphin as Charles VII in the cathedral at Reims. **Elizabeth of England** (1533–1603), daughter of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn, served as both head of state and head of the Church of England. During her reign, she built a strong political power base unparalleled in Europe of her time. According to one of her biographers, Elizabeth believed that she was an instrument of God. She was also a patron of literature; the Elizabethan Age produced such playwrights such as Christopher Marlowe and William Shakespeare. A believer of enlightened absolutism, Elizabeth encouraged religious tolerance, freedom of speech, the arts, and education. Since these three women leaders have been widely treated in history books and a variety of media, in this section, I introduce women leaders from the Middle Ages and the Renaissance not as visible as Eleanor of Aquitaine, Joan of Arc, and Elizabeth I who nevertheless were extraordinary leaders and left their mark on history.

Matilda of Canossa (1046–1115), also known as Matilda of Tuscany, became known for her leadership in the years preceding and following Henry IV's victory over the pope in 1077. As Marchioness, Matilda controlled the city of Pisa, the most important city in Italy at the time. The key to her power was her large land possessions, her governing skills, and her leadership role in the papal–Tuscan alliance (Hay, 2008). She was well educated, spoke German and French in addition to her native language, and wrote in Latin.

Matilda was a strong supporter of the papacy during the Investiture Controversy who mediated the meeting between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV at her ancestral castle in Canossa in 1077. The controversy which played itself out during the 11th and 12th century involved the monarchies and the church. It was the most significant conflict between secular and religious authorities in Europe which involved the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire (Henry IV) and the Pope (Gregory VII), which reached its greatest intensity in the second half of the 11th century, at the height of Matilda's power. The focus of the debate was on who would control appointments of church officials including the pope (Investiture). The debate turned into a crisis when a group within the church decided to liberate the church from the power of secular leaders and called for the elimination of the Investiture ceremony (Blumenthal, 1991). The College of the Cardinals was created and charged with the election of popes. The author discusses the political and historical buildup of the conflict, the reforms the church was attempting to implement, and the kings' reactions designed to increase their influence in the church.

Through her expert negotiating skills and leadership ability, Matilda managed to secure Pisa for herself and the papacy (Davis, 1997). By 1080, Henry IV and Matilda both supporting the papacy were openly at war. Matilda's biographer at one point referred to her as "that grasping woman who was laying claim to almost all of Italy" (Spike, 2004, p. 118). Matilda sent gold and silver to Pope Gregory and led a series of military campaigns in the war against Henry IV. Donizone (1856), one of her contemporaries who served as her chaplain in Canossa, wrote an early life story of Matilda in which he chronicled the events of the controversy and the many success military campaigns she ordered and led in Italy between imperial forces and the papal supporters.

After the death of her nemesis Henry IV, Matilda retreated to the solitude of a Benedictine monastery where she was buried. Her remains were later removed for burial in St. Peter's Basilica in Rome. Skilled in military arts, she was a leader whose accomplishments were derived from her military successes. Contemporary leadership theory (Klenke, 1997a; Zaccaro, Rittman, & Marks, 2001) suggests that Matilda practiced team leadership through the many alliances she formed with the nobility and leaders of Pisa, the archbishop of Pisa, both of which spurred economic growth of the city. Davis (1997) suggested that politics and the political intrigue in the Middle Ages shared an important characteristic of politics today. Successful people, the author stated, survive through alliances and compromises, not unbridled wielding of power. Davis concluded that Matilda showed us that "our perception of women in the Middle Ages is sorely mistaken, but that perhaps also our perception of the medieval political world itself needs redefining" (p. 36).

The Renaissance was a period of new thinking regarding politics, religion, and social roles and structures. The Querelle des Femmes, or "Woman Controversy," a heated discussion about the nature of women, provided the most radical forum about women and gender (Brown & McBride, 2005). One of the outstanding women leaders of the Renaissance was **Isabella I of Spain** (1451–1504), also known as Isabella of Castile and Isabella the Catholic. Like Theodora and Justinian, she co-ruled the country with her husband Ferdinand II and is best known as the queen who financed the travels of Christopher Columbus. She was the daughter of King John II of Castile and his second wife, Queen Isabella of Portugal, and is widely regarded as one of the most powerful queens as Europe passed from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance. Her marriage to Ferdinand II began a 35-year rule of a unified Spain by Catholic monarchs. Isabella was well educated and took care of the education of her five children as well.

One of the dominant European queens of her time, Isabella was a leader recognized for her role in the unification of Spain, her patronage of explorers, and support of Catholicism. The year 1492 was a very important year for the royal couple: it witnessed the conquest of Granada and hence the end of the "Reconquista" (reconquest) which was a period of 800 years in the Middle Ages during which several Christian kingdoms in Spain succeeded in retaking the Iberian Peninsula from the Muslims. The year 1492 was also important for the Alhambra decree, which ordered the expulsion of all Jews from Spain, and the departure of Christopher Columbus for the New World (Stuart, 1991).

Of primary concern to the monarch was the religious cleansing of the newly united kingdom. Everywhere in 16th century Europe, it was assumed that religious unity was necessary for political unity, but only in Spain was there such a sense of urgency in enforcing religious conformity. In 1480, Isabella and Ferdinand instituted the Inquisition of Spain aimed mostly at Jews and Muslims who had overtly converted to Christianity but were thought to be practicing their faith secretly. They were given the title "the Catholic" by the Pope in recognition of their role in purifying the faith (Whitelaw, 2004). The Inquisition, a state-controlled Castilian tribunal, was authorized by a papal bull in 1478 and is known for the harsh and cruel treatment of religious minorities. Here, Isabella showed the dark side of her leadership. After Isabella and Ferdinand successfully united Spain after the conquest of Granada politically, they turned their efforts to religious unification. The Muslims of the newly conquered Granada had initially been granted religious freedom, and, after some revolts, a policy of forced expulsion or conversion was instituted. The same year, all Jews in Spain who refused to convert to Christianity were expelled by royal verdict. Approximately 200,000 left Spain and hundreds were executed (Walsh, 2009).

In 1492, the Muslim Kingdom of Granada fell to Isabella and Ferdinand, thus completing the Reconquista. The conquest of Granada allowed Isabella and Ferdinand to focus their attention on the exploration and exploitation of the New World. The expedition of Christopher Columbus brought wealth and additional land holdings to Spain. Isabella took an interest in the Native Americans of the new lands and when some were brought back to Spain as slaves, she had them returned and freed. The newly established colonies were not Spanish but Castilian. Isabella's support of Columbus's journey ushered Spain into a golden age of exploration and colonization with many new discoveries following in short succession after Columbus's voyage.

The latter part of Isabella's life was overshadowed by family tragedies including the death of a beloved son, the death of her daughter Isabella and her son, and the madness of her daughter Joan. In her will, which is the only piece of writing we have of Isabella I, she speaks of her desire for a leadership succession within her family which was successful.

Women Leaders During the 19th and 20th Century

During this period, several American women emerged as leaders in different contexts. Unlike the previous historical periods, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance which had a distinctively European flavor, the 19th and 20th centuries witnessed a shift from Europe as the main player of the social, political, economic, and cultural landscape to the United States emerging as a world power. The 19th century was clearly the transition century. After the Napoleonic war, the British Empire became the world's leading power. Post-civil war reconstruction, the industrial revolution, which started in Europe and spread to the United States, and significant reduction of slavery were defining events in the United States. In the half-century between the Civil War and World War I, according to Lears (2009), a widespread yearning for a new beginning permeated American public life. Dreams of spiritual, moral, and physical rebirth formed the foundation for the modern United States.

The 20th century, politically and economically dominated by two world wars, the Great Depression, Nazism in Germany, and the end of colonialism, also saw a significant number of technological, medical, social, ideological, and political innovations. Outer space explorations, the advent of the automobile, the spread of mass media, environmentalism, computers and the Internet, and new developments in the arts and sciences define the sociopolitical fabric of the 20th century. It is against this historical background that we need to understand and evaluate the leadership of three prominent American women leaders: Susan B. Anthony, Eleanor Roosevelt, and Betty Friedan. These female leaders lived their lives in the center of what many would regard the 19th and 20th century most consequential events.

When **Susan B. Anthony** (1820–1906) was born in 1820, the manufacture of cotton was a new industry. Enterprising young men, like her father Daniel Anthony, envisioned a potential cotton mill at her place of birth, Adams, Massachusetts, where young women, eager to earn the first money they could call their own, were leaving the farms to work in the mills. Her father's cotton mill became the anchor of Anthony's childhood. To enter the mill, to stand quietly and look about, was the best kind of entertainment, for she was fascinated with the whir of the looms, the nimble fingers of the weavers, and by the general air of efficiency (Lutz, 2007). She grew up in a large Quaker family assisting her mother who boarded mill workers along with the chores of running a household. Her family was very active in the reform movement of the day; both her parents were strong supporters of the abolitionist and temperance movements. Her Quaker upbringing greatly influenced the role she played in 19th century America.

Anthony was a precocious child who learned to read and write at age three. A pivotal moment during her childhood came when her father refused to promote her in his mill — even though she was the most qualified worker (Hopkinson, 2005). After completing her schooling at age 17, she began teaching in schools in rural New York State. Because it was regarded similar to motherhood, teaching was one of the few professions open to women at the time and allowed them to establish their own identity by gaining economic independence. When Anthony protested the inequality of teaching salaries for male and female teachers, she lost her job. Eventually she moved to the family farm in Rochester where she began to take part in conventions and gatherings related to the temperance movement.

A lifelong advocate for women's equality, from childhood awareness through adulthood activism, Anthony was convinced that the principle of equal rights for all, as stated in the Declaration of Independence, must be expressed in the laws of a rue republic, devoted her life to the establishment of this idea. Because she recognized in Negro slavery and in the legal bondage of women flagrant violations of this principle, she became an active and effective antislavery crusader and a champion of civil and critical rights for women. She saw women's struggle for freedom from legal restrictions as an important phase in the development of American democracy. To her this struggle was never a battle of the sexes, but a battle such as any freedom-loving people would wage for civil and political rights (Lutz, 2007).

At a temperance meeting in 1851, Anthony met women's rights leader and social activist abolitionist Elizabeth Cady Stanton. They formed a deep personal friendship and a political bond that would last for the rest of their lives. Despite their differences in personalities and career paths, their partnership despite some ideological differences and the issues they promoted jointly became synonymous with the beginnings of the women's movement. Stanton, married and mother of six children, served as the writer and idea-person of the two, and Anthony, never married, was more often the organizer and the one who traveled, spoke widely, and bore the brunt of antagonistic public opinion. Ward and Burns (2001) emphasized the impossibility of treating either one of these two activists in isolation from the other. Anthony's grasp complimented Stanton's philosophical imagination.

Together, Anthony and Stanton founded the National Woman's Suffrage Association (NWSA) in 1869, the first women's state temperance society in America after Anthony was refused admission to a conference because of her gender. In the early years of the association, Anthony made many attempts to unite women in the labor movement with the suffragist cause, but with little success. In 1890, Anthony orchestrated the merger of the NWSA with the more moderate American Women Suffrage Association (AWSA) resulting in the establishment of the National American Women Suffrage Association (NAWSA). The NAWSA became the most mainstream and nationally visible pro-suffrage voice. It pursued a strategy of pushing suffrage at the state level based on the belief that state-by-state support would eventually force the federal government to pass the Fifteenth Amendment. After successfully passing legislation at state and local levels, the NAWSA was instrumental in winning the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution in 1920, which prohibits each of the states and the federal government from denying any citizen the right to vote because of gender. The NAWSA continues today as the league of women voters.

Another milestone of their partnership was the founding of *Revolution* in 1868, a woman's newspaper dedicated to promote women's and African American's right to suffrage as well as issues such as equal pay for equal work, more liberal divorce laws, women's rights to sexually refuse their husbands, and increased economic opportunities for women. Stanton, an excellent writer, served as editor while Anthony acted as publisher and business manager. Anthony and Stanton dedicated their tireless efforts on behalf of women's rights for the remainder of their lives.

One of the most powerful moments in Anthony's life occurred when she was arrested while attempting to vote. The Fourteenth Amendment, adopted in 1868, had declared that all people born in the United States were citizens at that no legal privileges could be denied to them. Anthony decided to challenge this amendment. Saying that women were citizens and the amendment did not restrict the privilege to vote to men, she registered to vote in Rochester in 1872. In an attempt to claim that the constitution already permitted women to vote, Anthony, along with 15 other women, cast a test vote in Rochester, New York, in the presidential election. Anthony's vote went to U.S. Grant and other Republicans, based on the party's promise to give the demands of women a respectful hearing. Later that day, Anthony wrote to Stanton:

> Well I have been & gone & done it — positively voted the Republican ticket — strait this a.m. at 7 O'clock — & swore my vote in at that — was registered on Friday … and then on Sunday others some 20 or thirty other women tried to register, but all save two were refused … Hon Henry R. Selden will be our Counsel — he has read up the law & all of our arguments & is satisfied. So we are in for a fine agitation in Rochester on the question — I hope the morning's telegrams will tell of many women all over the country trying to vote. It is splendid that without any concert of action so many should have moved here so impromptu (Linder, 2009).

All 16 women were arrested, but only Anthony was brought before a court. Anthony saw the four months until her trial as an opportunity to educate the citizens of Rochester and surrounding counties on the issue of women's suffrage. In one of the speeches on the lecture circuit, she addressed the audience by saying:

> Friends and fellow-citizens: I stand before you tonight, under indictment for the alleged crime of having voted at the last Presidential election, without having a lawful right to vote. It shall be my work this evening to prove to you that in thus voting I not only committee no crime, but, instead, simply exercised my citizen's right, guaranteed to me and all United States citizens by the National Constitution, beyond the power of any state to deny (Linder, 2009).

Going into trial, United States v. Susan B. Anthony, Anthony's attorney stressed that she was prosecuted purely on account of her gender. Anthony wrote in her diary that the trial was the greatest judicial outrage history had ever recorded. During her trial, the presiding judge made it clear that he opposed women's suffrage and wrote his decision before the trial had even started. Anthony was found guilty but refused to pay the fine. No further action was taken although the presiding judge announced that the court would not order imprisonment until the fine was paid. But the trial offered Anthony the opportunity to spread her views to a wider audience and turn the trial and conviction into political gains.

For the next 30 years, Anthony traveled the country working for women's rights. She dedicated her life to "the cause," the woman's suffrage movement and her accomplishments paved the way for the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920 which gave women the right to vote. The term woman's suffrage refers to the political and economic reform movement aimed at extending suffrage — the right to vote — to women (Baker, 2005). In 1906, her health failing, she addressed her last women's suffrage convention. While Anthony's goals for women were only partially realized in her lifetime, she prepared the soil for the acceptance not only of her long hoped for federal woman's suffrage amendment but for a worldwide recognition of human rights, now expressed in the United Nations Charter and the Declaration of Human Rights. She looked forward to the time when throughout the world there would be no discrimination because of race, color, religion, or sex.

A very different kind of leadership was exercised by **Eleanor Roosevelt** (1884–1962), the niece of one president (Theodore) and wife of another president (Franklin). Eleanor Roosevelt was born in 1884 in New York City into a world of wealth and privilege, as her family was part of New York high society called the swells (Lash, 1971). She was a shy, awkward, not very attractive little girl, so much that her mother nicknamed her "Granny," starved for recognition and love. Her mother died when Eleanor was 8, her alcoholic father a year later. After the death of both her parents, she was raised by her grandmother. She spent most of her early life feeling inadequate.

Roosevelt was educated by private tutors until age 15, when she was sent to distinguished boarding school for girls in England where she began to discover her own voice. The headmistress, Marie Souvestre, was a noted feminist educator who had a significant influence on young Eleanor. Eventually, she developed from a timid and uncertain young woman to a confident and courageous adult capable of dealing with both personal tragedy and public notoriety.

Roosevelt met her fifth cousin, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR) in 1902 and they became engaged in 1903, despite much opposition from Franklin's mother, Sara Delano Roosevelt who took her son on a cruise in 1904, hoping that a separation would squelch the romance. Throughout her marriage, Eleanor had a contentious relationship with her domineering mother-in-law, partly because Sara wanted to be a mother to Eleanor and did her best before and during the marriage to fill this role (Wiesen Cook, 1993). Between 1906 and 1916, they had six children.

After Franklin Roosevelt was stricken with polio in 1921, Eleanor became increasingly active in politics and became intimately involved in his political life. She traveled on his behalf visiting slums, hospitals, and mines. She not only became his "eyes and legs" but also developed a wide range of social and political interests of her own. She participated in the League of Women Voters, joined the Women's Trade Union League, and worked for the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Committee. She helped to found Val-Kill Industries, a nonprofit furniture factory in Hyde Park, New York, and taught at a private girls' school in New York City. She led women's organizations and youth movements and fought for consumer welfare, civil rights, and improved housing. She wrote a daily newspaper column, *My Day*, for over a quarter of the century, from 1936 to 1962.

Roosevelt overcame many hardships in her personal life including her husband's affair with her social secretary Lucy Mercer. When Eleanor learned of the affair from Mercer's letters, which she discovered in Franklin's suitcases in 1918, she insisted on a divorce unless Franklin immediately terminated the affair. Everything changed after the discovery of FDR's affair, although the couple maintained an air of normalcy. They maintained separate bedrooms and FDR stopped seeing Mercer, but his mistress was with him when he died.

Although the marriage survived, Eleanor emerged a different women becoming more self-reliant and developing interests of her own. Freedman (1997) noted how Roosevelt transcended both an unhappy childhood and a timid nature to become one of the most outspoken, vigorous, highly regarded women in history. Through the 1920s, Eleanor became increasingly influential as a leader in the New York State Democratic Party. With the American entry in World War I, she became active in the Red Cross and volunteer work in Navy hospitals. As her husband's career spiraled upward, so did Eleanor's backstage influence. By the time Franklin reached the White House for the first of four elected terms, Eleanor had many admirers and almost as many detractors. Yet, initially she felt that she was not White House materials.

When Eleanor Roosevelt came to the White House (1933–1945), she understood social conditions better than any of her predecessors and transformed the role of the First Lady. As First Lady, she exercised both formal and informal power. As an office holder, she occupied the position of assistant director of The Office of Civilian Defense and encountered no legal constraints on her appointment to this position in the executive branch. However, by any standard, her tenure as assistant director was a failure, since few of her programs were implemented and even those were discontinued shortly after she left office (Borrelli, 2002).

She was a very active First Lady who traveled extensively around the nation and internationally, and seized every chance afforded her by her position as wife of the president to work for peace and prosperity both at home and overseas. Stepping in to keep her husband's political career alive while he battled the after effects of polio, she ultimately transformed the role of First Lady from figure head to activist, and set a new standard by which all her successors have been judged. Eleanor was First Lady longer than anyone had been.

Wiesen Cook (2000) called Roosevelt's years in the White House from 1933 to 1938 the defining years. The author chronicles Roosevelt's first six years as America's most controversial First Lady, maps her contributions to the New Deal which the author argues was primarily the fulfillment of a political agenda promoted by female reformers as early as 1912. One of the author's major concerns is why both

Roosevelts were largely silent about Germany's treatment of its Jewish citizens. Wiesen Cook noted that FDR and his staff did not object to Eleanor expressing her views on domestic matters that conflicted with administration policy but severely restricted her speeches and articles on foreign policy subjects.

In the White House, Eleanor Roosevelt practiced what in contemporary leadership is known as invisible (Follett, 1941) or quiet leadership (Badaracco, 2002) which refers to a leadership style practiced by leaders who lead behind the scenes for effective moral leadership. Follett captured the essence of invisible leadership when she stated:

> Leaders and followers are both following the invisible leader — the common purpose. While leadership depends on the depth of conviction and the power coming therefore, there must also be the ability to share that conviction with others, the ability to make purpose articulate. A common purpose becomes the leader. And I believe that we are coming more and more to act, whatever our theories, on our faith in the power of this invisible leader (Follett, 1941, p. 48).

Eleanor certainly would agree with this statement, as she herself was an invisible leader who articulated a common purpose. According to Follett, invisibility does not imply irrelevant, ineffective, passive, or laissez-fare leadership. Instead, the common purpose is the invisible force that holds leaders, followers, and the leadership process together.

Roosevelt broke many traditions. She was the First Lady to give a press conference, the first to testify before Congress in favor of liberal causes, publicly fought for integration at a time when few others did, visited U.S. soldiers at war overseas, and was one of the first women to become a political figure in her own right. She was the First Lady to speak at a nominating convention when her husband was running for a third term in 1940. She declined secret service protection and carried her own gun when necessary. She was the first and only First Lady to have a Ku Klux Klan bounty on her head (Beasley, 2010). There is almost no current issue that Eleanor did not foresee, analyze, and had a definite position on — race, civil liberties, working women, and mothers.

Of all the social and political causes Eleanor supported — women's rights, house, race relation, segregation, injustice, and her fight against poverty — she regarded the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as her greatest achievement. After Franklin's death, she served as U.S. representative to the United Nations, where she fought for and won passage of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which became her greatest legacy. In 1947, in a world recently ripped apart by the Holocaust, the very idea of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights seemed both impossible and supremely necessary. While the content and the phrasing of the declaration are the product of many minds, Roosevelt is given full credit for facilitating the process and persuading the group to a final agreement that incorporated the best from many cultural and religious traditions (Glendon, 2002). Unlike most members of the Commission, Eleanor was neither a scholar nor an expert on international law. Her enthusiasm for her work at the United Nations was rooted in her humanitarian convictions and her steady faith in human dignity and worth. With characteristic modesty, Eleanor considered her position on the Commission to be one of ambassador for the common man and woman.

After her husband's death in 1945, Roosevelt continued to be an internationally prominent author, speaker, politician, and activist for the New Deal coalition. She chaired the John F. Kennedy's administration's groundbreaking committee which helped start second-wave feminism, the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women. For the rest of her life, she continued to campaign for social justice through her writings and speeches and maintained a deep involvement in the reform wing of the Democratic Party until her death in 1962. Eleanor's leadership strategies are still relevant today. For example, she advises her readers to find their leadership passion, allow time for their values to develop, follow their authentic instincts, and be bold and principled implementing their vision (Gerber, 2003). Eleanor was one of the master politicians of the 20th century. FDR's legacy cannot be understood apart from hers. The depths and breadth of her opinions, analytical abilities, sharp wit, and her skill of conveying ideas to the general public were remarkable (Black, 2000).

If Susan B. Anthony was the first social movement leader who was instrumental in launching the early period of the women's movement, **Betty Friedan** (1921–2006), feminist crusader, political activist, and author of ''The Feminine Mystique'' (Friedan, 1964), one of the most influential books of the 20th century and founding text of second-wave feminism, reignited the women's movement in 1963. What light does her upbringing and early life experiences shed on Betty Friedan as a leader of the women's movement? Born in Peoria, Illinois, as a young girl Friedan was active in Marxist and Jewish circles. She attended the all female Smith College where she served as editor in chief of the college newspaper. During the year she studied at the University of California, Berkeley, she won a fellowship to undertake graduate work in psychology under the direction of developmental psychologist Erik Erikson. After leaving Berkeley, Friedan became a journalist for leftist and union publications. Later, as a university-educated housewife, psychologist, and researcher, Friedan spent the years between 1952 and 1963 as a suburban homemaker but, according to Horowitz (2000), she was quite unorthodox in that role. For example, she was extremely active in community-based politics, taught writing courses at New York University and the new School for Social Research. Her biographer (Hennessee, 1999) openly depicts Friedan as a Marxist in her college years. It is only recently that Friedan provided extensive detail about her radical past with the publication of her autobiography (Friedan, 2006).

In ''The Feminine Mystique,'' Friedan argued that women's magazines, advertisers, and an army of Freudian psychoanalysts convinced women that the fulfillment of their femininity was their highest calling. According to Friedan, postwar America had taken the ideal of femininity to the extreme by encouraging women to be passive, childlike, and fluffy and emphasizing their roles as wives and mothers. She identified and dissected one of the most pervasive folk beliefs of postwar American life: the myth of suburban women's domestic fulfillment she came to call the feminist mystique. Drawing on history, psychology, sociology, and economics as well as on interviews with women conducted across the country, Friedan charted a general metamorphosis of the American woman from the independent, career-minded New Women of the 1920s and 1930s into the housewife of the postwar years (Oliver, 2007).

As one of the chief architects of the women's liberation movement, Friedan along with 27 other women founded the National Organization (NOW) and served as the first president from 1966 to 1970. Under her leadership, NOW advocated legal equality of women and men, support for the legalization of abortion, and endorsed the Equal Rights Amendment. As president, she lobbied the Equal Opportunity Commission to enforce laws against sex discrimination in employment. Contemporaries of Friedan who were active in NOW and the National Women's Political Caucus (NWPC) included Gloria Steinem, Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm who sought the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States in 1972, Kate Millet, and Eleanor Holmes Norton. Of her turbulent relationship with Gloria Steinem, founder of *MS Magazine*, who after 1972 played an increasingly central role in the movement, Friedan stated that many ascribed the rift between the two women leaders to Steinem's good looks. Friedan, on the other hand, noted that she always considered Steinem's looks as an asset to the movement which was invaluable in refuting the movement's negative image of being a nest of ugly man haters and lesbians. Eventually, Friedan was sidelined from both NOW and the NWPC, in part because of her abrasive personality. As Hennessee's (1999) biography records, Friedan saw herself as the alpha female of the feminist movement and had a tendency to be hostile and paranoid toward anyone who threatened that status.

Friedan's book and its message were hailed as a turning point in history but also received its share of criticism. The book permanently transformed the social fabric of the United States and countries around the world. However, Sommers (2008) pointed out that in building her case, Friedan made a fatal mistake that undermined her book's appeal at the time and permanently weakened the movement it helped to create. She not only attacked a postwar culture that aggressively consigned women to the domestic sphere, but she attacked the sphere itself — along with all the women who chose to live there. It came to no surprise that when McCall Magazine printed excerpts from "The Feminine Mystique" in 1963, it received hundreds of letters, mostly negative. Friedan was accused of being disdainful, condescending, and snobbish. Many feminists critiqued Friedan's myopic and narrow representation of American women claiming that "The Feminine Mystique" represents the severe limitations of liberal and bourgeois feminism as a theory and as the basis for political actions (e.g., hooks, 2000, p. 2). For example, Tong remarked that "Friedan seemed oblivious to other perspectives than those of white, middle class, heterosexual, educated women who found the traditional roles of wife and mother unsatisfying (Tong, 1998, p. 26). Even her husband got quite belligerent and started beating up on her. Yet she accepted the abuse and did not get out of the marriage for quite some years. Finally, in 1969, she summoned the courage to divorce her husband (Friedan, 2006).

Ideologically, Friedan was against abortion, was for sex discrimination laws, and valued motherhood. She considered the August 26, 1970, massive rally held in

New York the high point of her political life. It was then that she realized that the initial phase of the second wave of the women's movement was over and that the next thrust had to go beyond demonstration and consciousness raising to organizing political power. Friedan convened the first meeting of what would become the NWPC which brought together women from many walks of life and different political parties to elect women to national office and to organize grassroots chapters at state and local levels.

In 1998, in her follow-up book, "The Second Stage," Friedan argued that after working against political and economic injustices, the women's movement should focus on working with men, called for the use of flex time and job sharing, as well as company-sponsored daycare programs — employment benefits that we take for granted today. After the movement, she continued to be an influential writer and appeared on many television shows. Young (2006) pointed out that as a woman of paradox, Friedan often found herself on the losing side in the ideological disputes within the movement she helped create.

For this last section on history as a context for women's leadership, I chose three women to highlight the importance of history as a context, but also the confluence of several contexts. Susan B. Anthony and her collaborator Elizabeth Stanton were trailblazers of the early days of the women's movement while Betty Friedan took the movement into its second stage. In between these two social movements' leaders, we find Eleanor Roosevelt who pursued some of the same causes that were on Anthony's and Friedan agenda but structured her role as a sociopolitical activist very differently. The leaders discussed in the last section highlight the confluence of multiple contexts in women's leadership and call our attention to the competencies required to lead in several contexts simultaneously.

Summary

The portrayals of women leaders offered in this chapter took us on a journey through time and place. History has shown to be a context for women's leadership demonstrating that every era witnessed female leaders who made outstanding contributions to their societies, cultures, and peoples. A hallmark of history as a context often operates in conjunction with other contexts such as social movements and politics. From Hatshepsut in Egypt to Betty Friedan in the United States as leaders, women fought for women's rights, the improvement of women's status in the family and their countries, used peaceful means and religious and political warfare for the advancement of women. Some of the women chronicled here are known in history for their effectiveness as leaders, others, such as Messalina in Rome, are recognized as representing the dark side of leadership. Armed with the lessons history is teaching us about women leaders, we are now prepared to examine women's leadership in specific contexts beginning with political systems.

Chapter 3

Political Systems as Context for Women's Leadership

Condoleezza Rice was the second woman to become secretary of state of the United States after Madeleine Albright; she was the first black woman to occupy that office and held the highest position in a presidential cabinet that any woman was appointed to. From January 2005 to 2009, Rice, also known as Condi, served as the 66th secretary of state during Bush's second presidency after her appointment as National Security Advisor from 2001 to 2005 during President Bush's first term.

Condi's childhood and adolescence were characterized by many early accomplishments. She was born in 1954 in Alabama and was raised in segregated Birmingham during the civil rights movement in a sheltered environment. Her parents tried to shield her from racisms and prejudice that were prevalent while Rice was growing up. Her father was a Presbyterian Minister and academic who later became dean of students at Stillman College in Tuscaloosa and obtained his master's degree from Denver University. He was Rice's primary role model, while her mother, a pianist and teacher, instilled in her a continuing love for playing the piano (Felix, 2005). Her parents implanted in their daughter the aspiration to rise above the circumstances in which she was born. Growing up in a middle class family, her parents were both inspired and mortified by Martin Luther King's radicalism (Mabry, 2008). Although African Americans were not allowed to vote while Rice was growing up, her father constantly reminded his daughter that she would be able to become president of the United States, if she set her mind to it.

Rice mastered the piano at age three, along with French, and ballet. At age 15, she played Mozart with the Denver Symphony and since then has performed at diplomatic events at embassies and other public occasions. She skipped first and seventh grade while attending a private Catholic school. Beginning in the 1960s, Rice spent most of her summers in Denver where her parents took courses at Denver University. Rice continued her piano lessons and learned how to ice skate devoting much time to the sport on a daily basis. She enrolled at the University of Denver at age 15 and graduated at age 19. Early on it seemed that her career path was clear — she would major in music to become a concert pianist. But she became interested in international affairs and changed her major to political science. She finished her master's program in one year and earned her doctorate from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of Denver in 1981. Her area of specialization during her doctoral studies was foreign policy in the Soviet Union. She published a number of books and numerous articles on

Soviet and East European foreign and defense policy. When the father of the incumbent U.S. president introduced Rice to Mr. Gorbachev during his official visit in Washington in 1989, George Bush confessed that everything he knew about the Soviet Union he learned from Condoleezza Rice.

Rice joined the Stanford University faculty as professor of political science in 1981 and took over as the university's provost and chief administrative officer from 1993 to 1999. Rice was the first female, first minority, and youngest provost at Stanford. As provost, Rice was responsible for managing the universities multimillion dollar budget. At the time of her tenure, the school was running a deficit of $20 million. Two years later, she announced that the deficit had been eliminated and that the university was holding a record surplus of over 14.6 million (Robinson, 1999). However, despite her accomplishments, her tenure at Stanford was not without controversy. There were debates over multiculturalism in Stanford's curriculum, the undergraduate core requirements in the humanities, and housing shortages for graduate students. Rice was also in the hot seat over the issue of faculty diversity, especially the pace at which women joined the faculty and were promoted through the academic ranks.

At Stanford, she became a member of the Center for International Security and Arms Control and a senior fellow of International Studies. She was also a senior fellow on Public Policy at the Hoover Institution from 1991 to 1993 and returned to the Hoover Institution after she left her post as provost at Stanford University.

Politically, Rice described herself as a moderate Republican, a black leader in a white establishment. She was a Democrat until 1982 when she changed her political affiliation because her views on foreign policy conflicted with those of President Jimmy Carter. As National Security Advisor during the first Bush administration, Rice worked on numerous issues including terrorism, Iraq, and weapons of mass destruction and played a role in authorizing enhanced interrogation techniques such as waterboarding that were used by the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA). Her role also included to referee the clash of opinions of what some White House staffers called the "bull elephants" — Rumsfeld, Cheney, and Powel (Samuels, 2007). At the end of her term as National Security Advisor, Rice was prepared to leave politics and return to an academic post at Stanford University but was drafted by Bush to be the secretary of state.

As secretary of state, she pioneered a policy of transformational diplomacy with a focus on democracy in the greater Middle East. She was reputed to have been one of the ideologists behind the U.S.-led war in Iraq and tense relations with Iran, North Korea, and Libya (Bumiller, 2003). She was an outspoken proponent of the 2003 invasion of Iraq on the grounds that Saddam Hussein was a menace and championed the expansion of democratic government. Skepticism about whether Rice could hold her own among the male establishment gave way to news stories about her influence on policy and her close relationship with Bush.

Kessler (2007), a Washington Post correspondent and one of Rice's favorite reporters who frequently traveled with Rice, credits her for a number of successes including her role in weakening a secret CIA prison system in Europe, negotiating a truce between Israel and Hezbollah in Lebanon, and her ability to win and keep the trust of an isolated president. The author described Rice as a steely, forceful, brilliant, and *talented woman, capable of great charm, with the savvy to stand up to powerful political leaders at home and abroad. At the same time, Kessler faults Rice for some foolish political choices such as some of the policies she supported as National Security Advisor which later came back to haunt her as secretary of state. He also criticized her failure to provide a coherent foreign policy vision. The premise underlying Kessler's chronicle of Rice is twofold: (1) to show that Rice spent her years as secretary of state saddled with trying to undo the damage that she did in Bush's first term as National Security Advisor who fell under the sway of the administrations' neoconservative ideologues and (2) her performance as a series of missed opportunities attributable to a lack of a coherent strategic vision.*

Rice's media profile rose significantly after 9/11 and there were speculations that she would run for the Republican nomination in the 2008 primary which Rice ruled out. The speculations about a potential McCain–Rice ticket ended in August 2008 when McCain announced Sarah Palin as his running mate.

In the private sector, Rice served on numerous corporate boards including Chevron, Transamerica, the Charles Schwab Corporation, Hewlett-Packard, and the Rand Corporation. She appeared on the Time 100, Time Magazine's list of the world's most influential people, four times. In 2004 and 2005, she was ranked by Forbes magazine as the most powerful woman in the world and number two in 2006 (following the Chancellor of Germany, Angela Merkel) (MacDonald & Schoenberger, 2006).

One of her biographers (Mabry, 2008) called Rice one of the most powerful, complex, and enigmatic black women of our time. She cultivated many passions, from football to music, weight training to Russia. Samuels (2007) suggested that Rice's obsession with sport made it easier for her to function in a world of men who may not be immediately comfortable taking direction from a younger black woman, but will respect anyone who can name the winning quarterback for every Super Bowl off the top of her head. Some believe that Rice's distinct leadership style was born of her experience with the fast moving events at the end of the Cold War. According to Samuels, Rice was torn between her long-term commitment to democracy and the actual short-term results of democracy. At the same time, she believed that she could have things both ways because she believed that history was on her side.

Introduction

As early as 1937, a Gallup (Gallup, 1937) poll asked respondents, "Would you vote for a woman for president if she were qualified in every other respect?" Jalalzai (2004) postulated this question as follows, "Why and how have women achieved positions as head of government or head of state in several countries where the culture is conservative in terms of gender roles and even where women's social and political rights have been severely restricted while in countries such as the United States, where the culture is generally less conservative and traditional, women have not achieved such powerful positions" (p. 85). Even 10 years after the "Year of the Woman," the United States remained 50th worldwide in the percentage of women elected to legislative office (Mandel, 2001). In fact, Clift and Brazaitis (2003) pointed out that Americans have become used to and comfortable with women in power in other countries. Developed and developing countries have been led by a line of women who have ruled or rule with various levels of success: Margaret Thatcher in Britain; Corazon Aquino in the Philippines; Benazir Bhutto in Pakistan; and more recently Michelle Bachelet in Chile, the first woman leader in Latin America who did not have a husband precede her as president; and Angela Merkel in Germany.

Over the years, attitudes evolved and women became more accepted in politics as they took their place in law, medicine, and the military. Responses to the 1937 Gallup question have changed significantly, showing increasingly favorable responses over the years. Approval of a well-qualified female candidate for the presidency from 1953 through 2006 has increased from 33% to 92% in 2006 (Carroll, 2006). The results of recent presidential elections gave some evidence of support for political offices occupied by women. Although women are less likely to run for political office than men, once they achieve the nomination, they are as successful as men in winning primary and general elections for state legislatures, governorships, and the U.S. House and Senate (Fox & Lawless, 2004).

Particularly over the past two decades, women's presence in the public sphere, across parties and local, state, and federal levels in the United States has steadily increased. In the U.S. Senate, women's representation has improved markedly since the "Year of the Woman" (in politics) precipitated by the 1992 elections. By 2007, women comprised a paltry but steadily growing 16% of the total U.S. Senate. Likewise, women in Congress have had more opportunities than in the past to demonstrate the degree to which they can handle a broad array of social, economic, and military policies. At the time of this writing, a record number of Republican women have sought federal office this year: 129 in House races and 17 in Senate races. However, despite these gains, Republican women are not totally successful: only 38 House contenders and three Senate contenders have won their primary races. At the same time, the number of Democratic women who ran for office decreased from 148 to 134. Both parties are mindful that women vote more frequently than men in elections (Newman-Small, 2010, p. 14).

Geraldine Ferraro and Elizabeth Dole were early forerunners of women seeking senior political leadership positions; Madeleine Albright and Condoleezza Rice served as examples of women rising to high-ranking foreign policy leadership roles. The 2008 presidential election in the United States provided a unique opportunity to study the performance of two high-profile leaders, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin who ran for the office of president and vice president for the Democratic and Republican Party, respectively. The presidential bids of these two women leaders begged the question, "Why has one of the most powerful and socially progressive countries in history not elected a female president, and when will it get around to it?" Thus, in the 21st century, women are still catching up to men in terms of political participation, and as long as men continue to form a disproportionately percentage of major part candidate, gender equality in our elective institutions will remain an elusive goal (Elder, 2004).

Table 3.1 depicts a brief history of significant milestones in U.S. women's political leadership.

Despite the fact that women are moving into such highly visible positions as presidents, prime ministers, state senators, and mayors, they remain a distinct minority in politics. For example, in history, only 42 women have served as presidents or prime ministers, and 25 of them came to office in the 1990s. As a result, women's behavior as high-ranking political leaders is always under added scrutiny, because, in part, they have historically rarely filled such positions. Although more women are running for political office, relatively few empirical studies have examined women's leadership in high-ranking, powerful positions. Research continues to show that public bureaucracies remain highly gender segregated with most men and women in political system performing in different roles (Reid, Kerr, & Miller, 2000). Many scholars conclude that there is something wrong with a political system that produces governing bodies dominated by men when, in fact, women comprise the majority of the population; yet, American political institutions do not come anywhere close to accurately reflecting the gender makeup of U.S. society. Richter (1991) suggested that the experience

Table 3.1: Milestones for American female political leaders.

Woman leader	Accomplishment	Date
Victoria Woodhull	First woman to run for presidency of United States	1872
Janet Rankin	First women elected to U.S. Congress	1916
Susan B. Anthony	Passage of 19th Amendment granting women the right to vote	1920
Rebecca Latimer Felton	First women elected to the U.S. Senate	1922
Francis Perkins	First women appointed to U.S. Cabinet Secretary position	1933
Margaret Chase Smith	First woman to be elected to both the U.S. House and the Senate	1948
Shirley Chisholm	First African American woman to run for presidency of United States	1972
Sandra O'Connor	First woman to become a justice of the Supreme Court of the United States	1981
Janet Reno	First woman appointed as attorney general	1993
Madeleine Albright	First woman to be appointed secretary of state	1996
Mary Landrieu	First female senator (of Louisiana) with young children to be elected to the senate	1996
Nancy Pelosi	First woman speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives	2001
Elaine Chao	First Asian American woman elected to a president's cabinet	2001

of politically prominent women offers empirical "reality checks" on theories of leadership that have been derived exclusively from the experiences of men (p. 527).

Tucker, McCarthy, and Jones (1999) concluded that the nature of politics is tradition laden, and those legacies encourage behaviors and traits that, because of history more so than malicious intent, embrace maleness. In an environment such as the political legislature which, in the past, had few models of effective and successful leadership of women, and where women in elected positions have only occasionally served as prototypes by which to measure appropriateness and validity of their actions, it is not surprising that the women in the study perceived themselves, their leadership behaviors, and impact to be at the fringe.

This chapter examines the role of female politicians in the United States, the challenges and impediments they face, conceptual bases for women's exclusion from the formal arena of high-ranking political office, and internal and external conditions that hinder or facilitate the development of an enabling environment that facilitates women's access to high-level political leadership. In Chapter 11, I expand the discourse on politics as a context for women's leadership to the international arena. In Chapters 3 and 11, the specifics of national and to lesser extent state and local contexts are highlighted. Among the salient contextual characteristics discussed in the following sections are (1) the governmental structure of political offices; (2) the role of crisis situation in the election or appointment of high-ranking political leaders; (3) the ideology and causes female political leaders support; and (4) ascension to political office by women through family ties.

Contextual Characteristics of Political Systems

In political systems at the local, state, or federal levels, leaders are elected or appointed. Dynamic and strategic leadership skills are required to develop, influence, and negotiate policy among various publics. Political behavior refers to the ability by organizational actors to accept and work with persons who hold different values to their own (Kakabadse & Parker, 1985).

According to Bolman and Deal (1991), the political frame asserts that, in the face of differences and scare resources, conflict among members of a coalition is inevitable and power becomes a key resource. Allison's (1971) central argument is that the "name of the game is politics: bargaining along regularized circuits among players positioned hierarchically within the government. Government behavior can thus be understood as … results of theses bargaining games" (p. 72). Moreover, contextual factors have to be seen against the larger sociopolitical events in which elections for political office take place. For example, the American presidential election of 2005 played itself out in the historical context of the post-9/11 era and within an electoral frame that Republicans successfully propagated as focused on security issues.

One important contextual factor involves the government structure under which women enter into positions of high-ranking political offices. There are two basic structures: parliamentary systems and presidential systems. In countries with parliamentary systems, like the United Kingdom, the head of a political party takes office if the party wins a plurality of the vote in a national election. That is how Margaret Thatcher became prime minister. The U.S. presidential system, a winner-take all system of politics, according to Whicker and Hedy (1999) is an obstacle to women who are trying to achieve the highest positions in national politics. The authors remind voters that presidential systems generally rely on the popular vote, not the individual. Even if a country has a socially conservative electorate, a woman may be able to work her way up in a party and become party head and ultimately prime minister or president.

A second major contextual factor involves the role of crisis situation. The terrorist attacks on New York and Washington on 9/11, 2001, highlighted both the critical importance of crises during which charismatic leaders often emerge. With the country suddenly focused on war preparedness, campaigns designed around domestic priorities were overtaken by a new set of voters concerns centered on security and safety. The 9/11 terrorist attacks stalled women's progress in politics, since men were believed to be better equipped to handle these issues.

A third contextual factor concerns the ideologies of women political leaders and the causes they support. Many female politicians make family, children, education, healthcare, and the environment the centerpiece of their campaign. As presidential appointees, women have utilized their positions to speak out for and draw attention to problems commonly affecting women. Appointed as the first woman to head the National Institutes of Health (NIH), Bernadine Healy advocated women's health issues from the beginning of her tenure and proposed a $625 million study at NIH that would include 150,000 women to analyze breast cancer, osteoporosis, and heart rate disease incidence rates (Schroeder & Snowe, 1994). Similarly, two months after taking office, Madeleine Albright as the first female secretary of state instructed U.S. diplomats to make the promotion of women's rights a central priority of American foreign policy (Lippman, 1997). She described her role in the Middle East peace talks as that of a handmaiden. Niven and Zilber's (2001) study of congressional Web site communications provides evidence for a similar pattern. Their results suggest that congresswomen portray themselves as having diverse interests and participating in the Washington power struggle, yet also place a higher priority on compassion and women's issues.

Dolan (2004) argued that ideology is likely to drive vote choice. However, only a few studies have demonstrated that women's presence in the executive branch actually results in more female-friendly outcomes. According to Huddy and Terkildsen (1993a), differing expectations among voters about the types of issues handled well by female and male politicians have proven to be the most consistent form of political gender stereotyping. In addition, voters are likely to ascribe different traits, competencies, behaviors, and political beliefs to male and female politicians (Koch, 2000).

Finally, women's rise to leadership may be conditioned by family ties as the context for leadership. In the 1996 U.S. presidential elections, the wives of two presidential candidates — Hillary Clinton and Elizabeth Dole — sought political futures of their own while their husbands exited elected office. Compared to the national level, different contextual parameters come into play at state and local levels. One distinguishing factors at the state level involves women running for political office which has been vacated by a family member. In the United States, it is usually the husband who vacates the office due to death or serious illness. While some of these women turned out to be token candidates filling their husband's seats, others were reelected after their husband's term was up. Braden (1996) called attention to the fact that many of the first female members of the House and Senate were appointed or even elected as replacements for their deceased husbands. Examples in the United States include Republican Representative Mary Bono of California, Democratic Representative Lois Capps, and Republican Representative Jo Ann Emerson of Missouri who won special elections to succeed their late husbands and have been reelected since. Some, like Jean Carnhan, were powerful inside players before the death of their husbands. Others, like Mary Bono, were political neophytes. One political wife, Janet Huckabee, wife of Arkansas Governor Mike Huckabee, decided not to wait until she is a widow when she announced to run for Arkansas secretary of state. Outside the United States, especially in Asia and Latin America (see Chapter 11), the rise of women to national leadership as presidents and prime ministers through familial ties (including brothers, sisters, and daughters) is more common. India's Indira Gandhi, Pakistan's Benazir Bhutto, and the Philippines' Corazon Aquino were examples of the dynastic rule and the role of family ties. Each of these women leaders achieved their office after the assassination of a father or husband. Among global political leaders, the topic of Chapter 11, the role of family ties at the national level is much more prominent than it is in the United States.

In addition to these portals for entering politics, women from different walks of life are now running for office. Former world wrestling champion Linda McMahon made her fortune selling the staged battles of Hulk Hogan and The Rock to millions of fans. Over more than 30 years, she and her husband built the promotion company into a $1.2 billion empire of staged violence called World Wrestling Entertainment (WWE) (Rice, 2010, p. 66). Now McMahon is selling herself as the next senator of Connecticut equipped with a campaign war chest of $50 million to win the seat. She pitched herself to the Republican convention and the state of Connecticut as the model of a successful Republican businesswomen as did Arnold Schwarzenegger, governor of California, who entered the political race as a world class body builder; McMahon in a short time has shown herself to be a formidable combatant who is gathering a significant number of dedicated followers.

In California, former eBay CEO Meg Whitman in the Grand Old Party (GOP) ran in the gubernatorial primary spending more than $140 million of her personal fortune estimated at more than $1 billion on television (TV) and radio adverting. Also in California, Carly Fiorina, former CEO of Hewlett-Packard, was nominated for the California State Senate seat. The voters selected these two business leaders for the leadership skills they demonstrated while running their corporations. They know how to create jobs, balance budgets, and get things done. Both are wealthy establishment businesswomen and first time candidates running against veteran politicians in a year of antiestablishment sentiment (Espo, 2010). Both topped *Fortune's Most Powerful Women list* for several years. The 2010 California primaries resulted in Whitman's nomination as governor of California and Fiorina's run for the California State Senate seat dubbed ''mancession'' (Kuhn, 2010). The author noted that along with these two political newcomers — outsiders who vow to fix the state and the system that veteran politicians have messed up — with Nancy Pelosi as Speaker of the House and Hilary Clinton as secretary of state, women are making major gains. The mancession will accelerate the trend. Electing a female president will only be a matter of time.

Reasons for Women's Underrepresentation in Politics

What then are some of the reasons for women's underrepresentation in American politics? Several reasons ranging from women's greater responsibilities for family, fewer women running for political office, the ability to raise money for political campaigns, and attitudes toward female politicians are some of the reasons. For example, according to the situational hypotheses (e.g., Burns, Schlozman, & Verba, 2001), the inequalities in domestic arrangements and the restrictions imposed by women's additional roles of taking care of the home and children may prevent women from full participation in politics. Conflicts between political and personal responsibilities weigh heavier on female candidates. When Republican Jane Swift was elected lieutenant governor of Massachusetts in 1998 and three years later elevated to governor, she was pregnant with twins. When the doctor ordered bed rest until the birth of the twins, Swift announced that she would conduct the state's business by speakerphone. Voters were willing to judge Swift on her record but eventually under pressure of her own party, she quit her race for reelection.

Leadership and power are two closely related concepts. As McClelland (1975) pointed out, if we want to understand effective leadership, we may need to begin by studying the power motive. Power characterizes the relationships among the players in the political arena and can be derived from a number of different sources including resources, knowledge, and expertise. One of the major culprits for women's low representation in high political office is the power differential between men and women and how power is perceived by them. The effectiveness of political and other organizational leaders depends in part on their ability to share power. Conger (1989) noted that ''the distribution of power is more important than the hoarding of power'' (p. 17). Power is a gendered concept which plays a central role in political leadership. For many women, power is a dirty word. Although women's access to political appointments has changed, the stereotypic notion that women and power are mutually exclusive is hard to overcome. Hillary Clinton, according to one writer, is a ''virtual Rorschach test for the contemporary ambivalence about powerful women'' (Kaye, 1993, p. 53).

French and Raven (1959) developed a power typology that includes the following sources of power: (1) position power is derived from the formal role a leader occupies; (2) expert power is based on knowledge and information; (3) referent power is derived from fame and charisma; (4) coercive power is used to force someone to do something against his or her will; (5) legitimate power is held by kings, presidents, and leaders; and (6) reward power refers to the leaders' ability to give followers what they want. In the social sciences, definitions of power take one of two forms. One set of definitions captures the ways in which men, more often than women, experience power in our culture in the form of resources, wealth, influence, and control (Klenke, 1996). This definition describes power in terms of "power over" which may express itself in the use of reward, coercion, and expertise (French & Raven, 1959). This definition implies a differential distribution of these types of power between women and men. Research has shown that many women are uncomfortable and reluctant to exercise power over because it implies control and domination of others. However, regardless of how women use power in politics, the fact remains that without it they are incapable of achieving anything for themselves, their constituencies, their parties, or society at large.

The other face of power advocates the meaning of power as "power to" or empowerment, a term which was proposed (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Spreitzer, 1996; Thomas & Velthouse, 1990). The meaning of power to also known as empowerment suggests that an effective politician and leader is a person who shares power with others to act in their own interest. Women do not want power for power's sake, but seek power to enact policies that would directly improve the lives of other women. Empowerment is achieved through delegation and information sharing, expressing confidence in followers' abilities, holding high performance expectations, relinquishing control, open communication, trust, and collaboration (Conger & Kanungo, 1988; Quinn & Spreitzer, 1997; Spreitzer, 1996). Many of these empowering behaviors are congruent with female stereotypes.

When structure accentuates status differences, political leaders must pay particular attention to the perceived power differentials in negotiations with their constituencies. In Johnson's (1976) gender congruency theory of power, the issue was whether women can effectively use the same types of power that men employ. The author theorized that reward power is linked to female stereotypes, whereas expert, coercive, and legitimate forms of power are associated with male stereotypes. One possible outcome of the gender congruency theory of power is that men and women receive different evaluations when perceived as using the same types of power. According to this hypothesis, women may be penalized for using forms of power that are linked with male stereotypes (Ragins, 1989). If power and opportunity structures in political systems were the same for women and men, we would expect that gender differences in the exercise of power and gender stereotypes about gender and power would disappear. However, there are few indications that this is happening.

Another possible explanation, known as the role model hypothesis, suggests that since there are relatively few women holding high visible political offices, young girls see little reason to be interested in politics or harbor political aspirations (Bardes & Oldendich, 2003). Taken together, this research suggests that a multitude of factors including political gender role socialization, power differentials, family responsibilities, and the relatively few numbers of visible women role models coupled with lack of political confidence, lower levels of political ambition, and knowledge combine to account for the small number of women running for high-level political office (Elder, 2004).

It can be argued that politics has garnered an undesirable reputation over the course of the last 20 years (Gandz & Murray, 1980). For many people, the term politics is likely to conjure a host of reprehensible images with references to backroom manipulation, behind-scenes maneuvering, and self-serving posturing. Machiavelli (1988) advocated that to achieve great things, effective leaders have to be those who know how to trick people with their cunning and in the end overcame those abiding by honest principles. Thus, for the public, politics often represents the dark side, an opinion that is reinforced by politician who engage in dysfunctional, self-benefiting, scandalous, and unscrupulous behaviors.

Burns (1978) made an effort to develop positive conceptions of politics. He compared leaders as diverse and complex as Franklin Roosevelt and Adolf Hitler, Gandhi and Mao, Woodrow Wilson and Joan of Arc and recognized the reality of differences and conflict. According to Burns, both power and conflict are central to leadership. Searching for a firm moral footing in a world of cultural and ethical diversity, Burns returned to social science and specifically to the motivation theory of Maslow (1954) and the ethical theory of Kohlberg (1981). From Maslow, he adopted the idea of the hierarchy of motives. Moral leaders, he argued, appeal to higher levels in the need of hierarchy. From Kohlberg, he adopted the idea of stages of moral development. Together, Maslow and Kohlberg provided the moral foundation on which Burns (1978) constructed a positive view of politics:

> Leaders are task masters and goals setters, but they and their followers share a particular space and time, a particular set of motivations and values. If they are to be effective in helping to mobilize and elevate their constituencies, leaders must be whole persons, persons and the means of gratifying them with fully functioning capacities for thinking and feeling. The problem for them as educators, as leaders, is not to promote narrow, egocentric self-actualization but to extent awareness of human needs to improve the larger social situation for which educators or leaders have responsibility and over which they have power. (pp. 448–449)

In other words, Burns argued that positive politics evolve when leaders choose actions that appeal to higher motives and higher stages of moral development of their followers.

Gouldner (1950) noted that American political leadership has undergone sweeping changes. Among the many changes, the decline in personalized persuasion and leadership seems one of the most crucial. The day of great orators and memorable debates, the times of face-to-face agitation, live on only in areas of the culture where minor parties grapple for a foothold. Although politicians of today do address their opponents, they often prefer to appeal directly to the voters. Unlike during former periods, where questions of principle and interest were customary contents of political polemic, the modern politico seeks and seizes upon issues. These changes find their expression primarily in the national and state political arenas while political relationships in the neighborhood and local communities remain highly personalized.

One factor that significantly changed perceptions of political leaders was the advent of the TV era. In the pre-TV era, presidential charisma, very much in the Weberian sense, was identified with extraordinary talents and performance linked to exceptional situations of social or political crises and the leader's inspirational vision for the future of the country. In the TV era, on the other hand, the classical notion of charismatic political leadership has been replaced with what has been referred to as pseudo-charisma or the illusion of charismatic leadership. Presidential candidates on television have to have star quality, are portrayed with characteristics often attributed to movie, soap-opera stars, and sports heroes: they are popular, attractive, and telegenic and are expected to keep the public entertained (Meyrowitz, 1985). The author added, "we see too much of our politicians, who so closely available for people's inspection, are being stripped of their aura" (p. 270). The author goes on to say that "the camera minimizes the distance between audience and performer … it lowers politicians to the level of their audience" (p. 271).

Minimizing the distance between TV viewers and political events was made obvious in the two wars the United States is involved in, Afghanistan and Iraq which brought the battlefield into our living rooms greatly reducing the distance between politicians and their constituencies. The widespread accessibility and public visibility of political events through television was also evident in the 2008 run for the presidency and vice presidency by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, respectively. The proliferation of other electronic media — blogs, social networks — not only allow political candidates to make available their recent TV appearances and electoral advertisements, but also broadcast videos in which they talk to voters, often from their homes, in order to announce candidatures (or withdrawals from candidacy) and answer questions online (Castells, 2007). Political leaders have also jumped on the social networking bandwagon and are using sites such as Twitter and Facebook to post 140-character tweets to talk about their state's dire economic circumstances (Governor Schwarzenegger in California) or ethics charges (Sarah Palin, then Governor of Alaska). Most of these media, TV news, blogs, Facebook, and Twitter can be accessed from cell phones any time, any place, creating a whole new dynamic in the political leadership discourse. The role of the media as the context for women's leadership is the topic of Chapter 6.

Political Skills and Competencies

In his renowned analysis of political leadership in *The Prince* (1988) [1532], Machiavelli asserted that a political leader had to be merciful, trustworthy, human, devout, and upright (p. 62). Contemporary researchers have found that voters are looking for traits such as competence, strength, ability, and integrity as essential qualities for a political leader (e.g., Miller, Wattenberg, & Malanchuk, 1986) that can be viewed as interpersonal style constructs, which combine interpersonal perceptiveness or social astuteness with the capacity to adjust one's behavior to different and changing situational demands in a manner that inspires trust, confidence, and genuineness and effectively influences and controls the responses of others. Mintzberg (1983) argued that in order to be successful in the political arena, leaders need to possess political skill and savvy. Leader political skill has been conceptualized by a number of writers including network building, interpersonal/influence control, self- and social astuteness, and genuineness/sincerity (e.g., Ferris et al., 2007). Mintzberg (1983) added to those competencies the effective use of power bases, resources, information, and the ability to deploy knowledge to exercise formal power to its fullest extent.

Today's political arena calls for strong leadership. Politicians are expected to be transformational leaders who envision future needs of their constituents and are capable of negotiating, mediating, and championing the causes they stand for in an effective and credible manner (Tucker et al., 1999). The authors surveyed a sample of 428 female and 299 male legislators who completed the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), the most frequently used measure of transformational leadership (Bass, 1985) along with measures of leaders' perceived effectiveness, extra effort put forth by followers, and follower satisfaction with their leaders' style. The results showed that compared to men, women described themselves using a more transformational style, which included visioning and depended less on transactional and laissez-faire leadership. Furthermore, the female legislators perceived their followers as putting forth more extra effort on their behalf than their male counterparts. However, they also viewed themselves to be less effective as leaders and reported lower levels of satisfaction with their leadership style. The authors suggested that women legislators may feel that they are used as token members on committees, placed on unpopular committees putting them in disadvantageous position or set up as scapegoats. Furthermore, at least at the time this study was conducted (1999), many women who entered politics come from traditionally nurturing occupations such as teaching, nursing, or social work, and brought the relational leadership style to public office where leadership and power are often incompatible with feminine leadership styles. They may experience difficulty transferring their people-oriented leadership skills into political offices and as a result may experience feelings of dissatisfaction and ineffectiveness.

In this section, I introduce several skills and competencies that, although they apply to all political leaders, are particularly relevant for female politicians. These attributes are political survival skills that include political savvy, impression management tactics, and self-promotion, which have been categorized as self-presentation skills found to enhance leadership effectiveness.

Political Savvy

Without a political leader's political savvy, many other strategies and techniques that advisors and coaches of political leaders design and implement for their candidates are unlikely to succeed. Dictionary definitions related to political savvy contain references to practical grasp and expertness in politics based on experience. They also mention the ability to manage multiple agenda simultaneously and ethically. Politically savvy leaders live by a code of ethics and avoid self-serving political goals and agendas. To be politically savvy also requires leaders with relatively low ego needs. Women, through early socialization practices, are conditioned to put their needs behind those of others. As politically savvy leaders, they use their abilities and skills to establish relationships across a range of different constituencies, use influence tactics, and work with others to achieve results.

The politically savvy use the spirit of Lincoln's quote, "You don't learn to deal with ethical dilemmas by avoiding them," to fine-tune their moral compass. They take personal responsibility for their judgment calls. Politically savvy leaders believe in and care about the issues at hand, play above board, and legitimize their tasks by playing above board (DeLuca, 1992). Playing above board is a very powerful tactic, since it creates credibility and helps building momentum for change. Politically savvy leaders also understand the importance of forming behind-the-scenes coalitions and alliances and know how to manage the dark side of change. They are skilled at interpersonal diplomacy and giving credit where credit is due. They strive for win-win situations and work hard at minimizing the experience of losing for others. Politically savvy female leaders know that leadership itself is a political activity.

Impression Management

Impression management (IM) is a critical skill for all leaders, but again, particularly for female politicians. It refers to the process through which individuals try to control the impressions other people form of them. IM has a long and rich history from Plato to Shakespeare and 20th century sociologist Erwin Goffman (Schlenker, 1980). Leary (1996) noted that people have a pervasive concern with how they are perceived and evaluated by others. According to IM theorist Goffman (1959), "IM theory states that any individual or organization must establish and maintain impressions that are congruent with the perceptions they want to convey to their publics" (p. 264). The author raised the possibility that self-presentation and IM may create sufficient incongruities with the self-concept so that the self becomes the impression.

IM involves the self-presentation strategies of exemplification, ingratiation, intimidation, and supplication, which are used proactively to solicit attribution that leaders are morally worthy, likable, and competent (Jones & Pittman, 1982). These tactics correspond to the identity images of trustworthy, moral, attractive, esteemed, and powerful, each of which is likely to be viewed as desirable to a leader (House & Aditya, 1997). Partial support for this assertion was provided by Schultz (1999), who found that political leaders appearing on television talk shows relied heavily on self-presentations that portray them as worthy, successful, and innovative.

The IM tactic that has been most commonly associated with effective leadership is *exemplification*. Indeed, the concept of "leading by example" is often presented as a highly desirable and noble form of leadership. Tedeschi and Norman (1985, p. 301) define exemplification as "behavior which presents the actor as morally worthy and may also have the goal of eliciting intimidation by others." Because the attributes of integrity, honesty, and moral worthiness represent ideals that are almost universally valued, exemplifiers present themselves as exceptionally trustworthy and morally responsible persons. Jones and Pittman (1982) identified Martin Luther King Jr. and Mahatma Gandhi as prototypical exemplifiers — two individuals who have come to be revered and admired as particularly effective and noble leaders. The followers of these leaders exhibited extraordinary levels of trust in their leaders and commitment to their causes. Gardner and Clevenger (1998) reported that exemplification was positively related to perceptions of transformational leadership, leadership effectiveness, and follower satisfaction. Thus, women political leaders who use exemplification as an IM technique judiciously can have a positive impact on their constituencies.

Ingratiation also has received extensive attention in the empirical literature, since it is a well-recognized IM strategy. The goal for ingratiators is to make the audience like them and attribute desirable qualities to them, such as warmth, attractiveness, charm, and humor (Schlenker, 1980). Gardner and Clevenger (1998) in a study of world leaders found that leaders who were judged as using ingratiation more extensively were rated as more transformational, effective, and capable of satisfying follower needs. In contrast with the negative connotation often linked to ingratiation, the behaviors which the authors included in the ingratiation category were viewed positively by respondents.

Intimidation is an IM tactic, which refers to individuals who aggressively show anger to get the attention of voters (Felson, 1984). Research has shown that intimidation as an IM technique can have positive or negative influences on performance evaluations and ratings of likability of the leader (Wayne & Liden, 1995; Falbe & Yukl, 1992; Yukl & Tracey, 1992). Positive consequences of intimidation include higher performance ratings. In addition, being aggressive might also enhance a person's ability to get his or her job done because the individual is perceived as hard charging and powerful (Wayne & Liden, 1995). However, the use of intimidation tactics may also backfire. Previous research suggested that when individuals successfully use intimidation to be seen as forceful and aggressive, they are also perceived as more bossy and pushy and less likable (Turnley & Bolino, 2001). Thus, "even when leaders are able to use intimidation to get their way (and possibly improve their performance), the use of such tactics may have a detrimental effect on the extent to which the individual is perceived favorably along the interpersonal dimension" (Bolino & Turnley, 2003, p. 239). Bolino and Turnley (2003), in a survey using a sample of supervisor–subordinate dyads, examined whether the relationship between intimidation and evaluations of performance and likability was influenced by the gender of the individual using such tactics. The results showed that among female employees, the use of intimidation tactics of IM was negatively related to supervisor ratings of likability. In addition, for females, the use of intimidation was unrelated to performance ratings, whereas among males, the relationship between intimidation and performance evaluations was positive. The results of this research have important implications for female political leaders, especially those who employ counter-normative IM techniques such as intimidation. They highlight the potential damage that women politicians may face when they attempt to manage impressions because, unlike men, they may be penalized for managing an impression of intimidation. The widely publicized sex discrimination case of Ann Hopkins versus Price Waterhouse in which Hopkins, a senior manager, claimed she was unrightfully denied partnership provides anecdotal evidence suggesting that women who manage impressions by intimidation are likely to be viewed more negatively than men who use the same tactics. Hopkins managed impressions by intimidation: she was seen by her peers and supervisors as having a macho persona, not acting in a feminine manner, and lacking the interpersonal skills deemed an extremely important characteristic of the firm.

A final strategy is *supplication* which occurs when individuals present themselves as vulnerable and weak in order to secure empathy and help from others. By advertising their weakness and dependency, people can prompt others to nurture, protect, and care for them (Jones & Pittman, 1982). In addition, supplication can be used to avoid onerous obligations and excuse one's poor performance or avoid criticism. As in the case of intimidation, a leader who uses a supplicating IM technique runs certain risks. For example, even if voters offer help or emotional support, they may form an unflattering impression of their political leaders — that they are incompetent, weak, lazy, insecure, or emotionally unstable. Although people often support those who self-deprecate, they may privately hold unfavorable impressions of them (Leary, 1996). For example, former Missouri Senator Thomas Eagleton, who briefly served as the running mate of presidential candidate George McGovern, announced publicly that he suffered from depression using his symptoms as a means of conveying to voters his weakness and vulnerability. Once Senator Eagleton's history of depression was exposed, his vice presidential aspirations vanished quickly (Berglas, 2008). Because supplication carries these risks, political leaders often use it as a last resort.

Many of these IM tactics were used during the 2008 U.S. presidential election by both Democratic and Republican candidates, male and female. Unfortunately, at the time of this writing, we do not have data on how and what types of IM tactics female politicians used and possible gender differences in the use of these strategies. But for one male candidate, Obama, according to one source, it has been reported that Team Obama created and employed one, if not most IM strategies. Employing a series of preemptive strategic self-presentation strategies, Obama's IM coaches addressed the stigmata (a Black man with a Muslim middle name) that Mr. Obama may have carried with him into the race for the White House (Berglas, 2008). In the final analysis, regardless of IM techniques used, political leaders in the end are judged to some extent by the picture they paint of themselves.

Self-Promotion

As described by Jones and Pittman (1982), the purpose of self-promotion is to secure an attribution of competence. Self-promotion strategies are built around statements or messages that elicit character attributions such as honesty or respect. To acquire such an attribution, the leader may highlight some general ability level (e.g., athletic prowess or intelligence) or a specific skill (e.g., portfolio analysis). Because leader competence is obviously an important attribute in the minds of prospective followers, leaders have strong incentives to use self-promotion tactics to bolster their reputation as a person with great abilities. Research on self-promotion (e.g., Rudman, 1998) suggests that women may suffer in the realm of likability to the extent they engage in counter-stereotypical, traditionally male behaviors.

Stereotypes of Female Political Leaders

The literature on gender stereotypes and leadership is pervasive. In general, people expect and prefer that women be communal, manifesting traits such as kindness, concern for others, warmth, and gentleness, and that men be agentic, manifesting traits such as confidence, aggressiveness, and self-direction. Because leaders are thought to have more agentic than communal qualities, stereotypes about leaders generally resemble stereotypes of men more than women (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2007c; Newport, 2001; Powell, Butterfield, & Parent, 2002). It is therefore hardly surprising that female leaders encounter difficulties in masculine settings such as politics. In such settings, women leaders often have to contend with expectations that they lack the toughness and competitiveness needed to succeed. Gender stereotypes operate in many contexts and politics is no different. Gender stereotypes in political leadership occur because people presume that men are more competent and legitimate as leaders than women are. These beliefs foster hierarchical patterns of social interaction through which men assert more influence and exercise more leadership.

At the beginning of this chapter, we asked why women are so scarce at top levels in U.S. politics. While there are a number of exploratory factors that account for the underrepresentation of women in high political office, stereotypes of female politicians certainly play a large part and seem hard to shake. Huddy and Terkildsen (1993b), for example, reported a preference for stereotypically male characteristics for higher levels of political office. In addition, some research suggests that women who have been political leaders in the past have exhibited higher masculine characteristics, such as self-confidence, dominance, and achievement. Kahn's (1996) study of political advertisements in U.S. Senate campaigns showed that women candidates frequently stressed leadership and competence issues, perhaps as a way of challenging voters' perceptions of the stereotypically female candidate. These stereotype-disconfirming behaviors can act to enhance women's perceived suitability for nontraditional jobs such as U.S. senator.

Bligh and Kohles (2008) collected samples of publicly available comments and speeches including media appearances, formal statements, Senate hearings, and committees from 13 women senators in office in 2002 and compared them to speeches and political advertisements of male politicians. The results showed that women were much less aggressive in their rhetorical leadership and more ambivalent than the comparable sample of male politicians. The authors also reported that while women senators were likely to use language focused on self-references, they were significantly less likely to emphasize their own accomplishments. These findings reinforce stereotypes and previous research that women are less likely to engage in self-promotion and take credit for their achievements. These findings indicate that women approach the role of political leadership differently, and as a result, their rhetoric and language may reflect a completely different orientation to the leadership role. Women in the Senate thus face a complicated web of stereotypes, expectancies, and implicit prototypes of what it takes to be a woman and a leader in a highly powerful and very public role.

Recently, Lawless (2009) reported that the percentage of Americans willing to support a female candidate has actually declined since 2001. The author examined voter attitudes toward women in the perceived post-9/11 importance of traditionally issues like military crises. She discovered that 61% of respondents believed that a male candidate is better equipped to handle military crises, whereas only 3% believed that a woman is more capable, and 36% rated both sexes equally. Lawless concluded, ‘‘gender stereotyping in the political arena continues to exist, both in terms of general traits and issue expertise that citizens accord to men and women candidates and office holder, and regarding quite specific policy expertise associated with curbing terrorism’’ (p. 55). Thus, even when women do achieve policy-making positions, research indicates that gender stereotyping continues to shape their experiences as political leaders.

Differing expectations among voters about the issues handled well by male and female politicians have proven to be one of the most consistent forms of political stereotyping. Empirical analyses reveal that men and women who enter politics continue to be perceived differently in terms of their ideologies, characteristics, and political expertise. Stereotypical views of political parties (e.g., Republicans hate gays; Democrats think that the Iraq war was for President Bush and Big Oil) are often based on assumed previous policy success or failure, or on perceptions of how party members feel about an issue. A political climate dominated by foreign policy and military concerns may account for a large part for the reason that overall the willingness to elect a female president remains low. For example, Lawless's research showed that 35% of the respondents asserted that men are more competent than women when it comes to punishing those responsible for the 9/11 attacks. Likewise, about 30% of individuals in the sample contended that men in politics are superior to women when it comes to bringing about peace in the Middle East. The author concluded that perhaps winning elections has nothing to do with the sex of the candidate as long as domestic policy issues comprise the political agenda.

At the individual level of political stereotyping, female candidates are often perceived as more liberal than men candidates of the same party (Koch, 2000; McDermott, 1997, 1998). At this level, the double standard that negative stereotyping is considered wrong while positive stereotyping is fine prevails. The perceived lack of fit between the requirements of political appointees and the stereotypic characteristics ascribed to women often produces expectations of failures when women try to enter high-level positions in politics. Research on gender stereotypes raises the question whether women themselves do make a difference as political leaders or whether it is organizations such as Hewlett-Packard and Xerox committed to promoting women through the ranks that make the difference.

In sum, political offices at all levels continue to be predominantly perceived as a masculine domain (Hedlund, Freeman, Hamm, & Stein, 1979), resulting in a system that has been created by men and historically dominated by men. Therefore, it is not surprising that some female politicians deliberately present themselves as possessing masculine characteristics such as dominance, self-confidence, and achievement. For example, female candidates including Geraldine Ferraro, Diane Feinstein, Ann Richards, and Hillary Clinton have emphasized their tough, combative, and independent nature in campaigning, leading to the argument that ''women candidates may succeed at the polls because they manage to convince voters that, unlike women in general, they possess desirable masculine political strengths'' (Huddy & Terkildsen, 1993b, p. 504). However, women politicians who emphasized their masculine strength may also be penalized and less favorably evaluated as research on leader evaluations reviewed in Chapter 1 suggests. Rudman's (1998) research suggests that ''women pay a price for counter-stereotypical behavior, even though it may be required for a successful career'' (p. 642). Therefore, as Boles and Durio (1981) suggested, female candidates may have to present themselves as both male and female to satisfy voters' expectations.

Thomas's (1997), after interviewing over 50 female legislators concluded that women in political office face the need for alternative role development that neither replicates the male model nor relies on traditional female roles. This seems to resonate with political analysts who suggested that the first women president will be a ''Sister Mister'' having the body of a woman with the character traits of a man. Similarly, a Republican pollster once quipped that the ideal female candidate for president is a combination of Jack the Ripper and Mother Teresa.

The sex scandals reported in the media, from Clinton's affair with White House intern Monica Lewinski to the more recent liaison of South Carolina Governor Mark Sanford who disappeared for a week leaving the state's business unattended to visit his mistress in Argentina, may spark public interest in electing a female president based on the assumption that women have better control over their sexual impulses. Clift and Brazaitis (2003) speculated that

> Women may be better able to control their hormones but placing women on a pedestal only makes their fall more precipitous when their flaws are exposed. Women get tripped up over the same things — financial improprieties, ethical lapses — but for women, one mistake can be fatal. Could any woman in politics survive a sex scandal with an intern the way Clinton did? (p. xiv)

Summary

Political systems as context are characterized in part by the government structure under which women enter into positions of high-ranking political offices, the appointment or election processes that determine access to political office, and the ideologies and causes female politicians promote. While women as political leaders have gained grounds in elections for local and state offices, they remain underrepresented at the national level such as the U.S. Senate or in higher level offices such as the presidencies. A number of factors contribute to such underrepresentation including gender stereotypes and misperceptions regarding women's political skills. Among key competencies required to secure a successful election or appointment to political office, women leaders need political savvy, IM, and self-promotion skills. They have to demonstrate a delicate balance between stereotypic male and female characteristics to convince voters that they are fit for political office.

Chapter 4

Organizations as Context for Women's Leadership

When she joined Citigroup (Citi) as CFO and Head of Strategy, at 37, Sallie Krawcheck was one of the youngest female executives on Wall Street. Sallie Krawcheck led the new investment banking unit called Smith Barney when Citi broke with decades of tradition and separated its investment banking from its stock brokering and research operations. The new unit included 12,500 financial consultants and about 300 analysts. Krawcheck came to Citi from an independent stock-research firm Sanford C. Bernstein & Company where she served as CEO. In late 1998, Krawcheck served as director of research at Bernstein at a time when mutual fund and hedge fund managers wanted lucrative IPOs. As research director at Sanford C. Bernstein, Krawcheck made a risky proposal to the small company: Sanford C. Bernstein should stick to its bread-and-butter business of research, but it should also double its staff in the United States and Europe to 50 analysts. After much debate, her argument won. She had a reputation for honesty and was known as a straight shooter (Iwata, 2002). As market share eroded and defections increased, Bernstein was acquired by Alliance Capital, a growth-oriented money management firm. By 2000, Bernstein faced a precarious future. Krawcheck then convinced senior executives to let her triple the size of the research staff, gambling that the industry would return to valuing thorough, objective research. The move, which Krawcheck later called "the best of my careers" (Rynecki, 2003), paid off and led to her appointment to CEO at Bernstein.

Citi hired Krawcheck in 2002 to reestablish credibility and performance at the firm after a series of well-publicized government investigations (Rynecki, 2003). When she joined the firm, she was hailed as a savior. At Citi, her task was to restore Citi's reputation as a premier brokerage house that can dispense investment advice untainted by scandal and corporate influence. Sallie expressed the hope that her new unit will be a model for the industry. During her years at Citi, Krawcheck reorganized the research department; compensation for analysts was revamped and contact with bankers was severely restricted. One of her bigger initiatives was the company's "March to a Million" designed to get the average annualized revenue per advisor to $1 million within three years.

Sallie Krawcheck was known for her reputation as Ms. Clean in recognition of her integrity and directedness. When the hedge fund crisis was unfolding, Krawcheck believed that investors should be compensated for some of their losses as a result of *defective investments distributed by her brokers. She believed that women at Citi were treated as a condiment rather than a main course but had no regrets about her experiences at the firm. Eventually, her power base at Citi began to shrink and she left the embattled firm in late 2008 under intense media coverage. At Citi, very few women survived the aggressive, highly competitive, politically charged culture of the firm. After being unemployed for a year, Krawcheck is now one of four women on the Bank of America executive management team.*

Krawcheck is listed by Time Magazine in its list of "Global Influentials." Of the trio of Wall Street's most powerful women, she was the last one to leave a major firm after Lehman Brothers CFO Erin Callan lost her job and Zoe Cruz, president at Morgan Stanley, was fired.

Introduction

As in politics, although women have made significant progress in the corporate sector over the last two decades, especially by penetrating the ranks of middle management in many U.S. companies, they continue to lag far behind men in appointments to top business leadership positions. The female business leader in the opening vignette of this chapter represents an industry, the financial services sector, in which women suffer the largest pay disparity of any industry, earning 58.8 cents for every dollar a man earned in 2007, the most recent year for which data are available. In an industry such as finance, which is dominated by men receiving outrageous compensation packages, gender disparity between men and women increases. Kopecki (2010) concluded that women in finance are "fighting the same old battles, just in a new environment higher up the chain" (Kopecki, 2010, p. 47).

Oakley (2000) proposed several explanations to account for the lack of women in senior management. On the one hand, barriers are created by corporate policies governing recruitment, training, retention, promotion, and compensation, which favor males over females. On the other hand, there are behavioral and cultural causes for the underrepresentation of women in senior leadership positions. These causes revolve around issues of stereotyping, tokenism, old boy networks, and gender differences in leadership styles. The typical double bind for women business leaders is that they must be tough and authoritative like men in order to be taken seriously, but they are perceived as "bitches" if they act too aggressively. One obvious way of overcoming this gender inequality at higher corporate levels, as Sharpe (2004) asserted, is "after years of analyzing what makes leaders most effective and figuring out who's got the Right Stuff, management gurus now know how to boost the odds of getting a great executive: Hire a female" (p. 74). Not only do women have the "Right Stuff," but as maintained by Hefferman (2002), the future of business depends on women (p. 9). And Conlin (2003) warned that "men could become losers in the global economy that values mental power over might" (p. 78). Female CEOs attract a lot of media attention. For example, Tischler (2007) noted that in a workplace where women CEOs of major companies are scarce, they are often, like rock stars, identified by their first names such as Carly (Fiorina, formally of Hewlett-Packard (HP)), Martha (Stewart of Omnimedia), Andrea (Jung of Avon), and Meg (Whitman formerly of eBay).

In this chapter, the focus is on women who are in key positions to exercise strategic leadership at the helm of their organizations. As noted in Chapter 1, the barriers that prevent women from ascending to senior management positions in large corporations have often been summarized in the metaphor of the glass ceiling, a transparent barrier that prevents women from moving up the corporate ladder past a certain point (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1992). This was later expanded to the glass wall and glass cliff, which Sallie Krawcheck encountered at Citi, as mentioned in the opening vignette. I address the factors that determine women's leadership at senior organizational levels and analyze the extent to which organizational design characteristics such as structure and culture affect women leaders. Traditional views of leadership assume that people at the top of the organization who occupy leadership roles, especially the CEO and corporate officers in the C-suite, members of the top management team (TMT), and the individuals with the authority to command and control the actions of others are men (Lichtenstein & Plowman, 2009). Strategic leadership involves "decision making, creating and communicating a vision of the future, developing key components and capabilities, developing organizational structures, processes, and controls, managing multiple constituencies and developing the next generation of leaders" (Boal & Hooijberg, 2001, p. 516). To lead strategically means not only to manage the organization internally, its structure, employees, and stakeholders but also externally by being able to position the firm competitively in its industry and understand the economics and politics of the global marketplace. Strategic leadership theory assumes that organizations are reflections of their leaders and that the values and belief systems of the leader frame how issues are interpreted and acted upon (Finkelstein & Hambrick, 1996). Since traditionally male executives' worldviews provided the inputs for strategic leadership at the top of the organization, there are few role models for women in senior executive leadership positions.

Women CEOs

Fortune Magazine launched the ratings of the most powerful women in American corporations in 1998 and has maintained this practice on an annual basis since then. The criteria for inclusion on the list include the size and importance of the woman's business in the global economy, her clout in the company, the arc of her career, that is, how quickly she has risen and where she is likely to go, and, when appropriate, her influence on mass culture and society. In 1997, there were only two female CEOs in the *Fortune 500*. In 2003, Fortune Magazine named Carly Fiorina of HP, Meg Whitman of eBay, and Andrea Jung of Avon Products at the top of the list; in 2007, the top three spots were occupied by Indra Nooyi of Pespsi Cola, Anne Mulcahy of Xerox, and Meg Whitman of eBay. In 2009, the top three ranks were occupied by Indra Nooyi; Irene Rosefeld, CEO and chairwoman of Kraft Food who is also an accomplished pianist and avid rollerblader; and Pat Woertz, CEO, chairwoman, and president of Archer Daniels Midlands, a soybean company. As mentioned in Chapter 3, two of the top ranking CEOs on *Fortune's* list, Carly Fiorina and Meg Whitman, have recently changed contexts and are now testing their business leadership skills in the political arena.

Looking at the *Fortune 500* rankings of the top 50 most powerful women in corporate America reveals several interesting observations. In 2005, the ouster of Carly Fiorina at HP and the resignation of two CEOs resulted in the decline of the number of female CEOs from nine to seven and marked a significant setback for female executives. Fiorina, during her short tenure at HP, lived her corporate persona in a fishbowl with the media attacking every step of her appointment including her relationship with the HP founders, board of directors, and her stay-at-home trophy husband. A day after HP fired Fiorina and cut the number of female CEOs of *Fortune 500* to seven, Sara Lee, one of the largest global manufacturers of brand-name bakery and food products, promoted Brenda Barnes to the top position.

In 2009, Ann Mulcahy, CEO of Xerox and one of the most celebrated female CEOs known for her turnaround of a dying company and her women-friendly workplace initiatives, passed the reins to Ursula Burns who started at Xerox in 1980 and previously served as president of Xerox. Mulcahy became CEO of Xerox in 2001 and appointed Burns as president in 2007. Burns, a 28-year veteran of Xerox oversaw R&D, engineering, marketing, and manufacturing, ascended through the ranks and worked side by side with Mulcahy during the Xerox turnaround. This leadership succession was historical in that it marked the first transition of power from one woman to another and the first black woman CEO to head a large public company. Burns, like her predecessor, faces a tough business environment with printer equipment sales down significantly and managers curbing paper use for cost-saving and environmental reasons. Moreover, Xerox is cutting a large number of jobs, halting pay raises, and suspending 401k matches for employees. Yet, executives inside and outside the company speak of Burns's deep industry knowledge and technical prowess, as well as her frankness, sharp humor, and willingness to take risks. According to Robert A. McDonald, COO of Procter & Gamble and Xerox board member, "Ursula is a strong leader who has an unusual ability to understand the power of technology and innovation (Byrne & Crocket, 2009). Mulcahy continues to serve as the chair of the Xerox board of directors. Just as Mulcahy groomed her female lieutenant for the CEO position at Xerox, Ellen Kullman is the likely successor of CEO Holliday at DuPont and Elizabeth Smith is viewed as the heir apparent to Andrea Jung at Avon Products.

Presently, there are 15 *Fortune 500* companies run by women, as depicted in Table 4.1.

With regard to the pipeline to the CEO, the data suggest that we should expect to see a slow increase in the percentage of CEOs that are women by 2016 when it is estimated that between 4.9% and 12.8% of CEOs will be women. Within this range, "a particularly likely estimate is 6.2%, because it includes only line and CFO executives as candidates for the CEO position. Although low, this estimate is substantially higher than the 1.8% of CEOs in the *Fortune 500* who were women in

Table 4.1: Women CEOs.

CEO	**Company**	**Rank in the *Fortune 500***
Barnes, Brenda	Sara Lee	199
Bartz, Carol	Yahoo	345
Braly, Angela	WellPoint	32
Burns, Ursula	Xerox	190
Eisenhans, Lynn	Sunoco	41
Gold, Christina	Western Union	451
Ivey, Susan	Reynolds American	294
Jung, Andrea	Avon Products	255
Kullman, Ellen	DuPont	75
Meyrowitz, Carol	TJX Retailer	131
Nooyi, Indra	PepsiCo	52
Rosenfeld, Irene	Kraft Foods	53
Sammons, Mary	Rite Aid	100
Sen, Laura	BJ's Wholesale Club	269
Woertz, Patricia	Archer Daniels Midland	27

Source: http://money.cnn.com/magazines/fortune/fortune500/2009/womenceos/

2005" (Helfat, Harris, & Wolfson, 2006, p. 59). In many companies, talent, markets, and performance are key drivers behind getting more women into senior leadership positions in organizations.

Women Leaders on Top Management Teams and Board of Directors

The TMT and the board of directors of an organization are populated by the most powerful individuals and are the center of decision making. TMTs in many organizations have replaced the single, omnipotent leader residing at the apex of the organization. Catalyst (2004), a U.S. think tank devoted to advancing women in business, reported that companies in the top quartile of hiring women among their executives had substantially better financial performance than the companies in the bottom quartile. More specifically, the results of the Catalyst survey found that companies with the most number of women in top leadership positions had a return on equity that was 35% higher than those with the least number of senior women. These findings were replicated by Krishman and Park (2005) who confirmed the relationship between the percentage of women on TMTs in the *Fortune 1000* companies and financial performance. As TMTs are replacing the traditional cult of the single CEO, leaders are increasingly required to inspire creative thinking and create an organizational culture where talented teams can flourish.

Like TMTs, corporate boards continue to be dominated by men. In 2008, only eight women held *Fortune 500* CEO positions, less than 8% were *Fortune 500* top earners, and only 14% held board of director positions. Based on data collected in 2006, Helfat et al. (2006) provided numerical estimates of the percentage of women CEOs in *Fortune 1000* firms by 2016. The data showed that in 2006, 50% of firms in the sample had no women as top executives. At Level 1 at the very top of the hierarchy, the C-suite, only 0.62% (7 out of 1119) of the executives in the firms sampled in this study were women. The authors found no disparity in the representation of women between the top and lower portions of *Fortune 1000* or those in the *Fortune 500–1000*, or between *Fortune 500* and *Fortune 501–1000*. However, unlike the results for firm size, they found large differences between industries — publishing, health care, airlines, computer software, and transportation equipment were sectors that had the highest percentages of female executives, whereas semiconductors, energy, aerospace, trucking, and furniture had the lowest.

Data from Europe indicate that female business leaders face a situation similar to that encountered by their U.S. counterparts (European Professional Women's Network, 2006). According to the report, the number of women on Europe's top company boards is stagnating at 8.5% or 385 of the 4535 corporate boardroom seats, except in Scandinavia. Norway remains number 1 with 28.8% on boards while Sweden is second with 22%, and Finland has jumped from 14% to 20%. These improvements are a direct result of highly provocative policies to increase the representation of women on corporate boards, as several European countries including Norway and France have set quotas, usually at 40%. However, quota policies are rejected in other European countries and have not been experimented with in the United States. The American experience with affirmative action programs, which have been implemented in the selection, training, and promotion of managers, pose a paradox for women. On the one hand, organizations are legally required to regard equally all candidates for employment, training, and promotion based on legislation that mandates treatment of women and other minorities without regard for gender. On the other hand, organizations are under pressure to fill positions imposed by affirmative action mandates to give preference to applicants whose class (e.g., women) has been traditionally underrepresented in hiring and advancement. Gender-based quotas imply that "it is not possible to simultaneously be competent and a quota women" (Pesonen et al., 2009, p. 340). Hence, implementing quota systems to increase the number of women on corporate boards will perpetuate the paradox rather than solve it.

A qualitative discourse analysis study conducted in Finland (Pesonen et al., 2009) was designed to examine how female board professionals talked about their viewpoints and experiences as corporate directors. Prior to the interviews, the researchers e-mailed prospective participants several questions that inquired about the boards the female executives have served on, examples of positive and negative board experiences, and what competencies they believed are needed for board work. The actual interviews with five participants took place in cafés or the offices of the interviewees.

The data analyses revealed two types of discourse which the authors interpreted as a discourse of competence and a discourse of gender, which were embedded in research participants' responses to the interview questions. Within the discourse of competence, "the essential sameness of men and women was emphasized. This discourse was based on the assumption that the most competent individuals are invited to join corporate boards, irrespective of gender'' (p. 335). Research participants indicated that they were recruited as directors because of their reputation, international recognition, and their networking and team building skills. The following response of one of the interviewees illustrates the discourse of competence when she stated that ''it is important to have a range of competencies and that it is important to have business knowledge experience in managing a large business unit or having been a director of finance'' (Pesonen et al., 2009, p. 335). The authors concluded that within this discourse, to access corporate boards women must comply with a standard that in practice favors men who held top management positions.

In contrast to the discourse of competence, the discourse of gender emphasized the differences between women and men. Male characteristics were represented as necessary qualities for successful work on corporate boards. Within the discourse of gender, the researchers noted that ''the potential for change is to a significant extent related to changing men's attitudes toward having more women in influential positions. Our interviewees constantly pointed out that 'the role of the chairman is absolutely crucial' in promoting women's access to corporate boards and in making them succeed'' (p. 338).

The authors concluded that in ''contrast to the discourse of competence which constructs the world of business (and access to corporate boards) as a meritocracy, the discourse of gender constructs it as a male game where the rules favor men and women either lack the necessary qualities or must constantly engage in a balancing act'' (p. 339).

Several explanations have been suggested for the persistent gender imbalance on corporate boards. Some researchers have emphasized human and social capital differences between female and male executives (e.g., Singh, Terjesen, & Vinnicombe, 2008a; Singh, Vinnicombe, & Terjesen, 2008b), while others have used power dynamics (e.g., Huse, 2007) as the explanatory construct. Oakley (2000) pointed out that explanations for the gender imbalance among male and female directors have been sought at the levels of individuals, organizations, and national environments, focusing on women's lack of line management experience, the persistence of male networks, and traditional gender roles in society.

One specific organizational factor that affects the underrepresentation of women on corporate boards is the number of women who serve on the board of directors of organizations. A number of studies have shown that having only one woman on a corporate board is unlikely to change the selection process of additional board members or the attitudes of male board members toward female newcomers. Instead, having one or two female executives on a board may be indicative of a token commitment. On the other hand, firms with two or more women on their boards are much more likely than companies with all male boards to be in leadership positions in their industries (Burke & Mattis, 2000). In addition, several studies have shown that firms with more diverse boards and more outside members are less likely to become victims of corporate malfeasance and fraud and have stronger governance mechanism such as more audit committees (Beasley, Carcello, Hermanson, & Lapides, 2000; Mintz, 2006; Uzun, Szewczyk, & Varma, 2004).

A number of organizations have managed to bring several women directors aboard. Dalton and Dalton (2009) noted that although the number of women serving as *Fortune 500* directors has risen only marginally in recent years, simple board membership data conceal important progress. For example, the authors point to important trends that support the notion that women's corporate clout is growing at a healthy pace: more than 80% of *Fortune 500* boards include at least one woman. Between 2001 and 2007, the number of boards with two women rose 34%, and those with three more than tripled (from 25 to 76 companies). Furthermore, the percentage of women on crucial audit, compensation, and nominating/corporate governance committees of the largest U.S. companies is increasing markedly, as is the likelihood of their chairing those committees. Also noteworthy is the fact that more women have become lead directors, a pivotal position on a board where the chairperson is also CEO. In 2001, just 1.8% of lead directors were women; in 2008, the figure was 8.1%. The authors concluded that these trends portend well for women's increased presence in the boardroom over the long run (p. 59). Other studies on large U.S. corporations also found a positive relationship between the percentage of women on the board of directors and financial performance of the organization (e.g., Carter, Simkins, & Simpson, 2003). Having more women on boards not only fosters better organizational performance but also creates a cultural mind-set that contributes to developing women as senior executives and board members.

Across the board, we have now compelling data that show that women's participation in corporate governance produces positive results for women and the organization. However, the correlations between organizational performance and board diversity do not necessarily show causality. In other words, appointing women to corporate boards does not necessarily increase financial performance. It is possible that industry leaders and more profitable firms are better positioned to engage in innovative governance practices, such as increasing diversity on boards, just as it is possible that increased diversity contributes to higher profits and revenues. But symbolically, companies that have women on their board of directors send a signal to all stakeholders, many of which have diverse membership themselves, indicating that women's voices are heard at the top and considering their perspectives important to the organization. In the U.S. companies that are well run, promoting more women to the top and having more women on corporate boards demonstrate that diverse boards mirror not only diverse owners and stakeholders but also lead to better strategic decision making and planning (Orser, 2000).

Women Corporate Leaders: Trailblazers or Victims

A number of reasons have been examined and cited to account for the under-representation of women in senior leadership positions. Some of these give a few women with certain characteristics an advantage; others are individual and organizational factors that victimize women. Thus, advantages that few women possess and obstacles that many organizations impose combine to explain the gender imbalance at the top of large organizations.

Above and beyond being a source of competitive advantage, women executives are also role models and mentors for the next generation of female business leaders. But at the same time, they are criticized for their lack of toughness, competitiveness, and vision, critical attributes to lead contemporary organization effectively. Eagly, Karau, and Makhihijani (1995) reported that women fare less well in male dominated and masculine leadership roles because they have context specific disadvantages that male do not face. For example, promotion of women to the top of hierarchical organizations may be handicapped by design factors such as organizational culture and power relationships within the organization. Furthermore, career systems in organizations often make the integration of leadership and family responsibility difficult.

After decades of the women's movement, after business schools graduated thousands of qualified women, after filling the executive pipeline with talented female candidates for senior leadership positions, why are there still so few women at the top of major corporations? Catalyst (2004), a nonprofit think tank, blames the gap on the fact that women often choose staff jobs, such as marketing and human resources, while senior executives are disproportionately plucked from the ranks of those with line jobs, where managers have critical profit-and-loss responsibilities. Others fault the workplace itself arguing that corporations do not offer enough flextime or opportunities for telecommuting to accommodate women's family and community responsibilities. In today's market, being a CEO is a global, 24-hour job and integrating work and personal life remains a significant challenge for executive women.

Klenke (1996) discussed a number of visible and not so visible barriers to women's leadership, including gender stereotypes, work–family conflict, and exclusion of women from informal networks. More than 15 years later, some of these factors are still present, albeit in diminished form in some cases. For example, stereotypes concerning women's fitness for leadership persist, especially in male-dominated contexts such as politics and strategic leadership. Large corporations often are characterized by a leadership culture that promotes individualism, self-reliance, mutual obligation, and competition in the marketplace where these attributes are presented as either male specific or at least gender neutral (Bradley, 1999). Despite convincing evidence that effective leadership is not a function of personal traits, masculine or otherwise, or that there is no need for leaders to adhere to sex-role stereotypes to be effective, stereotypes about women leaders have not evaporated. According to Wood and Conrad (1983), in a range of leadership situations, "messages at one level of abstraction — social myths about women — interact with messages at a lower level of abstraction — assumptions about leader behaviors — to form mystifying and potentially binding situations. The primary injunction, 'be a professional,' cannot be met without violating the secondary injunction, 'be a woman'" (p. 308).

Although men are participating in family responsibilities considerably more than they did 15 years ago and organizations have created flexible work programs and family initiatives, women continue to carry the bulk of the burden of juggling multiple and often competing demands from major life roles. Female executives are faced with accommodating the sometimes-conflicting demands of their roles as women and their roles as leaders. They continue to be excluded from social arenas and activities where participation is critical for success. This exclusion of women is manifested in women's absence on golf courses, country clubs, sports games, and after hour business cocktail events. Lack of women's access to these social networks is critical because a lot of business is conducted in these settings; being or not being a member of such networks may be a deal maker or deal breakers. Lack of time, the pressures of work demands, and family responsibilities are often cited as reasons for women executives not creating their own social networks. As women move up the career ladder, a lack of social networks can derail their careers. However, the growth of social network sites such as Facebook and LinkedIn allow women new opportunities for networking for career purposes.

Cormier (2007) based on interviews with 40 successful female executives, COOs, VPs, directors, and senior managers in a variety of industries reported that feelings of isolation and not fitting in with the male culture is one of the main drivers of obstacles that women, even those who made it to the top, experience. The executives expressed an acute sense of isolation and longing to be fully integrated as an equal partner sitting at the table with their male counterparts. The author distinguished between two leadership mandates — that of inclusion which prevailed in the latter part of the 20th century when women entered that ranks of management in large number and that of integration as the dominant leadership mandate today. Cornier argued that retaining executive women in the 21st century requires an intention to engage them as equals and to co-create a new amalgam of leadership. The new leadership paradigm, according to Cormier, "calls for women's ability to harness the collective imagination of others to envision the future, the ability to prioritize, inspire and delegate across functional and cultural boundaries, to coach and grow talents, collaborate and develop social capital, be learning agile and able to cut through layers of complexity and lead with a global mindset" (p. 266). Noble and Moore (2006) argued that

> the ongoing wastage of management and leadership talent which arises from and is perpetuated by the current underrepresentation of women at senior levels seriously undermines organization's ability to respond to change and threatens their future viability and vitality in the face of economic challenges of the changing workplace. The intransigence of barriers preventing the equality of men and women at the highest level of management is destructive to good management and productive outcomes. (p. 599)

Ellis (2006) suggested that insights pertaining to women's underrepresentation in senior executive positions may be gained from the widely popular Harry Potter series. At Hogwarts Academy, Hermione, Harry Potter's intrepid girl sidekick, is the über multitasker with boundless ambition. In a classic example, in "Harry Potter and the Prisoner of Azkaban," she uses a magical necklace to manipulate time so that she can attend two classes at once and gain competitive advantage over the boys. But, as

Ellis notes, she is silent about her potent powers. The author argues that in major American corporations, women are flying under the radar screen of the public eye while the Harry Potters in the corner suite have their name on the marquee. Because executive women do not typically seek the limelight, and because their corporations and the media do not spotlight them enough, both women and their companies remain invisible to the next generation of aspiring women business leaders.

Although women continue to encounter obstacles to top leadership in business organizations, many of these impediments can be removed or weakened by organizational changes such as the restructuring of organizations from hierarchical to flatter organizations which improve women's access and success as senior business leaders (e.g., Kalev, Dobbin, & Kelly, 2006; Kelly, 2006; Rapoport, Bailyn, Fletcher, & Pruitt, 2002). Incorporating the advancement of women into performance goals for line management, supporting best practices that support the advancement of women, and including women in leadership succession planning are some of the steps companies can implement to increase the proportion of women who are candidates for senior leadership positions. Professional coaching and mentoring programs for women executives are essential to compliment training and development opportunities provided by the organization. Coaching, as Cormier (2007) points out, can be used to strengthen and hone critical skills and competencies, provide real-time feedback, and contradict the imposter syndrome. In addition to individual executive coaching, group coaching has been found to improve executive health (Barrett & Klenke, 2007). It can also be employed to create virtual networks of executive women who support one another in their leadership development. According to Cormier, "formalizing network opportunities through group coaching, business networking and team building can build confidence, stop isolation, tap resources, and provide a systematic vehicle for developing a women's social network and social capital" (p. 268).

Contextual Barriers and Impediments

A number of internal and external factors facilitate or impede women's access to senior leadership positions. At the organizational level, they include the structure of the organization along with markets, type of industry, as well as the economic and sociopolitical climate of the time. At the individual level, women leaders' reputation, commitment to accountability, and their ability to envision alternative futures enhance their effectiveness in senior leadership positions and roles.

Organization Structure

Organizational structure and design have always been important factors influencing the behavior of leaders and followers. Traditionally, organizational structure has referred to relatively stable arrangements, relationships, and processes of the organization. It was often considered the anatomy of the organization which provides the foundation within which the firm functions focusing on the differentiation of position, formulation of rules and procedures, and prescriptions of authority (Ranson, Hinings, & Greenwood, 1980). The purpose of structure is to regulate, or at least reduce, uncertainty in the behavior of organizational members to accomplish legitimate work.

According to Weber (1947), the bureaucratic structure, traditionally the predominant organizational form, "is superior to any other form in precision, in stability, in the stringency of its discipline and its reliability. It thus makes possible a high degree of calculability of results for the heads of the organization and for those acting in relation to it" (p. 334). As defined by Weber (1947), bureaucratic structures are hierarchical, coordinated by rules, functionally departmentalized, and impersonal. According to Thompson (1967), Jacques (2006), and others, bureaucracy is structurally organized into production functions (e.g., line work), organizational functions (e.g., middle management), and executive functions (e.g., top management, strategic). In today's organizations, many large corporations are still organized around bureaucratic principles, and bureaucracy provides the bulk of leadership theorizing in organizational studies (Uhl-Bien & Marion, 2009). For lay people, bureaucracy often refers to the negative consequences of large organizations such as excessive red tape, procedural delays, and general frustration when workers are treated as cogs in a machine. The bureaucratic organization is typically associated with mechanistic model of organizations, which is characterized by highly specialized jobs, homogeneous departments, narrow spans of control, and relatively centralized authority. Mechanistic organizations work best in stable environment.

Classic organization theorists (e.g., Barnard, 1971; Fayol, Storrs, & Urwick, 1949; Taylor, 1903/2003; Weber, 1947) argued that organizations exist to accomplish production-related and economic goals. Organizational structures are designed to support the unity of command and mission which is accomplished through four basic structural pillars. First, division of labor refers to the principle designed to maximize production by establishing logical divisions within work roles and responsibilities between workers and management and along functional lines. According to Taylor (1903/2003), workers are the hands and managers are the brains. A second principle, chain of command, advocates that each lower level position in the hierarchy is controlled and supervised by a higher one and each employee should receive orders from only one supervisor. The third principle, authority, gives organizational leaders control by delegating decision making to managers at different levels such as first line and middle managers in the organizational hierarchy. Delegation and decentralization of authority give managers at the lower levels more autonomy, but it often also results in the duplication of functions.

Formalization as the fourth principle refers to the extent to which expectations regarding the means and ends of work are specified, written, and enforced. An organization structure described as highly formalized would be one with rules and procedures to prescribe what each individual should be doing (Hetherington, 1991). Centralization refers to the process of transferring and assigning decision-making authority. Finally, span of control refers to the number of subordinates a manager can effectively monitor. In classical organization theory, the magic number was seven. Span of control is an important variable in organization design because managerial effectiveness can be compromised if spans of control are too large. Wider spans of control discourage one-to-one supervision because there are simply too many subordinates to keep up with. However, in contemporary organizations, span of control has increased significantly as managers have technologies at their disposal that allow the supervision from a distance of larger numbers of subordinates.

Avolio and Kahai (2003) sum up the traditional organizational structure as follows:

> a hierarchical organizational structure defines, in specific terms, who should be reporting to whom, the boundaries of accountability and discretion, and how decisions are to be made. The leadership structure in hierarchical organizations builds on the structure by enhancing the relationships that exist between leaders and followers. Leadership can be directive, in which case it takes the procedures and rules that go along with the hierarchical structure and makes sure that they are properly and fairly administered. Leadership can also be participative within hierarchical systems, offering opportunities for people to dialogue about directives, and to be more involved in decision-making than the structure itself makes possible. (p. 326)

Although some large-scale organizations today follow the prescriptions of the mechanistic model and are hierarchically structured, in the contemporary economic climate, new organizational forms are needed to accommodate the greater emphasis on collaborate ventures, benchmarking, outsourcing, networking, as well as the impact of new technologies. Several authors (e.g., Haywood, 2005; O'Leary, 2000) argued that in this new economic climate along with new organizational forms, new leaders are required who empower others by building ownership and participation in decision making, establish formal and informal networks and coalitions, are flexible and responsive to followers' needs, and nurture and develop both individuals and an organizational culture through the creation of shared meaning as well as information sharing in an open and transparent manner.

Today, organizational leaders are faced with an array of different structural possibilities. In Chapter 1, I introduced the boundaryless organization as a structural arrangement characterized by a flatter hierarchy, less distance between managers and subordinates, and emphasis on participative decision making, team building, and coordination. The immediate problem facing women seeking senior leadership positions may no longer be women not having the right stuff to move into the executive suite but their lack of familiarity with these new structural arrangements that would allow them to take advantage of the new emergent organizational configuration and respond to the challenges of the new economy. Some companies such as Motorola, Xerox, and Coca Cola are continuously attempting to minimize and, in some instances, eliminate vertical structures, tightly defined work roles, and top-down controls. They are moving toward the boundaryless organization. To the extent that organizations are becoming less hierarchical and more driven by results than the "old boy" networks, they reward talent over gender and present a more level playing field than do traditional organizations (Klein, 2000).

Contemporary organizational structures are aligned with organic organizations which stand in sharp contrast to the mechanistic model. While the mechanistic model seeks to maximize efficiency and production, the organic model seeks to maximize satisfaction, flexibility, and organizational development. The organic form is less rigid than the mechanic organization and invites more worker participation. The organic organization is flexible to respond to changing environmental demands because its design encourages greater utilization of human potential. Managers are encouraged to adopt practices that tap the full range of human motivations through job design that stresses personal growth and responsibility. The organic model works best in dynamic, turbulent, and volatile environments.

In this section, I consider the matrix and learning organization as two structural arrangements that may capitalize on the advantages women bring to the leadership role. In the following chapter, I examine the ways virtual organizations can facilitate women's leadership effectiveness.

The *matrix organization* combines the advantages of the pure functional structure (manufacturing, R&D, sales, and marketing finance as major departmental functions) and the product organization and combines the best attributes of the mechanistic and organic models. It has two axes, often with product groups on the vertical axis and strategic business units on the horizontal axis. This structural arrangement eliminates the pyramidal shape of hierarchical organizations. It also violates the classical principle of unity of command since employees report to two bosses — one manager heading the vertical axis and another in charge of the horizontal axis. The matrix structure was developed at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration and got its name from its resemblance to a table (matrix) where every element is included in a row as well as in a column. Matrix structures are found in organizations that (1) "require response to rapid change in two orx more environments such as technology and markets; (2) face uncertainties that generate high information processing requirements; and (3) must deal with financial and human constraints" (Ivancevich & Matteson, 2002, p. 591). The matrix is an organizational form ideally suited for companies that are project driven.

An alternative structural arrangement, which, like the matrix organization, follows the prescriptions of the organic model, is the *learning organization* popularized by Senge (1990a). According to Senge, learning organizations are companies where people continually expand their capacity to create the results they truly desire, where new and out-of-the box patterns of thinking are nurtured, where collective aspiration is set free, and where people are continually learning to see the whole together. Learning organizations are structured around personal mastery, systems thinking, team building, and shared vision and "make stakeholders feel that they are, individually and collectively, masters of the destinies of their business" (Lei, Slocum, & Pitts, 1999, p. 25). Argyris and Schön (1996) acknowledged that individual learning should not be equated with organizational learning because an organization can know more or less than its individual members considered collectively. Hence, individual learning becomes organizational when an individual's knowledge is stored in the organization's memory systems and translated into the organization's routine practices (Argyris & Schön, 1996; Hedberg, 1981; Lundberg, 1995; Stata, 1989).

In other words, only when individual learning is institutionalized in the organization's system, structures, and procedures, has learning been made available to the organization as a whole (Crossan, Lane, & White, 1999). Adaptability is a key concept in the learning organization. Learning organizations with adaptable cultures are seen in such as Walmart, PepsiCo, and HP.

Strategic Leadership

One of the requisite and distinguishing characteristics of senior executives is their ability to think and plan strategically, constantly assessing and monitoring markets, the firm's position in the industry, and its competitors. In contrast to leaders at lower levels who are primarily concerned with managing internal operations, senior executives need to look at factors and conditions in the external environment. Strategic leadership provides vision, purpose, direction, and the context for success of the organization. Strategic leaders work in an uncertain environment on highly complex problems that affect and are affected by events and organizations outside their own. It involves foresight, cultural competence, and an understanding of the opportunities and demands context makes on senior organizational leaders. Executives, male and female, work in stressful, time-constrained, and resource-limited environments that foster competition rather than cooperation, and self-interest rather than other orientation (Bouchikhi, 2008; Sonnentag & Frese, 2003). Understanding the stresses and strains of life in the executive suite, which for women often means juggling the conflicting demands of work and family, remains a major challenge for women as strategic business leaders.

Individual Characteristics Enhancing Women's Leadership in Organizations

In Chapter 3, we called attention to a number of skills and competencies that are important in political leadership. They included political savvy, IM, and self-promotion. These skills are also relevant in organization. In this section, the role of the reputation of a woman business leader, the extent to which she holds herself and her company accountable for organizational outcomes — successes as well as failures — and her ability to envision alternative futures for the organization or visioning are discussed as contextual factors at the individual level.

Leader Reputation

Hall, Blass, Ferris, and Massengale (2004) defined reputation as a "perceptual identity of a leader held by others that serves to reduce uncertainty regarding the expected future behavior of that leader" (p. 518). Ferris, Blass, Douglas, Kolodinsky, and Treadway (2003) offered a narrower definition that states that reputation is "a perceptual identity reflective of the complex combination of salient personal characteristics and accomplishment, demonstrated behavior, and intended images presented over some period of time as observed directly and/or reported from secondary sources" (p. 213). According to this definition, reputation is considered to represent a general consensus of how others view a person. Individuals with positive reputations are being seen as more competent and legitimate. Ferris et al. also argue that a leader with a higher reputation is regarded with a higher degree of trust, monitored less, and held to lower accountability standards than a leader with a lesser reputation. Other studies suggested that reputation is perhaps one of the most important strategic resources of an organization (e.g., Flanagan & O'Shaughnessy, 2005), which distinguishes a firm from competitors (Peteraf, 1993) and reduces information asymmetry and consumer uncertainty.

According to Hall et al. (2004), leader reputation includes individual difference factors such as human and social capital, political skill, and leadership style. Human capital, often expressed in terms of experience and education, for example, provides instant status and credibility. With regard to political skills, Mainero (1994) argued that political skill is a vital component contributing to women's career advancement. Moreover, political skill is regarded as a significant component of leadership style. Recent studies have shown reputation to be related to a myriad of social construct including IM, career advancement, political skill, and power (Hall, Zinko, Perryman, & Ferris, 2009). Research has also shown that possessing a good reputation increases the likelihood that followers trust the leader (Whitmeyer, 2000). Perhaps, the most consistent finding in the literature is the relationship between reputation and organizational performance (e.g., Roberts & Dowling, 2002; Shamsie, 2003).

One major gap in this literature is studies that examine how women business leaders build and manage their reputation. What are some of the factors that enhance or critically tarnish a female corporate leader's reputation? There are a few examples in the business popular literature that account for the fall from grace of female CEOs including Carly Fiorina and Martha Stewart who engaged in dysfunctional behaviors that temporarily destroyed their reputation. But unlike trust which, once violated, is difficult to regain, reputation does not appear beyond repair.

Leader Accountability

Accountability is a fundamental principle of organization theory (Lerner & Tetlock, 1999), which has yet to find its way into leadership theory and research. Without accountability, individuals would be able to do whatever they wanted, whenever they wanted. Therefore, individuals are held accountable for their actions due to the existence of shared expectations and the responsibility they have for their actions. As Fink and Klimoski (2004) claimed, no organization could operate without being held accountable by internal and external stakeholders.

For many years, organizational theorists and strategic management scholars essentially have been studying accountability at the organizational level in their research on agency theory and corporate governance (e.g., Eisenhardt, 1989; Davis, Schoorman, & Donaldson, 1997). At the organizational level, "accountability systems can be construed as control mechanisms, designed and channel and shape behavior in organizational prescribed directions to maximize goal accomplishment and organization effectiveness" (Hall et al., 2009, p. 381). Organizations appraisal systems, internal audits, codes of ethics, and computer use monitoring are examples of organizational accountability mechanisms.

The corporate scandals surrounding Enron, WorldCom, Tyco, and others, where corporate leaders were implicated in cooking the books and other unethical and illegal behaviors, presumably resulted from a lack of accountability and abuse of their well-connected and almost celebrity status (Elliott, 2002). Thus, while organizational scholars have recognized the importance of accountability to understanding behavior in organizations, empirical research pertaining to its role in organizations, and particularly in relation to leadership, is limited.

We do know, however, that there is a relationship between accountability and reputation. For example, especially for leaders at the top of the organization, there is often a negative relationship between accountability and reputation. That is, we are less likely to hold leaders with positive reputations to formal accountability standards. Moreover, the reputations of leaders typically are positively related to trust (Whitmeyer, 2000). This line of research suggests that women business leaders should take steps to manage their reputation, trustworthiness, and ensure that formal accountability systems are in place in the companies they lead. As Beu and Buckley (2004) pointed out, "the most powerful form of accountability has to be more than a code of ethics and more than just words — the underlying culture of the organization, starting with its leadership, has to live by an internalized ethical code and model accountability throughout the organization" (p. 80).

Vision

If we define strategic leadership as a process that operates at the organizational/environmental level of analysis, visioning refers to a specific leadership competency that is critical must for senior executives. To be successful, a leader must be visionary, act and think strategically, and be able to take the long view by anticipating and planning for alternative and probable futures for the organization. A leader's vision implies an understanding of the past and present, but, more importantly, it offers a road map to the future. A firm's vision is the foundation of its culture.

Vision has been defined in different ways by leadership scholars. For example, Conger (1999) defined vision as an idealized goal state to be achieved in the future. Boal and Bryson (1999) see vision as an image of the future that articulates the values, purposes, and identity of followers. Jacobson and House (2001) argued that vision may serve as a basis for the development of organizational norms and structures. Common to most definitions of vision is the future time perspective that drives current leader behaviors and organizational goals and mission. Visionary leaders create cultures that guide their organizations into the future. According to Ibarra and Obudaru (2009), "formulating a vision involves the ability to frame current practices as inadequate, to generate ideas for new strategies, and to communicate possibilities in an inspiring way" (p. 65).

Vision occupies a central role in charismatic and transformational leadership theory (e.g., Bass, 1985; Bryman, 1992; Conger, 1999; House, 1971; Sashkin & Sashkin, 2003), both of which share vision as the common core. The leader's ability to envision the future and develop new strategic directions is one of the factors often quoted in extensive discussions regarding the differences between leadership and management (Bennis, 1993). Management has often been equated with maintenance of the status quo while leadership is about innovation and change; crafting and articulating a compelling vision for a better future is an essential force in the leader's quest for change.

Although numerous studies have examined the influence of vision on understanding leadership, relatively little is known about how leaders create, or construct, a meaningful vision (Strange & Mumford, 2002) and if the visions of female and male leaders differ in content and the ways in which they are articulated and communicated. However, research has shown that people differ in their ability to think about the future (Das, 1991). In one study (Ibarra & Obudaru, 2009), the researchers examined gender differences in visioning skills of more than 300 male and female executives enrolled in a leadership education course. The survey measured different dimensions of executive leadership including emotional intelligence, global mind-set, team building empowering, and envisioning. The results showed a very favorable picture of female executives with women rating themselves higher on some of the dimensions and male and female executives giving themselves the same ratings on most of the other dimensions. However, ratings on one dimension defied this pattern: "female leaders were rated lower by their male observers, but not by women, on their capabilities in visioning" (p. 64). In fact, the researchers reported that women themselves expressed negative attitudes toward visionary leadership.

In this study, female executives in this sample emphasized their no-nonsense, focus on detail, being grounded, day-to-day handling of the job, concrete facts, and irrefutable analysis over unproven assertions about how the future will take shape. The authors offered a parallel, illustrating the differences in visioning between men and women using the two presidential candidates for the 2008 U.S. presidential election. Barack Obama was viewed as a visionary, charismatic communicator offering a more hopeful future. Hillary Clinton, on the other hand, "was perceived as a competent executor with an impressive but uninspiring grasp of policy detail who, by her own admission, admitted that she does not inspire through rhetoric and emotions" (Ibarra & Obudaru, 2009, p. 68). The authors speculated that when women executives have to choose between being seen as competent and being in control, they are less likely to go out on the limb. However, when asked about visioning strategies, numerous female executives indicated that they use organic, collaborate approaches in forming their vision relying on diverse and external inputs and alliances.

Summary

Despite considerable progress toward gender equality and the introduction of gender equity policies and practices, the number of women in senior leadership positions such as CEO, CFO, COO, and other positions in the C-suite remains very small. In corporate America, gender is a business issue, not a women's issue, since the underrepresentation of women in senior executive positions has an impact on the bottom line. Women business leaders bring advantages and disadvantages to the leadership role. They are applauded for their ability to build consensus and team leadership while at the same time criticized for their lack of toughness, competitiveness, and vision. Contextual factors including organization structure and the opportunity to demonstrate strategic leadership are salient in determining women's effectiveness in executive leadership. At the individual level, a female executive's reputation, her ability to demonstrate and demand accountability throughout the organization, and her ability to envision possible and probable futures for the organization she leads are critical success factors.

At the corporate level, breaking through the glass ceiling will require significant organizational change. A lot of large organizations attempt to replicate the leadership characteristics of their senior executives, cloning leaders after the traditional male model. However, as the social context in which organizations operate changes, pressures to promote a larger number of women to positions in the C-suite and corporate boards will reflect stakeholders' concerns with more diversity and gender equality among the senior leadership of the firm.

Chapter 5

Information Technology as Context for Women's Leadership

Carly (Carleton) Fiorina became a household name when she was appointed in 1999 as the CEO of technology giant Hewlett-Packard (HP). The day Carly took over HP was the day that she declared that the glass ceiling no longer existed in information technology (IT); her world was a pure meritocracy where all could rise (Jones, 2005). According to Anders (2003), her ascendancy to the top of one of the United States most prestigious technology firms seemed to send a signal that gender finally did not matter anymore. During an emotional speech at the 2002 annual Most Powerful Women in Business conference, Carly demanded that she be judged as a leader, not as a woman (Titunik, 2002, p. 40). During her five and a half year tenure at HP, Carly was one of the most public faces in business and was chosen several times as the most powerful woman in corporate America. She was first named as Fortune magazine's most powerful female executive in 1998 and continued to top this list throughout her tenure at HP (Loomis & Ryan, 2005). For the media, Carly danced the celebrity dance. Not since Martha Stewart has a woman become such a brand icon for a company (Horowitz, 2005).

Carly was the daughter of an abstract painter and iterant California lawyer. She earned a degree in medieval history and philosophy at Stanford and worked as an intern at HP. She then turned to law, initially following in her father's footsteps before changing direction and joining AT&T where she moved rapidly through the ranks, earning a reputation for aggressive marketing skills, a deft human touch, a silver tongue, and, most of all, an iron will (Carlock, Lhoist, & Florent-Treacy, 2002, p. 15). After 18 years at AT&T, where she led the spin-off of Lucent Technologies, the largest and most successful IPO ever, Carly became the toast of Wall Street and the media. Her meteoric rise from secretary to CEO was portrayed as the success story of a modern-day corporate Joan of Arc, who, along with a handful of other high-profile CEOs, had broken stereotypes and validated the hopes and aspirations of women everywhere. According to Khurana (2002), Carly epitomized the celebrity CEO — attractive, media savvy, charismatic, and corporate savior.

The merger of HP and Compaq proposed in 2001, a $25 billion deal, was intended so that the new company, to be called HP, would result in a new organization, large and diversified enough to rival both IBM and Dell (Carlock et al., 2002). Despite its long and impressive history and a strong corporate culture known as the HP Way, the company was hit in the 1990s by intense competition among PC manufacturers and by a *general economic downturn. Carly believed that the HP Way was a major cause of the firm's mediocre performance. She instituted the restructuring process at HP and set about making the moribund manufacturer of expensive hardware and individual products into a company that produced integrated business solutions and innovations to become a leader in storage and services. Her appointment as CEO in 1999 was tied to a mandate of the HP board of directors to shake up the company and turn it into an Internet powerhouse. The children of the founders of HP made it clear that they opposed the merger, with Walter Hewlett, member of the board of directors of HP and son of the company's cofounder being the most vocal. Carly defended the buyout, arguing that it will improve HP's competitive position in the computing industry. By the end of 2000, HP's business began to erode and rumors began to swirl. Fiorina was widely criticized for having a personal trainer and hairdresser brought on a new Gulfstream IV jet and having her exercise equipment flown on a separate plane. According to Lashinsky, most of the allegations were rumors but "served to illustrate the extent to which the complex organism known as HP was rejecting the new leader" (Lashinsky, 2002, p. 105).*

A day after the merger was announced, HP's share price had dropped 25% and Compaq's stock tumbled as well. Large-scale layoffs involving almost 18,000 HP employees followed including the involuntary and voluntary exit of a number of top executives. By the end of 2001, a heated shareholder fight cost both companies millions. Businessweek satirized:

> *Really, Carly … Miss Nuptials always urges families to respect a bride's choices, but announcing that you were not surprised when the founding families of HP came out against this hookup was a blast of snappishness unbecoming a well-compensated CEO. After all, we have come to that part of the ceremony when people with a few billion dollars on the line don't have to hold their peace. (Hamilton, 2001, p. 32)*

Among the reasons cited for Carly's downfall was her inability to handle everyday operational issues, that is, the nuts and bolts of selling computers, market conditions, and recalcitrant employees. Others pointed to personal attributes such as her competitive drive, need for power, and ultimately her leadership style that was more congruent with the male gender role, since she was often described as having the rough edges of a man. Kirkpatrick (2002) argued that much of the venom directed at Carly had to do with her being a woman. In an interview with USA Today, Judy Rosener, professor in the University of California–Irvine School of Management, said that Carly was less interested in listening and more eager to look tough (Jones, 2005). Her leadership style was described as masculine and task oriented. Her supporters called her a hard driving visionary. Others called her too independent, ambitious, and exhibiting a sense of having no limits.

Johnson (2008) offered a different perspective by describing Carly's fall as a failure of ethical leadership. He argued that both the CEO and the HP board of directors failed as moral persons and moral managers. Johnson noted that Carly was perceived, fairly or unfairly, as a self-centered individual who lacked critical leadership attributes such as *compassion, humility, and integrity. He suggested that her obsession with making the numbers undermined HP's ethical standards. At the same time, the author provides several examples of HP directors also behaving in unethical ways such as putting personal agendas before the good of the company or disregarding employee input.*

After being ousted by the HP board of directors in 2005, Carly stepped away from the spotlight. In 2007, she returned to the public eye with the publication of her memoirs (Fiorina, 2007), in which she chronicles her experiences at HP. In her memoirs, Carly reflects on her experiences at HP:

> *Many months after the battle was over, people asked me what prepared me for it. I answered, "Nothing and everything." I was faced with pressures I never imagined I would endure. I was learning new things on the fly when the stakes were enormous. And yet I would rely on things I knew: how to build teams and keep them together; how to sustain effort and maintain humor, how to focus people on the essential. I would trust my internal compass, that navigational instrument that never fails, even when the wind is howling and the sky is dark. I knew I was doing what I believed was the right thing for the right reasons in the best way I knew how. (p. 260)*

Introduction

Many highly accomplished and visible women leaders in information technology (IT) organizations probably ask themselves the question whether leadership is different in the electronic age and in cyberspace? Both leadership and IT are about human potential. IT now includes a variety of information and communication technologies ranging from the Internet to group decision support systems (GDSS). We live in a world that is the culmination of centuries of technological progress that has become known as the information age. As IT matured, the Internet changed over the years from being technology oriented to a focus on branding, customer service, and other relationship-related skills, which women bring to the table.

The rapid proliferation of information and communication technologies dramatically influenced the structure of organizations and the organizational relationships both inside and outside the firm leading to the development of virtual organizations that span geographical and temporal boundaries (Davidow & Malone, 1992). Virtual organizations operate as dispersed, collaborate networks of people who are independent of location or affiliation (Hedberg, 1997). A study by the IDC Corporation predicts that there will be one billion technology-enabled mobile workers by the year 2011 (Sudan, Drake, Boggs, & Giusto, 2007).

Conceptualizations of IT

IT is increasingly challenging leaders to be more responsive to their followers. Technology-intensive organizations have been described as a unique cultural technology (Jordan, 1999), which according to the author can be understood as a space of magic in that it constitutes a multimedia performance arena in which identities are staged, negotiated, and transformed. By nature, e-businesses are fast moving, highly uncertain, and competitive. To be successful in the techno-centric environment, management needs to emphasize customer focus, open and honest communication, flatter hierarchies, a performance focus, risk taking, innovation, strategic alliances, virtual teamwork, collaboration across generations, and continuous change (Annunzio, 2003; Hamel, 2002). In the Internet age, organizations must design and maintain cultures that mirror the Internet — cultures that are entrepreneurial, knowledge based, collaborative, and experimental.

Technology as construed here is not just hardware and software but is also constituted as a social system with intended and unintended consequences. This conceptualization of technology goes beyond the simplistic dichotomy of IT as either an objective, external force (i.e., the hardware/software perspective or the technological imperative school of thought) or a socially constructed product (i.e., the social constructionist or strategic choice view of technology). Instead, the duality of technology is the result of the reciprocal interactions of social actors and the structural properties of technology platforms (Orlikowski, 1992; DeSanctis & Poole, 1994; Klenke, 2005b).

Technologies involve products and processes that facilitate the flow of activities whether at work or at home. They are designed and implemented to expedite the flow and exchange of human, materials, financial, and information resources between individuals, work units, and organizations. Like leadership, technologies have people, structural, political, and symbolic domains. Technologies also create enabling structures, such as user groups formed around the application of a new information system that encourage change and learning (Klenke, 1997b).

Leading in high tech, information- and knowledge-intensive organizations requires flexibility, technical competence, the capacity to adapt on the spot, commitment to high-quality innovation, and the ability to build collaborate cultures. High-performing firms in technology-driven organizations and their leaders value personal responsibility, intrinsic motivation, and autonomy, as well as high levels of followers (i.e., users of information systems) involvement. They value performance orientation and reward it with performance-oriented incentives such as profit sharing. Finally, "high performing, technology-intensive companies are socially responsible organizations which contribute to the welfare of the larger community" (Klenke, 1996, p. 21). Most limitations on the use of technologies are imposed by social norms rather than technological constraints.

Contextual Characteristics of the Internet

Among the defining contextual characteristics of virtual organizations and workplaces are speed, media richness, anonymity, and empowerment, which are particularly relevant to this research.

Speed and Media Richness

Speed and media richness are critical success factors in IT companies in order to thrive in virtual environments. Most of the Internet platforms offer high-speed, multimedia access. For example, existing information technologies allow for the circulation of content in the form of hypertext, graphic images, audio and video streaming creating a media rich, user friendly environment that allow for interactions 24/7/365 which can take place synchronously or asynchronously. Multimedia such as sound, animation, and video add to the emotional impact of IT, allowing information and communication technologies to trigger a wide range of both positive and negative effects.

Media richness ''has long been a popular way of thinking about media choice which focuses on the characteristics of rapid feedback, language variety, personalization, and multiple cues. The greater the ability of a medium to provide those characteristics, the richer the medium; face-to-face interaction is considered the richest of all'' (Zigurs, 2003, p. 346). Carlson and Zmud (1999) suggested that the richness of a communication channel expands not because of the characteristics of the medium itself but because of the context in which it is used. Dennis and Valacich (1999) introduced the term *media synchronicity* which they defined in terms of different levels of symbol variety, feedback, and rehearsability. Some of these characteristics such as symbol variety are shared by other conceptualization of media richness. Rehearsability, on the other hand, is a new idea that describes the extent to which a user can massage and format a message.

Backlash of IT has already begun and some decry the loss of personality that often accompanies the mediation of communication via computer; others lament the amount of time taken away from face-to-face interactions by technologies that require expertise, undivided attention, and may become addictive. There are those who argue that with all its material benefits, ''technology weakens human relationships, fosters self-indulgence and isolation, distorts perceptions of time, signals the death of body language and other subliminal signals essential to building trust in human relationships'' (Wenk, 1999, p. 430).

Anonymity

Anonymity is another important feature in information and communication systems referring to the absence of physical cues from which perceptual judgments are derived. Age, gender, and ethnicity provide important and salient information in face-to-face interpersonal interactions; however, they are much less evident in virtual workplaces where team members interact over distances and across time zones. Anonymity is a key feature of a number of computer-mediated communication systems such as GSS, which allow group members to interact with each other without having to disclose their identities. The technology of the Internet provides users with the means to remain anonymous with regard to personal characteristics in their communications that may provide clues regarding the user's stand on issues discussed in a chat room. At the same time, anonymity may facilitate self-disclosure because salient personal characteristics of the communicating parties remain unknown.

Anonymity online is full of paradoxes. It offers individuals opportunities to try out different roles or identities known as avatars, a collection of individualized online lives. Online networks allow people to share their talents, celebrate their accomplishments, and sometimes inflate them. However, anonymity also allows them to avoid responsibility and accountability for their actions or may cause damage because people misrepresent themselves in virtual environments. Electronic interactions are invisible, yet there is a dynamic set of rules and relationships that govern these interactions. There are "established conventions of self-presentation and argument on the Internet, widely shared systems of values and beliefs, complete lexica of gestural symbols such as smiley faces to convey nuances of personal style, and modified standards of social decorum that facilitate interactions with strangers" (Porter, 1996, p. xiii). Anonymous, virtual voices are by their nature disembodied; they have no faces, age, sex, or ethnicity and no histories beyond those users may choose to reveal, yet they allow for alternative imaginings and projections of feelings and permit emotionally charged paths of shared discovery to and from the virtual to the real (Zaleski, 1997). The author noted that the lonely, depressed, shy, and misfits in particular are often attracted to the Internet, relishing its power to allow communication with others while maintaining anonymity.

Self-Disclosure

Self-disclosure refers to the process of revealing one's inner self to others. Self-disclosure aids in self-acceptance because revealing more of oneself enhances the likelihood of being accepted by others. As acceptance by others increases, so does our self-esteem, because self-esteem is also based heavily on how we are perceived and evaluated by others. Self-disclosure online is paradoxical. On the one hand, some people very quickly become intimate online; they disclose things to strangers that they might not share with others in face-to-face interactions. Likewise, simple online chats can result in an astonishing amount of trust and intimacy, which are accentuated by the speed with which messages are transmitted. On the other hand, excessive amounts of self-disclosure may not only be deceptive, but individuals engaging in this practice may be too self-revealing and risk rejection instead of gaining the acceptance and increased self-esteem they seek (Klenke, 2010).

Empowerment

Finally, virtual environments empower people. Wenk (1999) points out that "technology empowers all life support systems — food production, transportation, communication, military security, urban infrastructure, health care, environmental management, banking, education, and entertainment'' (p. 429). Even faith traditions have taken advantage of the powers of the Internet to put individuals in control of their spiritual development and practices. Spiritual and religious Web sites have proliferated ranging from fully empowered Catholic dioceses to sites that offer online meditation centers, spiritual healing, and recourses to empower users to take control over their spiritual development and growth.

According to Elmes and Smith (2001), empowerment is deeply and historically rooted in American spiritual ideals found not only in evangelical traditions but also in New Age thinking. Quinn and Spreitzer (1997) asserted that employees feel empowered to the extent that they experience self-determination, meaning, competence, and a belief in the importance of their work. According to Senge (1990b), through service to others, workers and the workplace become empowered because relationships are transformed and a larger portion of the workforce is allowed to participate in shaping the future. Elmes and Smith (2001) proposed that ''empowerment appeals to American workers not only because it gives them control over their lives and take on greater responsibility but also because it incorporates spiritual ideals and moral values'' (p. 44).

The notion of the Internet as a site of power and medium for power dynamics is widely recognized. Power on the Web can be productive and constitutive of different identities but also coercive or repressive. Empowered users believe that they can be catalysts for change, a source of creativity and behave in self-managing, self-organizing ways. According to Jordan (1999), cyberpower arises from (1) identity fluidity established through online personalities, (2) remaking of hierarchy constructed from the peculiarities of online life, and (3) spaces made out of information (p. 62). Jones (1995) claims cyberspace is inherently antihierarchical because of identity fluidity:

> Indeed, it is difficult to understand just how hierarchy and community can coexist via CMC [computer mediated communication], in part because of the seemingly anarchic or at least unstructured nature of many computer networks. A common denominator linking hierarchy and community is identity, not only in terms of oneself but also in terms of one's sense of others. CMC provides ample room for identity but not for its fixing and structuring. (p. 30)

However, as Kanter (2001) points out, one community of empowered users is another's biggest nemesis.

Women, because of the fact that they typically occupy multiple roles (leader, manager, spouse, mother, parent) all of which are salient, need to maintain identities that are sufficiently fluid and transparent, In addition, they need to maintain balance between their online and offline identities. Women e-leaders can capitalize on their greater willingness to share information (Helgesen, 1995; Rosener, 1990) to create unique spaces for their leadership and take advantage of one of the key contextual features of cyberspace, namely the speed at which information is spread.

The emotional architecture of virtual organizational cultures contains spaces where different rules concerning the expression of feelings apply and where expectations of public expectations regarding emotional control can be relaxed. Expressions of emotions are often circumscribed by their own implicit feeling rules that determine just how much and what types of emotions users can reveal to one another to keep the organizational order intact (Fineman, 1993).

According to Jordan (1999), cyberspace has at its heart a constant battle between the empowerment of individuals and the propagation of an ever more powerful virtual elite. By providing more and more powerful tools to the user, cyberspace seems to offer power in the form of various virtual possessions. Yet, the reliance on these tools ensures that individuals become increasingly more dependent on the expertise of a cyber elite that creates and maintains these tools. According to Jordan, cyberpower "is a cartography of power that circulate through virtual lives, a chart of the forces that pattern the politics, technology and culture of virtual of virtual societies" (p. 3). It is manifested in its extreme form in the works and contributions of cyber elites such as Bill Gates, Ester Dyson, powerful venture capitalist, technology futurist, and Internet analysts, and billionaire Mark Zuckerberg, founder of Facebook who in 2010 donated $100 million to improve the Newark, New Jersey educational system. These individuals are not only technology giants but also philanthropists who have shared their wealth to support social causes that are important to them.

Leadership and IT: Theoretical Interfaces

E-Leadership

Changes in organizational structure, size, complexity, and work arrangements make more leaders responsible for managing followers at a distance (Antonakis & Atwater, 2002). Leaders in virtual organizations, multinational firms, or domestic companies with widely dispersed operations are faced with the challenges of motivating and evaluating followers who reside in different locations, time zones, and/or countries. E-leadership is leadership mediated by IT such as e-mail, chat rooms, videoconferencing, and distance learning. E-leadership is a world of global markets, ad hoc teams, telecommutes, e-mail, videoconferencing, virtual offices, networked alliances, and instant information. Most importantly, however, e-leadership is not about connecting technology but about liking people in cyberspace. Virtual organizations, e-commerce, and the e-economy not only create new challenges for leaders and demand a new culture of leadership but they also set the stage for a radically different kind of leader. The image of the top-down hierarchical leader who manages the corporation with a vertical value chain, giving orders to the same five direct reports, is becoming increasingly irrelevant in virtual organizations. It is being replaced by the lateral leader who leads across the enterprise — Webs composed of collaborative teams and a virtual value chain made up of insiders and outsiders where control is an illusion. E-leadership takes place in a context where leadership is the distributed property of a collective rather than an activity associated with a focal individual (Day, 2000; Drath, 2001).

Avolio and Kahai (2003) stated:

> The purpose of e-leadership is to take the relationships among organizational members defined by an organization's structure and enhance it. However, the key difference, is that e-leadership takes place in a context where work is mediated by information technology. In such a context, not only may a leader's communication with followers take place via IT, but the collection and dissemination of information required to support organizational work also takes place via IT. For example, a participative leader may set up chat rooms to solicit opinions from members of a global virtual team before making any final decision. (p. 326)

The authors expressed confidence that leadership mediated by IT can exhibit the same content and style as traditional face-to-face leadership, especially as virtual interactions become more visual. Today, many Internet communications are enhanced by including video streaming and other technologies that bring leaders and followers face to face in cyberspace. Likewise, in classroom settings, faculty and students can interact synchronously using Web cams that are now built into or can be attached to computers.

Avolio, Kahai, and Dodge (2001) defined e-leadership as a social process mediated by advanced information and communication technologies to produce changes in attitudes, emotions, cognitions, behavior, and/or performance of individual, groups, and/or organizations. The authors point out that the effect of new technology on e-leadership will in part depend on the technology's structural features, the group's internal systems and structures, and the organization's culture. As the technological and social systems interact in e-leadership and are interdependent, leadership may be enabled, undermined, or completely disabled by the introduction of new technology. Conversely, technology may force a change in leadership style, which may be necessary when autocratic leadership has to give way to more collaborative ways of leading which may be necessary, for example, when new technologies such as a GSS are introduced which foster democratic and consensus-based decision making.

Avolio and his collaborators based their conceptualizations of e-leadership on adaptive structuration theory (Giddens, 1986; DeSanctis & Poole, 1994) to explain how communication technologies connect team leaders and members to produce new team structures and cultures. Adaptive structuration theory departs from the premise that social systems are characterized by theoretical dichotomies such as micro/macro, subjective/objective, or agency/structure perspectives which need to be reconciled. According to Giddens, the balancing of agency and structure is referred to as the duality of structure suggesting that social structures make social action possible, and at the same time that social action creates those very structures. Structuration theory has been adapted and augmented by researchers interested in the relationship between technology and social structures including leadership (e.g., Avolio et al., 2001; DeSanctis & Poole, 1994; Orlikowski 1992).

Several laboratory studies have examined the effects of transformational, transactional, participative, and directive leadership on various team outcomes such as creativity, satisfaction with task and leader, communication, and team performance, in virtual teams (e.g., Kahai, Sosik, & Avolio, 2003; Sosik, 1997, Weisbrand, 2002). For example, Kahai et al. (2003) studied the effects of leadership style (transactional vs. transformational), anonymity (identified vs. anonymous interaction), and rewards (individual vs. groups) on group processes and outcomes. The results of this study showed that "group processes and outcomes in an electronic meeting setting are not entirely determined by the technical features of the electronic meeting system (EMS) used in the study, such as anonymity but by the interaction of technical features with social factors such as leadership and rewards structure" (p. 520). Thus, the results supported the basic premise of structuration theory. The authors suggested that when leaders are interested in enhancing the performance of their groups in EMS settings, they should consider aligning their leadership style. More specifically, if communication is identified, a group's leader should display transactional behaviors. For anonymous communication, the results suggested that either type of leadership style may be appropriate for increasing group efficacy and satisfaction with the task (p. 521).

Puravana and Bono (2009) compared transformational leadership in traditional teams using face-to-face communications and virtual teams using IT to mediate communication. The results showed that the most effective leaders were those who increased their transformational leadership in virtual teams and that transformational leadership behaviors were more strongly linked to performance in virtual than face-to-face teams. The latter findings suggest that "transformational leadership behaviors may be especially instrumental for team performance under the more ambiguous conditions created by electronic communication media" (p. 352). The authors concluded that transformational leadership appears to be in greater demand in virtual communications.

Yet again, these studies pose a dilemma. On the one hand, this body of research suggests that transformational and participative leadership are important in virtual teams where communication is driven by technology. On the other hand, because many electronic communications are devoid of visual and auditory cues — the main carriers of emotions — transformational leadership which appeals to the effect and motivations of leaders and followers may occur less frequently in online leader–follower interactions. Both idealized influence and inspirational motivation, two of the four is of transformational leadership, employ nonverbal and paraverbal cues (Kirkpatrick & Locke, 1996); hence, it may be difficult to display and perceive these transformational behaviors in electronically mediated communication settings. Virtual communication has also been found to be more ambiguous, more laborious, and more cognitively taxing than face-to-face communication (Thompson & Coovert, 2003). As Avolio and Kahai (2003) suggested, e-leaders may engage in less intellectual stimulation, because they find it difficult to involve followers in the decision-making process because of the absence of nonverbal cues. Research also reveals that task-oriented, to-the-point communication is the norm in virtual teams, at the expense of social-relational communications (e.g., Cornelius & Boos, 2003; Thompson & Coovert, 2003).

Women in IT

IT puts powerful tools in the hands of women leaders. Imagine a female CEO of an MNC technology giant with subsidiaries all over the world who sends daily reminders reinforcing the organization's vision to all employees and has set up chat rooms for employees to discuss how they are employing elements of the vision in their daily communications with customers and coworkers. In developed countries, women are actively engaged in IT creating strategic information links. They have founded their own IT companies like Carol Bartz, an early trailblazer in the industry who founded Autodesk and appeared on Fortune Magazine's 50 Most Powerful Women list several times. Within the organization, Bartz created a nonprofit unit intended to empower girls to become competent and comfortable with technology and mathematics.

Sandra Kurtzig, also one of the early pioneers in IT, started ASK Computer Systems in 1991, building the company from a $2000 personal savings investment to one of the nation's largest software firms and the largest public company founded and run by a woman. By 1982, ASK had revenues over $400 million, and Kurtzig was the first woman to take a high tech firm public. Kurtzig (1991) said that when people learned that she was in software, they thought she was making lingerie. More recently, Barbara Desoer, head of Global Technology and Operations at Bank of America, emerged as the highest paid CIO in the *Fortune 1000* in 2007 with a total compensation package of $10,532,513 (Nash, 2008).

Every year, with the support of the Xerox Corporation, the Top 25 Women on the Web are honored, which in the past has included not only high flyers like Carly Fiorina, former CEO of HP, California Senator Barbara Boxer who was chosen for her contribution to Internet legislation, and Melinda Gates, wife of Bill Gates, for her work at The Gates Foundation but also numerous unknown designers and IT educators. Among the women who rule the Web are Marissa Mayer, Google VP in charge of search products and user experience, and Padmasree Warrior, Motorola's chief technology officer who oversees a $3.5 billion research and development effort. Among them was the introduction of finger-writing recognition device in China where text messaging is not possible because there are 3000 characters in the Chinese alphabet (Sellers, 2006).

There is no shortage of female talent on the Internet. A crop of women's Web sites have been launched in recent years that attract growing female audiences. Organizations like Women in Technology International (www.witi.com) and the Institute of Women and Technology (www.iwt.org) have been established to provide support for women in high tech and those considering careers in technology. Women's portals that serve as gateways to the Web centralize a lot of content for women and are gaining popularity because they are recognized as tools that help women manage the information overload of the Internet and in their lives (Behar Molad, 2000). Together, women's portals are intended to boost the percentage of women in the high tech workforce closer to parity with men. Women also are using the Web to support their political work around women's issues and in doing so they are creating new cultures across time and space (Harcourt, 1999). They are avid bloggers and are represented on social network sites such as Twitter and Facebook. Women's groups are using the Internet to break down barriers, exclusions, and silences.

In 2008, 24% of professional IT-related occupations in the United States were populated by women (National Center for Women Information Technology, 2008). With the growth of e-commerce, the number of women in IT has increased significantly, including the large number of female entrepreneurs who run Internet-based companies. However, there is another inherent paradox in these numbers: how can gender disparity persist in a medium which allegedly renders gender invisible?

On the one hand, women attend colleges and universities in greater number than ever, with the number of female enrollments exceeding that for males for the first time in 1993. On the other hand, the percentage of women who major in engineering, a discipline that prepares students for many careers in IT, has not changed dramatically over the past two decades, hovering around 28% although the numbers vary. It is no secret that women are seriously absent in science-related fields (see Chapter 10). For example, in 2009, only 11 of the 72 new members elected to the National Academy of Science were women.

Gender differences in attitudes toward computers are evident from childhood on. Boys grow up with erector sets, legos, and trains, which help develop spatial skills that are needed to be good at football as well as math. Girls, on the other hand, are rewarded for being nice and polite and female high school counselors often steer young women into traditionally female occupations such as nursing and teaching. Women in IT report that they are perceived as having less knowledge and qualifications than their male counterparts and are paid less for the same amount of work. Despite these obstacles, opportunities and rewards for women in technical fields have never been greater and it is important to educate young girls about these opportunities and career paths.

According to Mayfield (2000), girls shy away from computers and technology not because they suffer from computer phobia but because they are turned off by boring video games mass-marketed toward boys, dull programming classes, and uninspiring career options. Turkle (1997) offered a similar argument when she pointed out that girls are not computer phobic, they are computer reticent. When girls are asked how they feel about computers, they most often expressed the view that computing involves work that is tedious, sedentary, and most critically antisocial as reflected in Dilbert cartoons, where geeky looking boys labor on computers and play weird games. Furthermore, girls are often ignorant about IT career options and are only vaguely aware of the social, interactive, and creative applications. Instead of focusing on what is wrong with girls who dislike computing, it would be more informative for researchers to examine what might be wrong with the computer culture.

Initially, women were only accepted for help-desk type positions. Today, we are seeing more and more women filling administrator positions including some CIOs. Meg Whitman joined eBay in 1998 with a successful track record of corporate innovations. At eBay, "she recognized the changing business landscape offered by the Internet. She took the age-old idea of auctions and combined it with the power of the Internet and its ability to categorize information and bring many buyers and sellers together to offer a new value proposition to consumers" (Furst & Reeves, 2008, p. 377). Over a period of seven years, Whitman helped build eBay Inc. into a global e-commerce company and in the process became one of the first Internet billionaires, as a result of hefty stock options, good timing, and a profit-driven market.

Today, talent hungry tech firms are offering creative, lucrative, and sometimes outrageous incentives ranging from a two-year company paid for BMW to lifestyle perks such as day care, telecommuting, concierge services, fitness club memberships on top of huge salaries, sign-on bonuses, and stock options which make careers in IT appealing to women despite the nerd culture of the industry.

Gender Differences in Online Communications

IT, like leadership, is often assumed to be gender neutral (Klenke, 1996). The absence of physical cues such as voice or intonation is thought to remove all traces of information pertaining to gender, race, and social class presumably making IT theoretically democratic and egalitarian. However, claims of widespread gender blindness have not been supported by research on online interactions. Early research showed that women tend to have more negative attitudes toward the use of IT than men did. For example, studies have identified several characteristics that provide nonverbal gender cues such as women being more polite and men being more aggressive in online communications. Females have also been found to post relatively short messages and are more likely to qualify and justify their assertions, apologize, and express support of others (Herring, 2000). These studies revealed some of the mechanisms by means of which gender disparity operates in online communications despite the potential of the medium to neutralize gender differences.

Thus, instead of being gender neutral, ITs propagate gender politics built on the presumed negative attitude of women toward computers or even an aversion to technology, known as techno- or cyber-phobia. Presently, IT as a context for leadership continues to favor men from elementary school to the executive suite where most CIO positions are occupied by male executives. As noted earlier, limitations of the use of ITs are imposed by social norms regarding gender appropriate behaviors rather than technological constraints. Gender differences in online communications are more prominent in asynchronous as opposed to synchronous online discussions. Computer networks, as Herring (2000) pointed out, do not guarantee gender-free, equal-opportunity interactions any more than any previous communication technologies. The author concluded that conventional gender styles interact with the broader Internet context to create a public online climate that is generally less hospitable to women than to men. Thus, although more and more women are using the Internet, gender disparity persists.

Although some of the gender differences are beginning to disappear, there are differences in the ways women and men use the Internet. For example, Hamilton and Scandura (2003) reported that ‘‘men view the medium in a competitive mode to elevate their own status, while women see the medium as means to develop collaboration and support networks’’ (p. 396). When women do log on to the Internet, they self-report exchanging more private e-mails than participating in public discussion groups and chat rooms, whereas for men the order is reversed (Hoffman, Kalsbeek, & Novak, 1996). Sussman and Tyson (2000) analyzed newsgroup postings on topics that were categorized as masculine such as basketball, feminine such as ballet, and gender neutral such as news media. As predicted, the researchers found that men produced longer posts and concluded that this finding is consistent with status theory suggesting that dominant status behavior was manifested in the lengths of newsgroup posts by men. However, the researcher also reported that unexpectedly women communicated more frequently than men, particularly when female-typed topics were discussed, possibly because they were more familiar with these types of topics.

Reasons for the Underrepresentation of Women IT Leaders

According to Margolis and Fisher (2003), society discourages women from taking an interest in computer science as early as childhood while the prevailing geek culture further estranges them as they grow into adolescence. Women often strongly distance themselves from the geek persona that they wrongly perceive to be a requirement of success. The authors conducted a four-year study of Carnegie Mellon students and reported that between 1995 and 2000, the percentage of female computer science majors leapt from just 7% to roughly 40%. They reported that female interest in technology begins to wane in middle school and all but dies in high school. According to the professors’ survey, female students were no more likely than their male counterparts to leave the computer science major, whereas they were quite as likely to do so in 1995. As Margolis and Fisher’s evidence also showed, elements in the traditional socialization of girls leave U.S. women students at greater risk — more so than their male peers or international women students — of quitting computer science classes, or the major, despite adequate or good academic performances. The authors identified a number of factors to account for the gender gap including inequities in precollege access to computer experience and the gendered character of the IT industry. Experiencing insufficient encouragement from faculty and active discouragement from some male peers, perfectly competent women begin to doubt that they belong in engineering or in computer science, lose confidence and leave. Foreign women were found to be less deterred either by the elements in the computer and IT culture, or by their low entering levels of computer experience. Margolis and Fisher discussed the serious global consequences of failure to address gender disparity in IT as a discipline and as an industry, lamenting the constant bias in product development and failure to take into consideration female customer needs. For example, the early carrying cases for cell phones as a communication device were clearly designed for men to be worn on trouser belts. Now women can choose cell phone cases that fit into skirt pockets and purses.

Li (2005) conducted a meta-analysis on gender differences in the use of computer-mediated communication technologies in an effort to reconcile the inconsistent findings found in the literature. The author analyzed 50 studies exploring gender differences in the use of computer-mediated communication. The results revealed a significant effect for gender on users' collaborative orientation, with women exhibiting a significantly higher degree of willingness to collaborate than men. In addition, women were found to have a higher frequency of challenging others and were more person-oriented. Men, on the other hand, distinguished themselves by the use of more authoritative statements, reported better access to online environments, and were confident using computer-mediated communications. The author concluded that just as in face-to-face environments, gender-related stereotypical patterns do exist in virtual environments mirroring the power structure in society at large, thereby supporting the results of previous studies (e.g., Sussman & Tyson, 2000).

Klenke (1996) described how women in traditional organizations often do not effectively utilize mentoring as a bridge to leadership roles, since men have been found more successful in establishing multiple mentoring relationships in face-time contexts (e.g., Kram, 1985). Now, e-mentoring has become a new avenue that can be used by women to secure positions in IT. In traditional mentoring, the mentoring relationship is created by frequent face-to-face contact between the protégé and the mentor. Now, different electronic communication channels can also be used for this purpose. Hamilton and Scandura (2003) defined e-mentoring as "the process of using electronic means as the primary channel of communication between mentors and protégés" (p. 388). The authors note that "current trends in technology which include rich multimedia communication in real time enable emotional expression and social bonding that one typically observes in face-to-face interactions" (p. 389). They describe different e-mentoring functions such as providing vocational guidance through access of Web sites, which help users with resume writing and presentation skills. As in the face-to-face environment, e-mentoring also serves psychosocial functions which focus on aspects of the interpersonal relationship between the mentor and the protégé such as building trust and sharing resources.

It is still true that fewer women around the globe use the Internet due to economic, cultural, and social reasons, particularly in underdeveloped counties. For example, in rural areas of India, China, and Mexico, women do not have access to the technological infrastructure required for Internet connections, cannot afford them, or both. However, while women in the United States historically have been the minority gender online, they are now participating in Internet dialogues and communications at least at the same rate as men do. For example, Fallows (2000) reported on Internet usage of women and men based on findings released by the Pew Internet and American Life Project which showed the Internet has intensified social contact, especially for women, who make up the bulk of recent Internet converts. The data from the Pew survey consisted of telephone interviews with a random sample of 3500 Americans who were asked questions pertaining to how they used the Internet and what practical, social, and emotional role it played in their lives. The most important finding was the dramatic surge in women's reliance on the Internet. Women have begun ''using the Internet in such numbers that for the first time there is now gender parity in the online population'' (Fallows, 2000, p. 51). The study also revealed that the women and men used the Internet to access different types of information with men checking sports scores and women going online to find health care information. Women also consistently led men in the social applications of the Internet. The strongest message of the Pew study was that ''for women and men alike the Internet has been a broadening tool, giving people more ways to connect with others around them rather than cutting them off''. The study concluded the Internet is following the path of previous technological revolutions such as the printing press, the telephone, the airplane, and the car; ITs are helping to fulfill basic human desires to communicate and connect'' (Fallows, 2000, p. 52).

The emphasis on mental agility and cognitive abilities required for much of the work in high tech companies should serve women well. Moreover, technology-driven work also calls for skills such as collaboration and team building that women bring to this context. Taken together, the contextual features discussed earlier coupled with the volatile nature of the e-commerce environment demand a different, faster type of leadership. Among the requirements for this new type of leadership is the ability to develop a compelling, inspiring vision, forging an organizational identity through branding and creating space and structures for organizational learning (Brown & Gioia, 2002).

While the challenges and opportunities awaiting women in this ''high velocity'' (Eisenhardt, 1989, p. 543) context are many, women in IT in chat rooms, blogs, and newsrooms deplore the cultural bias in Silicon Valley, which they compare to the constant drip of a faucet that continually irritates them.

The cultural biases they face are more insidious — and therefore more difficult to fight — than the blatant sexism of years gone by. Others argue that fierce competition and Internet time force the IT culture to be a true meritocracy. While hard data are scarce, anecdotal evident reveals that high tech workplaces prefer long hours over family-friendly schedules, conformity over diversity, and men who are not entirely comfortable working with women which turns the IT organization into a paradox for women: including them by playing to their strengths while at the same time excluding them through a macho culture that signals that women are definitely not in, despite the fact that a lone woman may occupy a token senior IT position.

Women in the Leadership and IT Labyrinth

In the absence of research that specifically addresses how technology fundamentally contextualizes women's leadership, one of the promising avenues for theoretical, empirical, and practical exploration involves the construct of invisible leadership. On the one hand, we noted that women are infrequent occupants of the leadership role in the C-suites of large technology organizations, yet statistics also show that women are effective leaders at the helm of midsize and smaller organizations where their leadership is less exposed to media and public scrutiny. In addition, many women have been successful in attracting venture capital money to launch their own firms providing a variety of IT services from Web design to Internet security. Like their male counterparts, they are individuals who practice e-leadership in cyberspace.

Spender (1996) contends, women today are using the Internet to navigate the power structure of brick and mortar organizations, overcome traditional and historic barriers, and liberate themselves by networking with each other. There is a strong relationship between women's access to knowledge, access to types of power such as expert and information power, and the ability to enter and advance in the workplace. Knowledge is power. The future of cyberspace places the issue of gender squarely before us. New technologies generate wealth and power — as examples of high-profile women e-leaders have shown. They also create a broad band of opportunities for women who seek leadership opportunities that allow for a less stressful work/family balance and permit them to move in and out of the workforce without penalties such as losing a senior management position because of extended family care.

Leadership in virtual organizations challenges female leaders to harness their networking capabilities and the invisible powers of network dynamics to create conditions and structures that can be deployed to enhance the effectiveness of women e-leaders. Technology has the potential of leveraging the corporate playing field, making it easier for invisible female e-leaders to emerge as leaders. Some claim that the Internet economy offers women improved opportunities to excel, claiming that it is a genderless frontier with equal opportunity for men and women.

Presumably, the Internet does level the playing field because it is more about smarts, drive, and passion, as opposed to being determined by gender or ethnicity. Jordan (1999) stated, "cyberspace appears as a place in which individuals can put aside many of the inequalities of offline life, because nobody knows that they are really female, old or disabled" (p. 87).

In virtual organizations, women are less likely to be judged by gender. Yet the Internet is not gender blind. Pay inequity exists particularly because male stars of the industry are so high profile and many women report that they have not punctured the glass ceiling in dot.com organizations. While the glass ceiling is usually associated with stodgy, old economy firms, women in the new economy also face barriers that prevent them from rising through the ranks. The shape, size, functions, and user interfaces in technological innovations often do not reflect the needs or ideas of women. When women's opinions are sought in the design of new tech products, their ideas are treated as a women's perspective which subordinates their technical expertise and peer status to gender and reinforces women's difference from the rest of the members of the product development team. Again, women are confronted with a paradox: if they protest the focus on gender, they run the risk of being labeled overly sensitive or defensive, thereby perpetuating the gender stereotype and diminishing their image as a leader and technology expert. Hence, there are multiple forces at play that prevent technology from becoming a level playing field for women who are sometimes perceived as having less technology knowledge and job qualifications than their male counterparts, are paid less for the same amount of work, and have few female role models in senior leadership positions and encounter paradoxes and double-bind situations that detract from the issues at hand.

Invisible Leadership

The heading of the section ''Women in the Leadership and IT Labyrinth'' was the title of an article I published earlier (Klenke, 1997a), which examined how leadership plays itself out in wired organization in which work and relationships are mediated by technology, a context in which speed, anonymity, and media richness are defining characteristics. At its core, leadership is about the development of relationships. Whether connected via IT or not, leaders have to build relationships in order to lead effectively. To be an effective e-leader, women and men must build relationships and trust — and may have to do so more rapidly in IT-driven organizations and in the absence of physical cues such as gender. The IT workforce expects its members to be able to work from any place at any time because of the convenience and flexibility provided by advanced technology. E-leaders must balance relationships with online followers and face-to-face followers. They need to communicate often through multiple channels and more frequently.

Few of the contemporary leadership offer an explanatory set of constructs that provide practical guidelines or prescriptions for e-leaders. Consequently, leadership scholars do what they often do — they borrow concepts from other disciplines. For example, in the earlier discussion of the number of women needed on corporate boards (Chapter 4), researchers have drawn on critical mass theory developed in the social sciences to determine what number of women equates to a critical mass sufficient to change the process of the selection of board members and results. For example, Rinfret and Lortie-Lussier (1977) in a study of attitudes of men toward women in management found that a critical mass of 35% was necessary to change male managers' attitudes.

In this section, I explore the applicability of the concept of invisible leadership proposed by the early 20th management writer Mary Parker Follett, called the ''prophet of management'' by Peter Drucker because of her trailblazing ideas. Follett, a political scientist who spent 20 years working at the grassroots, had a substantial following among business leaders in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Her thinking is echoed in concepts and practices such as quality circles, empowerment, followership (a concept Follett also introduced) (Klenke & Chaharbaghi, 2004; Martin, 2003), creative conflict, networks, and horizontal structures, power-with versus power-over concepts that we find in the contemporary leadership literature, giving her ideas an almost eerie déjà-vu quality because of their contemporary relevance. She coined the term *invisible leadership* in the 1920s, and the construct is currently used by several contemporary scholars who capture the notion invisible leadership but use different terms to express it. Invisible leadership is one of the ideas Follett pioneered that illustrate that some of the present "new" thinking about leadership may not be so new after all.

Mary Parker Follett captured the essence of invisible leadership in an article written in 1930 and published after her death when she states:

> leaders and followers are both following the invisible leader — the common purpose. While leadership depends on the depth of conviction and the power coming therefore, there must also be the ability to share that conviction with others, the ability to make purpose articulate. And the common purpose becomes the leader. And I believe that we are coming more and more to act, whatever our theories, on our faith in the power of this invisible leader. Loyalty to the invisible leader gives us the strongest possible bond of union. (Follett, 1941, p. 287)

According to Follett, invisibility does not imply irrelevant, ineffective, insignificant, passive, or laissez-faire leadership. Like gravity, invisible leadership is known by its effects. The common purpose is the invisible force that holds the leadership process and people together. This purpose propels leaders' actions without regard for their visibility or recognition, and loyalty to this invisible leader provides the strongest possible bond of union (Follett, 1941). The spirit of the invisible leadership is shared commitment to the purpose, and as Follett observed, people tend to act, regardless of theories, on faith in the power of the invisible leader. Real, tangible, powerful yet invisible leaders (Martin, 2003).

The important factor in the pursuit of the common purpose, according to Follett, is that the leader understands the whole situation because of the centrality of purpose in invisible leadership. Follett captures the centrality of purpose as well as the deeply spiritual function of purpose — "purpose is always the appearing of the power of unifying, the range of multiplicity into that which is both means and ends, the one holding many" (Graham, 1995, p. 56). Moreover, the relationship between purpose and the activities of followers is reciprocal, one shaping the other in such a way that "activity always does more than embody purpose, it evolves purpose" (Graham, 1995, p. 57). According to Follett (1941), the leader's role is to find the unifying thread and identify the relations between the different aspects of the whole situation. This charisma of purpose and the powerful effect it has on group members comes from the worthiness of the purpose itself (Sorenson & Hickman, 2001). Follett coined the term invisible leadership arguing that much of leadership is an invisible, quiet, unobtrusive influence process motivated by a common purpose.

Klenke and Chaharbaghi (2004), building on the work of Mary Parker Follett, assert that leaders in contemporary organizations characterized by uncertainty, complexity, and often teetering on the edge of chaos cannot conceive the world without absences and presences, an idea that has its origins in Follett's concept of "integrative unity" (Follett, 1941, p. 71). Reality, personal, organizational, and communal, is inundated with absences. At the organizational level, for example, scenario planners exemplify making absences present. In the scenario planning process, managers imagine and invent varied stories of equally plausible futures, absences, which are then made present by casting and explicating them as alternative pathways (i.e., presences) for probable organizational futures. The authors labeled the coupling of absences and presences and assembling them into an integrative unity the X-factor in leadership and linked it to concepts of cause and change.

Badaracco (2002), a contemporary theorist, chose the term leading quietly as the title of his book. Almost eight decades later after Follett coined the term invisible leadership, Badaracco (2001, 2002) introduced the term quiet leadership to refer to men and women who work behind the scenes for effective moral leadership. They are leaders who, according to the author, have severed the connection between morality and public heroism. The author refers to them as quiet leaders because their modesty and restraint are in a large measure responsible for their extraordinary success. Quiet leaders pay close attention to the limits of their power. Among the rules quiet leaders live by are buying through strategic stalling, picking their battles wisely to establish their reputation, bending rules without breaking them, and looking for compromises realizing that compromise is not an accepted strategy in many leadership circles.

Quiet leadership is also paradoxical. Female CEOs of e-commerce organizations contradict the stereotype that women are not equipped to succeed in IT organizations because they are categorized a machotocracies. Effective female IT leader must simultaneously demonstrate the ability to be assertive and authoritative while still remaining empathetic toward followers. Senior female executives, as accomplished and competent as they are, are sometimes reluctant or even unlikely to promote other women to top-tier positions. The paradox here is that it is ok for a man to surround himself with men, but a woman who surrounds herself with other women on her top management team is heavily scrutinized.

Summary

IT as a context is defined by techno-social features of the Internet such as speed, media richness, anonymity, self-disclosure, and empowerment. According to Harcourt (1999), the challenge for women is to search for ways to transform information into communication, creating not only a knowledge economy which silences differences of wealth but a communicative economy where differences are explored, some unveiled, others left be. A major issue in this context concerns with how to close the gender gap in IT. Many people see the advancement of women's role in IT as inevitable. Women possess many qualities that naturally lend themselves to technology fields. The very nature of the Internet supports the linked and networked thought processes women are known for.

Women and men constitute different discourse communities in cyberspace, representing different cultures. The norms and practices of masculine Internet culture, codified in netiquette rules, may conflict with those of the female culture in ways that render the Internet inhospitable to women. Despite the gendered nature of the Internet, opportunities and timing for women leaders in IT could not be better.

As the demand for IT professionals grows, more and more opportunities will open. In the past, new technologies were implemented without the inputs of women. Now women must not only know how to use technology, they must know how to design and create it. IT is a new frontier for women leaders as new technologies generate opportunities for wealth and power.

Chapter 6

The Media as Context for Women's Leadership

Anne Sweeney is one of the most powerful women in Hollywood. As cochairwoman of Disney Media networks, she oversees influential TV institutions such as ABC, the Disney Channel, ABC Sports, Disney Channel Worldwide, and ABC Family among others. In this role, Sweeney is responsible for Disney's entertainment and news TV properties globally. Anne joined The Disney Company in 1996 as president of The Disney Channel and executive vice president of Disney/ABC Cable. She led the charge when Disney unveiled its licensing pact with Apple Computers that made the popular American TV series "Desperate Housewives" and other ABC and Disney Channel programs available for on-demand download access via iTunes. During her tenure, Disney/ABC TV Group's properties have experienced significant growth, particularly hit series such as "Grey's Anatomy," "Dancing with the Stars," "Lost," and "Desperate Housewives."

Sweeney bounced around the Forbes list of the "50 Most Powerful Women" for several years. In 2006, she was ranked the 15th most powerful women in the world. In 2008, she ranked as a respectable No. 30. The following year, she suffered a bruising fall from grace and dropped to No. 98 in the rankings (James, 2009). Twenty-four hours after releasing its list, Forbes admitted to a data entry error. Instead of listing the $8 billion to represent the revenue produced by Sweeney's division at Disney, Fortune list recorded $8 million. The magazine apologized. Sweeney also repeatedly appeared on Forbes "World's 100 Most Powerful Women," "The Hollywood Reporter," was inducted into the Broadcasting & Cable "Hall of Fame" in 2005, was the recipient of the 2004 Muse Award from the New York Women in Film & TV, and was honored with the Golden Mike Award for Outstanding Contributions to Broadcasting. When asked about her recognition in the entertainment industry, Sweeney refers to her team and the up-and-comers in the industry (Bisoux, 2006).

Sweeney earned a BA degree from The College of New Rochelle and a master's degree in education from Harvard University planning to become a teacher. At age 19, she landed a job as a page at ABC that proved to be the turning point in her career. Until she joined Disney, Sweeney held senior executive positions in the entertainment industry including Fox and Nickelodeon. In a recent interview with Bisoux (2006), Sweeney stated that her biggest challenges come from jobs she did not know how to do. She noted that for Disney to continue to be successful, the company needs to continue to pursue intrapreneurial ventures such as making its shows available via the Internet and through iTunes and attract out-of-the box thinkers and risk takers.

Introduction

Because of its pervasiveness in society, the media exerts an important influence on our attitudes, values, and behaviors by acting as a transmitter of potentially valuable and desirable as well potentially undesirable and dangerous values and norms. The last decade has not only witnessed an unprecedented growth of media and media coverage, but the media has taken an increasingly active, sometimes aggressive, role in shaping and interpreting social and political events. The media, like leaders, transmit values, ideologies, and culture. It not only transmits information and knowledge but, more significantly, according to Paisley (1981), reinforces or alters existing beliefs, influences public opinion, and cultivates perceptions of social reality. The media is one of the primary institutions that help shape the world and how we, as individuals, make sense of it. It inculcates individuals with values essential to the preservation of social power relations framing content with dominant assumptions (Croteau & Hoynes, 2000). The importance of the media was first recognized by Carlyle (1984) who used the term fourth estate in reference to the press. The notion of the media as the fourth estate (the other estates, in a more modern interpretation, are the legislative, judicial, and executive branches) rests on the idea that the media's function is to act as a guardian of the public interest and a watchdog of government and industry.

Schuman (2004) argued that the media ''purposefully or non-purposefully restricts exposure of the audience to available messages about the characteristics, culture, values, beliefs, points-of-view including the worldviews, preferences, and behaviors of those who we believe may be different from us'' (p. 234). In today's fast-paced media environment, sound bites have to be extremely concise and brief. This is evidenced in the commercial environment in the form of staccato product descriptions, catch phrases, and the enhanced graphics to convey the message.

Media is used here as an umbrella term for all types of print, broadcast, live/face-to-face, and interactive communication modes; it refers to a variety of technologies, ranging from billboards to radio, MTV to Facebook and other forms which rely heavily on visual communication channels such as television. With the advent of the Internet, it is possible to transmit commercial messages online to our computers, personal digital assistants (PDAs), and cell phones. Internet video technology is emerging as a serious competition to television. These new configurations of television via cable or cell phone further broaden the context for the emergence of new programming types such as reality television. Promotional signage of all types (e.g., bill boards, grocery store isles, shopping carts) continues to be ever present in our travel and shopping environments. Like the IT industry, the media business has also transformed itself in recent years due to the many choices consumers have for spending their leisure time. Network television, for example, dwindled as other forms of media arose, including cable stations, the Internet, satellite radio, and cell phones that act as PDAs.

Social network sites such as Twitter and Facebook are adding new dimensions to the traditional media such as print and television. Social networking web sites are becoming increasingly important because they represent a way for news media organizations to go where their readers or viewers are and reach them there. Jennifer Moyer, CFO of Alarm.com, in an interview with Wray (2009) pointed out that vehicles such as Facebook, Twitter, and YouTube communicate with an increasingly tech-savvy audience, and leveraging these social networks is becoming more and more critical because of the speed with which news spread and the huge followership participating on social network sites. In 2010, Facebook, for example, had more than 500 million subscribers. As a result, we are exposed to a constant barrage of information, stories, and images, in short, a media bombardment.

Media leadership requires balancing creative sensitivities and financial acumen, the ability to acquire and divest properties at the right time and price to ensure a profitable portfolio of assets to finance media budgets. Leadership in the media requires highly creative individuals, whose success depends on a combination of vision, high-powered relationships, and access to talent and cash. It requires emotional intelligence and the ability to manage consumers' apparently bottomless appetite for fresh content. It requires a high degree of interpersonal skills, as CEO of newspapers, television, and social networks must also be able to negotiate win-win deals with wide range of different constituencies with different agendas including suppliers, actors, artists, and distributors.

In this chapter, I look at the construction of leadership by the media; identify salient characteristics that define this particular context; present portrayals of women leaders in different mass media; and highlight some high-profile women leaders in the print media, television, film, and advertisements that cut across a single communication medium, since ads appear in virtually all mass media. I also examine how women leaders use media to create spaces and public awareness of women's issues, problems, and concerns (Byerly & Ross, 2006). According to the authors, one of the differences between the use of the media by women and men is that women are more likely to use the mass media to challenge and transform existing discrimination, marginalization, stereotyping, and unequal treatment and exert pressure for major reforms in mainstream media. The chapter concludes with an assessment of the critiques that have been leveraged against media's portrayal of women leaders including the continued perpetuation of gender stereotypes and the role physical characteristics, appearance, and family circumstances play in media presentations of women leaders.

Women in the Media: Yesterday and Today

The image of women as portrayed in the media has changed over the last 50 years, reflecting changes in society as well as changes in technologies. Since the 1940s coverage of women as wives, mothers, and hand maidens of their husbands where they were depicted almost exclusively in domestic settings searching for better ways to do laundry or improved formulas for shiny hair, women's roles have changed in response to shifting social, political, and economic expectations of women in society. In the 1970s, women began to emerge from the home and entered other spheres such as the workplace or community organizations. A popular cigarette ad campaign proclaimed that women had come a long way. Nevertheless, gender stereotypes prevailed. Women who violated the prevailing stereotypes such as the leaders of the women's movement like Betty Friedan and Bella Abzug were described as strident, aggressive masculine types through news editing and picture selection (Miller, 1975). This type of media coverage continues well into today although not quite as blatantly as 40 years ago.

By the year 2000, women's roles had changed significantly as more and more women had entered the workforce and began assuming leadership roles in organizations. Although we were beginning to see some changes, underrepresentation of women in the mass media and gender stereotyping in virtually all media outlets are still very much present and their characterizations and portrayals remain biased and distorted as we crossed into the new millennium. For example, depictions of women leaders like Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin in the popular press and on television were inundated with innuendos to appearances, gaffes, and family circumstances instead of focusing on the political and issues that formed the basis of their respective platforms during the 2008 presidential elections in the United States. Similarly, coverage of Condoleezza Rice's tenure as President Bush's secretary of state was accompanied by comments on her dress size, conservative jewelry, and type of shoes she preferred to wear. The media found it important to note that Rice kept two mirrors on her desk to check the front and back of her hair.

Globally, the situation is not much different but censorship is more difficult in the international context. Print and electronic media in most countries do not provide a balanced picture of women's diverse lives and their contributions to society in a changing world. Arabic women, for example, have fallen victim to negative media portrayals in both Arab and Western media. The mass media is responsible for presenting Arab women as veiled females wearing the hijab (veil). In some cases, they are portrayed as the oppressed who love their oppressors, a condition known as Stockholm syndrome. Other negative characteristics attributed to women include immorality, lack of intelligence, bad temperament, and narrow-mindedness depicting demonized images of Arab women, especially in the post-9/11 era. Both *Newsweek* and *Time* magazines portrayed Arab–Muslim women in terms of the veil/Islam, female circumcision and famine, victims of domestic violence while disregarding the contributions they made to their communities (Sakr, 2004).

Lack of knowledge of the history of women in the Arab and Muslim world has resulted in shallow ideas about them by the Western media. Conservative Muslims treat the hijab as part of the identity of Muslim women. In the presentation of Muslim women elements of language barriers, lack of knowledge of Arab history and the role of women in Islam, and poor selection criteria of who appears on TV screens are producing damaging results for domestic race relations and the dialogue between cultures (Sakr, 2004). Few images of Arabic women in either domestic or international media are positive (Ali-Karamali, 2008). Sakr (2004) addressed today's changing media landscape and the changing dynamics of media ecology in the contemporary Middle East and argued that media institutions and practices are part of wider power relations in Arabic society which will only change as society changes.

Likewise, consistently throughout Asia, women are portrayed in the media as victims, subservient, nurturing, sacrificing, and objectified sexual beings. This not only inaccurately represents the diversity of women's lives, roles, and experiences within this rich and complex region but neglects women's contributions to the sociopolitical and economic development of their societies. For example, in India and China, a new class of female leaders has emerged, women entrepreneurs who make significant contributions to their national economies but are rarely encountered in the mass media.

The Construction of Leadership in the Media

More so than any other type of organization, the mass media has a romantic affair with leadership. Meindl et al. (1988) labeled this phenomenon the "romance of leadership" to suggest that in social constructions of organizational realities, leadership is often elevated to a lofty status imbued with mystery and magic. The authors noted:

> one of the principal elements of this romanticized conception of leadership is the view that leadership is a central organizational process and a premier force in a scheme of organizational events and activities. It amounts to what might be considered a faith in the potential, if not the actual efficacy, of those individuals who occupy elite positions of formal organizational authority. (p. 79)

The romanticized conception of leadership is reflected in the mass media by the tendency of newspapers, TV news, and other outlets to attribute organizational successes and failure to leadership, and more specifically, the personality characteristics of the leader. Meindl (1990) stated that the romance of leadership concept calls attention to whatever realities regarding the true impact of leaders and leadership exist in public perceptions, they are often glamorized in analyses of organizational successes and failures. Great leaders, whether successful or unsuccessful, acquire a heroic persona that gives them a larger than life presence. As noted U.S. lawyer Alan Dershowitz wrote in his introduction to Fenton's (1992) book on the fall from grace of financial guru Michael Milken:

> The sad truth is that today, the media has more power than ever before to create, out of whole cloth, ersatz individuals to replace real people whose names they bear, and who make far less "interesting" copy. This unprecedented power to malign can destroy innocent people so quickly, so thoroughly and so pervasively, that it may take an individual the better part of a lifetime to restore a savaged reputation — if at all. (p. iv)

In many cases of leader successes, "the perception portrayed by the media is far stronger than the reality behind the story, and the power of the media to mold public percept can have damaging consequences in the long run" (Sonnenfeld & Ward, 2008, p. 13). Likewise, leader failures provide cannon fodder for the media resulting in grossly exaggerated descriptions of the fall of the hero which emphasize personal shortcomings and dysfunctional personality characteristics while overlooking organizational and societal factors that contributed to the leader's demise. Examples of these dark transformational female leaders include Martha Stewart and Margaret Thatcher who received extensive coverage by the media chronicling their fall from grace.

Contextual Characteristics of the Media

The mass media thrive on the perpetuation of stories and images of leaders, male and female, and employ a contextualist approach in their construction of leadership. As noted in Chapter 1, context is important in leadership theory and practice and includes the historical, social, political, economic, and cultural environments in which leadership plays itself out. According to Liden and Antonakis (2009), the context of leadership is the milieu in which leadership is observed. Klenke (1996) described a variety of contexts of women's leadership including political, business, sports, and technology settings. The author's "contextual prisms" (p. 19) included the media which furnish yet another context with its own defining characteristics including the diversity of message channels, brevity of fleeting images, dramatic use of language and metaphors, and the speed with which information becomes obsolete (Klenke, 1996). Liden and Antonakis (2009) argue that "contexts are critical and measurable and must be modeled when attempting to explain a particular aspect of the leadership puzzle" (p. 1587). In the media, women leaders must be masters of a context with a unique set of contextual dynamics.

Different media are defined by different contextual characteristics. People read magazines for different reasons than they turn on the radio. An ad in a magazine is not the same as an ad in a TV commercial. People go online for different reasons than they watch television. Marketers have many media to choose from and so do audiences. Making a choice to advertise in print, online, on television, or on the radio often means looking at hard numbers and targeting communications where they are most likely to find their audiences. Visual media are perceptual and can be sensual, implying a connection that words on the screen cannot convey. If one of my students is in distress or has personal problems, responding to the student's e-mail would not be an effective media choice. A telephone call is more personal and timely because it allows me to capitalize on the spontaneity of nonscripted conversations and the ability to "read" subtexts such as voice intonation or silences that are absent in e-mail communications.

Media choice. Media choice is an important contextual element because the characteristics of different media determine the influence they have on intended audience. Media selection includes considerations of the characteristics of the technologies, type of information, media properties, and the presentation context. In Chapter 5, we introduced the concept of media richness. Media richness is explained by some researchers (i.e., Treviño, Lengel, & Daft, 1987) as the ability of a medium to carry information. Media or information richness theory is a framework used to describe a communications medium by focusing on its ability to reproduce information sent over it (Daft & Lengel, 1984). For example, a phone call cannot reproduce visual cues such as gestures, thereby making it a less media rich communication channel than, for example, video conferencing. Daft and Lengel (1984) argued that the main purpose of processing information is to reduce uncertainty and equivocality, which is defined as the ambiguity of the task caused by conflicting interpretations about the environment.

In general, media based on visual presentations such as film and television are usually considered richer than those that do not involve visual information processing such as newspapers. Images have the unique property of forcing the viewer to generate descriptions, often encouraging them to call on personal experiences and memories. Today's images are a more vivid reflection of our lifestyle compared to written words and often have greater impact. Many remember victims of 9/11 being carried out of the debris or specific pictures of natural catastrophes such as the earthquake in Haiti. These images are engraved in our individual and collective memory that are activated and are retrieved when we encounter highly graphic, more images which remind us of these events. Advising corporate leaders on media choice has become the service offered by some consulting firm. Political leaders such as Richard Nixon employed a cadre of media consultants for image makeovers.

Genre. Women's portrayal in the media is also shaped by the specific genre. The first classification system of genres was created by Plato and Aristotle who divided literature into three genres: poetry, drama, and prose. Over the centuries, other genres were added for visual arts and more recently for mass media that uses genre to differentiate between categories such as movies, television, and music. In addition to women-led talk shows and evening news, women's genres on television include film melodrama and soap opera, which, according to Kuhn (2008), is a popular genre forms aimed at female audiences which are attracting a good deal of critical and theoretical attention. Much of the work on these gynocentric genres is informed by various strands of feminist thought on visual representation.

Each of the mass media may be subdivided into different genres they feature. For example, in television, we have comedy, action drama, talk shows, soaps, and lawyer shows, to name a few. Women are portrayed differently in each of these genres. Likewise, print media may be categorized by genre into magazines, men's magazines, women's magazines, newspapers, and cartoons. Miller (1984) argued that "a rhetorically sound definition of genre must be centered not on the substance or the form of discourse, but on the action that is used to accomplish it" (p. 151).

Credibility and trustworthiness of media sources. Credible media is considered to adhere to honesty and integrity in reporting. It is characterized as credible when audiences believe that the information presented is factual and unbiased. Coverage of major political and social events such as the 2008 presidential election or Olympic

Games bribery scandal, which forced Salt Lake City officials to withdraw their bid for the 2002 games, showed that often media goes beyond objective reporting by putting its own spin on the event. The media is often aggressive in its spin control interpreting events for the audience, offering explanations, filling in gaps, and passing judgments all of which illustrate the propaganda function of the media. Gitlin (1980) argued that if the propaganda function of the media would be transparent, it would be stripped from their veneer of objectivity, thereby reducing its legitimacy. The results of a poll conducted by the Pew Research Center for People and the Press (2009) reported that nearly two thirds of Americans (63%) believed that the news stories they read, hear, and watch are frequently inaccurate. These results marked the highest level of skepticism in media credibility since 1985. They also suggested that U.S. newspapers and broadcasters may be alienating audiences, as they are struggling to survive the financial turmoil they are experiencing which stems from a steep decline of the ad sales that generate most of the media's revenue.

According to the Pew Research Center, the plunge in media credibility can, in part, be attributed by the financial problems, particularly staff reductions resulting in facts not being as thoroughly checked as in the past. For example, in the past, the print media has held significant power over public opinion and indeed has served as an important check for misguided, unlawful, and abusive leadership. Many political and organizational scandals have been exposed first in newspapers. For instance, the Watergate scandal in the United States was initially reported and intensively followed up in the *Washington Post* (Woodward & Bernstein, 1972). Likewise, the Enron revelations reported in business magazines resulted in well-known U.S. initiatives such as Sarbanes–Oxley, legislation which limits and modifies certain organizational and accounting practices. The media often use experts or pundits to comment or translate in simpler terms scientific, business, and political events. The use of experts by the media is done for three reasons: to add credibility to news reports, to provide facts and verify findings, and to enhance objectivity. However, research indicates that the public is less trustful of experts at a time when the media's influence is more fragmented (Boyce, 2008).

Finally, the Pew Research Center poll also found that respondents believed that the great flood that goes under the heading "news media" has been poisoned by junk blogs, shout radio, and cable TV partisans that are not trustworthy. However, these new forms of information cannot duplicate the armies of lifelong correspondents who cover, for instance, the White House or the Asian economies. Although some blogs have emerged as reliable information sources in some specialist areas, they have yet to assume the key characteristics of mainstream news that drive public trust, such as accepted standards, editing, and reliability (Gunter, Campbell Touri, & Gibson, 2009).

According to Schuman (2004), TV news is biased entertainment. To retain the audience, news must be presented in a fashion that plays to the audience wants and needs. The O.J. Simpson trial, death of celebrities like Anna Nicole Smith from drug overdoses, and corporate scandals are examples how the media construe and report these events to satisfy the hunger of the audience for sensational "facts." Gitlin (1980) presented anecdotal evidence that the media audience tends to accept as truth whatever is printed and broadcasted. In a news environment that includes talk show or TV anchor opinion, we need to examine how well the audience discriminates between objective fact-based and subjective-opinion filtered truth. We have been conditioned to view the media as objective; yet, there is much evidence to suggest what is reported is often flawed because news reporting plays to what the audience wants to hear or see.

Markets segmentation. The media target its products based on age groups, ethnic groups, and gender it is trying to reach. For example, MTV targets the adolescent audiences. PBS targets the highly educated; women's magazines target women of different age groups, *Sports Illustrated* targets men, *Savoy* and *Ebony* target African American readers. Each market segment focuses on subgroups defined by demographic such as age, marital status, household income, and educational level with particular attention to the values embraced by the targeted subgroups. Each of the media target different, sometimes overlapping, market segments. According to Schuman (2004), "segmented programming and focused periodicals do their best to reinforce these group value systems while minimizing or eliminating exposure to the values of other groups" (p. 245). Through market segmentation, the mass media send messages and images that appeal to the lifestyle and values of specialized groups with distinctive viewing, reading, and listening habits.

Portrayal of Women in Media

This section examines the media coverage of some high-profile women leaders. According to The Hollywood Reporter (2009), the five most powerful American female media leaders are Oprah Winfrey, chairwoman of Harpo, Inc.; Anne Sweeney, president, Disney-ABC TV Group; Amy Pascal, cochairperson, Sony Pictures Entertainment; Nancy Tellem, president, CBS Paramount Network TV Entertainment Group; and Stacey Snider, cochairperson and CEO, DreamWorks. It is noteworthy that these women leaders represent a single media, television, partly because of the popularity of television as a media that has the greatest mass appeal and acceptance. Lauzen and Dozier (1999) pointed out that television provides the audience with constructed realities that are "products of multiple formative forces including advertisers' moral and economic sensibilities, network politics and a creative community's values and egos" (p. 1). It is against this multifaceted context that woman's portrayals on television must be viewed and evaluated.

Women on Television

The popular media often portray female and male leaders as psychologically different as two planets — Venus and Mars — but, as the research literature indicates (i.e., Klenke, 1996; Eagly & Carli, 2007c; Vecchio, 2002), these differences have been vastly overestimated. The two sexes are more similar in personality, communicative style, cognitive ability, and leadership than the media lets us believe. Familiar media stereotypes of women include the femme fatale, the supermom, the bitchy lady boss, the sex kitten, and the nasty corporate climber depicted on the covers of a magazine, in a movie, on television, or in an advertisement. Images of the perfect body or ideal woman are everywhere in the mass media.

Television constructs particular feminine identities as housewives or mothers, objects of aesthetic pleasure, or as socially conscious. Gradually, we are seeing some exceptions on American television. For example, in the series *Will & Grace*, Grace is depicted as a financially independent women who runs her own business but still draws a large amount of emotional support from her best friend Will. *Desperate Housewives* offers a variety of female characters ranging from the perfect mother to the trophy wife (Miller, 2010). Nevertheless, these portrayals are still stereotypical, since often we find women portrayed in positions of submission to dominant social ideals (Miller, 2010). Media can act as both a perpetrator and as a protagonist — it can either be an accomplice to gender-based discrimination by portraying stereotypical sensational images of women or it can provide balanced coverage that empowers women while exposing acts of gender bias (Anand, n.d.).

The media has always seen women in power as threatening. They often trivialize those who dare to seek office by obsessing over their bodies, hair, shoes, makeup, and motherhood over their abilities and track records. Whether it is cable news branding Hillary Clinton a bitch, the New York Times reporting that Condoleezza Rice wears a size 6, or the Washington Post detailing Loretta and Linda Sanchez's, two Congress women, hairstyles and housekeeping preferences, journalistic double standards condition us to consider women leaders as women first, leaders a distant second making them appear less qualified to fill the leadership roles they are occupying.

Media portrayal of high-profile political candidates. The 2008 presidential elections in the United States in which Hillary Clinton ran for president for the Democratic Party while Sarah Palin ran for vice president on the Republican ticket offered a unique example of the media's love/hate fest in the portrayal of these women leaders. Like Eleanor Roosevelt, Hillary Clinton is a woman and political leader of many "firsts." She is a Yale-educated lawyer, who became the first female partner in her law firm. She was the first U.S. First Lady to hold a postgraduate degree and work in a professional capacity right up until the time her husband took office as president. She was the first female U.S. Senator to serve from New York. Clinton's political career spans over a quarter of a century. During her early years as a political leader, she emphasized her tough, combative, and independent nature throughout the most of her political career. This led many media audiences to the conclusion that women candidates succeed at the polls because they manage to convince voters that, unlike women in general, they possess masculine political strengths.

Hillary supporter or not, the massive misogyny in the coverage of her campaign was undeniable. When she laughed, it was called a cackle, and when she got emotional at a campaign stop, for weeks the media reported stories about how Hillary cried. Clinton was not the first female politician to be criticized for emotionalism in public. When former U.S. congresswoman Patricia Schroeder withdrew from the presidential race in 1987 at an emotional press conference, she was widely criticized and mocked. The irony, of course, is that many male politicians have also cried in public — including Hillary's husband and President George Bush.

When Hillary Clinton took the step of becoming the first viable female candidate for president in the United States, the media reduced her to sexist stereotypes. She was slammed for wearing a blouse that was described as too low-cut. Her legs were too fat; her pant suits too boring; her voice too screechy. MSNBC's Chris Matthews referred to Clinton as a "she-devil, supplying an on-the-screen mock-up of her sprouting horns. He called her witchy and likened her voice to fingernails on a blackboard" (Zuniga, 2008, p. 13). In the years preceding her appointment as secretary of state in the Obama administration, Hillary was reduced to a caricature leading millions of Americans conclude she was "a harridan, a left wing zealot, and a cuckolded wife who remained with a straying husband to enhance her political ambitions" (Walsh, 2007, p. 19).

Like Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin attracted extremes in media coverage, which helped established her reputation as a divisive figure. Like Hillary Clinton, Palin took shots day after day. Her gaffes became main stories. The double standard was apparent when it came to Joe Biden's gaffes that were laughed off as "just Joe." Her lipstick joke was all about being tough. Her being "just a hockey mom" did not resonate well with female audiences. Despite rave reviews for her Republican National Convention speech, Palin soon became the target of late-night comics and snarky columnists. She made the mistake that every time someone attacked her, she had to fight back.

Palin experienced a similar situation as Geraldine Ferraro in her run on Walter Mondale's ticket. The press was interested in personal information such as the business dealings and tax filings of her husband rather than in Ferarro's positions on political issues. In Palin's case, the public feasted on reports of her clothes, the family's hunting and eating habits, her workouts, and learned far too little about her priorities and principles. For example, the Republican National Committee reportedly spent upward of $150,000 improving U.S. vice presidential candidate Palin's wardrobe and appearance (Isikoff & Smalley, 2008). A clip of Palin wearing a swimsuit on the Internet site YouTube received well over a million visitors, and *Time* magazine declared her a sex symbol, reporting that "photos" and "beauty pageant" were the second and third most popular Internet search words in conjunction with Palin's name (Tancer, 2008).

Palin herself called the media coverage of her vice presidential run and reporting on her family very scary. She objected to reports that Bristol and her fiancé, Levi Johnston, were high school dropouts looking for government handouts to raise their child. Palin claimed that if she were from a different class (like Caroline Kennedy, once a New York Senate hopeful and Democrat) or political party, her coverage would have been less negative. Republicans, on the other hand, privately celebrated how each new attack on their candidate sent more votes Palin's way. The size of the crowds doubled, the money poured in, and in a matter of days, McCain was running five points ahead of Obama (Heflick & Goldenberg, 2009).

Two media events produced particularly memorable episodes during the coverage of the 2008 presidential elections. One was the much-publicized exclusive interview CBS news anchor Katie Couric conducted with vice presidential candidate Sarah Palin which aired September 24, 2008. This was Palin's second interview after her nomination; the first one was conducted by ABC news anchor Charles Gibson during which Palin was criticized for allegedly not knowing the Bush doctrine. After the interview with Couric, the mass media, print as well as television and the social network sites, honed in on Palin's inability to give examples of John McCain's proposed financial regulations to handle the economic crises and the bailout of both government and financial institutions. Palin's comment that the country may be headed for another great depression, and the fact that she could not name a single newspaper that she regularly read did not help her credibility. Asked about Palin's foreign policy experience, McCain's advisors reassured the audiences that she was going to learn national security at the foot of the master during the next four years. Palin discussed her position on abortion, homosexuality, feminism, and global warning, but many viewers felt that there was considerable tap dancing on Palin's part while Couric consistently used follow-up questions to try to get straightforward answers. Katie Couric's questions yielded scalding footage. In her biography *Going Rogue*, Palin (2009) concluded that ''Couric's purpose — shared by most media types — seemed to frame a 'gotcha' moment. And it worked. Instead of my scoring points for John McCain, I knew that I had let the team down'' (p. 275).

Some critics argued that the interview had a devastating effect on the remainder of Palin's campaign. She was criticized for being ill prepared to deal with foreign policy issues and called a hypocrite. However, others insisted that if Palin were a man, the response of the media would not have been quite as derogatory. The Couric–Palin interview not only turned out to be a crucial event in the course of the presidential campaign but it also garnered for Couric the much coveted Walter Cronkite Award for excellence in television.

The second media episode involved Tina Fey, a popular comedy star who hosted *Saturday Night Live (SNL)* from 1997 to 2006 and returned to the popular Saturday night TV show to reprise her widely hailed impersonation of Sarah Palin. Fey's parody mocked Palin's interview with Couric and made Palin a comedic goldmine. The uncannily resemblance in physical appearance between the two women made Tina Fey's impersonation of Palin even more uncanny. Fey's SNL impersonation of Palin cemented the impression that the vice presidential candidate was a bit of a ditz. But in the end, the critical showdown occurred between Palin and two other working moms, Katie Couric and Tina Frey going about their jobs, who a few years ago would have been in no position to wreak such havoc. Couric herself faced harsh and sexist criticism as the first woman solo anchor of a U.S. evening news program. Since Couric is CBS News' highest paid employee, at an annual estimated salary of nearly $15 million, and CBS has remained in third place in the ratings behind ABC and CBS, she has had a fair share of unfavorable media coverage.

In January 2009, Palin became the newest star on Fox News debuting as political analyst while still peddling her mega-selling memoir, *Going Rogue*. Halperlin and Heileman (2009) described her as ''brimming with cracker-barrel charm and acerbic scorn, she ridiculed Barack Obama, championed conservative positions and attacked as clueless the media, with which she often clashed'' (p. 42). Many TV viewers saw a familiar figure: a woman who stumbled over syntax; fumbled with the truth; and appeared ill informed, incoherent, and vindictive while running on the national ticket for the vice presidency. It was probably not a coincidence that the two of the most powerful women in the United States also happened to be among the most polarizing female political leaders. Both Palin and Clinton call themselves feminists. Neither woman could resist playing the victim of the mean male media — though a poll after the election found that nearly two thirds of women felt Palin got more bad press because of her gender, and twice as many as thought Clinton was unfairly treated. Now Palin is raising money, backing Republican candidates such as Carly Fiorina and Meg Whitman and touting a Web video especially targeting women whom Palin exhorts to vote in the midterm election. If Palin can inspire GOP and independent women to turn out for the party's candidates in November 2010, she could decisively influence the outcome of the midterm election (Halperlin, 2010, p. 32).

Prime time women leaders: Female evening news anchors. Traditionally, women often anchor, either in concert with another woman (ABC's Good Morning America) or with a male colleague (NBC's Good Morning America), the morning shows. Women as solo anchors of the evening news are a relatively recent phenomenon. Katie Couric took over as anchor and managing editor of the CBS evening news in 2006 prior to serving as cohost of NBC's Today. In January 2010, Diane Sawyer replaced Charles Gibson on the ABC evening news. She was the clear heir apparent. She had cohosted *Good Morning America* since 1999 and came to ABC with a reputation as a serious journalist forged at 20/20 and Primetime. Prior to ABC, Sawyer was the first full-time female correspondent on 60 Minutes at CBS. Sawyer took her place at the helm of the news desk at age 63. Like most women in TV news, she had to work longer and harder to reach the top than any male counterpart. Sawyer took the morning job on ABC *Good Morning America* on a temporary basis but ended up staying for over 10 years. She was passed over for the evening job twice. Like every women in the spotlight on television, she has to look younger (Gutgold, 2008). Will the promotion of Sawyer as the second news anchor fundamentally alter the traditionally male-dominated, male-anchored evening news? With Sawyer's ascension, the gender balance of the evening news, long considered a bastion of seriousness and high purpose, tilted toward men with NBCs Brian Williams remaining as the lone male anchor. Sawyer's appointment raises the question of how much the prevailing ideology of mainstream TV news reporting will change. As evening news anchor, Sawyer, like her male counterparts, plays the role of messenger who delivers evening news through one of the most visible and prestigious channels in the United States. As a female news anchor, will Sawyer change the message about women leaders to align it more closely with the new, post-heroic concepts of leadership, which emphasize leadership as a collaborative and relational process? Will viewers experience a paradigm shift in the way women leaders are depicted in the media?

Women business leaders in television. In addition to leading political candidates and female evening news anchors, today's TV lineup includes media moguls such as

Oprah Winfrey and Martha Stewart. From a media richness perspective, television, as noted earlier, is a much richer communication medium because it combines sight, sound, and movement. Oprah Winfrey holds an iconic status on U.S. television. Her TV talk show exploded in the 1980s as a distinctively American phenomenon. Her rags to riches story on the talk show brings viewers weight management advice and her own battle with weight, relationship discussions including her longtime fiancé, Stedman Graham, and recommendations how women can attain financial independence and wealth. Her programs are filled with experts and needy participants who cling to the show's host or to each other for solutions to their problems. After 25 years of *The Oprah Winfrey Show*, the media queen announced in 2009 that it is time to say good bye and that she will be shifting her attention to the Oprah Winfrey Network in 2011.

Since 1986, Winfrey has produced several TV movies under the proviso of her Harpo Productions (*Oprah* spelled backward) including *Women of Brewster Place* (1989), *Sacred Silent* (1992), and *There Are No Children Here* (1993). The first two programs showcased Black women in dramatic fiction. For her role as Sophia in the film *Color Purple*, Winfrey received Oscar and Golden Globe nominations, as well as being named Woman of Achievement by the National Association for Women in 1986. Oprah owns a production company, restaurant, magazine, cable channel, and Web site and donates substantial amounts of money and time to various causes and charities.

In 2000, Oprah launched her magazine, O, which is considered one of the most successful start-ups in the industry. According to Sellers (2002), Oprah is the essence of her brand, and her willingness to open up to her audiences about the details of her personal life — her triumphs over adversity and abuse, her endless battle with weight gain — helped her win the enduring trust of her audience. As Sellers noted, control is especially a challenge in all of Oprah' productions, since she is not just the chief creator of content but the chief content itself.

The mere enunciation "Oprah" conjures up the sublime example of self-help, authority, and release (Smith-Shomade, 2008). The author suggested that Winfrey's figure symbolizes and embodies the binaries of American culture — that is, the confluence of the polarity of gender and race. Although Winfrey "distinctively personifies the accoutrements of success, her name and figure have escaped many of the stereotypical constructions of other women leaders in the media" (Smith-Shomade, 2008, p. 119). According to the author, "the surplus of her body, her presence, her talk, and her life marked out the territory of her iconic figure as individualistic, exemplary, and isolated" (p. 131).

Every evening, prime-time television provides the audience with constructed realities. These realities are "products of multiple formative forces, including advertisers' moral and economic sensibilities, political networks, and the creative community's values and egos (Lauzen & Dozier, 2002, p. 142). Although women comprise more than half of the U.S. population, they have been underrepresented for a long time since the inception of television both as media leaders and as leading women in TV shows. Thus, each characterization of women in a leading role carries added import. In large part, earlier research has analyzed the physical portrayal and representation of females in leading TV roles (e.g., Faloudi, 1991). These studies have found that female characters tended to be younger and blonder and more provocatively dressed than their male counterparts. In addition, female characters tended to do ''women's work,'' occupying stereotypically female occupations; women were also more likely to be defined by their marital status than male characters. The glamour that surrounds the media presentation of the lives and careers of women like Diane Sawyer and Katie Couric extends not only to the clothes they wear and the way they look but serves as a serious disconnect between the female types lauded by the media and those of the public at large (McConnell, 2009). As women rise in the workplace and public life, late-night television remains a man's cave (Poniewozik, 2010). The author goes on to say:

> More and more such disparity is at odds with the real world that these shows spoof, in which women were the last two Supreme Court nominees and anchor two of three network news programs … When late-night shows began, male-dominated comedy reflected society's power balance. Now guy humor is an increasingly isolated preserve of omega-male movies and geek-aggressive shows piped into man caves. After cracking that network, women could surpass men there too which would add a new meaning to getting the last laugh. (p. 62)

It is not only politics as a context for leadership that provides a field trip for the mass media, women leaders in other contexts such as business and sports have had their share of ridicule and distorted presentations. For example, as we saw in the last chapter, in business, Carly Fiorina, former CEO of Hewlett-Packard (HP) was the most powerful businesswoman in the United States at the turn of the millennium. In 1998, she was first named as *Fortune* magazine's most powerful female American executive (Loomis & Ryan, 2005). In the media, she was portrayed as male-like, eager to look tough, power hungry, task-focused, and charismatic. She failed to develop strong interpersonal relationships, especially with the board of directors of HP, which eventually led to her ouster. In sports, Swedish-born Annika Sorenstam, one of the leading female golfers, is depicted as smart, sexy, classy, fearless, and a sweetheart.

Print Media

Standing in the checkout line, waiting to pay for our groceries, we are faced with an array of newspapers and magazines and often find ourselves flipping through the pages looking for articles and pictures about women who have achieved some notoriety in different contexts — politics, business, or sports. In one of the earlier study, Greenwald (1989), in a meta-analytic study of the portrayal of women in major newspapers with large populations, identified 15 quantitative studies which revealed a consistent pattern of unequal treatment of women in the news. The author also reported that even when women are equally represented on editorial staffs, the representation of women within the pages was still not equal to that of men.

Newspaper reporters, for example, often tend to focus more on the personal characteristics of female leaders than their male counterparts. Journalists more frequently include a woman's age, marital status, the number of children she has, and her appearance. Too often, newspapers cover women as persons in stereotypic roles, not as leaders. In subtle ways, these differential portrayals magnify stereotypes and make it harder for women to be taken seriously. Although more women are in middle management and some upper management positions than before, images of men dramatically outnumber those of women. Sections of newspapers where news about women leaders are found tell their own stories. Often, accounts of successes and failures of women leaders are not considered front-page material but are relegated to special sections that may be called "style" or "life." However, despite the stereotypical contents in the magazines, there are positive feature articles in some magazines and newspapers depicting women leaders in more diversified roles.

Photographs of corporate leaders in the business press are also illuminating — if they are male, leader images are of two types: the large headshot or the shot of the head or upper body. Garments function to be uniform and camouflage the occasional quirk: a bow tie, watch, or freckled hand that allows a fleeting glimpse at age and vulnerability. If lower bodies are included in the photo, they disappear into the background and bodies are reduced to a silhouette. With full body shots, men are pictured against neutral or structural backdrops, rarely cluttered with objects or people. The overall effect is to render the body invisible or irrelevant (Sinclair, 2005).

If we look at representations of women leaders on the other hand, the photographs are very different. More parts of the body are included and more skin — arms, legs, and cleavage. Clothing, jewelry, and other personal adornments offer clues about the character of the leader. Colors are more evident in clothing, sometimes conveying frivolity or vanity. Backgrounds are more likely to speak about the woman and can include photos or books, sometimes in the general sense of clutter that is rarely part of a male leader's photograph (Sinclair, 2007).

In recent years, the print media witnessed important changes that point to the waning importance of newspapers. Between 2001 and 2008, daily circulation of newspapers has declined 8.4% and 11.4%, respectively, in Sunday circulation. The newspaper industry is also suffering from a loss of reporters, reduced budgets, and decreased column inches committed to the news. Reaching the public has become more difficult, as potential audiences continue to fragment their attention among radio, television, the Internet, and print media. For example, the radio industry has several new competing platforms including satellite radio, Internet radio, HD radio, podcasts, MP3/iPod listening, and cell phone radio (The State of the News Media, 2008).

A discussion of women leaders in the print media would not be complete without a brief description of Katherine Graham (1917–2001), publisher and newspaper owner of the *Washington Post* who led the family paper for more than two decades. Graham lived a privileged childhood. Her father was a brilliant Jewish businessman, Eugene Meyer, whose millions provided his children with all the advantages money can buy. Her mother, Agnes Ernst, was an art lover and political activist who circled in the company of Marie Curie, Albert Einstein, and Eleanor Roosevelt. Graham's father bought the *Washington Post* at a bankruptcy auction in 1933 when it was a struggling, money losing shell of a paper. Katherine married Philip Graham in 1940; her husband took over the *Post* in 1946, when her father left the paper to become head of the World Bank.

In her autobiography (Graham, 1997) which won the Pulitzer Prize the following year, Graham described how the paper served as both a bond and a wedge between her and her husband. Although her husband was very successful running the *Post* successes which included the purchase of TV stations and *Newsweek*, his manic-depressive illness and multiple nervous breakdowns resulted in serious family troubles including his affair with a young *Newsweek* staffer. Graham described how her husband of 23 years, the father of their four children, finished his lunch with her and shot himself at the couple's home. After her husband's suicide, Katherine took over the reins of the company, and the *Post*. From 1973 to 1991, she served as chairwoman of the board and CEO of the Washington Post Company, and remained chairperson of the executive committee until her death. On becoming president of the Washington Post Company, Graham noted: ''What I essentially did was to put one foot in front of the other, shut my eyes and stepped off the edge. The surprise was that I landed on my feet'' (Graham, 1997, p. 94).

Despite her lack of experience and insecurities, Graham transformed the *Post* into a first class newspaper. Under her leadership, the *Washington Post* became known for its hard hitting investigations including the publication of the secret Pentagon Papers in 1971 against the advice of lawyers and against government directives after a federal court had already blocked the *New York Times* from publishing them (Gerber, 2005). These papers contained allegedly secret information about U.S. decision making about Vietnam. Following the Pentagon Papers, the *Post* played a crucial role in the Watergate scandal. With the aggressive reporting of Bernstein and Woodward and the support of Graham, the paper traced the story of the Watergate break-in, which ultimately led to the resignation of President Richard Nixon.

Graham led a remarkable life; she ruled the Washington social and media scene. In her autobiography (Graham, 1997), she describes how close she and her husband were to the Kennedys, Reagans, Henry Kissinger, and Lyndon Johnson among many other. Her memoirs were praised for their honest portrayal of her husband's mental illness and give the reader a glimpse of how the roles of women have changed over the course of Graham's life. She was a tough-minded businesswoman who never lost sight of the fact that high-quality journalism depended on running a newspaper that turned a profit. Yet, she was also known for her scrupulous refusal of using her position to advance personal and corporate financial interests. Her staff at the *Post* delighted in her brutally frank assessments of puffed-up Washington celebrities. For years, Graham was the only female head of a *Fortune 500* corporation. In 2002, Graham was presented, posthumously, with the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President George W. Bush.

Women Leaders in the Movies

Female movie directors are still the exception in the media industry. Although Wikipedia lists 272 female directors, the majority of them are short filmmakers who will probably never make the leap to feature length films. There always have been many women involved in the production and screenwriting side of film, but cinematography is an almost exclusively male. Currently only 9% of film directors are women (Cochrane, 2010). Among the better known female film directors are Jodie Foster, Kathryn Bigelow, and Sophia Coppola. For over a decade, The Celluloid Ceiling study (2009) has tracked women's representation as directors, writers, executive producers, editors, and cinematographers of the top 250 domestic grossing films. In 2009, women comprised 7% of film directors, a decrease in 2 percentage points from 2008. But it was a good year, with women helming such cinematic juggernauts as *Twilight* and *Mamma Mia!*

Since the lack of women in powerful positions in the film industry has a direct influence on what we are seeing in the movies, we must ask the question why there are so few female film directors. At one time, the dearth of women film directors was attributed to the small number of women entering film schools. In film schools, female students are often advised to stay away from directing or becoming a cinematographer and go into producing instead. However, according to Dr. Martha Lauzen, director of the Center for the Study of Women in Television and Film at San Diego State University and principal investigator of the Celluloid Ceiling Study, this is no longer the case today. Instead, it is widely recognized that the film industry is institutionally sexist. Martha Coolidge, director of *Rambling Rose* and *Real Genius*, as well as the first president of the Directors Guild of America (DGA), agrees: the film industry, and particularly Hollywood, remains a minefield because there is such a sexual component for the men who go into it. Many women from every stratum of the directing world — established Hollywood types and shoestring independents, celebrated art-house stars and creators of light teen comedies, film school deans and movie historian — tell remarkably similar stories of deep-rooted prejudices, baseless myths, and sexual power that litter the path to the director's chair with soul-wearing obstacles (Goldberg, 2002).

There are other, more subtle reasons for the underrepresentation of female film directors. Among them is the absence of role models and mentors, maternity issues, and women directors being seen as greater risks. It has also been suggested that women are brought up to negotiate in different ways, especially when it comes to high-grossing films the majority of which have been directed by men. The Web site indiewire.com reports that of the 241 films that grossed $100 million or more in the United States over the past decade, only seven were directed by women (*Shrek*, *Shark Tale*, *Twilight*, *What Women Want*, *The Proposal*, *Mamma Mia!*, and *Somethings Gotta Give*). But a closer look at the figures reveals that women filmmakers are not a bigger financial risk. Lauzen (2008) conducted a study called Women@the Box Office, which found that the key to big grosses was not the gender of the filmmaker but the budget. Big budgets equaled big grosses. When budget size was held constant, the author noted, the resulting box office grosses were also similar. The differences between festival and high budget, studio films are especially dramatic in the two most traditionally male-dominated roles, directing and cinematography. When it comes to bagging the best jobs behind the camera, Hollywood actress and filmmaker Charlize Theron says that women have to make their own luck (Goldberg, 2002).

Three of the most prominent female film directors are Jodie Foster, Penny Marshall, and Kathryn Bigelow. Jodie Foster began her career acting in commercials at the age of three. As a talented child star of the 1970s, Foster successfully made the transition to adult stardom. Her first significant film role came in 1976 film *Taxi Driver* as a preteen prostitute, Iris, who was the beneficiary of a deranged vigilante's unique form of vengeance. Foster received a nomination for the Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress. Also before the camera, Foster starred in the 1991 film *The Silence of the Lambs* as Clarice Starling, a gifted FBI trainee who was instrumental in the hunt for a serial killer. This performance earned her the second Academy Award for Best Actress. Other popular films include *The Accused* (1988), *Little Man Tate* (1991), *Inside Man* (2006), *Nim's Island* (2006), and *The Beaver* (2010). These films span a variety of genres ranging from family films to horror.

Foster made headline news in 1981 when John Hinkley attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan. Hinkley had become obsessed with Foster after watching *Taxi Driver* and claimed that he planned to kill Reagan in order to impress her. After the incident, Foster stayed out of the spotlight and stopped producing and directing film until she returned to work on the film *Svengali*. Foster's performance earned her nominations for four Academy Awards, a Golden Globe, an MTV Movie Award, won her a Screen Actors Guild Award and a People's Choice Award. She is one of the highest paid actresses in Hollywood and highly respected as producer and director. Foster has two sons but never revealed the identities of their fathers. A very private, reclusive person, Foster has been tightlipped about her sexuality which has been the subject of much speculation for decades.

Another highly successful female movie director is Penny Marshall who directed *Big* (1988), the first movie directed by a woman that grossed over $100 million at the U.S. box office, and *A League of Their Own* (1992). By the time she directed this film, Marshall was one of the most bankable directors in Hollywood. Marshall, like Foster, is an actress, director, and producer. Marshall has directed several successful feature films since the mid-1980s, including *Awakenings* (1990). She returned to the director's chair in 1994 with the comedy *Renaissance Man/By the Book*, *The Preacher's Wife* (1996), and *Riding in Cars with Boys* (2001) and boxing drama *Cinderella Man* (2005). She also starred in numerous TV series such as *The Odd Couple*, *The Mary Tyler Moore Show*, *Laverne & Shirley*, and *Saturday Night Live*.

Kathryn Bigelow entered the cinema through the world of art, starting her creative life as a painter. She set out to be a professor of art history until she took a detour into film (Jones, 2010). After completing the graduate film program at Columbia University studying theory and criticism, Bigelow produced her first short film, *Set-Up* (1978), a 20-minute deconstruction of violence in film. Her first full-length feature was *The Loveless* (1982), a biker movie, followed by *Blue Steel* which starred Jamie Curtis as a rookie police officer who was stalked by a psychopathic killer. Before Oliver Stone agreed to produce this movie, Bigelow had difficulties getting it made because it starred a woman instead of a man as police officer. In 1995, Bigelow's film *Strange Days* was written and produced by her ex-husband James Cameron. Her 2000 film *The Weight of Water* is a portrait of two women trapped in suffocating relationships, and in 2002 in *K-19: The Widowmaker*, Bigelow told a story about a group of men aboard the Soviet Union's first nuclear powered submarine.

Bigelow has been annoyed her entire career that the media has obsessed about her gender just because the content of her films happens to be brawny. She sees her role as director to push film as a medium rather than breaking gender roles or genre traditions. Filmmaker Kathryn Bigelow is known for many male-centric movies such as *Point Break* and *K-19*. In 2010, she was nominated for the DGA Award for Outstanding Directorial Achievement in Feature Film for *Hurt Locker*, a film about an elite army bomb squad who were forced to play a dangerous cat-and-mouse game in the Iraq War.

The same year, Bigelow made history when she became the first woman to win best director at the Oscars for *Hurt Locker* competing with her ex-husband, James Cameron who directed *Avatar*, for the Best Director Award. The 2010 Oscars were billed as the battle of the sexes with flamboyant tech wizard James Cameron on one side and Kathryn Bigelow, his thoughtful shrinking violet of a former wife, on the other (Ridley, 2010). With *Hurt Locker*, Bigelow became the first woman to win the Academy Award for Best Director, the DGA Award for Outstanding Director, and the Critics' Choice Award for Best Director. At the time of the 2010 Oscars, Cameron's *Avatar* had brought in $2 billion worldwide, making it the highest grossing film of all time. By contrast, Bigelow's *Hurt Locker* brought in a meager $16 million which, by Hollywood standards, makes it a downright failure. Bigelow has often found herself at the center of discussions on gender and filmmaking and is known in Hollywood for bending genres (Jones, 2010).

Not only are women underrepresented as filmmakers, they are also less visible as film critics. During the fall of 2007, 186 individuals wrote 2365 film reviews in the top 100 daily newspapers in the United States. Of these newspapers, 47% had no reviews written by female critics during the study period. More specifically, excluding the 26% of the newspapers that did not publish film reviews by either men or women, men wrote on the average of 14 film reviews compared to women who averaged 9 film reviews (The Celluloid Ceiling Study, 2009).

In sum, although there are many more women in executive positions than before, women still lag greatly behind men in creative media positions that hold power, such as writer, director, or producer. Of the 150 films nominated for best picture between 1977 and 2006, only a handful was directed by women. Not only are few women represented as film directors, but they are also often confined to directing specific genres such as family dramas and romantic movies.

Advertisement

Advertisement as a communication medium cuts across different media platforms including print media, TV commercials, and billboards. Advertisement in the form of commercials is probably one of the most important and influential by-products of television.

According to Schuman (2004), if we consider the print media over the past century, we are quick to note that advertisement evolved from a significant use of detailed information within any given ad to greater reliance on graphics as a means to project a message. In the broadcast industry, this reduced wording has become a result of the shrinking length of commercials. Today, we listen to and are accustomed to hearing sound bites and catch phrases (United Airlines, ''Fly the friendly skies''). The purpose of these concise messages is to present a proposition statement, often reflecting the relationship between the consumer and a product, or a brand and a key attribute. It is left up to the consumer to search for a deeper level of information.

Advertising is telling people, especially women, what it means to be desirable. Ads describe women in terms of what they look like, not what they think or do. Women always have to measure against cultural ideals of beauty, but advertising often uses sexism to make images of ideal beauty more prevalent and increasingly unattainable. In a large number of advertisements, women are portrayed as housewives or sex objects. As Ingham (2010) notes, the housewife is married, usually with children, and is shown as obsessed with cleanliness and alpine fresh scents. Indeed, the housewife's life is shown to revolve around products which make her house dust free, germ free, and dirt free. Knowing that cleanliness of the house is her job, she usually does it with a smile, providing that she has the latest product to give her a helping hand. As sex objects, women appear in ads as conventionally beautiful, tall, thin, with very long legs, and perfect teeth, hair, and skin. Advertising frequently commodifies women by exploiting their sexuality or by fragmenting the female body into eroticized zone such as face, legs, and breasts (Anand, n.d., p. 6). The widespread emphasis on beauty and perfection is promoted everywhere from sitcoms to billboards.

A considerable body of research focusing on the U.S. and international settings has analyzed sex roles in advertisement, generally demonstrating negative and inaccurate stereotypes of women (Koerning & Granitz, 2006). The authors examined whether advertisements for products and services used in e-commerce continue to reflect negative stereotypical sex differences or whether they present a more equitable treatment of women. Women have made strong advances in e-commerce by starting up their own Internet businesses. Continued negative depictions may reinforce negative stereotypes among men and women, thus deterring women from entering the field. The authors conducted a content analysis of magazine advertisements for e-commerce products examining the manner in which males and females were depicted in the ads in terms of quantity of representation, power, authority, and expertise was examined, along with the general values present in these ads. The results of the Koerning and Granitz (2006) showed that the depiction of gender roles in e-commerce magazine advertisements is more equitable than found in previous research. Although males were more often included in e-commerce production ads than females, the depiction of women in these ads more accurately reflected the current position of women in e-commerce. In the mixed sex ads where the sexes can be more directly compared for asymmetry, men and women were depicted equally in positions of expertise, power, and authority. The authors came to the paradoxical conclusion that women's images in e-commerce ads are "progressive yet traditional" (p. 81). Since the consumer culture plays a major role in influencing the way women and men see themselves, perhaps women should be the ones rejecting jobs for ads that degrade women.

Advertisers who acknowledge women as legitimate producers of e-commerce foster more positive brand images with women. On the other hand, advertisers that fail to include women in these ads are ignoring a large target market and may risk alienating women from their brands (Ford, LaTour, & Clarke, 2004). Through text, stance, and expression, the ads should continue to reflect a more balanced characterization of women as possessing expertise and proficiency with e-commerce-related products. Showing women in positions of power and expertise can also be achieved in ads through the use of high profile and respected female business leaders such as Meg Whitman (former CEO of eBay) or Candice Carpenter (iVillage) (Schiffman & Kanuk, 2004).

As noted earlier, the sport media does more than capture events or present facts in words, images, or sounds. According to Messner (1988), "the marriage of television and organized sport — especially the televised spectacle of football — has increasingly played an ideological role" (p. 202). Until fairly recently, marginalization was the predominant media strategy in portraying female athletes. We have now moved into an era in which female athletes have worked hard enough to attain a level of legitimacy that makes simple media marginalization of female athletes appear transparently unfair and prejudicial. The framing of female athletes as sex objects is no longer an appropriate strategy if the media are to maintain their own legitimacy. McKay and Rowe (1987) referred to the critical paradigm of sport and media studies "in which strands of structuralism, political economy, and cultural studies find theoretical confluence to show how media operate to reproduce and legitimate relations of dominance in patriarchal societies" (p. 259).

Lynn, Hardin, and Walsdorf (2004) examined advertising photographs in four magazines targeted at women sport and fitness enthusiasts, *Shape*, *Sport Illustrated for Women (SIW)*, *Women's Sports & Fitness (WSI)*, and *Real Sports*, for differences and similarities in the way gender is presented in advertising photographs and for the presence of sexual difference in sport ads aimed at an exclusively female audience. The authors coded 1593 ads and content analyzed them. The results revealed that advertisements in all magazines, except *Real Sports*, depicted female athletes as more passive than active models which is ironical, since these magazines tout an active lifestyle. A look at *Real Sports*, however, revealed that advertisers have been able to capture images of female athletes that reject sexual differences between women and men suggesting a positive cultural shift.

As women's buying power increases, companies have to change their advertising strategies to lure in female customers. Many businesses are discovering the Sheconomy. In any industries — from cars to computers and financial services — advertisements are vying for women's purchasing power. For example, motor cycle giant Harley-Davidson has a Women Riders on its Web site; Cuban cigar manufacturer launched the

Julietta, a smaller, milder cigar aimed particularly at women; and Kodak has a chief listening officer on staff to ensure that women's voices are heard (Luscombe, 2010).

Critiques of Media Portrayals of Women

Media portrayals of women have been criticized for some time. We see women in skimpy bathing suits or workout outfits, just the right amount of makeup with their hair blowing exotically behind them in the breeze. One particular stream of critiques has focused on the role of the body image including ''leadership bodies'' (Sinclair, 2005, 2007) portrayed by the media. Whatever the communication medium, television, film, and popular magazines are full of images of women who are typically white and desperately thin. Television in particular has been accused of distorting many facets of women's lives in pursuit of commercial interests. The media explicitly instructs audiences how to attain thin bodies by dieting, exercising, and body contouring (Tiggeman, 2002). By presenting an ideal difficult to achieve and maintain, the cosmetic and diet product industries derive numerous benefits and are assured of growth and profits. For example, there are widespread media efforts to sell women on age-retarding beauty potions, plastic surgery, and antiwrinkle treatments. Women and their body parts sell everything from cars to food. Thinness has become synonymous with attractiveness and happiness.

An expanding critique of contemporary media points to the pervasiveness of idealized depictions of female attractiveness, which are difficult, if not impossible, for most women to attain (e.g., Faloudi, 1991; Frederickson & Roberts, 1997). According to Henderson-King and Henderson-King (2001):

> Given the pervasiveness of appearance-related messages in contemporary society, and given the apparent ease with which some women's body-esteem can be diminished by these messages, our data suggest that the current social environment could reduce the self-esteem of women whose weight and appearance are not congruent with media portrayals. Women who place a lot of importance on attractiveness, and for whom attractiveness functions as a contingency of self-esteem, may be at risk of increased risk of depression, not because they are consistently unhappy about their bodies but because their self-esteem is unstable. (p. 1414)

Frederickson and Roberts (1997) argued that women are objectified when they are viewed as if their bodies define them. According to objectification theory, because females are socialized to see themselves as objects to be looked at and evaluated based on physical characteristics, they are more likely to feel shame and anxiety when they do not meet beauty standards promoted ubiquitously in magazines, television, and films. Chiao, Bowman, and Gill (2008) conducted study utilizing a mock presidential election. In this study, participants were asked to describe Sarah Palin's or Angelina Jolie's appearance and then rated them on competence. The results showed that objectifying women led others to perceive them as less competent and less fully human. These effects occurred for both Palin and Jolie, who occupy very different leadership roles in society. However, both these women are in high status positions and both are physically attractive. The researchers also found that focusing on Palin's appearance led to reduced intentions to vote for the McCain–Palin ticket in the 2008 presidential election. The results showed that competence was rated as important for male and female candidates. But only for female candidates did appearance matter; they were viewed as less competent overall when their appearance deviated from media standards of physical attractiveness.

Summary

In this chapter, the context of interest was the mass media with its unique contextual features including speed media choice, media richness, and market segmentation and the ways women leaders are portrayed across a variety of communication media including television, print media, commercials, billboards, and social networks. While representations of women have changed considerably over the last 20 years to accommodate the changing roles of women in society, the subliminal message conveyed by the media has remained the same — the masculine or patriarchal ideology continues to be the norm in the media as many quarters of contemporary Western culture as evidenced in media presentations of high-profile women leaders across a number of contexts including politics, business, and sports. These portrayals have shown that the media acts as a transmitter of potentially problematic, socially desirable values and norms such as the obsession with physical attractiveness and thinness. Objectification of women leaders by the media restricts exposure to other dimensions such as competence and leadership skills. Research suggests that women who see attractiveness as highly important are more vulnerable to accepting media-constructed standards and ideals of female beauty. Presenting media consumers with information that leads them to critically evaluate standards of female attractiveness and its role in women's leadership may be one way to minimize the negative impact of such portrayals of women and women leaders.

Chapter 7

Sports as the Context for Women's Leadership

Lindsey Vonn arrived at the 2010 Olympic Games in Vancouver with 40 pairs of skis and her husband, Thomas Vonn, coach and media strategist in tow. She was the first woman Alpine ski racer to win the gold medal at the Olympic Games in Vancouver in 2010. Despite shin injury, she won the women's downhill in 1 minute, 44.19 seconds, more than a half-second faster than anyone else barreling down the hill at 80–85 mph. Her win was even more remarkable because she had to take painkillers and used numbing cream before the event. Although the weather-beaten, bumpy slope did not do her any favors, she saw no reason to pull out of the competition. The real challenge for her was to ski well despite the injury. With her Olympic gold medal, 33 World cup trophies in four disciplines, downhill, super G, slalom, and super combined and two World Championship gold metals plus two World Championship silver medal, Vonn has become the most successful American woman skier in history.

Although Vonn entered all five events in the Vancouver Olympics as a favorite for medals in three of them, additional medals escaped her. But Vonn knew that sort of disappointment. At her second Olympics in 2006 in Italy, she lost control during a downhill training run at more than 50 mph and wound up in the hospital with a battered back. Some compared Vonn's performance to that of Michael Phelps in the Beijing Olympics who won five gold medals. Vonn was scheduled to compete in five downhill racing competitions, potentially winning five medals. Vonn herself never expected to win five medals and her goal was to win one. She followed up her downhill gold medal glory in the Olympics in Vancouver with another win to seal her third consecutive World Cup downhill title. Between races every four years and training, Vonn is busy giving interviews, making public appearances, and posing for photo shoots.

Vonn has been on skies since age two commuting from Minnesota, where she grew up, to Colorado to train there for a couple of years before the family moved to Vail in the late 1990s. After climbing through the ranks of the U.S. Ski Team, she made her World Cup debut at age 16 in 2000 in Park City. In her first Olympic competition at the 2002 Winter Olympics in Salt Lake City, Vonn raced in both slalom and combined and came in sixth in the combined. In her second Olympics in 2006 in Italy, she crashed and was evacuated by helicopter to Torino. Despite a bruised hip, she returned to the slopes to compete and finished eighth. The gritty performance earned her the U.S. Olympic Spirit Award.

Lindsey Kildow married Thomas Vonn, a former Alpine skier who competed for the United States in the 2002 Olympics in Salt Lake City where he finished ninth in the *super slalom event. He replaced her father Alan Kildow who had served as her coach for many years. When Lindsey and Thomas started dating in 2005, the relationship opened a rift between Lindsey and her father who objected to the fact that Thomas was nine years older than his daughter. Vonn's husband has a constant presence on the slopes and on TV which earned him the nickname "TV" not just for his initials but for his penchant for showing up on TV broadcasts.*

Vonn was featured in a controversial Sports Illustrated (SI) cover released February 8, 2010, which showed her in a suggestive, provocative pose in a ski racer's aerodynamic tuck position without a helmet, which allowed her blonde hair to spill across the page. The pose resembles the tuck stance skiers take when barreling down the hill. Not only are female athletes rarely depicted (about 4%) on SI covers, but Vonn's pose predictably drew criticism from those who claimed that it objectified her. SI describe Vonn as the "America's Best Woman Skier Ever." But critics pointed out that when female athletes grace the covers of SI in the past, they were more likely than not be in sexualized poses and not in action. The question at stake was a refrain that is often heard in media portrayals of women leaders: are they objectifying them or celebrating their athletic achievements? Is it sexist to highlight an athlete's beauty, or merely the job of the media and photographers to bring out what is most attractive about them? Critics saw the Vonn cover on the SI Olympic Preview as no exception. She also posed for the annual swimsuit cover of SI 2010 picturing her in a bikini on a Canadian mountaintop as well as in several inside pictures of Vonn in a ski chalet, sauna, standing on the slopes and posing with a rescue helicopter wearing various bikinis.

Introduction

Women now compete professionally and as amateurs in virtually every major sport. Individual sports such as tennis, iceskating, gymnastics, and swimming which are labeled as "low contact" sports traditionally were deemed more appropriate for women than team sports or sports which involve heavy body contact such as wrestling. Although the level of participation and performance varies greatly by country and by sport, women's sports have gained broad acceptance throughout the world and, in a few instances, rival or exceed their male counterparts in popularity.

Individual Women's Sports

The world of sports has produced many outstanding women leaders, past and present. Babe Didrickson Zaharias, who achieved outstanding success in golf, basketball, and track and field and was the best well-rounded athlete in American history, had a great impact because she was a legend and a role model for many women athletes. Though Zaharias gained her greatest professional fame as golfer, she also excelled in track, swimming, and baseball. She won two gold and one silver metal for track and field in the 1932 Los Angeles Olympics and was named by the Guinness Book of Records as the most versatile competitor.

In individual sports such as tennis, legendary Billie Jean King, an advocate against sexism in sports and radical figure in sports and women's equality, is best known for the "Battle of the Sexes" in 1973 in which she defeated Bobby Riggs, a former Wimbledon men's singles champion (Roberts, 2005). This match was a pivotal moment in gender relations in sports. Not only did King go on to win 12 Grand Slam singles titles, 16 Grand Slam women's doubles titles, and 11 Grand Slam mixed double titles, she also promoted women's participation in sports through the Women's Tennis Association, the Women's Sports Foundation, and the World Tennis Team. King was also the first female athlete to make over $100,000 in a single season.

In her autobiography, *Billie Jean*, King (1982) described what it means to be the first prominent professional female athlete to come out as a lesbian and recounted the personal cost of concealing her sexuality. She was known as an aggressive, hard-hitting net rusher, speedy but also very impatient. Her professional career spanned almost 25 years from 1960 when she won her first adult tournament title at the Philadelphia and District Women's Grass Championships to 1983 when King retired from competitive play in singles. She continued to play doubles sporadically until 1990. In the mid-1990s, King served as the coach of the women's Olympic tennis squad, and in 2007, she was presented with the Sunday Times Sports Women of the Year Lifetime Achievement award for her contribution to sport both on and off the court.

King was a tennis trailblazer paving the way for other extraordinary female tennis payers including Chris Everett, Venus and Serena Williams, Anna Kournikova, and Maria Sharapova. Chris Everett won 157 tennis championships including a record seven championships at the French open and a record six championships at the U.S. open and was rated World No. 1 singles player numerous times between 1975 and 1981. Her romance with the top men's player, Jimmy Connors, attracted a lot of media attention, particularly in 1974 when both captured the singles titles in Wimbledon. The Williams sisters made significant contributions for both women and African Americans through the sport of tennis as well as their personal lives (Edmondson, 2005). According to Edmondson, Venus and Serena Williams represent in many ways a shift in attitudes concerning women in sports, particularly African American women by playing touch tennis and showing the public that it was acceptable for women to be strong, have muscles, and compete.

Russian-born Anna Kournikova became an immediate tennis sensation after her arrival in the United States in 1989. At the age of 14, she won the European Championships and the Italian Open Junior tournament (Mawrence, 2001). An internationally recognized tennis star, Kournikova's specialty has been doubles, where at times she has been the World No. 1 player. After a string of injuries in 2002, which eroded her rankings, she retired professionally but stills plays exhibition games for charitable causes. For example, in 2005, she played in a double charity event for the Indian Ocean tsunami victims with John McEnroe, Andy Roddick, and Chris Everett. Kournikova's passion for children is reflected in raising funds for the children's hospital in Los Angeles and her work with the Boys and Girls Club of America, where she contributes to programs dedicated to promoting an active lifestyle for children. Off the court, Kournikova has achieved notoriety as a model, fashion designer, and her relationship with pop star Enrique Iglesias. She was named one of *People's* 50 Most Beautiful People and was voted ''hottest female athlete'' and ''hottest couple'' (with Iglesias) on ESPN.com.

In gymnastics, among the most famous women in U.S. sports history is Mary Lou Retton, the first female athlete not from Eastern Europe to win the Olympic all-around title in gymnastics in the 1984 games in Los Angeles. She went on to help her team to win the silver, her own silver on the vault, and the bronze medals in both floor exercise and uneven bars. Her five metals were the most won at the 1984 Olympic Games. For this performance, she was named *Sport Illustrated*'s ''Sports-woman of the Year'' and in 1997 she was inducted into the International Gymnastics Hall of Fame. Carly Patterson followed in Retton's footsteps. She was the 2004 all-around champion at the Olympic Games in Athens and is a member of the U.S. Gymnastics Hall of Fame.

In iceskating, leading women include Katarina Witt and Michelle Kwan who has achieved almost every award in figure skating but never an Olympic gold. Michelle Kwan won gold five times in the World Championships, silver three times, and a bronze once and is known for her consistency and expressive artistry on ice. She is the most decorated figure skater in the United States and widely considered the greatest figure skater of all times. Her predecessor, Katarina Witt of Germany, won two Olympic gold medals in Sarajevo in 1984 and Calgary in 1988. She made a comeback to the competitive skating in Lillehammer at the 1994 Olympics, where she finished seventh. In 1996, Witt was inducted into the World Skating Hall of Fame and in 1999, she was voted ''Favorite Female Athlete in the United States,'' an award that acknowledged her beauty, sex appeal, as well as her athleticism. Witt retired from professional iceskating in 2008.

But the era of Katarina Witt and Michelle Kwan is over and skilled junior figure skaters are proving themselves. American figure skaters Tara Lapinski, Sarah Hughes, and Sasha Cohen all won medals at previous Winter Games, but none of them earned a place among the top 10 female figure skaters in 2010. At the Vancouver 2010 Olympic Games, Korean native, Kim-Yu-Na lived up to her star billing as she gave her native country the first ever Olympic figure skating title. Her display of technical brilliance, delicate but aggressive performance blew away the competition and was rated one of the greatest Olympic performances of all times.

Golf is becoming more and more popular among women. Yet, the gender gap in golf is particularly perplexing considering the fact that golf is not known as being physically demanding or masculine. Unlike many sports (i.e., tennis, softball, basketball) that require an opponent or team in order to play, golf is very conducive to individual play in noncompetitive casual settings. Zaharias set the stage as America's first female golf celebrity and was a leading player in the 1940s and 1950s. The remarkable strides made by Annika Sörenstam and Michelle Wie in men's events lend credence to the fact that women can indeed be serious competitors (McGinnis & Gentry, 2006). Wie gained attention when at age 15 she became the first female golfer to qualify for a US Golf

Association (USGA) national men's tournament. Swedish-born Annika Sörenstam is ranked as one of the most successful female golfers in history, having won 72 official Ladies Professional Golf Association (LPGA) tournaments including 10 majors. She dominated the women's golf scene in the 1990s and 2000s, winning the U.S. Open in 1995 and 1996. Her dominance of the women's tour was often compared to Tiger Wood's in the Professional Golf Association (PGA) during the same era. In 2003, Sörenstam entered a men's PGA event and became the first woman to play in a men's tournament since Babe Zaharias. In 2006, Sörenstam won the Women's World Cup of Golf. In 2008, she stepped away from competitive golf and transitioned from professional golfer to entrepreneur combining her passions for golf, fitness, and charitable works. Sörenstam has undertaken a number of golf course design projects in China and South Africa, has a clothing line and a limited wine label, and runs the ANNIKA Academy, a state-of-the-art training set in a luxury resort in Florida where guests receive individualized golf instructions, learn about nutrition, and a holistic lifestyle.

Golfer Alexis Thompson, a new star on the golf course, burst on the scene in 2007 when at the age of 12 she became the youngest player to qualify for the U.S. Women's open. She is an American amateur golfer who by 2009 made it into three consecutive U.S. Women's Open. Thompson has golf in her blood having grown up in a competitive golf environment. Two of her brothers are competing professionally.

In track and field, Jackie Joyner-Kersee was a towering figure ranked among the all-time greatest athletes in women's track and field sprinting. Known around the world as ''Flo-Jo'' Joyner-Kersee combined courage and grace, power and vulnerability. She raised the level of women's track and claimed the title of the ''fastest woman in the world'' when she shattered records at the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. She won three gold, one silver, and two bronze medals at the Olympics in Los Angeles in 1984. Four years after Los Angeles, Joyner-Kersee not only won the heptathlon but also the long jump in Seoul. At the 1992 Barcelona Games, she won another heptathlon, a grueling two-day contest that tests an athlete's strength, stamina, and will power, gold and took a bronze in the long jump. In Atlanta in 1996, she closed out her Olympic career with a last-jump bronze in the long jump. Joyner-Kersee was voted by *Sports Illustrated for Women* as the Greatest Female Athlete of the 20th century, just ahead of Babe Zaharias. But she was not just track athlete. She was also an All-Pac-10 basketball player. She was recognized not only as one of the best performers in track and field history but also for the energy of her athleticism and personality at a time when women's sports began to grow. Joyner-Kersee was one of the first children of Title IX who later became a surrogate parent to the offspring of Title IX. Joyner-Kersee died in 1998 and continues to be honored after her death; she was inducted into the U.S. Olympic Hall of Fame in 1998.

High Contact Sports

The level of women's participation decreases when it comes to more violent contact sports such as boxing and wrestling. Women's wrestling made its Olympic debut in

2004 at the 2004 Summer Games in Athens, where women from 21 nations competed in four free-style weight classes. However, most U.S. athletic organizations such as the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) do not sponsor women's wrestling. Likewise, few colleges have programs in American football, boxing, or wrestling.

Women's team sports include baseball, basketball, hockey, rowing, soccer, and softball. Women's professional team sports achieved popularity for the first time in the 1990s, particularly in basketball and football (soccer). After the 1996 Olympics, women's sport leagues in basketball, soccer, volleyball, softball, and football were formed. In the early 1970s, there were only four championships for women in the sports of basketball, gymnastics, swimming and diving, and volleyball (Keyes, 1974). In 2008, there were 10 national championships for women in the sports of basketball, cross-country running, field hockey, ice hockey, rugby, soccer, swimming, track and field, volleyball, and wrestling (Hoeber, 2008). However, the creation for more opportunities for women in both individual and team sports has not adequately addressed inequities because fundamentally the prevailing gendered culture, power imbalances, and the allocation of resources have not been challenged or altered (Brake, 2004).

Acosta and Carpenter (2004, 2006, 2008) studied the impact of Title IX on women's collegiate athletics in a series of studies beginning 30 years ago. They found that the same five sports — basketball, volleyball, tennis, cross-country running, and softball — were the most popular among female athletes. Soccer has shown the greatest growth of any sports, and lacrosse and golf have grown exponentially over the past decade. Gymnastics has declined among women's programs.

From Biological Differences to Patriarchal Ideology in Sports

Male and female bodies do differ in terms of their potential for physical strength, endurance, agility, and grace. For example, males average 40% muscle and 25% body fat, whereas females average 23% muscle and 25% body fat. Women are physically and physiologically different from men that could be translated into male athletic superiority. For example, different skeletal structures and greater flexibility make for women's superior performance on the balance beam. The fact is that the major sports (especially the "money" sports) are defined largely according to the extreme possibilities of the male body. Socially constructed differences (i.e., women as less competitive, women as sex objects) are presented as natural in the same way that biological differences (i.e., larger breasts) are presented (Hardin, Lynn, Walsdorf, & Hardin, 2002). Concern for the physical strength and stamina of women led to the discouragement of female participation in more physically intensive sports.

Football is probably the sport par excellence where the patriarchal ideology plays itself out most dramatically. Messner (1988) painted the following picture:

> Football, based as it is upon the most extreme possibilities of the male body (muscular bulk, explosive power, and aggression), is a world

> apart from women, who are relegated the role of cheerleader/sex objects on the sidelines rooting their men on. In contrast to the bare and vulnerable bodies of the cheerleaders, the armored male bodies of football players are elevated to a mystical status, and as such give testimony to the undeniable "fact" that there is at least one place where men are clearly superior to women. (p. 202)

Football, especially professional football, is one of the most stylized displays of the contrasts between manly men and vulnerable women in contemporary American culture. In helmets, spiked shoes, and padded uniforms, men who are already exceptional, perhaps even unnaturally large, appear larger than life. Male athletes are portrayed and perceived as tough, hard players who rarely express emotions other than aggression and anger and only smile to celebrate victory (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003). While the spotlights, cameras, and the eyes of the fans "are focused on the display of brute force by manly men, the only women allowed anywhere near the field are scantily clad, leaner than lean cheerleaders. Wearing out-of-season short-shorts or miniskirts, these cheerleaders jump up and down waving delicate pom-poms in cheering routines that are choreographed to erase any telltale signs of athleticism and training that the performance actually requires" (Jansen & Sabo, 1994, pp. 10–11). In contrast to the male players, cheerleaders exhibit cheerful emotions and glittering smiles (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003).

The biological gap or inert fact of female inferiority in sports performance may be far less important than suggested. The fitness factor far outweighs the sex factor and shows that in some sports such as swimming and long-distance running, women could actually outperform men. The difference between female and male athletic performance, known as the muscle gap, has closed considerably in recent years as female athletes have gained greater access to coaching and training facilities. Moreover, the recognition of basic physiological differences has not impeded the development of a higher profile for female athletes in historically male sports such as golf, marathon, or ice hockey.

The controversy over male versus female, biological, physiological, and hormonal differences led to a patriarchal ideology that still dominates many sports and continues to influence perceptions of women's athletic performance. Sports typing, that is, labeling certain sports "feminine" or "masculine," as Kane and Snyder (1989) pointed out, is essential for controlling women's athletics, because it allows our culture to restrict women's participation in certain kinds of sports. According to Messner (1988), sports is a "dynamic social space where dominant ideologies are perpetuated, challenged, and contested. Organized sport, as a cultural sphere defined largely by patriarchal priorities, will continue to be an important arena in which emerging images of active, fit, and muscular women are forged, interpreted, contested, and incorporated" (p. 208). One of the main challenges for female sports leaders is to change the ideological legitimacy of male dominance in sports.

The deep structure of patriarchal values, beliefs, and power relations reflect and advance the agendas of hegemonic masculinity (Jansen & Sabo, 1994). Women in the U.S. culture are often presented as passive, emotional participants in sports mostly considered feminine, that is, individual, "pretty" sports (Walsdorf, 2000). The demand for sex test for female athletes shows the power of suspicion — if she is successful, she has to be a man. Success in sports has to do with fitting the youthful, lithe, nubile, stereotypically popular image of femininity. The key to marketplace success for female athletes often is not athletic performance but the body aesthetic and their ability to be gorgeous and sexy, à la Anna Kournikova and Lindsey Vonn (McCarthy, 2003). In sports, sex often sells as seen in the performances of the Lingerie Football League, a women's sport association that is growing while many others such as the United Soccer Association, the Women's National Basketball Association, and the LPGA are folding. Women in the Lingerie Football league play in uniforms that resemble underwear but the league made a profit in its first year (Wachter, 2010).

Sport as a Context for Women's Leadership

In sport, context refers to the larger social, political, and legal environment as well as specific factors germane to individual and team sports along with the nature of sports and sports organizations. More specifically, contextual factors of this context include the structure of individual team sports, sports clubs and federation and the regulatory environment defined by Title IX, and hero worship of star athletes. Sport is a diversified context that teaches many leadership skills.

Women's sports not only gained in numbers and sports but also attracted an increasing number of spectators and have been a boom to the sports apparel industry. Women's involvement in sports is a $60 billion industry in the United States, $18 billion of which is invested in footwear. Women have been outspending men in the United States in sports apparel since 1991 (Betancourt, 2003). Nike, according to the author, has 37% of the female sports market. Corporations are hiring women sport professionals who understand what women want and help them produce and market to the large and lucrative female consumer base.

Sports, especially team sports, are vehicles for cultivating and displaying community, cultural values, and national identities. Through team sports, women learn important leadership lessons and acquire critical leadership skills. Team sports build players' confidence and show them how to deal with failure and recover. Individual and team sports build courage, patience, humility, stamina, and persistence. They build competitive spirit and courage but also esprit de corps. Team players share the credit and the blame, regardless of individual performance. Through team sports, athletes come to value cooperation, consensus building, negotiation, and conflict resolution, which are valuable in political and business contexts as well. Sports, both individual and team, also teach discipline, time management, and perseverance, networking and breaking into the old boys' club. Sports also plays a crucial role in contemporary forms of nation building by transcending social divisions and affirming political loyalties to the nation as a whole (Riordan, 1986) which was evident during the 2010 World Cup in South Africa.

For many executives, sports are the favorite metaphor for the work they do. They continuously talk about teamwork, about "slam-dunk deals." American management guru Tom Peters compared the job of a businessperson to the task of being a general manager of a professional sports franchise. Many successful businesswomen are also athletes. As women break through the glass ceiling, researchers are on the lookout for what they have in common. Former eBay CEO Meg Whitman was on the lacrosse and squash teams at Princeton. Mrs. Fields Cookies' founder Debbi Fields is an avid equestrian. Spherion CEO Cinda Hallman, who in 2002 was one of six women who were on CEOs of *Fortune 500* companies, was a scrappy 5-foot-6 basketball guard at Ashdown High School in Arkansas. Sue Wellington, who took a sabbatical as president of the Gatorade division of Quaker Oats, was the captain of the Yale swim team (Jones, 2002). Christine Lagarde, the first woman to serve as minister of economy, finance, and employment for a G-7 nation, competed on France's national synchronized swimming team. Business is all about winning and losing and sports is a good arena to learn the ropes. What is the relationship between success and business and sports? Jones asks, "Are successful women born competitive and drawn to athletics in their youth or do sports ignite a drive in women and teach them lessons applicable to business?" (Jones, 2002, p. 2B).

Sport is a context that is rich in rituals, symbolism, and metaphors which keep the language of sports alive. Davidson (1979) claimed that metaphors do the "dream-work of language" (p. 20). Metaphors build bridges between the familiar and the unknown. They empower new visions and act as relays for transferring meaning, myth, and ideology from one pocket of cultural understanding to another (Bloor, 1977). In short, they make cultural coherence, homology, and hegemony possible. The locker room, with its emotionally charged atmosphere and jock culture, conjures up images of gladiators, national pride, postgame stripping, and bawdy drunkenness (Klenke, 1996). In football, symbols of patriotism, militarism, violence, and meritocracy are dominant themes (Messner, 1988). Much of the leadership imagery developed in the context of sports has been transposed to other contexts such as business or politics. For example, consultants and supervisors advise women managers to "play hardball," "crunch the enemy," and "don't show your trump card." Messner (1988) noted that "football's mythology and symbolism are meaningful and salient on a number of ideological levels: patriotism, militarism, violence and meritocracy are dominant themes" (p. 202).

Jansen and Sabo (1994) pointed that by the time the Watergate tapes were produced during the Nixon administration, football imagery had become the root metaphor of American political discourse. Indeed, Richard Nixon mixed football and political metaphors to the point where the boundaries between the two realms blurred. He selected *Quarterback* as his code name as president and developed the habit of regularly telephoning the coach of the Washington Redskins to discuss strategy during the big games. Likewise, during the Persian Gulf War, General Norman Schwarzkopf characterized the strategic plan of the ground war as the "Hail Mary of football." According to the authors, "by the time Schwarzkopf offered this simile, sport and gaming analogies had become the salient metaphors in both official government statements and media representations of the war, with expressions drawn from football achieving special prominence" (Jansen & Sabo, 1994, p. 3).

Athletes are heroes. They play to win, to make money, and to be famous. Male athletes always had more than their female counterparts — more money, more recognition, more respect from fans, and more hero worship. As in other context such as religion, corporate, and politics, cultism and hero worship are found in the sport arena as well. According to Lalich (2004), cults (e.g., the Jonestown cult of the 1970s or the cultism at Enron in the 1990s) have a shared commitment to their leaders who possess enormous authority in the eyes of their followers. According to Tourish and Pinnington (2002), the key ingredients of cultic dynamics include charismatic leadership, a compelling vision, and a common culture. In sports, hero worship involves the idol's physical prowess and strengths, and for many adoring sport fans, the hero is a source of inspiration. Even when sports heroes such as world golfer Tiger Woods fall from grace, their followers revere them.

Sports organizations represent another important contextual element. The NCAA is a voluntary organization through which the nation's colleges and universities govern their athletics programs. It is comprised of institutions, conferences, organizations, and individuals committed to the best interests, education and athletics participation of student-athletes (www.ncaa.org). Division I is the highest level of athletics sanctioned by the NCAA. Division I schools are the major collegiate athletic powers that have larger budgets, more elaborate facilities, and a higher number of athletic scholarships than the other divisions. In the United States, 10 of the 11 members of the NCAA Division Executive Committee are men (National Collegiate Athletic Association, 2002). Many sports-specific organizations exist for women such as the American Women's Baseball League, LPGA, Women in the Olympic Movement, Women's Football UK, and the Women's Sports Organization. These organizations have a variety of missions ranging from promoting women's sports to fund raising and research, but they can also play an instrumental role in promoting gender equality. On the one hand, sports organizations such as NCAA and the International Olympics Committee (IOC) are positioned to level the playing field for women; on the other hand, they represent another factor that perpetuates the status quo. For example, Shaw (2006) focused on the social processes in sports organizations and found that use of humor, dress codes, and informal networking had gendered subtexts that contributed to the gendering of sports organizations.

Title IX

Title IX is very much part of the context of women's leadership in sports. Part of the 1972 Education Amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This legislation is concerned with the opportunity afforded to women athletes to participate in collegiate sports. The provisions of Title IX are framed around two issues. First, is the university evenhanded in providing opportunities for women and men to develop themselves through participation in sports of interest to them? Second, insofar as sport participation at competitive levels is often supported by scholarships, is access to financial support equitable (Greller, Cochran, & Taylor, 1995)? Equity means that the numbers of opportunities for athletic participation open to women is proportionate to their numbers in the student population. Thus, the principle of proportionality requires that that the percentage of a school's athletes who are female should mirror the percentage of women in the student body. For example, if a college is 56% female, then about 56% of its athletes should be women (Dixon & Bruening, 2007). While Title IX does not require colleges to give the same amount of money to women's and men's sports programs or have equal numbers of female and male athletes, it does require them to provide equitable resources and opportunities in a nondiscriminatory way.

The progress women have made in sports in the United States is largely a result of Title IX. When this law was enacted, only a handful of college athletic scholarships were available to women. Title IX requires that no person shall, on the basis of sex, be excluded from and participation in or denied the benefits of any education program or activity receiving financial assistance. The congressional enactment of Title IX made discrimination against girls in secondary schools and women in college sports illegal and provided the legal basis for greater equality. Title IX has increased the number of women who participate in athletics from approximately 16,000 individuals since its inception in 1972 to about 180,000 in 2006 (Acosta & Carpenter, 2006). In their 31-year update of the "Women in Intercollegiate Sport: A Longitudinal National Study 1977–2008," Acosta and Carpenter (2008) reported the highest ever participation by female athletes, the continued low representation of females as coaches of women's teams, and the highest representation of female athletic directors since the mid-1970s. Finally, according to the Women's Sports Foundation (2010), since the passage of Title IX, female athletes of color have experienced a dramatic increase in NCAA sports participation opportunities evidencing an increase of 995% between 1971 and 2000. Title IX has led to an increase not only in the number of women participating in sports but also the formation of professional sports leagues such as the Women's National Basketball Association.

This gender-equity law leveled the playing field for women by providing athletic scholarships for women and opened the doors for them to participate in sports such as archery, ice hockey, and water polo. Colleges and universities had to revamp their physical education and athletic programs and were expected to increase sports opportunities for women of current funding for women's sports were inequitable. At the 30th anniversary of the statute in 2002, lawmakers debated whether Title IX had accomplished its purpose and therefore should cease to exist. Supporters of the law have argued that Title IX is more than simply a tool to increase participation of women in athletics. There is now a generation of women who have grown up in a post-Title IX era whose daughters are now second-generation beneficiaries of Title IX (Dixon & Bruening, 2005). However, as in business, legislation and equal opportunity under the law do not always translate into equity or equal gains for female athletes.

Suggs (2005) believes that women's sports have become victims of their own successes by modeling their system after men's athletic programs. The author notes that the educational model of women's sports eventually comes into conflict with the commercialized model of men's sports. This conflict led to the acrimonious struggle for power between the NCAA and the Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) over women's sports in college. Suggs claims that the successes of women's programs in the United States such as the University of Tennessee Lady Volunteers basketball, University of North Carolina soccer, and others represent a pyrrhic victory for women's sport advocates. The author concluded that the triumphs and tragedies of Title IX resulted not only from women's issues such as career–family conflicts among female coaches but also from the clash of old school ideas of amateur sport participation with the hypercompetitive world of intercollegiate sports.

Critics of Title IX have made college wrestling as the poster sport for the law's unintended consequences. They argue that the loss of scores of wrestling program across the United States is a direct result of Title IX requirements to provide proportional athletic opportunities for women on campus (Gerber, 2003). Studies conducted after Title IX show that while women's participation in sports has increased, their participation in leadership roles has gone down.

As noted in Chapter 6, the sports media does more than capture events or present facts in words, images, or sounds. It is the conduit of dominant ideologies which selectively not only interpret the athletic events themselves but also the controversies and problems surrounding the event. According to Messner (1988), "the marriage of television and organized sport — especially the televised spectacle of football — has increasingly played an ideological role" (p. 202). Here, individual males are given the opportunity to identify with all men as a superior and separate caste. Until fairly recently, marginalization was the predominant media strategy in portraying female athletes. Patronizing or trivializing female athletes is sometimes not enough to marginalize them ideologically: top-notch female athletes are often subjected to overt hostility intended to cast doubts upon their true sex. Female athletes, more so than male athletes, have been required to undergo genetic or hormonal sex verification tests in elite international competitions to prove that they are indeed female. For example, South African runner Caster Semenya, accused of being a male, underwent gender testing at 2009 World Championships in Athletics in Berlin, was qualified to compete as a woman and won the gold in the 800 m event.

We have now moved into an era in which female athletes have worked very hard to attain a certain level of legitimacy that makes media marginalization of female athletes appear transparently unfair and prejudicial. The framing of female athletes as sex objects is no longer an appropriate strategy for the media to maintain its own legitimacy. McKay and Rowe (1987) referred to the critical paradigm of sport and media studies, in which strands of structuralism, political economy, and cultural studies find theoretical confluence to show "how media operate to reproduce and legitimate relations of dominance in patriarchal societies" (p. 259).

Gender Equality and Diversity in Sports

Questions relating to gender equality in sports have been a growing concern along with an increasing debate about the use of quotas to achieve gender equity. Scholars from many countries have reported female underrepresentation in sports

(Aitchison, 2005; Hoeber & Frisby, 2001; Sartore & Cunningham, 2007). The demand for gender equity and searching for explanations for the underrepresentation of women in leadership position in sports organizations has occupied a prominent place in the literature. The narrow understanding of gender equity for athletes is problematic because it assumes that definitions of gender equity are shared by all members of the athletic department or sport organization (Hoeber, 2008). It fails to recognize that some voices, such as administrators who have the power to guide dialogues, dictate agendas, and distribute resources. It is possible that "marginalized voices, such as those of female athletes, coaches or administrators, may express other understandings that would lead to a more comprehensive approach to gender equity for athletes" (Hoeber, 2008, p. 59).

Some of the dialogue surrounding gender equity can be characterized as a battle of the sexes with men overtly opposing it because they are threatened by potential changes to the status quo and with women advocating change (Staurowsky, 2003). Hoeber (2008) in a case study of one athletic department at a large Canadian university reported that there was little sense of shared responsibility for gender equity, or recognition that it requires a modification of men's involvement in and dominance of sports. Many writers have argued that only by making fundamental changes in sports to reconstruct its male image and give women power, will women have true access to sports. The significance of raising women's participation in sports should not be underplayed; it is a fundamental component of a broader strategy to increase women's influence and presence in sports, and represents in itself a substantial challenge. According to Rees (2002), gender mainstreaming is "the systematic of gender equality into all systems and structures, policies, programs, processes and projects into cultures and their organizations, into ways of seeing and doing" (p. 29). Gender equality issues are now seen as a task to be addressed by both male and female leaders of sport organizations.

One approach to equity in sports is the application of Kanter's (1977) theory of homologous reproduction which is based on the premise that the dominant coalition (i.e., men) works systematically to reproduce itself, thereby maintaining the status quo of male authority within an organizational systems (Kanter, 1977; Whisenant, Vincent, Pedersen, & Zapalac, 2007). Knoppers (1987) was one of the first researchers who applied this model to sports. The author argued that homologous reproduction is based on the assumption that workplace processes such as recruitment and promotion procedures and work conditions shape the workers in organizational settings. Sports replaces the workplace as the context in applications of the model of homologous reproduction.

The lack of women in executive bodies of sports organizations is a worldwide phenomenon and the marginalization of women in leadership positions occurs at national and international levels. For example, in one of the main sports organizations, the IOC, women are clearly a minority. In 1881, two women were elected to the IOC. In 2009, female membership stood at 16 out of 107 members or about 15%. The IOC's own commission on women and sport, an initiative that targets gender fairness and equality, seeks to have at least 20% women in leadership positions at all levels by 2010. The Women and Sport Committee recognizes individuals and organizations in member countries that have contributed to the development of women in sport. For example, in 2001, the Committee nominated the Malaysian Women's Hockey Federation for the award.

Not only are women in senior sports organizations rare, they also seldom exercise leadership as owners of professional sports. One exception is **Georgia Frontiere**, sometimes referred to as Madam Ram who was co-owner and chairwoman of the Los Angeles/St. Louis Rams from 1979 to 2008. For two decades, she was fighting an uphill battle waging war against the National Football League's (NFL) good old boys owners' network. When her late husband, Caroll Rosenbloom, one of the league's most powerful men, left her 70% of the Rams in 1979, she named herself president. Her fellow owners thought that Georgia, a former Las Vegas chorus girl and touring little theater singer, was not qualified to run a pro football team. She was the only woman out of 28 owners in the league. She infuriated the southern California football fans when she had the audacity to pack up the Rams after 49 years and relocated to St. Louis in 1995, where she was guaranteed a new $260 million stadium and almost $20 million in profit annually (Lieber, 2000). In the 1999 season, under head coach Dick Vermeil, the Rams beat the Tennessee Titans in the Super Bowl XXXIV. The media criticized Frontiere for everything from lying about her age to having been married seven times. They insinuated that she was a criminal, questioning the circumstances surrounding Rosenblooms's death.

It has been argued that women's movement into sports represents a quest by women for equality, control of their bodies, and self-definition (Messner, 1988). In the sport management literature, explanations for gender inequities and barriers that block women's access to sports participation and administration have focused on organizational structures and deficiencies in individual skills (Hoeber, 2008). The structures, practices, and social relations of the governing bodies of sports organizations are often held responsible for the underrepresentation of women. Pfister and Radtke (2006), for example, reported that women leaders in German sports federations who broke off their careers, the following barriers emerged: (1) skepticism and suspicion toward new ideas on part of long-standing members; (2) the withholding of information; (3) refusal to recognize; (4) perceived competence and lack of recognition; (5) gender-specific barriers; (6) old boys' networks and lack of solidarity among female leaders; and (7) power struggles, infighting, and offensive behavior. The authors concluded that gendered expectations and evaluations permeated the culture of the sports organizations that participated in this study. As a result, women tend to remain a minority in the decision-making committees of sports organizations. While the focus on organizational structures and individual deficiencies as explanations for gender inequities in sports has been helpful in demonstrating that inequities continue to exist, they do not explain the deeper mechanisms by which they are sustained and reinforced (Hoeber, 2008).

Feminist arguments about the need to address women's marginalization within sports have long been recognized and articulated through a range of gender equality policies, governance quotas, sport conference declarations, and in some cases legislation such as Title IX (Aitchison, 2005). Many authors in sports have suggested that specific programs targeted at women are needed to increase gender equity and eliminate imbalances supported by outdated traditions (e.g., Knoppers, 1987). Furthermore, promotion of these programs should highlight the benefits to both the coach and the sport organization to increase administrators' awareness and support of such initiatives. However, programs targeted at women also have their critics who argue that developmental programs for women discriminate against male athletes.

Female Coaches and Athletic Directors as Sports Leaders

Female Coaches

In the context of sports, an important leadership role is that of the coach who, over an extended period of time, develops an intense and personal relationship with her athletes. As more women play sports, we would expect that an increasing percentage of women would continue their sport careers as coaches. When Title IX of the Education Amendments was enacted, more than 90% of all women's teams were coached by women. As the law raised the profile of women's sports, the job of coaching female players has grown more lucrative, more prestigious, and more demanding. As a result, the coaching positions also attracted more men. Men now have captured nearly three quarters of the new head-coaching positions created by the surge in women's sports teams. Although more men are coaching women, the opposite is not true. Fewer than 2% of men's intercollegiate teams have female head coaches. The data show that women leave the coaching profession at every step of the ladder. For example, while 57% of paid assistant coaches in women's sports are female, the same is true for only 42% of head coaches, and for just 19% of athletic directors (Wilson, 2007).

Over the past three decades, female coaches have been sidelined in virtually every women's sport. Of the five most popular — basketball, volleyball, soccer, softball, and rowing — all but soccer have seen a steep decline in the proportion of teams coached by women. Nearly 80% of women's basketball teams were coached by women three decades ago, compared to 62% in 2007. Athletic departments that are headed by men have fewer female head coaches than departments headed by women. Female coaches say they get closer scrutiny from athletic directors than their male colleagues do. Male coaches who complain about facilities or other resources are perceived as fighting for their teams while women who do the same are considered whiners.

Although research has shown that female coaches are at least as well and sometimes better qualified than their male counterparts, given their coaching experience and training, the number of women head coaches is relatively small. Research has consistently called attention to the underrepresentation and consistent undermining of female high performances coaches. The place of women as high performance coaches has come under increasing scrutiny over the past 30 years. During that period, Acosta and Carpenter (2008) have described increases in funding and participation in women's sports within the post-Title IX American college systems, while articulating the simultaneous irony of the decline in numbers of women in senior coaching positions within that system. Powerful assumptions regarding women's suitability for grass roots and junior coaching position over high performance roles have also been examined (Shaw & Hoeber, 2003).

In spite of the increasing number of participants, scholars have argued that women face unique and inevitable challenges in pursuing coaching and administration as careers, including the male-dominated culture of the field, a lack of social networks and role models, inequalities between men's and women's sports, a general lack of administrative support, and reported conflicting interests between work and nonwork realms (Inglis, Danylchuck, & Pastore, 2000; Kelley, 1994). The sheer commitment and determination of women coaches to deal with work–family balance within a work environment that demands high hours, long distance travel, and constant reassurance of young athletes have also been analyzed (Bruening & Dixon, 2007, 2008).

Shaw and Allen (2009) conducted a case study which focused on the experiences of female high performance coaches and coaching managers within two Regional Sports Organizations (RSOs) in the same region of the South Island of New Zealand (NZ). Organization A was a mixed or coed sport, played approximately by 40,000 people. Organization B represented a popular sport mainly played by women. The sport is played by approximately 125,000 in NZ. It has a similar governance structure to Organization A. The results highlighted "problems such as the exclusionary nature of limiting access to higher level coaching courses, the lack of transparency for allocating assistant coaches, the lack of transparency of a gendered coach selection process and the absence of informal mentors" (p. 219). Greenhill, Auld, Cuskelly, and Hooper (2009) concluded that "given the importance of coaches in the development and delivery of sports, sports organizations may struggle to develop sufficient capacity to meet increasing demands of sports participants if coach recruitment and retention are not carefully managed, especially given the large volunteer nature of these roles" (p. 230).

In sports management, Dixon and Bruening (2005) introduced a multilevel model of work–family conflict that examined the interactions of three levels — sociocultural, organizational/structural, and individual. They argued that higher level environments shape and constrain lower level behaviors. They also suggested that individual attitudes such as job satisfaction and organizational commitment to work–family balance have the potential to shape organizational climate and policy from the bottom up. The authors asserted that the sports industry is composed of some unique elements, making it a ripe context for work–family conflict. For example, many jobs in the sport industry require long, nontraditional hours (i.e., nights and weekends) and extensive travel. The authors also reasoned that the sport industry is highly male dominated, which highlights particular social and structural strains that are not as obvious in more gender-balanced occupations. According to Inglis et al. (2000), women functioning in male-dominated professions might have more difficulty negotiating their multiple roles because they are not given control over their daily work schedules and might feel extreme pressure to perform well at work in order to prove themselves worthy of the profession.

Dixon and Bruening (2007) conducted an online focus group study collecting data from four NCAA Division I female coaches with children to test their 2005 model. The findings showed that "coaching mothers felt the organizational/structural constraints of long hours and extensive travel, and face time in the office and narrow definitions of success that dealt almost exclusively with on-field performance and very little with overall athlete development" (p. 398). At the individual level, the participants described themselves as driven and achievers and were willing to accept the ramifications of trying to do it all and do it well. They also reported that the families of the coaching mothers, especially young children, were more forgiving than the colleagues or superiors of the women coaches. More specifically, the authors suggested that "in the coaching world where jobs and careers are on the line, work often has priority over family although the participating coaches indicated that they valued both and worked very hard to develop organizational skills and networks that allow them to maintain and succeed in both worlds" (p. 394).

The biggest hurdle for most women trying to make a career in college coaching is the relentless pace the job requires. It is not unusual for coaches to be gone three to four days each week for competitions, and then again for several recruiting trips during the off season. Coaches frequently assume the role of substitute parents for their young players. That can mean a lot of hand holding, or at least a lot of text messaging. Clearly, some hard-driving women manage to combine kids and coaching, and they do so well. Pat Summit's achievements on the basketball court are legendary: under her tutelage, Tennessee's Lady Volunteers have won seven national titles. The story of how Summit went into labor on a university plane en route to visit a recruit is legendary as well. Finally, it is worth noting that female athletes themselves are not always the biggest cheerleaders for hiring female coaches.

Female Athletic Directors

On the one hand, as Wilson (2007) reported, nearly 80% of all NCAA athletic directors are male, a proportion that climbs to more than 90% in Division I. The authors also found that Division III of the NCAA, which offers student athletes the opportunity to become well-rounded individuals who successfully integrate athletics and academics but does not offer financial aid, had the highest percentage of female athletic directors at 33.7% while Division I had the lowest with only 29% directors. Although 97.7% of NCAA schools had full-time athletic trainers, only 23.39% were female. Finally, the data showed that the percentage of schools without female administrators at any level dropped from 14.5% in 2006 to 11.6% in 2008.

These statistics raise the question why so few women are represented as athletic director, one of the most powerful leadership positions in intercollegiate athletics. Whisenant, Pedersen, and Obenour (2002) examined the success ratios of athletic directors focusing on gender. Based on a sample drawn from 157 NCAA member institutions, the results confirmed that the expected hegemonic masculinity was entrenched within intercollegiate athletics. More specifically, they showed that men had higher success ratios to advance to athletic director in general but women had higher success ratios at lower level institutions. The authors concluded that although parity has not been achieved across the NCAA, the glass ceiling at Division I institutions may begin to crack, as more women achieve success at lower level institutions.

Among the challenges confronting female athletic directors are budget and funding issues, inadequate facilities, Title IX/gender equity issues, lack of administrative and institutional support and time constraints, sexism, and multiple commitments (Quarterman, Dupreeé, Willis, & Pettaway, 2006). The authors conducted a qualitative study sampling 85 directors of all NCAA institutions. The sample was broken down into 14 directors representing Division I, 24 Division II, and 47 directors of Division II institutions. More specifically, the results revealed that issues relating to budget/funding received the highest number of responses, followed by Title IX-related issues, problems related to inadequate facilities, and administration/institutional support. These themes accounted for more than half (59%) of the 14 Division I athletic directors who participated in this study. Time constraints and commitments, the good old boys' network, lack of recognition by peers, lack of experience, sexism, and career development issues were not considered as major challenges confronting this sample of female directors of Division I institutions.

Kimberly "Kim" Record in 2009 was appointed Athletic Director of Intercollegiate Athletics at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG), a member of the Southern Conference which has played in Division I since 1991. Her profile is fairly typical of a female athletic director. Record brought to the UNCG position 13 years of experience as senior associate director of athletics at Florida State University and held a succession of positions at the University of Virginia for 11 years, culminating in an appointment as associate director of athletics for administration there. She emerged from a national search that drew 125 candidates who joined the 29 directors in the NCAA Division I. In her new position, Record is expected to take leading roles in fund raising, strategic planning, and athletics facilities development. In this capacity, she will develop a larger and more comprehensive role for UNCG athletics within the university and as a leader in the Southern Conference, motivate and manage a high caliber of team coaches, and create an expectation to post a winning season.

Among leadership positions in sports organizations, the Sports Information Officer is a relatively new job title. Women occupying this position are usually responsible for forming and coordinating relationships with the local media including the creation of brochures, Web sites, media guides, newspaper releases, and public addresses. They also manage all in-game operations for statistics and scorekeeping in their athletic departments. According to Acosta and Carpenter (2008), of the 98.3% of NCAA schools having full-time sports information officers, only 11.3% are female.

Summary

This chapter presented female sports leaders in a variety of women's individual and team sports and discussed female coaches, athletic directors, and sports information directors as leadership roles for women in sports. Title IX has been credited with revolutionizing women's participation in sports in the United States. With the passage of this law, which mandates equitable treatment of men and women in federally funded institutions, the groundwork was laid for increased sports opportunities for girls and women. Sports organizations which operate at the intersection of two contexts, sports and business can play an instrumental role in improving a more balanced representation of female and male leaders among their top executives, as women can generate increased consumer understanding of how to improve sports opportunities for women.

Chapter 8

The Military as Context for Women's Leadership

Captain Holly A. Graf was relieved of her last command of the USS Cowpens for reasons of cruelty and mistreatment of her subordinates. She followed Commander Kathleen A. Garth, commander of the USS Jarrett, the first U.S. Navy warship to be commanded by a woman. Holly Graf was the first woman to command a Navy cruiser, the USS Winston S. Churchill, and had a very successful command tour aboard this destroyer. She made history as the first female to launch a counter strike against the enemy during the Iraq war. She alternated tours aboard a destroyer tender, a frigate, and a destroyer with shore assignments at the Pentagon and as a Navy ROTC instructor at Villanova University. She earned a Bronze Star during the Iraq war. Her darker side began to emerge when she was assigned to the USS destroyer Curtis Wilbur in 1997, as the executive officer (XO), or second in command (Thompson, 2010). She assumed her last command of the USS Cowpens in 2007, 22 years after leaving the Naval Academy in Annapolis.

Graf, a fast tracker, was a Navy poster child for the advancement of women. Her volatile temperament was well known for years, but she kept receiving promotions and was headed for the Pentagon when she was relieved of her command. Sailors and junior officers complained about her disrespect. Often she belittled officers in front of enlisted personnel and was described as downright mean and sadistic. She asked junior officers to play piano at her personal Christmas party and to walk her dogs. She was particularly withering toward females.

Graf was a toxic leader who destroyed and demoralized her fellow sailors. She was intimidating and led by fear. Every report confirmed a picture of Graf as a self-centered, incompetent, bullying, verbally and physically abusive commander utterly unconcerned about the welfare of her ship or of her crew, except insofar as they might facilitate her next promotion. She was known as an out-of-control woman who compensated for her deep-seated incompetence by throwing off clouds of venomous message and who liberally used cuss words and foul, profane language. Graf's story is a prototypical example of dysfunctional, toxic leadership also known as the dark side of charismatic leadership. She exhibited many of the traits associated with toxic leadership such as narcissism, Machiavellianism, high need for personal power bipolar mood swings, and psychopathic behaviors.

Many people wondered why her toxic, vitriolic leadership went unnoticed for over two decades. On numerous occasions, her subordinates sent letters of complaint to the Navy Inspector General requesting Graf's removal. In fact, Graf's abusive behavior was directly brought to the attention of the commander of the Seventh Fleet describing in detail her incompetence and cruelty, but senior Navy leadership looked the other way. The saga of Holly Graf suggests that the Navy had long ignored warning signs about her suitability for command (Thompson, 2010, p. 28). Despite Graf's shortcomings, she was allowed to move to positions of increasing responsibility and authority. Many believe that her dismissal should have happened years ago. Some argue that there was pressure on the Navy to promote women into senior leadership position, especially in the aftermath of the Tailhook scandal. Graf's unacceptable performance was not reported partly because of the political correctness culture so important to senior leadership in all the military services. Thompson (2010) concluded, ''while the news of her spectacular fall instantly raised questions about institutional sexism, the lesson may be the opposite, as her case highlights how the Navy has pushed to integrate women into its war-fighting fleet'' (p. 28).

Introduction

One of the most obvious differences between the military and all other organizations is its mission. The five branches of the military in the United States exist for a number of reasons but first and foremost to defend the nation and the Constitution against foreign and domestic forces, protect the country's sovereign interest but ultimately, the military exists to win the nation's war. Traditionally the military as an organization ''was primarily designed for combat: the localized, violent encounter of two armed forces'' (Boene, 1990, p. 31). In a nutshell, then, ''the military's mission is the management of violence'' (Shriberg, Shriberg, & Lloyd, 2002, p. 133). To complete this mission, the military relies on leaders, not managers or supervisors, and has developed a set of leadership requirements that are unique to the military as an organization.

In many ways, military and leadership, or at least a certain type of leadership, are synonymous. For example, the U.S. Army's official vision statement (1999) states that the Army is about leadership, its stock in trade, and what makes the Army different. When people are asked to name important leader, they often turn out to be military leaders, notables such as Norman Schwarzkopf, George S. Patton, Dwight Eisenhower, and Robert Lee. These men have been profiled as combat-decorated heroic leaders and many of who have received medals such as the Silver Star or the Congressional Medal of Honor for their heroism (Wansink, Payne, van Ittersum, 2008). As Lt. Walter F. Ulmer Jr. USA (ret.) put it, ''military operations tend to highlight success and failure, conform courage or hesitation, validate selflessness or ego, assess empathy or callousness, and take measure of the integration of the behavioral and management sciences'' (Shriberg et al., 2002, p. 132). The traditional view depicts the military leader as a commander who issues orders, sets the squad's goals, and expects soldier compliance.

Like many other large public sector organizations, the military is organized along the lines of a hierarchical bureaucracy. However, it differs significantly from other large bureaucracies in that the military ultimately exists to fight and win the nation's war. According to General Sullivan (2007), leader development in the Army rests on three pillars: operational assignments, institutional education, and self-development set on a foundation consisting of the constitution, values embraced, and doctrine which addresses how the military deploys the force. The U.S. Army (1990) *Field Manual 22-100* identified the leadership dimensions that currently form the basis of army doctrine.

The military today is facing many challenges that also confront large private and public sector organizations. In fact, as Kay (1997) noted that the 21st century army resembles many top-performing, private sector organizations that are transforming themselves by embracing a much wider range of organizational arrangements. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, the military has been active in the war on terrorism and operations in Iraq and Afghanistan, activities which cast the military as a key element of national power (Wong, Bliese, & McGurk, 2003). According to Hunt, Dodge, and Phillips (2007), since the disintegration of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War, the Army implemented a series of initiatives to address the transcultural, self-leading, boundary-spanning, interorganizational, networked, and socially and behaviorally complex challenges facing the armed forces. The Army's response was Force XXI ("The Army of Tomorrow" through about 2010) and Army After Next (AAN), covering initiatives beyond 2010.

These initiatives, designed to sharpen the Army's competitive edge vis-a-vis profound changes and an uncertain future, are based on experimenting with new strategic models of leadership (Hunt et al., 2007). The authors also argued that combined civilian, military, and multinational operations such as peacekeeping and humanitarian efforts are becoming more common. Increasing diversity, the blurring of front and battle lines, distinctions between military and civilian society, and increased exposure to the media are critical issues military commanders have to address. As a result, the military is undergoing substantial changes as it adjusts to the changing nature of warfare and a fluid, uncertain world situation. According to Shamir and Ben-Ari (2007), "armies in the post-World War era are increasingly called upon to deal with a multiplicity of tasks and missions: various forms of low-intensity warfare involving insurgents in non-governmental movements, peace-keeping and policing, humanitarian aid and disaster relief, and various kinds of mediation" (p. 19).

General Sullivan (2007), speaking for the Army, stated, "the 21st century Army must be more flexible and capable of dealing with the increasing complexity brought on by varying missions; the strictly hierarchical, stiff, and bureaucratic military structure will no longer be appropriate (if it ever was)" (p. 11). Jablonsky (2001) noted that the military is dealing with the challenges by undergoing a profound transformation including new doctrine, technology, concepts, and structure. As a result, the entire U.S. military establishment is reevaluating its leadership. According to Jacques and Clement (1991), senior military leaders must be able to provide a sense of understanding and purpose to their units and reduce uncertainty, ambiguity, and complexity in an environment constantly teetering at the edge of chaos.

Women play a significant role in the transformation of the military. Today, about 20% of the armed forces across the five branches are composed of women. More specifically, 13.5% of women serve in the U.S. Army, 15.5% in the Navy, 19.5% in the Air Force, 6.4% in the Marine Corps, and 12.5% in the Coast Guard. In addition, over million women serve in the reserves. Women held as prisoners of war numbered 1 in the Civil War, 60 in World War II, 2 in Desert Storm, and 3 in Operation Iraqi Freedom (Statistics on Women in the Military, 2010). Close to 90% of military jobs are now open to the nearly 200,000 women who currently serve in the U.S. armed forces. Women fly helicopters and military jets, serve on combat ships, and command military police units. They are in nearly every unit that supports combat troops as intelligence analysts, fuel handlers, bomber and fighter pilots, gunship crew members, and members of honor guards for the fallen (Stone, 2002). But they are not permitted to serve in units engaged in direct ground combat with the enemy. The debate concerning the role of women in the military is unique in that it is framed by both issues of national defense and gender equality.

Gender Stereotyping in the Military

Research on gender stereotypes suggests that women and men differ on a number of physical and psychological dimensions that are relevant for military performance. Men typically are believed to make decisions more easily and to be more independent, self-reliant, competitive, and leader-like than typical women. Likewise, women typically are believed to be more helpful, gentle, and emotionally expressive than men (e.g., Diekman & Eagly, 2000). According to Boldry, Wood, and Kashy (2001), the gender-stereotypic beliefs about women are in marked contrast to the attributes required for successful performance in the military. The authors argued that "women's token status in military training programs is especially likely to heighten the salience of gender stereotypes and to yield less positive evaluations of women than men" (p. 690). In a study of women and men enrolled in a military training program, Boldry et al. (2001) found that gender stereotypes negatively influenced cadets' evaluations of their female classmates, although no significant differences in performance between male and female cadets emerged. For example, in stereotypic judgments as well as in judgments of individual cadets, women were rated lower on dimensions of leadership and motivation (p. 702). The authors concluded that "the marked impact of gender stereotypes in military training is likely to be maintained in part through structural factors such as the limited number of women enrolled in training programs and the male-dominated history of the military" (p. 704).

Women in the military face several challenges and social issues their male counterparts do not face such as pregnancy, sexual harassment, the need to leave children at home, and manage dispersed, networked families. Gibbs (2010) argues that for many women in uniform, the dangers come not only from the battlefield but from their male comrades. The author quotes Pentagon figures which show that nearly 3000 women were sexually assaulted in 2008, up 9% from the year before. Among the women serving in Afghanistan and Iraq, the number rose to 25%. Looking at women across the armed forces indicates that a third said they were victims of rape or assault which is about twice the rate in the civilian population. Moreover, 80–90% of sexual assaults go unreported. Ignoring sexual harassment or undermining its significance is women's most prevalent reaction to sexual harassment. These statistics highlight the fact that irrespective of women's integration in the military, the military culture is still fraught with incidents of sexual harassment. Given these facts, it seems that a female soldier is more likely to be raped by a fellow soldier than killed by enemy fire. After the sexual harassment cases peaked in 1993, the Pentagon adopted measures to reduce abuse by setting up hotlines and improving sexual harassment training program. However, as Rimalt (2007) pointed out, "merely inserting some women into a misogynist warrior culture does not eliminate the conflation of soldiering with masculinity" (p. 1119).

One of the most publicized incidents of sexual harassment and the military's worst sex scandal in history was the Tailhook scandal of 1991 in Las Vegas. The Tailhook Association, a U.S.-based, fraternal, nonprofit organization which supports the interests of sea-based aviation, sponsored the 35th annual symposium designed as a two-day debriefing on Navy and Marine Corps aviation in Operation Desert Storm. The meeting was attended by over 4000 attendees representing active, reserve, and retired personnel (Tailhook Association, 2010). On Friday and Saturday of the convention, hospitality suites hosted by various flight squadrons were the scene of what was described as debauchery. The activities included performances by male strippers, sexual interaction with the strippers, drinking, and naval shots. The most infamous activity was the gauntlet — a double line of male aviators, one on each side of the hallway, was set up and women who found themselves in the hallway were fondled and groped (Vistica, 1997).

According to a Department of Defense (DoD) report, 83 women and 7 men stated that they had been victims of sexual assault and harassment during the conference. Admiral Frank Kelso, in charge of the event, was bombarded with accusations that he was aware of the poke-and-grab gauntlet going on at the convention and knew of the gathering's reputation for heavy drinking, porn films, strippers, and prostitutes as part of the planned activities in the hospitality suites (McMichael, 1997). Moreover, several participants claimed later that a number of flag officers were aware of the assaults but did nothing to stop them (Finney, 2010). Promotion board results were delayed while a special review was conducted to ensure that any person with an adverse connection to Tailhook'91 was not promoted. According to Browne (2007a), the reaction of the Navy and Congress to the Tailhook scandal "converted an out-of-control party into a career-killer for hundreds of Navy personnel and a morale killer for thousands of others" (p. 752). A PBS report (Frontline, 1996) indicated that Tailhook terminated or damaged the careers of 14 admirals and almost 300 naval aviators.

Despite the zeal of navy prosecutors, the prosecutions resulted in not a single conviction. The woman who blew the whistle on the Tailhook sex scandal was awarded $1.7 million in compensatory damages for emotional distress and $5 million in punitive damages after seven weeks of testimony, although the total amount was later reduced by the judge (Office of the Inspector General, 2003). According to Vistica (1997), the worst damage was not inflicted by drunken and misbehaving officers but high level officials whose judgment was impaired by sexual politics.

The investigations themselves became a disaster — witnesses had difficulties identifying their assailants, prosecutors ran into collective stonewalling, questionable interview techniques, intrusive polygraph questions about sexual practices, amateurish witness reports that could not stand up in court, and granting immunity to some junior officers allowing them to escape prosecution. Browne (2007b) in his analysis of military sex scandals from Tailhook to the present pointed out:

> as harmful as sexual behavior can sometimes be, the military's reaction to it can be even worse. It is fair to say that a characteristic response to sexual issues by military overseers has been to label men as sexual predators who require punishment and to label women as victims who require counseling, irrespective of the willingness with which women participated in the challenged activities. The military's reaction to sexual scandals often driven by political pressures operating on military civilian leadership and its congressional overseers — has been a repeated source of military moral problems. (p. 750)

Indeed, women also contributed to the messy and sluggish investigations by concocting gang rape stories which they later recanted. For example, Paula Coughlin, the poster girl for the Tailhook case, identified an attacker who did not attend the convention. It also turned out that she was a willing participant in some of the activities.

Donnelly (1994) concluded that in reality there were two Tailhook scandals. One took place in the halls and hospitality suites of the Hilton hotel in Las Vegas. The other, more serious and far reaching, played itself out during the investigations and under the watchful eyes of Pat Schroeder, a powerful member of the House Armed Services Committee known as mistress of sexual politics. Donnelly claimed that Schroeder rushed to define Tailhook as a watershed event — a revelation of the Navy's sexual harassment so shocking that it could be remedied only by lifting the prohibition in combat. In the end, not a single court-martial produced a conviction. In the final analysis, according to Donnelly, "the Navy betrayed men who served it for decades and capitulated on issues that will affect combat readiness for decades to come" (1994, p. 76.).

The Tailhook scandal has widespread implications not only because it derailed and destroyed the careers of several high-ranking officers and wrecked enormous damage on the Navy but also because people believed that the scandal highlighted the U.S. military culture and treatment of women in the areas of sexual harassment and equal treatment of women in career advancement and opportunity. According to Browne (2007b), the Tailhook investigations were never about individual guilt or innocence of the accused but rather about the collective guilt of the institution for failing to incorporate women fully. Similarly, Zimmerman (1995) argued that the scandal underscored the shifting status of women in the military and particularly the role of women in combat. For example, one big payoff came in April 1993 when the armed services were ordered to end the ban against female combat pilots and asked Congress to allow women to serve on American navy ships. Many believed that this decision and others that were made later to increase opportunities for women were the result of the Tailhook scandal. Ironically, in 2000, the Navy renewed its official ties with the 10,600-member private association for the first time since 1991 when the Navy had terminated all ties to the Tailhook Association.

One of the major causes of the high rates of sexual assaults among women is the intrinsically violent and hyper masculine culture of the military. Mixing the sexes together in the often-cloistered environments in which military personnel operate and the forced intimacy of military life increase the likelihood of the development of sexual attraction and relationships.

As Gibbs (2010) pointed out, too many commanders whose primary task is to win a war looked the other way rather than acknowledge a breakdown in their units. But rape and sexual assaults in the military are not just a problem because of the physical and psychological trauma that it inflicts upon the victims but also because they threaten the stability and the integrity of the military as a whole.

Leadership Styles

Bass, Avolio, Jung, and Berson (2003) suggested that both transactional and transformational leadership styles predict performance in military units. Transactional leadership, or leadership that evokes compliance contingent upon rewards or recognition, is indicative of successful military performance in stable contexts. In contrast, transformational leadership, or leadership that challenges others "to thrive for higher levels of potential as well as higher levels of moral and ethical standards" (Avolio & Bass, 2004, p. 97), is indicative of successful military performance in unstable, stressful contexts and crisis situations such as combat. Bass et al. (2003) examined leadership in infantry platoons before a training exercise and related leadership style and platoon performance. The authors found that both transformational and transactional contingent reward leadership of platoon leaders and sergeants positively predicted unit performance. Similar findings were reported by Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly et al., 1995; Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2007c) who found that women were more likely to be transformational leaders but, at the same time, also engaged in transactional behaviors (contingent reward).

The Military as Context for Women's Leadership

Traditionally, the military has worshiped at the altar of command (Sullivan, 2007). In terms of organization form, the military is unquestionably traditional and bureaucratic. There is a clear delineation of power across hierarchical levels and clear prescription how leaders and subordinates are expected to interact. The modern military includes many elements of Weber's (1947) bureaucratic organization, which emphasized the creation of a fixed division of tasks, hierarchical supervision, chain of command, centralization of authority and decision making, and reliance on detailed rules and regulations in order to achieve precision, speed, clarity, reliability, and efficiency. These were structural elements that dominated the armed forces in the past and worked against women.

In addition to organizational structure, the culture prevailing in the different military branches is also a defining element of context. The military's unique culture and heritage is based on affective ties between military leaders and their subordinates, loyalty, and identification with an organization that honors courage, hardship, suffering, pain, and death. The "stories of great battles fought and won, of freedom preserved and evil overcome, of individual acts of heroism and courage help to inoculate recruits" (Shriberg et al., 2002, p. 135). The differences in culture, pay, mission, and even laws are so distinct and significant that the military represents an entirely different cultural system that sets it apart from other organizations.

Military leadership is best viewed from a context-specific perspective that focuses on the unique characteristics of the military, an approach which requires an in-depth understanding of the nature of leadership in this context. This is the argument made by Klenke (1996) that is based on the premise that leadership, regardless of context whether it be military, corporate, media, or technology, is always shaped by context and therefore context dependent. The present context for military leaders is defined by established traditions and structures that are challenged by new circumstances and changing roles. Established structures, for example, included a conscripted army that changed to an all volunteer organization in 1973. Among the new circumstances are peacemaking and peacekeeping operations, changes in the composition of the force including greater diversity and civilian support, and changes in leader characteristics.

In the past, efficient military leadership traits include efficiency, stability, vitality, power, maturity, and endurance. According to Neck and Manz (2007), the current military leadership literature predominantly adopts a threefold leadership focus that includes: (1) "a trait view of leadership which suggests that effective leaders are born with certain traits and that persons without those traits can never become truly effective leaders regardless of training and teaching; (2) hierarchical leadership that defines the formal leader predominantly as a commander through whom important work decisions flow; and (3) a transformational view of leadership in which a charismatic, inspiring leader, usually of a high rank, is critical for the success of the mission" (p. 153). Neck and Manz (2007) offered a fourth perspective arguing that in the military, confronted with vast organizational, technical, and societal changes, self-leadership skills are increasingly necessary for military personnel. The self-leadership approach advocated by the authors includes empowerment, self-regulation, self-control, and self-management. This framework suggests that military leaders and soldiers who practice behavioral and mental self-leadership strategies such as self-goal setting and mental imagery visualizing successful performance can achieve the highest level of achievement and effectiveness. Neck and Manz concluded that effectively self-led soldiers, both behaviorally and cognitively, who are empowered by facilitative leaders they call Super Leaders, defined as a person who can lead others to lead themselves, may offer the best blueprint for achieving superior military performance. However, the authors also caution noting that "empowerment and participation, leadership skills women are noted for, may not fit in an actual battle when guns are firing. Therefore in situation of high emergency, commanding, directive, and inspirational leadership may be required, at least in the short run" (p. 168). In other words, the most effective approach for the 21st century military will continue to be contingent on the nature of the operations.

In hierarchical organizations such as the U.S. military, wider accessibility to information has changed the way senior leaders manage in the field both close-up and at a distance. At all levels of the military command and control system, military leaders and their subordinates now have access to multiple and at times conflicting sources of information. Today, military commanders may brief their staff early in the morning, only to be contradicted by one of many news sources that are disseminating information on the Web by lunchtime (Avolio & Kahai, 2003). Hence, a major dimension of military leadership now involves the capacity to receive and distribute information accurately and in a manner that can be understood and acted upon by the receiver of the information.

Given the rapid changes in war-related technologies, Shamir and Ben-Ari (2007) predicted that digitization will eventually replace traditional warfare and with it hierarchical military leadership. According to the authors, the "dominant view of the Army of the future suggests that the military will be increasingly organized around information and information technologies with the possibility of deflating the military commander's leadership role (p. 17). Electronic warfare and "digitized" battlefields refer to a variety of battles fought on communications and computer networks, missions devoted to hindering a country's security webs, or deliberate sabotage to economic infrastructure and activity. The authors note that as warfare becomes more distal and synthetic, so will the practice of leadership. They write:

> The prototype of the military, despite all the changes that occurred through the ages, has always been fashioned on the model of heroism in the face of physical risk and hardship, suffering, pain and death. It has always strongly depended on affective ties between leaders and followers, such as respect, loyalty, and identification … The dominant picture of the "digitized" Army clearly de-emphasizes the social and human elements of military forces, and presents a very cold prototype of a technical manager instead of the conventional military leader. (p. 17)

Military technologies are now positioned to support network-centric warfare. Just as the corporate world strives for information superiority in the marketplace, network-centric warfare is information superiority on the battleground. It is achieved through sensing via unarmed aerial vehicles and increased reconnaissance (U.S. Department of Defense, 2001). Nevertheless, as Wong et al. (2003) pointed out, ''the streets of Bosnia, the mountains of Afghanistan, and the deserts of Iraq require boots on the ground to achieve victory'' (p. 660). Warfare continues to remain an intensely human activity dependent on individual capabilities such as risk taking, loyalty, heroic courage, behavioral and cognitive complexity, and adaptability and willingness to make the ultimate sacrifice for one's country. As warfare is becoming more technology driven, ground combat becomes less of a matter of physical strength but does require human abilities such as consensus-based decision making, interpersonal skills in negotiations, and leading organic structures that are among the strengths women bring to military leadership.

In addition to the prospect of a technology-driven military, the armed forces have also been increasingly involved in the war against terrorism since the end of the cold war. After the events of 9/11, the military's primary mission of defense of the homeland shifted its focus from enemy invasion and nuclear war as major perceived sources of threat to the war on terrorism, both domestic and international. As a result, September 11, followed by bus, subway, and commuter train bombings in London, Madrid, and Mumbai, the alleged plots of blowing up flights from Europe to the United States, and the most recent controversy (2010) around building a mosque on Ground Zero are generating images of terrorist attacks and fear constantly reminding people of their vulnerability and mortality. For the military, the fear of terrorism means that although its primary purpose is to provide national defense, military forces are going to be used increasingly at home (Williams, 2008).

Leadership requirements in military are changing as a function of changing missions, structures, doctrines, and technologies. These changes have significant implications for the role of women in the military, the military as a profession, and the relationships between the military and civilian society. While full integration of women in the postmodern military has only been partially achieved, it continues to be pursued in a number of different ways as evidenced in media relations, recruitment patterns, international peacekeeping missions, and public attitudes toward the military.

Contemporary Women Military Leaders

The admission of women to the military academies was a defining moment in military history. The ban on admittance of women to the service academies was lifted by President Ford in 1975, and in 1980, the first woman graduated from the service academies. In 1995, the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) ended its 158-year males-only enrollment policy and opened the doors to women. The institution spent millions of dollars fighting several federal lawsuits that eventually forced it to admit women. Barracks were renovated and bathrooms and showers were installed for women. VMI required cadets and employees to understand coeducation training and attend seminars on sexual harassment. Like the men who preceded them, women at VMI have to have their hair cut short and endure the physical and mental strains of the "rat line." Freshmen, known as "rats" have to walk straight lines with chins tucked and chests out, making 90-degree turns and saluting passersby. For the U.S. Naval Academy in Annapolis, MD and the U.S. Military Academy in West Point, NY, admitting women meant a change of culture on campus and a group of women willing to be pioneers.

Other milestones affecting women included the permanent assignment of women to navy support ships in 1978. Mobilization for the Persian Gulf War in 1990 included an unprecedented proportion of women in the active forces. It was the largest female deployment in U.S. history with about 41,000 women participating. Women performed the same duties as their male counterparts except engagement in ground combat. For the first time, women played a significant role in a military conflict of our time and attracted a lot of media attention. The servicewomen of the 1990s served in the mainstream of the mission goals of Desert Storm and demonstrated that women perform as well as men.

In 1994, the Pentagon and Congress changed the rules to allow women to fly combat aircraft and serve on warships. In 1996, female sailors on the destroyer took part in combat operations for the first time when it fired Tomahawk missiles against Iraqi targets. Women combat pilots and crewmembers made their wartime debut in the Kosovo war.

Military women leaders with outstanding service records and leadership abilities include Jeanne Holm, Claudia Kennedy, and Mary Landry. **Jeanne Holm** was the first woman to rise to the rank of general in the Air Force and the first woman to become a two-star general in any U.S. armed services. Until she became general, Air Force regulations restricted women to the rank of no higher than colonel. General Holm promoted the increase of opportunities for women in the Air Force by more than doubling their numbers. Under her leadership, only four Air Force specialties remained closed to women: pilot, navigator, missile operations, and security police. Holm also made the Air Force the first service branch in which a woman commanded a mixed unit of men and women.

In her youth, Holm grew up wanting to become a silversmith. She joined the Army in 1942 a month after the creation of the Women's Army Auxiliary Corps and was one of the first enlisted women to be accepted in officer candidate school. When she joined the Reserves, she indicated on her application that she wanted to serve in the Air Force, which had just been formed as a separate service. In 1952, she was the first woman to attend the Air Command and Staff School at Maxwell Air Force Base in Alabama. She rose through the ranks and was named full colonel in 1965. In 1971, she was promoted to general and two years later, she was given another star (Holm, 1993). Holm served as Director of Women in the Air Force (WAF) from 1965 to 1973. She chronicles women's struggle for a proper place in the armed services in the face of the sexist male leadership, which tolerated their presence as nurses and office clerks but did not take them seriously as soldiers until breakthroughs such as the introductions of weapons training for women in 1975 and the graduation of the first female cadet from West Point in 1980. Holm also called attention to Operation Desert Storm in 1991, which became the catalyst for demands to review in practical terms the role of women in combat.

General Holm received many decorations and after her retirement became special assistant for women's programs in the Gerald Ford administration. She continued to speak out on women's military issues and castigate what she called a ‘‘boys will be boys'' attitude toward sexual harassment (Martin, 2010). Holm (1993) marshaled an impressive body of evidence to support her contention that the increasing number of women in uniform since the 1960s has diminished neither the American military's operational readiness nor its combat effectiveness. She suggested that the United States would be best served by gender-neutral policies matching individual talents with necessary jobs, including combat assignments. General Holm died in 2010 at age 88.

Claudia Kennedy was the Army's first female three-star general who served as the Army's deputy chief of staff for intelligence. In that capacity, she oversaw the 45,000 soldiers involved worldwide in military intelligence and supervised more people than many *Fortune 500* CEOs. In her role as deputy chief of staff for military intelligence, Kennedy was charged with projecting future threats out to about 2020 or 2025, determining who the likely enemies will be and estimating what resources will be needed to combat them. Beginning in a Women's Army Corps still largely restricted to clerical duties, Kennedy finished more than three decades later as a senior intelligence officer committed to create a more civilized military force.

Kennedy describes herself as a military brat. The daughter of an Army major, Kennedy grew up on Army bases all over the world, spending her youth in Germany where she grew up, and later in Israel, Japan, Virginia, and New York City. Like most military families, the Kennedys moved around a lot. Her father was conservative politically who encouraged his daughter to pursue a profession, although he never suggested that she follow in his footsteps. She remembered coming home one day in the seventh grade and declaring that she wanted to be a nurse. ‘‘Why not a doctor?'' countered her father. In college, Kennedy majored in philosophy at Southwestern, a small liberal arts school in Memphis. It was a confusing time for her because of the campus protests against Vietnam especially since her father was in Vietnam at the time.

During her senior year of college, when contemplating about a future career, an Army recruiting coupon in *Cosmopolitan* magazine caught her eye. The ad said ‘‘Be an intelligence analyst'' and featured a female soldier with an attractive man promising prospective recruits foreign adventures. Kennedy filled out the coupon and mailed it in. While her classmates scrambled to avoid military service, Kennedy entered the service in the Women's Army Corps. In 1973, while stationed at Fort McClean, Alabama, she became one of the first women to command men. By 1978, the Women's Army Corps had been phased out and most of the female officers were given their choice of assignments in the regular Army. Kennedy chose intelligence. She kept getting promoted ahead of her peers, men in most instances. In 1993, she was named a general officer and received her first star.

The Army is a highly competitive hierarchy, with only 47 slots for three-star generals and Kennedy's promotion in 1997 was considered a real achievement for all women in the military. Kennedy was told that her current assignment scheduled to end in May 2000 would be her last job. But she gained national recognition for successfully blocking the promotion of another general accused of having sexually harassed her. Kennedy's sexual harassment charge against a fellow general was headline news. The incident of the alleged unwanted touching occurred in 1996, and Kennedy, then a two-star general, complained informally to her superiors. When Major General Larry G. Smith was nominated for the position of Deputy Army inspector general, Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy came forward to scuttle his appointment. She claimed that Smith, who at the time held the same rank she did (both major generals) had touched her in a sexual manner and tried to kiss her (Ricks & Suro, 2000).

She took the additional step of lodging a formal complaint in late 1999 when she learned of the offending general's impending advancement. The case was resolved when the accused, Army Maj. Gen. Larry Smith retired soon after the incident, with a reprimand for conduct not becoming of an officer and a gentleman (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003). Browne (2007b) argued that the Army overreacted pointing out that if the Claudia Kennedy case was sexual harassment — with no imbalance of power, no persistent and repeated conduct, and little more than a rebuffed advance — then almost all men have been guilty of sexual harassment. Later Kennedy was appointed to an Army task force on sexual harassment and remained at the forefront in the fight against sexual harassment and discrimination in the military.

During the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the plane that plunged into the Pentagon destroyed her old office. She was one of the few women who appeared on TV news shows offering expert commentary. After the attacks, Kennedy entered the political arena but found it difficult to raise money and suspended her exploratory committee that she had formed to challenge Virginia Senator John Warner (Clift & Brazaitis, 2003).

General Ann Dunwoody was promoted in 2008 to four-star general, the first woman to reach the Army's highest rank. Dunwoody had a number of firsts in the Army: she became the first woman to command a battalion in the 82nd Airborne Division in 1992, the first female general officer at Fort Bragg's in 2000, and the first woman to command the Combined Arms Support Command at Fort Lee, Virginia, in 2004. In 2005, Dunwoody became the first female soldier to achieve three-star rank since Lt. Gen. Claudia Kennedy, the former Deputy Chief of Staff for intelligence who retired in 2000.

Dunwoody came from a family with a long military history and credits her childhood for being instrumental in achieving her career goals. A member of the Dunwoody family has served in every American war including the Revolutionary War, the Mexican War, the Civil War, the Spanish American War, World Wars I and II, Korea, Vietnam, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Her father is a decorated veteran of World War II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. Her family lived in Germany and Belgium while she was growing up and her military service took her around the world (Coakley, 2009).

In her current position, Dunwoody serves as Head of Army Material Command in charge of weapons, equipment, and uniform. Dunwoody received numerous decorations including the Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, several Meritorious Service Medals, and Kuwait Liberation medals for service during Desert Storm. At the time of her nomination, Dunwoody commented that she grew up in a family that did not know what glass ceilings were. She always believed that there were no limitations on what she could do, as long as she worked hard. She assumes that her promotion to four-star general will continue to open doors for men and women in uniform and that the roles of female service members will continue to expand (Coakley, 2009).

Major Martha McSally in 2001 was the highest female fighter pilot, the first woman to fly a combat aircraft into enemy territory since the lifting of the ban on women flying in combat. As a woman in the military, McSally has accomplished a lot. She was one of the first seven women trained by the Air Force as a fighter pilot and became the highest-ranking female fighter pilot. She was promoted to the rank of major and then lieutenant colonel four years ahead of her peers. During a 1995–1996 tour of duty in Kuwait, she became the first woman in the DoD's history to fly a combat sortie in a fighter aircraft. McSally flew combat missions in no-fly zones over Iraq, instructed pilots deployed to Kosovo, and directed search-and-rescue missions inside Afghanistan. This rare endorsement is given to only the most capable, competent, professional officers and only to those who are identified as future leaders in the Air Force.

McSally, represented by the Rutherford Institute, a civil liberties organization, successfully filed a law suit against the DoD that challenged the military policy which required U.S. and UK female personnel stationed in Saudi Arabia to wear the traditional Muslim abaya off base, a black head-to-toe robe worn in certain Muslim cultures and perceived as a sign of subordination to men. Even the Saudis do not require non-Muslim women to wear the abaya. McSally argued that the policy was unconstitutional because it improperly forced women to conform to another country's religious and social customs. The suit charged that the military's dress code violated McSally's rights to equal protection and the freedom of religion and speech. After many years of fighting, McSally was present at the historic moment when in June 2002, the U.S. Senate voted 93-0 in favor of an amendment to prohibit the DoD from requiring or even formally urging servicewomen stationed in Saudi Arabia to wear the abaya (Twohey, 2002).

Rear Admiral Mary Landry serves as the Commander of the 8th Coast Guard District headquartered in New Orleans. She was promoted to her current rank in 2007. In this capacity, she is responsible for Coast Guard operations in 26 states. Landry is a native of Buffalo, New York, where she worked for the city's mayor prior to joining the Coast Guard. She is a National Security Fellow, a distinction she earned at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government in 2000. Most recently in the spring of 2010, Landry served as the Federal on Scene Coordinator in the Deepwater Horizon oil spill coordinating the Coast Guard's response with BP.

Finally, some female military leaders successfully transitioned into leadership positions in civilian contexts where they applied their leadership skills and experiences to different contexts. For example, **Marsha Johnson Evans** left the Navy after nearly three decades of service, which she devoted to helping women find opportunities in the Navy. During her 30 years in the Navy (1969–1998), Evans earned the rank of Rear Admiral, served as Chief of Staff at the U.S. Naval Academy, and was the first woman to command a U.S. naval station. In 1992, she chaired a task force to develop strategy for gender issues in the wake of the Tailhook scandal. Evans retired in 1998 and became the 13th President and CEO of the Red Cross in 2002, a position she held until 2005.

Women in Combat

The term "in combat" has more definitions than a dictionary, including separate definitions by each branch of the military and by the U.S. Congress. Each branch has different standards for women and men, which is not unusual since separate norms and guidelines exist for men and women in other contexts. For example, in Chapter 5, we noted that professional golf has the PGA and the LPGA and basketball has the NBA and WNBA. Likewise, the Olympics have separate events for men and women. The military has created different sets of standards based on age and gender, but many believe that these differential rules lead to perceptions of lower fitness for combat in women and amount to a double standard. The debate over women in combat "has to be seen in the context of the realities of current combat, the performance of women in Iraq and Afghanistan, Army transformation to a modular, lighter, leaner, and more agile force, and the challenges of meeting recruitment goals in an all volunteer force" (McSally, 2007, p. 1012).

The current exclusion of women from active combat roles is seen by some as a form of sexual discrimination (Carreiras & Kammel, 2008). Many of the debates about women in combat have focused on the physical and mental differences between male and female soldiers. Traditionally, women have been viewed as weaker, physically and emotionally, and therefore deemed unfit for combat. The Center for Military Readiness (2004) pointed to the fact that women, on the average, tend to be shorter and smaller than men, with 40–50% less upper body strength and 25–30% less aerobic capacity which is essential for endurance. Skeptics contend women's lower levels of strength create a sense of uneasiness in male soldiers leading to the belief that a woman cannot be relied upon to perform essential functions on the battlefield. However, it has been argued that pitting upper body strength against lower body strength has nothing to do with women's ability to operate complicated equipment, fly jet aircraft, or fire sophisticated weapons. It has also been suggested that women cannot endure the rough living conditions in a combat zone. General Holm (1993) reminded her readers that many U.S. military women lived like grunts in the field. They endure blistering heat, the lack of privacy, and physical and mental hardships. In many cases, women are able to overcome physical shortcomings by training and smart utilization of new technology.

The role of women in combat has become a particularly contentious issue in contemporary militaries throughout the world. Although women are recruited to serve in the military in most countries, only few countries permit women to occupy active combat roles. Among them are New Zealand, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Norway, Israel, Sweden, and Switzerland. Israel maintains obligatory military service for women in the Israel Defense Forces (IDF). Uniquely among nations, Israel conscripts women and assigns some infantry women to combat service which places them directly in the line of enemy fire (Ben-Ari, 2007). However, approximately one third of female conscripts are exempted for religious or nuptial reasons. Despite an officially equal mandatory draft for both women and men, the Israel military has been segregated along gender lines for many years with men serving in combat roles and women serving in less prestigious administrative and auxiliary roles.

Rimalt (2007) analyzed the legal and structural changes that started to take place in the 1990s to promote greater gender integration in the Israeli military. In 1994, in a landmark case, Alice Miller took the IDF to court for excluding women from pilot training courses. Miller's legal battles continued until 1995 when the Supreme Court of Israel ruled in her favor. In 1999, women began training for combat-related tasks such as border surveillance and in some armored divisions. Rimalt concluded that "while Israeli women are formally allowed to serve in some combat situations, their participation remains marginal both in absolute numbers and in prestige" (p. 1113). The author predicted that women will be excluded from frontline artillery and infantry for the foreseeable future.

As of 2005, women in the United States are allowed to serve in 83% of all positions in the military, including Shipboard Navy Service (except submarines), and Artillery. Combat roles are voluntary for women. Women serve in combat and light support roles in the Artillery Corps, infantry units, and armored divisions. They also serve together with men in a few platoons, named Karakal on the borders of Egypt and Jordan. The 2006 Lebanon War was the first time since 1948 that women were involved in field operations alongside men. Airborne helicopter engineer Sergeant Major (res.) Keren Tendler became the first female combat soldier to be killed in action.

Women also performed combat roles during the Gulf War — they flew refueling planes, troop transport aircrafts and helicopters, fired Patriots that destroyed scud missiles, supplied mechanized brigades with fuel and ammunition, loaded bombs, operated radios, radar, and military vehicles. They marched through mine fields, maintained aircraft, guarded perimeters, accepted the surrender of Iraqi soldiers, were taken prisoner, and some lost their lives in the Gulf War (Wise & Baron, 2006). In the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, women serve as pilots and on the crews of assault helicopters, bombers, fighters, and transport planes and are frequently engaged in firefights with enemy insurgents. In these wars, there is no forward area on the battlefield. As Wise and Baron pointed out, the advent of the insurgency war, which has no rear or front lines, has made the debate regarding women in combat irrelevant. Despite the ground combat exclusion policy, women are serving in real ground combat every day.

In addition to concerns over women's fitness for combat, other factors are part of the discourse on women's fitness for combat. For example, it has been claimed that having women in frontline combat situation may lead to a disruption of a combat's unit's esprit de corps. With the deployment of thousands of women to Iraq, the debate on lifting the direct ground combat barrier centers includes discussions of combat unit cohesiveness and whether women will disrupt unit cohesion. Cohesion is generally described as the factors that enable soldiers to work together for the common good within the high-pressure environment of combat. Critics of gender integration argue that in addition to lack of physical strength, women possess other characteristics that can damage the cohesion of combat units. That is, women's presence might impede cohesion due to lack of privacy, traditional male views of women, sexual misconduct, and pregnancy. However, pregnancy is now a normal condition that is consistent with a military career. Therefore, the military must foster a culture in which servicewomen realize that their military duties take precedence over motherhood and develop proactive measures to prevent unplanned pregnancies (McSally, 2007). Finally, there is also the concern that romantic relationships and sexual attraction between men and women on the front lines could interfere with a unit's fighting capability. However, anecdotal evidence in North Vietnam and El Salvador has shown that mixed-gender units in foreign militaries performed more effectively than single-gender units.

Terror Management Theory as an Organizing Framework for Research on Women in Combat

Like their male counterparts, women in combat risk their lives and invariably have to come to terms with their own mortality, since on the battlefield death becomes particularly salient. Since the military inculcate their members with strong cultural beliefs and ideologies, recent research on terror management theory (TMT) and mortality salience may shed light on the debate of whether or not women are fit for combat which goes beyond the discussion of simple physical differences that may give men an advantage in combat situations.

TMT is a relatively recent body of theory that attracted researchers' attention largely after 9/11, although it originated over three decades ago in the work of cultural anthropologist Becker (1973). The author focused on how and why people cope with their own mortality and particularly the denial of death as a biological imperative. According to Becker, only humans are aware of the inevitability of death, which creates the potential for overwhelming terror. The author states:

> the idea of death, the fear of it, haunts the human animal like nothing else; it is the mainspring of human activity — activity designed largely to avoid the fatality of death, to overcome it by denying in some way that it is the final destiny for man. (1973, p. ix)

Becker goes on to say that human beings share with all other forms of life a basic biological predisposition toward self-preservation and survival; but in addition also have "the adaptive capacity for abstract thinking and self-reflection and by virtue of these abilities, they recognize the ultimate futility of this biological imperative" (Cohen, Solomon, Maxfield, Pyszczynski, & Greenberg, 2004, p. 846). Becker postulated that when faced with their own mortality, people defend themselves against death anxiety by believing that some valued aspect of themselves will continue after death, either literally or symbolically, such as the belief in an afterlife or living vicariously through one's children. The two primary defenses against death-related thoughts proposed by Becker are the individual's cultural worldview and his or her self-esteem which act as anxiety-reducing buffers. Cultural worldview refers to a person's beliefs in shared human values about a world that is meaningful, stable, and orderly. Self-esteem, the second anxiety buffer, gives people the sense that "they are valuable participants in this meaningful universe and thereby qualified for cultural forma of death transcendence" (Cohen et al., p. 846). Self-esteem is acquired by believing in the absolute validity of our cultural worldview and the conviction that we are living up to its standards and values. Together, our worldview and self-esteem function as anxiety buffers to counteract death-related fears.

Thus, to assuage the anxiety that results from mortality awareness and fear of death, people are motivated to develop cultural worldviews that provide meaningful interpretations of these experiences and rely on their self-esteem as psychological defenses. Schimmel et al. (1999) suggested that "because of the vital role that these two psychological defenses play in protecting an individual against deeply rooted anxiety, a great deal of behavior is oriented toward maintaining these structures and defending them against threats" (p. 906). The basic tenets of TMT have been supported by numerous studies that have demonstrated the anxiety-reducing properties of self-esteem and defenses of cultural worldviews under conditions of mortality salience. In addition, Dechesne et al. (2003) found that mortality salience leads to increases in the accuracy of positive personality descriptions and increased striving for and conformity to cultural norms, standards, and values.

Over the last decade, TMT has generated a large body of research, mostly experimental in nature. In most of these experiments, mortality salience is operationalized by priming research participants with the idea of death as compared to an innocuous control topic which creates a need for meaning (cultural worldviews) and an effort to protect oneself against concerns stemming from fear of mortality by bolstering one's self-esteem. In other words, when reminded of their mortality, people are especially likely to defend cherished beliefs and ideologies of groups with which they identify (Greenberg, Solomon, & Pyszczynski, 1997). Research has also shown that mortality salience increases the tendency to conform to the standards of one's cultural view (e.g., Greenberg, Pyszczynski, Solomon, Pinel, & Jordan, 1993) and makes it harder to violate cultural norms (Greenberg, Simon, Porteus, Pyszczynski, & Solomon, 1995). Terror management propositions have also been validated by behavioral observations after 9/11 when Americans looked to New York Mayor Rudi Giuliani, a charismatic leader whose worldview they shared and whose handling of the crisis increased their self-worth.

Among the hundreds of studies that have tested the basic tenets of TMT, a subset of research emerged that examines the role of leadership in contexts in which mortality is salient (e.g., Arndt, Greenberg, Schimmel, & Pyszczynski, 2002; Greenberg et al., 1997). Military leaders, from Alexander the Great to Hitler, Norman Schwarzkopf, and General Patton, are often described as transformational, charismatic, and visionary. As Lipman-Blumen (1996) observed, "charismatic leaders have a way of appearing in times of distress. They usually espouse a decidedly radical vision that promises to resolve the crisis … a period of great threat and uncertainty" (p. 30). As noted earlier, Becker (1973) argued that when mainstream worldviews are not serving people's needs for psychological security, concerns about mortality prompt us to devote our resources to follow charismatic leaders who alleviate our death anxieties by bolstering our self-esteem and identify with a leader who offers hope.

Based on these ideas, Cohen et al. (2004) conducted a study to determine if the need for charismatic leadership increases the preference for charismatic leadership when terror management defenses are activated by making mortality salient. The researchers introduced a mortality salience scenario in the experimental group and then exposed all participants to short campaign statements by political candidates whose leadership style was described as charismatic, task oriented, or relationship oriented. The results supported the predictions derived from TMT: the induction of mortality salience increased the favorable evaluations of and votes for a charismatic political leader and led to more negative evaluations of and votes for a political candidate with a more relationship-oriented or task-oriented leadership style. Although this study used students as participants in a staged mock election, the results were striking because Cohen et al. (2004) were able to show that one way people manage their existential angst is by identifying with and supporting leaders who made them feel that they are a valued part of a larger purpose.

Several studies extended this stream of research by considering the effects of gender stereotypes as part of one's cultural worldview. For example, Schimmel et al. (1999) suggested that an individual's cultural worldview as a perception of reality which provides protection against deeply rooted fears of mortality includes stereotypes because they represent shorthand, simplified, and generalized descriptors of out-groups such as women and minorities. Accordingly the authors predicted that people will be especially likely to adhere to their stereotypes when mortality is salient. In three laboratory studies in which research participants completed several personality measures including a sex role stereotyping scale and a mortality manipulation, the authors found that mortality salience enhanced stereotypic thinking and preferences suggesting that people are committed to their stereotypes when confronted with death-related fears.

More recently, Hoyt, Simon, and Reid (2009) build on these findings by conducting two laboratory studies to examine the effects of mortality salience, sex, and gender stereotypes in the evaluations and preferences for leaders. The researchers reported that under mortality salience, female participants preferred the fictitious gubernatorial candidate who possessed the traits typically associated with the leader role. More specifically, women in this study preferred and voted for the agentic candidate regardless of sex, and males also preferred the agentic male leader, thereby supporting the stereotype bias effect. For women, death salience was associated with a preference for agentic leaders and men were more likely to be perceived as agentic.

Unquestionably, women are serving closer to the direct lines of combat than ever before. Women have also dispelled many of the myths that originally kept them from active military roles. They have proven themselves in many operational and tactical theaters on and off the battlefield. Given the enormous strides women have made professionally in the military over the past 30 years, it seems likely that branches of the armed services may provide women with the opportunity to serve in gender-integrated combats units, at least on an experimental basis. Ultimately perhaps, the debate over women in combat may have less to do with gender equality than whether the military can continue to provide the best possible defense for the nation — its foremost mission — with gender-integrated combat units. Only by giving service-women chances to prove themselves in combat units will the military be able to determine if its mission has been compromised.

Summary

In many ways, the military and leadership are inseparable and historically both have been male-dominated contexts. But as the military is undergoing profound changes, so is the role of women in the armed forces. In this chapter, I introduced a number of high-ranking, accomplished women leaders representing the different branches of the armed services including the Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard. These decorated female military leaders deployed their leadership skills and military experience to create opportunities for other women to serve their country in war and peace and demonstrated women can thrive in the military. One of the most contentious issues is the debate over the role of women in combat. Recent research on TMT has important implications for women's performance under combat conditions because it has shown that under conditions when mortality is salient, both gender stereotypes and leadership style play a role in how people defend themselves against death-related fear.

Significant changes have and are taking place in all branches of the armed forces. The army, for example, underwent a major transformation when it changed from a conscripted to an all-voluntary force. Transformation is the defining stance of the present military, which is being pushed by everyone from the commander in chief to second lieutenants. New military leadership challenges include leading across national and organizational borders, peacekeeping operations, changing bases of power, and team leadership. Despite the much publicized gender shortcomings, the military is probably far more diverse than any other organization in modern America. No other organization includes such a wide representation of demographic groups. Top military leaders now describe "women as essential to the operation of the U.S. military" (Goldstein, 2003, p. 93).

Chapter 9

Religion and Spirituality as Context for Women's Leadership

The U.S. Episcopal church stunned Christians across the world when in June 2006 it elected the first woman bishop at its annual convention. Despite warnings from the convention chair that there should be no applause or cheering, Katherine Jefferts Schori, Bishop of Nevada, one of the smallest dioceses in the United States, became the 26th Presiding Bishop of the Episcopal Church. The announcement was drowned in cries of astonishment and joy, as women representatives hugged each other and started communicating the results of the historic election via telephone and text messages. Schori beat six male bishops, led on every ballot of the 188 U.S. bishops sequestered in private to vote at a church nearby, and achieved majority after four hours on the fifth vote (Bates, 2006). She commenced her nine-year term with her enthronement at the National Cathedral in Washington in November.

Schori grew up in Florida and was raised in the Roman Catholic Church until her parents brought her into the Episcopal Church in 1963 at the age of eight. She earned a Bachelor of Science in biology from Stanford University in 1974, a Master of Science in oceanography in 1977, and a Ph.D. in 1983, also in oceanography, from Oregon State University. In addition, Schori holds a Master and a Doctor of Divinity. Before being ordained as a priest in 1994, Schori who was trained as a scientist worked as an oceanographer with the U.S. national marine fisheries service in Seattle. She is also a trained pilot.

In November 2006, Schori became the first woman to lead a national church in the 250-year history of Anglicanism. She serves as chief pastor to the Episcopal Church's 2.4 million members in 16 countries and 110 dioceses, ecumenical officer, and primate as well as the American representative to the Worldwide Anglican Communion, a body of 38 provinces and 77 million worshippers.

Her election had not only consequences for American churches of all denominations but also worldwide. Many American provinces across the world do not accept women's ordination or acknowledge that they can become priests. Schori's election affected the church's relationship with the Roman Catholic Church which adheres to the position that it is impossible for women to serve as priests and has warned the Church of England of the consequences if it moves to promote women to the episcopate. And it has potentially explosive repercussions within the Church of England itself, where bishops have been debating to find a mechanism for its women clergy to become bishops (Bates, 2006).

Moreover, the Anglican Communion worldwide was already split over homosexuality. Bishop Schori assumed her leadership position at a particularly tumultuous time for the Episcopal Church due to the mounting criticism from more conservative sectors of the Anglican Communion, particularly in parts of Africa and Asia, not only regarding the liberal Episcopal stances on homosexuality but also same-sex partnerships and other social issues. The issue came to a head in 2003 when the General Convention of the Episcopal Church consecrated openly gay Bishop V. Gene Robinson of New Hampshire. After his affirmation was announced, 20 Episcopal bishops rose in protest. Schori had voted to consent to the election of Gene Robinson. In an interview (Lawton, 2006) shortly after her election, Schori responded to the interviewer's question regarding her position on homosexuality stating that there is room at the table for people with different sexual orientations.

According to Schori, the critical issues facing the Episcopal Church are the elimination of global poverty and health-related problems such as AIDS, tuberculosis, and malaria. Bishop Schori pilots her plane in her home state Nevada and travels around the world spreading her message of reconciliation and peace. Her reflections on leadership, religion, and science document her unique experience as a professional oceanographer and the first female primate within the Anglican Communion (Jefferts Schori, 2007). According to Breuer (2008), Jefferts Schori is not just the first female primate of the Anglican Communion; she is a bishop who believes with all her heart that a church of empowered laity living intentionally in baptismal ministry just might change the world, and that in itself would be revolutionary.

Like many highly visible women in other contexts, Jefferts Schori has received her share of negative press. For example, she has been criticized for responding to questions about the church's mission and focus in secular venues such as Time magazine with an emphasis on issues of poverty, health, education, and development, and with a minimum of explicitly religious language. But rough waters are not new for the former oceanographer.

Introduction

The field of leadership and management has overlooked religion for some time, while scholars of religion, until fairly recently, have devoted scant attention to the role of religion in leadership. However, the recent spirituality movement has stimulated heated debates between the differences between religion and spirituality which have found their way into leadership studies (Hicks, 2003). The emerging field of workplace spirituality provides new energy to established research domains such as gender differences in leadership and also offers opportunities for new areas of research such as women's leadership in single sex organizations such as female religious orders or studies that examine gender differences in spirituality in organizations adhering explicitly spiritual or religious values.

This chapter introduces a new context, religious institutions, and organizations founded and led based on religious and spiritual principles. This is a context subject to many philosophical, ideological, social, and economic changes, as churches of different denominations are attempting to cope with and adjust to the tides of our times. In such uncertain and unstable environments, effective transformational leaders are needed. Druskat (1994) examined leadership in religious orders of the Roman Catholic Church congregations where leaders were represented by priests, brothers, and sisters involved in health education and pastoral professional work in either all male or all female orders. The author tested the hypothesis that female leaders exhibit more transformational than transactional leadership behaviors. The findings confirmed this hypothesis for both female and male research participants. In addition, context played an important role in the findings, since the female leaders in this study worked in all-female contexts where they had the power to control resources, formulate their own rules, and create their own norms. Interestingly, in a context where women held power, women leaders displayed much more transformational than transactional leadership and were rated as more transformational than male leaders in an all-male context (p. 114).

Women Leaders in World Religions

Christianity has been a powerful worldview which produced many charismatic religious leaders. Among the women in this context are Joan of Arc, the Maid of Orleans who led the fight to free France from the domination of England, and Ann Hutchinson, the religious dissident who led the first organized attack on the Puritan orthodoxy in Massachusetts. Emma Hopkins, a Christian Science practitioner and founder of a vibrant Chicago women's movement and feminist theologian was the first woman to exercise the power of a bishop in the 1889 ordination of 20 women and 2 men (Hartley, 2002). Swiss-born Elizabeth Kuebler-Ross is best known in the West as the initiator of the death and dying movement in the United States in the 1960s. But religious leadership, not scientific investigation, was at the core of Kuebler-Ross' work. Her movement, organized in California, later moved to Virginia was created as a community which could be a place of healing and interaction with the spiritual world. Kuebler-Ross was a religious leader of charismatic proportions (Hutch, 1991, p. 65). Many of the women mentioned here experienced some form of spiritual transformation based on communications with a divine source which created visions that shaped their lives and missions.

Catholic women have played a central role in the life of the church, from Lydia in the Acts of the Apostles, to Margaret of Scotland, to Jadwiga of Poland, the English women of the reformation who arranged secret places for mass, to Edith Stein whose quest for intellectual and spiritual truth led her to convent life but did not spare her Auschwitz (Bogle, 1997). Stein, a German-Jewish philosopher and saint of the Roman Catholic Church, in her search for truth found it in the Catholic Church and converted to Catholicism after reading the autobiography of Teresa of Avila (Scaperlanda, 2001). However, as far as priestly and Episcopal ordinations are concerned, the Church teaches that the requirement that only a baptized man can receive sacred ordination is required by cannon law (Canon Law Society of America, 1995). Bishop

Kalistos Ware wrote that ordination of women does exist in the Catholic Church, although not widespread, but the Roman Catholic Church made it clear that it will not ordain women to any canonical position such as priest, deacon, or bishop (Davies, 1963). Pope John Paul II, using his full authority as the successor of the Apostle Peter, stated categorically that the Church cannot and will not ordain women now or in the future.

Anglicanism is a tradition within Christianity that is composed of churches with historical connections to the Church of England or similar beliefs, worship, and church structures. Anglicanism forms one of the principal traditions of Christianity, together with Protestantism, Roman Catholicism, and Eastern Orthodoxy (Nichols, 1951). The majority of Anglican provinces ordain women as both deacons and priests.

The spiritual leader in *Judaism* is the rabbi who is expected to be learned in both the Talmud and the Code of Jewish Law. With the exception of Orthodox Judaism which does not permit women to become rabbis, all other types of Judaism such as Reconstructionist Judaism or Reform Judaism allow and have female rabbis. Sally Priesand became the first reform woman rabbi in the United States in 1972. In 1984, women were admitted to rabbinical training at Conservative Judaism's Jewish theological seminary.

Of all the organized religions in the world, women perhaps have the most prominent and visible presence in Hindu Dharma and Siddha Yoga, a religious movement based on Hindu traditions. Unlike many other religions, *Hinduism* has had a large number of women who have been important religious leaders, both throughout history and in modern times despite the fact that there is a strong tendency in Hinduism to blame the limitations of the human condition on women. Numerous women Hindu priests serve the laity in the United States and preside over temple management, monasteries, and other Hindu institutions. Others such as Dayanand Saraswati (1824–1883) championed the rights of women to study Vedas and perform rituals like their male counterparts. When combined with Western ideals of equality for women, Hinduism promotes the religious leadership of women (Wessinger, 1993). The presence of goddesses in the Hindu tradition also helps to legitimate female religious leadership. Wessinger concluded that once there is a social expectation of the equality of women, conceptions of the divine that de-emphasize the masculine prove attractive to women and support them in legitimizing their presence in leadership roles.

Attitudes toward women religious and spiritual leaders in Hinduism vary greatly depending on the specific texts and the contexts. The most authoritative text is the Vedas, which mentions several women sages and seers suggesting that gender was originally no bar to religious leadership. Many think of the Vedas as divine revelations, authored by different sages which have been edited repeatedly through the centuries, with new materials added again and again to conform to the changing social codes. Since Hinduism has no organized church and no ordained clerics, individuals become religious leaders when society recognizes them as such.

There is also a variety of viewpoints within the different schools and sects of Hinduism concerning the exact nature and gender of the supreme person or being.

Male and female deities were worshipped. Shaktism, for example, focuses worship on the goddess Devi as the supreme embodiment of power. In other instances, a god's female aspects are emphasized by worshippers. Thus, it appears that Hinduism considers God to have both male and female aspects. Bose (2010), drawing on a wide range of Sanskrit texts, explained how the idea of goddess has been derived not only from Hindu philosophical ideas but also from the social roles of women as reflected in sacred texts. The author suggested that Hindu religious culture correlates philosophical speculation and social imperative to situate femininity of a continuum from divine to mortal existence.

Many Hindu women religious leaders are women who would fit the Western notion of religious saints and gurus. The indispensability of the guru is critical in Hindu traditions. The guru is regarded as being one with God and possesses superhuman powers. All Hindu practice is centered on the guru. According to Pechillis (2004), a distinctive aspect of Hindu devotion is the veneration of a guru, who is not only an exemplar and a teacher but is also understood to be an embodiment of the divine. Historically, the role of the guru in the public domain has been exclusive to men. But the new visibility of female gurus in India and across the globe attests to the worldwide popularity of Hindu female gurus.

One example is Shri Mataji Nirmala Devi who is traveling around the world teaching the techniques of Sahaja (meaning "spontaneous") Yoga (meaning union with self-meditation) which centers on the natural experience of self-realization and a profound awakening of the spirit. In Sahaja Yoga, a new religious movement, people's dominant spirituality is awakened to achieve true meditation. Through en-masse self-realization, Nirmala Devi helps hundreds of thousands of people to connect to their spirit and experience inner transformation. Participants develop a radically new awareness of spiritual vibrations as result of regular meditation techniques taught by Nirmala Devi (About Shri Mataji Nirmala Devi, 2010).

Born in 1923 in British colonial India to a Christian family in India, Nirmala Devi fought in the freedom struggle that brought nationhood to over 350 million people. Her parents played a key role in India's Liberation Movement from the British rule. Like her parents, she was involved with the struggle of Indian independence and served as a freedom fighter in the movement. She has a mass following in India and abroad. In 1989, she was awarded the United Nations Peace Prize. Nirmala Devi divides her time between her chateau in Italy and a house in India.

In *Islam*, there is no difference between men and women's relationship to God. The Quran instructs Muslims to educate daughters as well as sons, gives women rights if they are divorced by their husbands and allows them to retain their own assets. According to Muhammad, women were initially allowed to go to mosques. However, as Islam spread, it became unusual for women to worship in mosques because Muslims feared that as a result of interactions between the sexes women would lose their chastity (Matteson 2006). Since the 1970s women have become increasingly involved in the mosque, although men and women worship separately. Women sit as a discreet distance from men, either in separate rooms, in second-floor balconies, or on opposite sides of an aisle (Smith, 2000). Although women have the right to become imams, this right is disputed by many because a fundamental role of an imam or religious leader is to lead the congregational prayers and women are not allowed to lead mixed prayers (Power, 2007).

Power (2007) noted that while some opportunities for religious education do exist for women — the prestigious Al-Azhar University in Cairo has a women's college, for example — cultural barriers prevent most women in the Islamic world from pursuing such studies. However, there have been examples of Muslim women who taught the Koran and even made Islamic law as jurists, starting with the Prophet's wife Aisha. Mohammad Akram Nadwi, a religious scholar interviewed by Power (2007) who has assembled a dictionary of female scholars going back 1400 years, pointed out that barring women from education and religious authority is akin to the pre-Islamic custom of burying girls alive. During his research, this Islamic scholar also rediscovered a long-lost tradition of Muslim women teaching the Koran, transmitting hadith (deeds and sayings of the Prophet Muhammed), and even making Islamic law as jurists.

Female Muslim leaders include a woman named Rabia who first articulated the tenets of Sufism, an important branch of Islam that emphasizes mysticism and one's personal relationship with God. Rabia, a freed slave, became a prominent scholar in the eighth century in Iraq. Fatima, the Prophet Muhammad's daughter, and Zaynab, his granddaughter, are also important role models for women in the Islamic world. A contemporary woman leader is Yasmine el Ksaihi who serves as the administrator of the large Polder mosque in Amsterdam. At age 24, Ksaihi is in an unusual position of authority for a young woman in the world of Islam (Mutsvairo, 2010). She is in charge of finances and hires the imams who lead the prayers and deliver the sermons. More than a house of worship, the Amsterdam mosque is a cultural center for Dutch Jews who primarily come from Morocco and Turkey.

Today across the dominations including Christianity, Roman Catholicism, Islam, and Judaism, women struggle for voice and position. In the major world religions, women are assigned a secondary status but are challenging repressive traditions in light of the core values of their faith. More and more religious women are expected to be treated as equals in the religious sphere. They reject the interpretations of traditions that give women a different — and, in their minds, lesser — status. In theologically more liberal denominations such as the liberal Protestant and Jewish denominations characterized by openness to cultural norms, despite obstacles and setback, women have made progress toward assuming leadership in their religious institutions.

Wessinger (1996a) emphasized the role of higher education in promoting women's access to salaried, religious leadership positions in contemporary America. In mainstream religions, expertise is often necessary, though not sufficient, to achieve formal organizational authority. According to the author, there are several sources of authority including charisma and education. The author states that "education is a source of authority that is important to anyone seeking to earn the qualifications for the authority of office. American women earned the educational qualifications long before they were granted the authority of ordination to the ministry and the rabbinate" (p. 10). When religious institutions promote equality of access to higher education, women, especially those with advanced degrees, are apt to seek for themselves influential positions within their denomination or urge other women to do the same. The role of education among female religious leaders is evidenced in Bishop Jefferts Schori in the opening vignette who holds several graduate degrees. Like Jefferts Schori, most ordained women in the United States have obtained advanced religious degrees.

Wessinger (1996a) also tells less enlightening stories of women leaders in the more traditional, gendered denominations of the Roman Catholic Church and the Southern Baptists. Although women have and are serving in pastoral judicatory posts in these denominations, in each of them there has been a decrease in the number of women employed in these capacities. This diminution of women in leadership occurred because competent women are often seen as necessary but temporary replacements compensating for the paucity of available, competent men. During such interim periods, no changes were made in church law or formal written procedures for ordination, deployment, or legislation. When the tides turned and qualified men became more plentiful, the critical attribute for applicants for leadership positions in congregations and larger denominational organizations again became male gender. Nevertheless, women are now part of the faith-in-the workplace story and their presence has contributed to the increased religious diversity.

In contrast to mainstream religions, marginal religions, which emphasize spiritual inspiration, have been supportive of women taking leadership roles at least since the 19th century. They have been instrumental in designing mechanisms through which many American women can express their authority and desire for equality in the church. Wessinger (1996b) identified several types of religious marginality in the United States:

1. Groups whose members separate willingly from the mainstream to preserve religious truth as they see it and tend to isolate themselves what they consider to be a sinful world. This pattern has been termed sectarian and is represented by Shakerism, a religious movement concerned with communion with the Holy Spirit.
2. Groups whose members may accept and conform to the social order, but reject the religious terms of the mainstream society. Examples in this category include Christian Science, Spiritualism, and feminist spirituality. Sometimes, these groups are referred to as cults.
3. Groups whose members feel excluded from the mainstream due to racism such as some of the African American churches which were formed by African Americans because of their experiences with racism.
4. Groups whose members feel excluded from the mainstream of society due to sexism. An example here is the Woman-Church movement, a group of women who remained in a mainstream religion, Roman Catholicism, but feel forced by the patriarchy of that religion to seek separate spaces in order to develop women's liturgies and theology.
5. Groups which are foreign religions that have been imported into the mainstream culture and has gained converts from the mainstream. This category refers to American women who have turned to Hindu and Buddhist traditions (Wessinger, 1996b, pp. 5–6).

Bednarowski (1980) proposed that women achieve leadership position outside the mainstream and equal status with men in religions when they possess the following characteristics: (1) a view of God that is not solely masculine but instead sees the divine as an impersonal principle or an androgynous combination of female and male elements; (2) a tempering or denial of the doctrine of the Fall in which women are seen as the cause of the Fall; (3) a denial of the need for a traditional ordained clergy; and (4) a view of gender roles that does not prescribe marriage and motherhood as the only roles available to women (p. 207). When these characteristics are present and coupled with social expectations of equality, women's religious leadership is more likely to be accepted and supported.

Charisma and Religious Leadership

Charismatic women have played significant roles as religious leaders as saints, shamans, and healers. Weber (1947) defined charisma as a divine gift conceived as a form of authority which is dependent on the recognition of a group of people. It is a quality of an individual by which he or she is set apart from the ordinary people and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least exceptional powers or qualities. Weber defined charismatic authority as resting on devotion to the exceptional sanctity, heroism, or exemplary character of an individual person and the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him.

As noted earlier, charisma is typically the first means by which women gain authoritative positions in religion. Wessinger (1996a) argued that the extraordinary nature of female religious leaders suggests that there is a need for women to be sanctioned by charisma or the direct experience with the sacred. Through the charismatic experience of God's calling to the ministry, exceptional women transcend gender roles and claim authority to exercise religious leadership in patriarchal religions and cultures. Charisma has enabled women to find religious institutions and inspire movements such as Christian Science that are outside the patriarchal mainstream religions. The author noted that "charisma as a source of authority enables a woman to achieve self-empowerment and increased personal autonomy, and she is then able to empower, and to a lesser degree the people to whom she ministers by bringing meaning and healing to their lives" (p. 5). However, Baer (1993) argued that charisma as a source of women's authority does not usually encourage organized work to reform social structures that oppress women and other groups. Unless additional factors are present, the increased institutionalization of a religious group founded by a charismatic woman does not guarantee that subsequently women will retain the leadership role. After the death of a founding female charismatic leader, leadership often shifts to men.

Barnes (1978), in his historical analysis of charisma and religious leadership, used biographical data of 15 religious leaders who were recognized by historians as charismatic leaders to examine the social conditions under which charismatic religious leaders emerge. Among the historical leaders were Muhammed, Martin Luther, Joseph Smith (founder of Mormonism), Jesus, and George Fox (founder of the Quakers). The author found that most of the religious charismatic leaders in this sample emerged during periods of radical social change or were cut off from the mainstream of society, although a few religious founders emerged within the existing traditional structure. For example, George Fox, the founder of the Quakers, lived during a period of social unrest and spent much of his time in prison for conducting religious meetings. Martin Luther, on the other hand, spent much of his life within the Catholic Church fighting for reform, and after he split with the Church, his credentials as a theologian permitted him to reenter a religious office (Barnes, 1978). Thus, charismatic religious leaders can exist either within or outside the context of traditional religion. The author concluded that charisma does not stem from the leader's extraordinary personal qualities but results from a complex set of factors which converge at a specific point in time such as during period of social upheaval "when the values of society have changed leaving an opening for a new formulation of religious beliefs" (p. 15).

According to Hutch (1991), charisma is a "primordium of religious authority to be understood as a dimension of personality which may or may be reinforced by social recognition and reciprocity between a leader and his or her followers" (p. 32). Although leaders depend on the perceptions of followers for their charismatic authority, they must nonetheless be exceptional to gain such recognition. Like Barnes (1978), Hutch argues that religious leadership does not solely depend on personal charisma. Instead this scholar suggests that while personal charisma plays an important role in religious leadership, the differences between individuals (men and women), but specifically developmental differences are essential to an adequate concept of religious leadership. Are women charismatic in the same way that men are? Hutch argued that "the strength of the charismatic woman leader lies in her developmental past, during which she learned to place a premium processing personal experience. The strength of a male charismatic leader, on the other hand, while having roots in an early development not unlike that of a woman, originates mostly in his social skill in consolidating specific role behaviors directly linked to maintaining loyal followers" (p. 45).

Religion and Spirituality as Leadership Contexts

Each of the world's major religions, Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, and Judaism with its teachings, traditions, and practices, provides a context for religious leaders. Each religion offers a worldview filled with assumptions and prescriptions about how people should conduct their lives. A religious leader may be a Buddhist, Jew, Christian, or Muslim. Regardless of the belief structure in a particular faith, most religious leaders have to grapple with some of the most intractable issues of human existence including morality, suffering, and death. For many of them, leadership is an open-ended quest for the truth (Hutch, 1991). Regardless of the specific teachings of a religious doctrine, leaders in this context must deal with their own and their followers understanding of a supreme being and the belief in a higher purpose.

On the one hand, many religions offer women ways to escape from cultural restrictions and oppressive home situations to achieve socially prestigious roles.

Organized religion is something that many people cherish. On the other hand, organized religions also have been a major source of pain, oppression, and suffering for women. War is an obvious result of organized religion with many examples from the inquisition and crusades to the Catholic Protestant war in Ireland and Iraq and Afghanistan. Hate crimes are another result that may be caused by organized religion. When the World Trade Center was attacked, many Muslims and Arabs were victims of hate crimes. The repressive, isolating, and negative impact religion has had on the lives of women has been documented throughout history. Thus, although there are many benefits of organized religion, there are many negative consequences as well.

Religion has entered the workplace in a myriad of ways. One of the most evident manifestations of the role of religion is the dramatic rise of corporate chaplains who are brought into organizations to counsel workers on religious and spiritual matters. According to the National Institute of Business and Industrial Chaplains (www.nibic.com), there are around 4000 workplace chaplains in U.S. companies. They provide services that Employee Assistance Programs or bereavement policies do not offer such as assistance with funeral arrangements, dealing with workplace violence, and religious/spiritual counseling. Corporate chaplains are a diverse group presenting most religions, whether mainstream or marginalized, and work interculturally and across different faith groups. The Marketplace Chaplains USA, one of the largest providers of chaplain services, has 2446 chaplains on the payroll of which 868 are women (http://www.mchapusa.com). Most professional organizations that offer chaplain services to corporate clients have developed service models that can be traced to the use of chaplains in military settings.

Although different in their religious and spiritual beliefs and approaches, CEOs Tom Chappell (Tom's of Maine), C.W. Pollard (ServiceMaster), Max DePree (Herman Miller), and S. Truett Cathy (Chick-fil-A) are frequently touted as role models of spiritual leadership. Chick-fil-A, for example, is a private franchise chain in the United States with 1300 stores. The company states that its primary purpose is "to glorify God." Its stores close on Sunday to facilitate church attendance, and their managers are encouraged to host Bible study groups (Fry & Slocum, 2008). Fry (2003) suggests that "companies as diverse as Taco Bell, Pizza Hut, Aetna International, BIG Sic accounting's Deloitte and Touche ... are extolling lessons usually doled out in churches, temples, and mosques" (p. 702). Presently, there are no female role models of spiritual leadership who have achieved prominence as spiritual corporate leaders. In this sense, "gender divisions play out in the movement in many ways that parallel both religious institutions and many social movements: women comprise the majority of the participants, but men get the credit and high profile leadership positions" (Hicks, 2003, p. 42).

Interest in understanding the connections between work-related variables and religion and spirituality is burgeoning, both in the popular press and academic literature. One of the reasons that discussions of religion and spirituality have entered the workplace is that for many people work represents a core aspect of their identity and their overlaps with other sources of identity such as religion or spirituality. Distinctions between religion and spirituality in many ways are similar to distinctions made between management and leadership. Management is focused on stability, the maintenance of the status quo, and described as mundane, tedious, and routine, while leadership is concerned with change and endowed with virtues strength and creativity. By creating these artificial dichotomies, leadership is elevated at the expense of management which negates the reality that management and leadership are complimentary organizational functions. A manager without leadership skills is as unlikely to be effective; by the same token, a leader without some basic management competencies also will not be effective.

Likewise, conceptualizations of religion and spirituality are often framed in such a way that describes them in terms of opposing characteristics that assign different values to religion and spirituality. For example, Mitroff and Denton (1999) promote spirituality as a transcendent force connecting people to the universe and which enables them to bring the deepest essence of themselves to work, while being distinct from religion, particularly of the organized variety. But the author also warns not to promote religion under the guise of spirituality. Institutionalized religions have well-developed traditions and ideologies to deal with the problem of meaning in life for generations, but at times are resistant to change.

Cacioppe (2000) offers an example of a definition of spirituality in opposition to religion when he states:

> Spirituality is often seen in the same context as organized religion, with particular beliefs, moral rules and traditions. Spirituality, however, is not formal, structured or organized. Organized religion has more of an external focus whereas spirituality involves a person looking inward and therefore is accessible to everyone whether religious or not. Religion often has salvation as its major aim. Spirituality is above and beyond any specific denomination and seeks to find and experience the common principles and truths that each religion offers. (p. 51)

One particular theory that is receiving attention in the leadership literature is spiritual leadership theory which incorporates concepts such as hope and faith in a transcendent vision of service to others, altruistic love, and a sense of calling (Fry, 2003, 2005; Fry & Slocum, 2008). Spiritual leadership, according to Fry (2009), "comprises the values, attitudes, and behaviors necessary to intrinsically motivate oneself and satisfy fundamental needs for spiritual well-being through calling and membership" (feeling understood and appreciated) (p. 80). Spiritual leadership theory has been tested and validated in a number of diverse organizations including military units, police, and school systems. Spiritually grounded leaders help followers to construct meaningful knowledge and utilize spiritual resources to solve problems (Emmons, 2000).

The distinction between religion and spirituality often results in a good guy/bad guy analysis in which spirituality is seen as more inclusive and tolerant of differences in orientations, whereas religion is viewed as exclusive, dogmatic, and legalistic. Thus, in this discourse, as in the discourse on leadership and management, spirituality is often elevated at the expense of religion.

Although religiousness and spirituality are often viewed in a polarized manner that emphasizes their distinctions, an argument can be made that the constructs are more similar than they are different (Zinnbauer & Pargament, 2005). Spirituality and religion overlap in that they share a belief in a transcendental entity and the affirmation of meaning and purpose; spirituality does not need to be confined within the structure of organized religion or a particular set of religious beliefs (Klenke, 2003a). One of their most important linkages is that both religiousness and spirituality involve a connection to, or search for, the sacred. Nevertheless, religious and spiritual experiences are distinct from each other; they may be compatible though not identical and they may or may not coexist (Zamor, 2003).

For managers, the distinction between spirituality as personal, emotional, and adaptive and religion as institutional, dogmatic, and rigid which is summarized in the mantra "spirituality unites, religion divides" has created problems because the religion–spirituality dichotomy does not capture the depth of commitment of spiritual, religious, or moral obligations. For some people, spirituality exists regardless of religion while for others religion is the route to spiritual development and maturity. Added to this is the alleged dogma of the separation of church and state which raises important legal issues concerning an organization's obligation to provide reasonable accommodations for religious and spiritual practices at workplace characterized by pluralism where Christians, Muslims, Jews, and atheists must coexist. Cash and Gary (2003) noted that legal interpretations of accommodating religion have historically required that employees requesting accommodation (such as wearing the jihab or prayer sessions at work) meet certain tests relative to the sincerity and meaningfulness of their belief. As Brandt (1996) pointed out, by forcing religious accommodations to meet legal hurdles, organizations may actually promote secular spirituality through practices such as business retreats featuring nature walks, exercise sessions, time for spiritual contemplation, and access to spiritual gurus.

Finally, some have questioned whether or not the workplace is an appropriate context in which the human spirit can be nurtured, either through faith or spiritual practices. On the one hand, it has been argued that meaningful work acquired through organizational membership enriches a person's inner life and nurtures their spirit. On the other hand, Tourish and Tourish (2010) pointed out that leaders who champion spiritual and religious practices in their organizations are "cast in the role of liberators, freeing the human spirit, but also as construction workers, devoted to the demolition of outmoded barriers between people's identities at work and other important areas of their lives" (p. 211). The authors argue that "business leaders are not spiritual engineers or secular priests charged with responsibility for the human soul and the workplace is not a useful medium for people to find the deepest meaning in their lives" (p. 219).

Ordination of Women

Women's roles as religious leaders are closely linked to whether or not denominations permit women the ordination of women based on the authority they hold in their churches. Traditionally, pastoral leadership and the administration of sacraments were male preserves. Today people are asking, "if there are women politicians running our country, why can't they run our churches?" In most denominations, the ordination of women has been a controversial contested issue while in others women are ordained as priests and rabbis. While some denominations including Protestants and Jews that are generally considered more democratic have accepted women as pastors, priests, and rabbis with open arms, others strictly forbid the ordination of women. The United Methodist Church was the first American Protestant denomination to approve full ordination and clergy rights for women in 1956. More recently, Margot Kaessmann, a German Lutheran theologian and bishop of a Protestant Church, was elected to lead the federation of Protestant church bodies in 2009, an office from which she had to step down in 2010 following a drunk driving incident.

Conservative churches such as the Seventh Day Adventists and particularly the Roman Catholic are most vocal in their opposition against ordaining women. Despite the acute shortage of ordained male priests which should open a window of opportunity for women, the Catholic Church has refused to consider this factor in its doctrine on women's ordination. Quite to the contrary, in July 2010, the Vatican branded female ordination as *dictum gravius*, or grave crime, the same label it has assigned to pedophilia (Padgett, 2010). But, as the author noted, the numbers may force Rome's hand and in order to replenish the diminishing ranks of male priests, "the church will probably let male priests marry before it ever ordains women" (p. 55). Though women clergy constitute a small minority of ordained clergy in most denominations, current seminary enrollments, with nearly half of the present seminarians being female, suggest that the next few years may see a sudden and dramatic increase in the number of women in clergy positions.

Women Religious and Spiritual Leaders

As we have seen, women as leaders in the church and spiritual movements have a long history that goes back to biblical times. The first women leaders were found in the pantheons of many ancient cults as mother goddesses, female deities, and priestesses of either female or male gods. For example, Ishtar occupied a special position in the Sumerian pantheon where she played a leading role in rituals intended to stimulate the growth of crops and livestock. Similarly, in Egypt, Isis was a national deity whose cult eventually spread across the Mediterranean basin. Throughout the ancient world, women enjoyed elevated social positions leading religious rituals and ceremonies and in the administration of temple centers.

A brief chronology of important milestones in women's attainment of religious authority captures them as religious and spiritual leaders, high priestesses, prophets, abbesses, church reformers, founders of convents, and visionaries. In this section, I briefly introduce several women who occupied leadership roles in their religious or spiritual traditions. I have chosen only a few women for a more detailed analysis who carved the path for women as religious and spiritual leaders in contemporary society.

Deborah (c. 12th century B.C.) has been variously described as the judge, leader of Israel, prophetess, and military leader, mother, and wife. She was the only female judge of pre-monarchic Israel in the Old Testament and assumed that position at a time when Israel was experiencing a religious and moral decline after the death of Israel's national leaders, Moses and Joshua. Deborah prophesized and led her nation from her seat under a palm tree. Her story is told in the Book of Judges, which spans a period of approximately 400 years. The "Song of Deborah," in Chapter 5 in the *Book of Judges*, celebrates Israel's victory over her Egyptian enemies led by Sisera. Deborah lived in the hills north of Jerusalem and was responsible for uniting her people and helping to raise a mall army. Her strategy was to establish General Barak and 10,000 men on the flanks of Mount Tabor where they would be discovered by Sisera who planned to lure them onto the plains where chariotry was no match for Israel. Instead, a small diversionary force led by Deborah came up from the south and diverted Sisera's attention (Kuyper, 1933). When the Israelites went to meet the army of Sisera in battle, Deborah, according to Judges 4:14, said:

> For this [is] the day in which the LORD hath delivered Sisera into thine hand; is not the Lord gone out before thee? So Barak went down from Mount Tabor, and ten thousand men after him.

After the battle, there was peace and prosperity in the land for 40 years (Judges 5:31).

As judge, Deborah had considerable power which she sustained through selflessness, empowerment, and her capacity to inspire change. While leading Israel, Deborah referred to herself as "Mother of Israel" and functioned as judge, teacher, and commander in chief. The word "mother" is linked to Deborah's patient nursing of the nation of Israel back to spiritual health much like a mother would nurture her child back to physical health. Her understanding of Israel's potential for spiritual greatness stemmed from her maternal love. She held hope for Israel and inspired a new renewed sense of value as Yahweh's chosen people and exhibited a women's ability to instill rather than impose, to invigorate rather than force, and to cultivate rather than command (Deborah: Prophet, Mother and Judge, 2010). Deborah brought a feminine sensitivity to the male-dominated office of judge and commander in chief.

The middle ages witnessed a number of women religious leaders. One of them was **Hildegard von Bingen** (1098–1197) in Germany. The 12th century in Europe was a time of schisms and religious foment. She was born as the 10th child to a noble family. As was customary with the 10th child whom the family could not afford to feed, she was dedicated at birth to the church as a tithe. The girl started to have visions at the age of three and soon realized she was unique in this ability and hid this gift for many years.

In 1141, Hildegard received a vision that changed the course of her life. This vision of God gave her an instant understanding of the meaning of the religious texts and commanded her to write everything down what she would observe in her visions.

In her first theological text, *Scivias* or ''Know the Ways of the Lord,'' Hildegard describes her struggle within:

> But I, though I saw and heard those things, refused to write for a long time through doubt and bad opinion and the diversity of human words, not with stubbornness, but in the exercise of humility, until, laid by the scourge of God, I fell upon a bed of sickness; then, compelled by many illnesses and by the witness of a certain noble maiden of good conduct and of that man whom I had secretly sought and found, I set my hand to writing. While I was doing it, I sensed, as I mentioned before, the deep profundity of spiritual exposition; and raising myself from illness by the strength I received, I brought this work to a close — though just barely — in ten years. [...] And I spoke and wrote those things not by the invention of my heart or that of any other person, but as by the secret mysteries of God I heard and received them in heavenly places. And again, I heard a voice from Heaven saying to me, ''Cry out therefore, and write this.'' (Hildegard von Bingen, 1990, pp. 60–61)

According to neurologist Sacks (1998), Hildegard's vivid descriptions which accompanied her visions may be diagnosed as symptoms of migraine.

Hildegard wanted her visions sanctioned and approved by the Catholic Church, though she herself never doubted the divine origins of her luminous visions. Hildegard was brought to the attention of Pope Eugenius who exhorted her writings. With the papal imprimatur, she was able to finish her first visionary work *Scivias* and from then on her fame and reputation spread through Germany and beyond (Flanagan, 1985).

Hildegard later produced several works of theology, medicinal texts, and treatises on the natural sciences, songs, poetry, and visionary writings. Her visionary writings included three books in which she describes each vision and then interprets them through biblical exegesis. She founded several convents and monasteries where she served as Abbess and Prioress. Music was extremely important to her and she was the first composer whose biography is known. Between 70 and 80 of her compositions survived making them one of the largest repertoires among medieval composers (Hildegard von Bingen, 1990). Hildegard's role as a leader, theologian, writer, rhetorician, and composer enabled her to disseminate her message to large audiences (Ruether, 2002). According to Dietrich (1997), the correspondence she kept with the outside world both spiritually and socially ''transgressed the cloister as a space of female confinement and served to document Hildegard's grand style and strict formatting of medieval letter writing'' (p. 206). Although not yet canonized, Hildegard has been beatified, and is frequently referred to as St. Hildegard.

In Spain, **Teresa of Avila** (1515–1582) was a prominent Spanish mystic, Carmelite nun, reformer of the Carmelite Order, founder of the Discalced Carmelites, writer, and visionary. She was known to be beautiful, an avid chess player, an accomplished horsewoman, and a fine dancer. She was born during a critical historical period: less than 25 years before Columbus opened up the Western hemisphere to European colonization and 2 years after Martin Luther started the Protestant reformation.

Her personality was extroverted, her manner affectionately buoyant, and she had the ability to adapt to all kinds of persons and situations. She had a natural charm and found it easy to make friends. As a teenager, Teresa, like many of her peers throughout the ages, was interested in boys, flirting and rebelling. After the death of her mother, her father believed that his daughter had lost of control and entrusted her to the Augustinian nuns at Santa Maria de Gracia in 1531 for her education. Tormented by illness, doubts, and self-recrimination, she gradually came to recognize the power of prayer and contemplation (Teresa of Avila, 1988).

To Teresa's surprise, she relished life in the convent and did not miss the luxuries and leisure activities she was accustomed to. At the time, the convent rules were not very strict and the convent accepted many people into the order, often for financial reasons. In this climate, Teresa who considered herself to be a miserable sinner struggled to find time for quiet reflections (Randall, 1998). But after an 18 months illness, probably malaria, she returned home and remained with her father for the next 4 years. Back at home, she was faced with two choices: marriage to whoever could be found (and with each passing year her ability to find a spouse was decreasing) or life in a convent. When she finally chose religious life, she did so because she believed the monastery was the only safe place for someone as prone to sin as she was. During this period of intense physical pain, she began to increasingly experience divine visions and a sense of inner peace. At the age of 20, she secretly left home in 1535 and entered Carmelite monastery of the Incarnation at Avila joining 140 nuns. God again began to visit her with visions. Although Teresa broke many of the social rules for nuns or even women of her day (for instance, she slept under the stars, traveled a whim, and spoke her mind freely), it was her ecstatic rapture that made her controversial (Mednick, 2001).

In 1562, she began a reform of the Carmelite order (later known as the Discalced or Barefoot Carmelites) by founding a small convent, St. Joseph's of Avila, in Avila followed by the establishment of other convents transferring with some of the nuns from the first convent. Determined to establish a small community that would follow the Carmelite contemplative life, especially unceasing prayer, Teresa set forth a set of rules that were stricter than those that prevailed in Carmelite monasteries. In 1567, she was given permission to establish more convents and eventually founded 17 others (Zimmerman, 1943). After a period of turbulence, the Discalced Carmelites were recognized as a separate entity. Her great work of reform began with herself before dedicating herself to reform the Carmelite order. She believed that God had summoned her to reform an order riddled with frivolity, shallowness, corruption, and material preoccupation. She renewed attention to spiritual direction, immersion in the works of the spiritual masters, and discipline to fend off cavalier self-indulgence.

Among the writings of Teresa, two in particular are considered repositories of her spiritual teachings: her autobiography, the *Way of Perfection*, and the *Interior Castle*. Teresa wrote from her personal experience at different stages of the spiritual life. In her autobiography, she depicts different stages of the life of the prayer in metaphorical terms taken from the analogy of securing water to irrigate a garden. In this book, Teresa teaches nuns the major virtues that depend on solitude. Her autobiography was examined by the inquisition for signs of heresy, since as a woman and a descendent of Jews, she was especially suspect.

In 1580, Teresa completed what is considered her greatest work, *The Interior Castle*, which is the principal source of mature Teresian thought on the spiritual life in its full integrity. The interior castle is the soul, in the center of which dwells the trinity. This book was revealed to her on Trinity Sunday, 1577, when she saw a crystal globe like a castle that contained seven rooms; the seventh, in the center, held the trinity. The kernel of Teresa's mystical thought throughout her writings was the ascent of the soul in four stages. All of her books have become spiritual classics in which Teresa analyzed and dissected mystical experiences the way a scientist would.

During the latter part of her life, despite her desire for poverty, silence, and solitude, Teresa traveled about Spain becoming a celebrity, visiting her reformed Carmelite convents and founding new ones based on ancient monastic traditions and committed to the values of poverty and simplicity. Ill health overtook her and she returned to Avila. After her death in 1582, Paul V declared Teresa blessed in 1614; in 1617, the Spanish government proclaimed her the Patroness of Spain and in 1622, Gregory XV canonized her. In 1970, she was named a Doctor of the Church by Pope Paul VI for her writing and preaching on prayer, only one of two women to be honored in this way.

In the United States, **Mary Baker Eddy** (1821–1910) was a prominent Christian leader who founded the Christian Science movement and who is widely recognized outside her Church as one of the most remarkable female religious leaders. She was a highly controversial religious leader, and spiritual healer, author, and lecturer who attracted thousands to her teachings.

Eddy was born in Concord, New Hampshire, where she spent her childhood as a sickly child suffering from congenital spinal problems, chronic nervousness, and fevers, and was physically disabled all her life. As a result of her personal experiences with illness, Eddy became deeply interested in diseases and their cure. Starting at the age of eight, she began hearing voices calling her name. After two marriages, one of which ended prematurely because of the death of her first husband and divorce from her second husband, Eddy found herself homeless, jobless, and penniless at the age of 45 when she slipped on an icy sidewalk. She injured her fragile spine and was told that she would never walk again. According to Eddy (1971), a miracle occurred. She reached for the Bible, turning to Matthew 9:1–8 which describes the miraculous healing of a man afflicted by palsy by the ministrations of Jesus. Upon reading this passage, Eddy's back pain suddenly disappeared and she rose from her bed and walked. She could not explain what had happened but she knew it was the result of what she had read in the Bible. Her conviction grew in the coming weeks and months, as setbacks met with even stronger proofs of spiritual healing. Eventually, she referred to this as the moment discovery of Christian Science, the movement she founded. When she wrote about the fall later, she declared:

> That short experience included a glimpse of the great fact that I have since tried to make plain to others, namely, life and of the Spirit, and this life being the sole reality of existence. (Peel, 1971, p. 197)

From then on, Eddy spent years questioning conventional views about science, technology, and medicine, and searched the Bible for answers. She began to search for the spiritual meaning behind every passage in the Bible and her life began to take on a significant religious momentum. Convinced that it was her own reading of scripture that brought on her cure after the fall on the ice, Eddy believed that this would also be the proper procedure for others battling illness and disease. Years of intensive scriptural study, healing activities, and teaching culminated in the publication of *Science and Health* in 1875.

One of the immediate consequences of her fall on the ice was a renewed interest in healing which has been of interest of hers since childhood. She was profoundly influenced by Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, a New England doctor who believed in medicine-free healing techniques. Baker Eddy eventually developed her own version of Quimby's method which resulted in the publication of *Science and Health* (years later, retitled *Science and Health with Key to the Scripture*, Baker Eddy, 2007) in which she described healing techniques grounded in scripture. Revised numerous times, the book represents Eddy's major work and the definitive textbook on Christian Science. Healing lay at the core of Christian Science and, unlike the structure she proposed for her church which did not afford women the opportunity to emulate its powerful founder, Eddy offered an egalitarian model for the process through which healing could be obtained (Brown, 1981).

In 1903, Mark Twain published a diatribe attaching Eddy and her church:

> We cannot peacefully agree as to her motives, therefore her character must remain crooked to some of us and straight to the other. No matter, she is interesting enough without amicable agreement. In several ways she is the most interesting woman that ever lived and the most extraordinary. The same may be said of her career, and the same may be said of its chief result … Whether she took it or invented it, it was — materially — a sawdust mine when she got it, and she has turned it into a Klondike; its spiritual dock had next to no custom, if any at all; from it she launched a world religion which has now six hundred and sixty-three churches, and she charters a new one every few days. When we do not know a person — and also when we do — we have to judge the size and nature of his achievements as compared with the achievements of others in his special line of business — there is no other way. Measured by this standard, it is thirteen hundred years since the world has pronounced anyone who could reach up to Mrs. Eddy's waist belt. (Brown, 1981, p. 102)

Despite years of persistent ill health, Eddy devoted her life to the establishment of the church named Christian Science. After she established her Mother Church, the center of Christian Science religion in Boston, Eddy began to write her theories of spiritual healing and the use of the mind to restore physical healing. As Peel (1966) saw it:

> Mary wrote of mental molecule, molecules of faith, germs of truth, microbes of sin, the virus of hatred, and other phenomena of inner experience. As she saw it, the invisible germ of doubt, suspicion, and

> hostility in unconscious thought were so much to be resisted as the evils of common experience. (p. 76)

As teacher, author, preacher, and healer, Eddy led the Christian Science movement for decades. In 1894, the Boston area Christian Scientists moved into their first church edifice (The Mother Church) built under Eddy's direction. In 1908, at the age of 87, she founded *The Christian Science Monitor*, a prestigious secular paper which distinguished itself through the excellence of reporting and remains one of the most respected newspapers in the United States. She disseminated her theories of Christian Science and women's special roles in sickness and health through teaching and preaching. She insisted that her ideas about formal religion and the structure of the Christian Science Church presented no barriers to women practitioners.

In the context of a religious movement, Eddy was a charismatic and authoritarian leader who also was a shrewd business manager and continued to defend women's political and educational rights until end of her life. Few female leaders held such final authority in an organized religion as Eddy did. Her exercise of authority was unprecedented for an American woman. She created a long-lasting movement "which thoroughly identified with her own ideals and insights for which she wrote the authoritative text and provided an organizational structure that guaranteed the authority of her teachings after her death" (Braude, 1993, p. 59). Eddy was the spiritual leader of a Christian movement that under her direction became a wealthy and well-respected middle class church. She accomplished her life's mission and vision at the time when women could not vote and were barred from seminaries, pulpits, and the medical profession.

In Israel, **Henrietta Szold** (1860–1995) showed that Jewish women can indeed change the world. Born to a Russian immigrant father in Baltimore, who was the spiritual leader of Baltimore's Temple Oheb Shalom, Szold was the oldest of eight daughters and a passionate and accomplished student of Judaism. In her youth, she won permission to study Jewish texts at the then male-only Jewish Theological Seminary, on the condition that she never agitates to be granted rabbinic ordination (Dash, 2003). Her love affair with Louis Ginzberg, professor of Talmud and one of the first faculty members of the Jewish Theological Seminary, tells the story of an older woman (she was in her 40s at the time, Ginzberg was 13 years her junior) which has all the ingredients of a melodrama: the spurned love of a very public woman who was courted by a younger man who suddenly became engaged to a 21-year-old woman. The affair is chronicled in Szold's diaries and letters to Ginzberg whose classic work, *Legends of the Jews*, she translated (Szold, Shragel, & Ginzberg, 1997). This private journal captures Szold's heart and mind as she tries to come to terms with the betrayal and devastating loss of her lover.

In 1909, at the age of 49, she traveled to Palestine for the first time and found her life's calling in the health, education, and welfare of the Yishuv, the pre-state Jews of Palestine. When she finally realized that she could never give full expression to her energies if she stayed within the sphere allowed to her within male-led Jewish organizations, she founded her own, Hadassah, the Women's Zionist Organization of America which is dedicated to practical work in Palestine. Under Szold's leadership, Hadassah created the infrastructure for a modern medical system in Palestine (Henrietta Szold, 2010). Members of the Hadassah took up the challenge by funding hospitals, a medical school, dental facilities, infant welfare clinics, soup kitchens, and other services for Palestine's Jewish and Arab inhabitants. Szold persuaded her colleagues that practical programs open to all were critical to Jewish survival in the Holy Land. She spent most of the last 25 years of her life in Palestine, overseeing numerous health, educational, and social service institutions that became an integral part of the State of Israel (Krantz, 1995).

During the 1930s, when in her seventies, Szold involved Hadassah in a program to rescue Jewish youth from Germany, and later from all of Europe. It has been estimated that through the program, Youth Aliyah, she saved some 22,000 Jewish children from Hitler's concentration camps and brought them to agricultural settlements in Palestine.

Through her lifetime of service to the Jewish people, Szold helped shaped the political, cultural, and social worlds of Jews in both the United States and Israel and created a new world of opportunity for Jewish women. She is commemorated in programs, buildings, and institutes. For example, Kibbutz Kfar Szold in Upper Galilee is named after her as is The Henrietta Szold Institute, National Institute for Research in the Behavioral Sciences in Jerusalem, and a public school on Manhattan's lower East Side. Even before her death in 1945, she had become an icon for the practical idealism that would build a Jewish State.

In India, **Mother Teresa** (1910–1997), a Catholic nun and founder of the Missionaries of Charity Order, was revered by followers of many of India's panoply of religions. Born as Agnes Gonxha Bojaxhiu in Macedonia to parents of Albanian descent, she chose the name Teresa after she took her vows at the age of 18 as Sister of Loreto, an Irish order known for its missionary work in India after she received a call from God. In 1928, she became a Catholic nun and changed her name from Agnes to Teresa. Later, after a few months of training in Dublin, Teresa was sent to India in 1931 where she taught at St. Mary's High School until 1948. Although she enjoyed teaching at the school, she was increasingly disturbed by the poverty surrounding her in Calcutta (Spink, 1997). She was granted to leave her past at the convent and began a ministry among the sick, poor, homeless, and dying in the streets of Calcutta. Sister Teresa became Mother Teresa in 1937. In 1946, Teresa experienced what she later described as "the call within the call" while traveling to the Loreto convent in Darjeeling from Calcutta on her annual retreat. "I was to leave the convent and help the poor while living among them. It was an order. To fail would have been to break the faith" (Clucas, 1988, p. 35). Mother Teresa began her missionary work with the poor in 1948, replacing her traditional Loreto habit with a simple white cotton sari decorated with a blue border, adopted Indian citizenship, and ventured out into the slums (Clucas, 1988).

In 1950, Mother Teresa and her associates were approved within the archdiocese of Calcutta as the Missionaries of Charity whose primary task was to love and care for those nobody was prepared to look after. The Missionaries opened several orphanages and leper houses across India, and later, in different parts of the world.

One of her most significant works was the establishment of a hospice for AIDS patients in 1985 which provided shelter for thousands of patients. Other homes and centers sprang up around the world for drug addicts, prostitutes, battered women, and the dying.

However, Mother Teresa's efforts on behalf of the poor and dying did meet criticisms from a number of different sources. She was criticized for her philosophy of suffering which suggested that suffering would bring people close to Jesus (e.g., Byfield, 1997) while the medical establishment took issue with some of the methods used in treating the poor including the reuse of hypodermic needles and the use of cold baths (Fox, 1994). Scott (2005) argued that Mother Teresa only dealt with treating the disease of poverty but not preventing it. Finally, the sources of some of her donations came under attack as she accepted monies from the autocratic and corrupt Duvalier family in Haiti and over a million dollars from Charles Keating, an American lawyer, financier, and real estate developer who was known for his involvement in a major savings and loan scandal in the 1980s. Keating was convicted of many counts of fraud, racketeering, and conspiracy and served time in prison but was supported by Mother Teresa before and after his arrest (Hitchins, 1995).

Mother Teresa spent more than 70 years aiding the poor in Calcutta until her death in 1997. In recognition of her efforts, she received many humanitarian awards including the Pope John XXIII Peace Prize in 1971, the Nobel Peace Prize in 1978, the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1985, and the Congressional Gold Medal in 1997. Mother Teresa accepted all honors on behalf of the poor, using any money that accompanied them to fund her centers. According to Mother Teresa, rewards were important only if they could help her work for the destitute and poor. The Vatican beatified her in 2003 and gave her the title Blessed Teresa of Calcutta. Her selfless service is recognized worldwide as she stood as the icon of peace, love, and compassion. Today, her work lives on in over 600 missions operating in 123 countries around the world.

While some religions have accepted women as pastors, priests, and bishops with open arms, others continue to forbid the ordination of women. Some Protestant churches have allowed women leaders for many years while the Roman Catholic Church is just beginning to accept women as authorities. Even the very strict Seventh Day Adventists is allowing women to have the same rights as ministers, although they cannot be ordained, except to the lower position of elder. Very conservative churches keep the tradition of all male leaders.

Summary

Religion and the church have historically been a context in which some people have been given the opportunity to take on leadership roles while others have been denied such opportunities. In that sense, contemporary religious women leaders face some of the issues that confronted her historical predecessors along with new ones that are germane to our times. But the roles of women and men churches and denominations are changing. Women are entering seminaries in greater numbers. They are challenging traditional sources of religious authority, which included charisma, scripture, and education. Many classic interpretations of scripture and church history have not accepted female leadership. Whenever women have moved into visible church leadership, the relative importance of scripture and tradition, which have been critical sources of authority, were reduced and the legitimacy of personal religious experience was enhanced. Religious institutions and leaders often seem paralyzed by canon and custom.

In general, Protestant and Jewish denominations in the United States are more democratic and have been amenable to open opportunities for women's leadership including ordination, but only after prolonged political battles and lobbying effort. A number of scholars have argued that the key for women's religious leadership is the social expectation of equality; it remains a distant goal for some churches such as the Roman Catholic Church. But even in the more democratic denominations, women are confronted with the stained glass ceiling having to content with lower levels of power or authority within church structures above which they do not rise within the church hierarchy. An important issue for future research is whether women are actually transforming religious institutions to make them more collaborative and democratic. For women to be fully included in leadership in religious institutions, structural changes are necessary in many churches so that the authority of office, designated by ordination, election, and appointment, becomes available to qualified women.

Chapter 10

Science, Higher Education, and the Arts as Contexts for Women's Leadership

Ada E. Yonath became the first Israeli woman in 2009 to win the Nobel Prize for her work on the structure and function of the ribosome, a part of the cell that synthesizes protein and translates genetic code in the production of protein. Ribosomes are crucial in the development of antibiotics. She was the first woman from the Middle East to win a Nobel Prize in the sciences, and the fourth woman to win the Nobel Chemistry Prize, including Marie Curie, whose life and work inspired her. She is a pioneer of ribosome crystallography and her research contributed greatly to the development of more effective antibiotics, which can overcome drug-resistant pathogens (Wills, 2009).

Yonath was born in Jerusalem, graduated from the Hebrew University with a bachelor's degree in chemistry in 1962 and a master's in biochemistry in 1964. She earned her Ph.D. in X-ray crystallography at the Weizmann Institute of Science and completed postdoctoral studies at Carnegie Mellon University and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, where she first learned about protein crystallography. Today, Yonath serves as professor of structural biology and director of the Helen and Milton A. Kimmelman Center for Bimolecular Structure.

Reflecting on her upbringing, Yonath marvels at her accomplishments in view of the fact that her family was too poor to afford books. Despite the poverty she grew up in, her parents managed to send her to an upscale school to assure her a good education. After receiving the Nobel Prize, she acknowledged on an Israeli public radio that there was nothing in her childhood to suggest that she would attain international acclaim, although her parents and family always thought that there was a chance of recognition. Moments after the award was announced, Israeli President Simon Peres, also a Nobel laureate, called Yonath to congratulate her along with Prime Minister Netanyahu to express the pride of the entire nation for her achievements (Wills, 2009).

Throughout her career, Yonath has been a strong advocate of promoting women's role in the sciences and her advocacy was recognized in 2008 by L'Oréal-UNESCO, an organization dedicated to advance the research of women scientists which awarded her its annual lifetime achievement Award for Women in Science for her work of bacteria in resistance to antibiotics. She is the recipient of numerous other prestigious rewards such as the Datta Medal of the Federation of European Biomedical Societies, the Cotton Medal, and the first European Crystallography Prize. She is also a member of the National Academy Sciences, the European Academy of Sciences, and the European

Molecular Biology Organization. Finally, Yonath was the first Israeli biologist to work with NASA in sending research material into outer space cooperating with NASA on 12 missions. Her record of innovative techniques continues today at the Weizmann Institute which houses the only protein crystallography institute in Israel.

Women in Science Throughout History

Women have made scientific discoveries since ancient times and have contributed significantly to medicine, physiology, physics, chemistry, and astronomy. The following brief excursion through the ages highlights the remarkable achievement of female scientists.

Women in ancient Egypt enjoyed many more freedoms than their counterparts in ancient Greece or Rome. They were able to study and practice medicine which played a critical role in Egyptian society alongside with men (Leon, 1995). Some Egyptologists have identified **Merit Ptah** as the first woman scientist and first known female physician. She worked around 2700 B.C. and combined physical healing with spiritual practices and was referred to by her son as the chief physician. Like many female physicians in Egypt, Ptah specialized in obstetrics. In Baylon, **En Hedu' Anna** lived around 2350 B.C.E. as the chief priestess of the Moon Goddess of the city of Babylon and was involved in astronomy and mathematics to fulfill her duty of organizing the calendar. She also wrote poems.

During the late fourth century B.C. in Athens, physician **Agnodice** was put on trial for pretending to be a man to practice medicine, which was formally illegal for women. Her women patients saved her and the law was appealed. Agnodice focused on the practice of midwifery. During the late fourth and early fifth century A.D., in the years around 400 A.D., **Hypatia of Alexandria** was the first notable woman in mathematics who was recognized as the head of the Neoplatonist School of Philosophy in Alexandria (Mueller, Grinstein, & Campbell, 1987) who also taught philosophy and astronomy to pagans and Christians alike. Her biographer, Deakin (2007), describes Hypatia's accomplishments as groundbreaking. Her contributions included the invention of the hydrometer used to determine the relative density and gravity of liquids and other scientific instruments. She authored a number of works on mathematics and also collaborated on several treatises with her father, Theon, also a mathematician and well-known scholar. Her writings addressed works on mathematics, philosophy, and astronomy, including the motions of the planets and number theory. However, none of her writings have survived when the library of Alexandria was burned by Arab conquerors.

Socrates Scholasticus, a Byzantine church historian, described Hypatia in *Ecclesiastic History*:

> There was a woman in Alexandria named Hypatia, daughter of the philosopher Theon, who made such attainments in literature and science, as to far surpass all the philosophers of her own time. Having

> succeeded to the school of Plato and Plotinus, she explained the principles of philosophy to her auditors, many of whom came from a distance to receive her instructions. On account of the self-possession and ease of manner, which she had acquired in consequence of the cultivation of her mind, she not infrequently appeared in public in the presence of the magistrates. Neither did she feel abashed in going to an assembly of men. For all men on account of her extraordinary dignity and virtue admired her more. Yet she fell victim to the political jealousy which at that time prevailed. (Scholasticus, 1982)

Hypatia was known for her prudence, moderation and self-control, for her ease of manner, and for her beauty. She traveled freely around Alexandria which was part of the Roman Empire where she was a respected and eloquent teacher and influential citizen at a time when Christianity started to dominate over the other religions and had become the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Hypatia was brutally murdered in 415 for her scientific views by a mob of Christian monks who attacked her chariot and killed her, lynch-mob style execution. Some reports suggested that she was flayed with potshards and set ablaze while still alive. Gibbon (2005) wrote on killing:

> In the bloom of beauty, and in the maturity of wisdom, the modest maid [Hypatia] refused her lovers and instructed her disciples; the persons most illustrious for their rank and merit were impatient to visit the female philosopher; and Cyril [the bishop of Alexandria] beheld, with a jealous eye, the gorgeous trains of horses and slaves who crowded the door of her academy. A rumor was spread among the Christians, that the daughter of Theon was the only obstacle to the reconciliation of the praefect and the archbishop; and that obstacle was speedily removed. On a fatal day, in the holy season of Lent, Hypatia was torn from her chariot, stripped naked, dragged to the church, and inhumanely butchered by the hands of Peter the reader, and a troop of savage and merciless fanatics: her flesh was scraped from her bones with sharp oyster shells, and her quivering limbs were delivered to the flames. The just progress of inquiry and punishment was stopped by reasonable gifts; but the murder of Hypatia has imprinted an indelible stain on the character and religion of Cyril of Alexandria. (pp. 840–841)

According to Deakin (2007), her brutal death made her a powerful symbol of intellectual freedom. Dzielska and Lyra (1996) interpreted her death as a kind of witch burning in the transition from pagan Empire to Christian state. After her death, Hypatia's work was recognized throughout the centuries by philosophers and scientists such as Descartes and Newton who expanded on her work and American astronomer Carl Sagan who linked her death with the destruction of the Library of Alexandria. Her life and death have also been fictionalized in poems and novels such as Brian Trent's (2005) *Remembering Hypatia: A Novel of Ancient Egypt* and Ki Longfellow's (2009) *Flow Down Like Silver, Hypatia of Alexandria*.

During the middle ages, regulations forbade women from practicing medicine or surgery unless they assumed their husbands' practices upon their death or unless they were deemed fit by a competent jury (Wirtzfeld, 2009). Hildegard von Bingen whom we encountered in Chapter 9 was not only a religious leader but also one of the most influential female scientists of her time who wrote about cosmology, medicine, botany, and zoology.

Italy supported women academics more than other European countries, especially during the Renaissance and has a tradition of women from Tortula in the 11th century to Maria Agnesi in the 18th century, women known for their scientific achievements. **Tortula** was a famous obstetrician who continued the tradition of female medical doctors established in ancient times and wrote several books that were still consulted hundreds of years later. **Maria Gaetana Agnesi**, a mathematician and logician, was born to a wealthy family in Milan during the 18th century, who made significant contributions to mathematics through her work on differential and integral calculus which she published in *Analytical Institutions*, a highly successful textbook (Osen, 1992). Her father's house was an intellectual center in Milan where scientists convened to discuss and debate their discoveries. Agnesi was a child prodigy who was fluent in Italian and French by the time she was 5 and by the age of 13, she was able to speak Greek, Latin, Hebrew, and Spanish. At the age of 9, she published a Latin discourse in defense of higher education for women.

After the success of her book, she was later appointed by Pope Benedict XIV to the chair of mathematics and natural philosophy at the University of Bologna and was the first woman to hold such a prestigious position. Other scholarly volumes and philosophical theses followed. Apparently, her father was the inspiration for her interest in mathematics because after his death in 1752, Maria gave up any further work in mathematics. During her later years, Agnesi devoted herself to the poor, sick, and homeless and died in absolute poverty after spending all her wealth on charitable work (Mazzotti, 2007).

Until the time of Marie Curie, women scientists were the exception rather than the rule. From then on, female scientists have and are winning the Nobel Prize following in the footsteps of **Marie Curie**, the first woman who was awarded the Nobel Prize in 1903 in physics in collaboration with her husband Pierre and again, as a widow, in 1911 in chemistry. Born in Warsaw to a piano player and teacher mother and a mathematics and physics professor in Warsaw, Marie at age 24 went to Paris to study mathematics, physics, and chemistry at the Sorbonne after she was denied admission to Krakow University because she was a woman. She met Pierre Curie, a physics professor at the Sorbonne and together, they devoted themselves to the study of reactivity. Pierre's primary interest was in the physical properties of radium and polonium, named after his wife's home country, while Marie worked on techniques isolating radioactive isotopes and the chemical properties of radium (Curie, 2001). In fact, it was Marie who coined the term radioactivity.

After the death of her husband in 1906 who was killed in an accident, the Sorbonne offered Marie the chair of the physics department that her husband had held and gave her full control over the laboratory. She became the first woman professor at the Sorbonne. Despite her achievements, Goldsmith (2005) described the eminent physicist as a tireless scientist obsessed with work, and the private one, a woman who suffered bouts of severe depression, was distant from her children and scarred deeply by the accidental death of her husband. Although Curie continued working after Pierre's death, Goldsmith says she never allowed his name to be spoken.

The Curies had two daughters, Irene who in 1935 was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry, making them the first mother–daughter pair to share this honor, and Eve Curie who wrote a biography of her mother. In addition to the two Nobel Prizes, the importance of Marie Curie's work is reflected in numerous awards including many honorary science and medicine degrees. Together with her sister, she founded the Radium Institute of Warsaw which after her death was renamed the Curie Institute. In 1921, she traveled to France where President Harding presented her with a gram of radium purchased with a collection taken up among American women. Several radioactive minerals were named after her and her likeness has appeared on Polish and French coins and stamps. However, although Marie Curie was the only person to win Nobel Prizes in two sciences, she was never elected to the French Academy of Sciences. Giroud (1986) emphasized not only her scientific contribution that helped overturn established ideas in physics and chemistry but also the profound effect Marie's work on society at large. In order to attain these scientific achievements, which spurred work on the structure of atoms and cancer research, she had to overcome barriers because she was a woman, both in Poland and France.

Since Marie Curie's time, most eminent women in the sciences are found in medicine and biology, fewer in chemistry, and still fewer in physics and mathematics (see Table 10.1). Women in the STEM — science, technology, engineering, and

Table 10.1: Female Nobel Prize laureates.

Physics	Chemistry	Physiology and medicine
1903 Marie Sklodowska Curie	1911 Marie Sklodowska Curie	1947 Gerty Radnitz Cori
1963 Maria Goeppert Mayer	1935 Irene Joliot Curie	1977 Rosalyn Sussman Yalow
	1964 Dorothy Crowfoot Hodgkin	1983 Barbara McClintock
	2009 Ada Yonath	1986 Rita Levi-Montalcini
		1988 Gertrude Elion
		1995 Christiane Nusslein-Volhard
		2004 Linda Buck
		2008 Francoise Barre-Sinoussi
		2009 Elizabeth Blackbunr
		2009 Carol Greider

mathematics — disciplines continue to be underrepresented in STEM professions, particularly leadership positions.

In addition to the Nobel Prize in science, in 1999, the UNESCO established a partnership with the elite French cosmetic firm L'Oréal aimed at promoting women in scientific research worldwide. This initiative was launched by Helena Rubinstein, who founded the cosmetic company by the same name which is now a small part of the cosmetic giant, Groupe L'Oréal. Rubinstein, an American cosmetician, executive, and philanthropist, was the founder and president of Helena Rubinstein, Inc., 1902, a leading manufacturer and distributor of women's cosmetics. Each year, five eminent women are awarded a 100,000 USD grant in five international regions: (1) Africa and the Middle East; (2) Asia-Pacific; (3) Europe; (4) Latin America and the Caribbean; and (5) North America (since 2000). Both Ada Yonath, featured in the vignette at the beginning of this chapter, and Shirley Tilghman, a molecular biologist and president of Princeton University profiled at the beginning of the next section, were recipients of this award. In addition, the same partnership wards the UNESCO-L'Oréal International Fellowship, providing up to $40,000 in funding for a two-year period to 15 young women scientists engaged in exemplary research projects.

The Missing Revolution: Contemporary Female Science Leaders

According to Wasserman (2000), an increasing number of young women aspire to careers in science and complete graduate training in a scientific discipline. However, they continue to be underrepresented and only a few rise to leadership positions. Even in the biological sciences, which are chosen by more women than the physical sciences, mathematics, or engineering, only a fraction of the women who earn their degrees or finish their postdoctoral training find independent positions in academia, industry, or government. The author notes that despite affirmative action, several well-publicized cases of discrimination, and organized efforts to raise awareness, female scientists still lag behind their male colleagues. Instead, many female scientists, like the author herself, find themselves in nonscientific careers such as law in order to find success. Wasserman (2000) noted that for the women who were part of her study, early career decisions were based on interest, talent, and encouragement from family members or mentors. In addition, these initial decisions were often shaped by circumstance and opportunity.

The role of women in science has been a source of interest for many years, with articles in academic journals magazines, newspapers, and books lamenting the scarcity of senior women scientists and the fact that even when it has been possible to attract women to a particular scientific field, they are less likely to stay and progress in their careers than their male counterparts (Duberly & Cohen, 2010). Female science professors are often paid less than their male colleagues, receive fewer honors, and hold fewer leadership positions; therefore, making careers in science less attractive, especially for women who are supporting families.

Bertsch McGrayne (2001) examined the careers and lives of 14 women scientists — among them Marie Curie, Rosalyn Yalow who was awarded the Nobel prize in 1977 for her work as a medical physicist, and Bell Burnell, an astrophysicist credited, at age 24 with the 1968 discovery of pulsars — who either won a Nobel Prize or played crucial roles in a Nobel winning project. According to the author, at the time of publication, more than 300 scientists have won the Nobel Prize since its establishment; however, only 10 of them were women. The lives and careers of these women were marked by struggles, sacrifices, and disappointments. Most of the women had experiences of being rejected receiving the science education they initially desired, had to take low paying jobs in order to become scientists, or had their works and abilities discarded.

One of the most controversial cases was that of Rosalind Franklin, a pioneer molecular biologist, whose role in the discovery of the double helix structure of DNA by James Watson and Francis Crick went unrecognized when the two male scientists were awarded the Nobel Prize in 1962, four years after Franklin's death at age 37 from ovarian cancer. But it was Franklin who discovered that the helical structure of DNA has two strands, not three as proposed in competing theories. After her death, Watson and Crick made it clear that they would not have discovered the structure of DNA without Franklin's work. However, because the Nobel Prize is not awarded posthumously, Franklin could not be cited for her essential role in the discovery of the physical basis of heredity (Maddox, 2003). According to the author, Franklin's "premature death coupled with the misogynist treatment of the male scientific establishment, sexism, and egotism cast her as a feminist icon. This myth overshadowed her intellectual strength and independence both as a scientist and as an individual and marginalized a brilliant young scientist" (p. 408).

Although today women make up almost half of the total workforce in America, they only represent a quarter of America's scientific and engineering workforce. According to National Institute of Health (NIH) statistics, only 20% of their senior scientists are women although postdoctoral award data show that the biomedical pipeline is filled with female candidates, but disproportionately few get into the tenure track system at major research institutions. Likewise, Nelson, Brammer, and Rhoads (2007) cited statistics indicating that only 15% of women hold full professorships in the life sciences. Women scientists are also promoted more slowly and receive fewer honors. Although progress has been made in some areas, women are nearly at gender parity with men in entering graduate school in biology, and when they are initially considered for promotion to associate professor. Although female scientists succeed at the same rates as men, yet there are still significant differences. Thus, while the number of women entering science and engineering fields is growing very slowly, gender biases still affect their career aspirations.

Women scientists also receive fewer grants and produce fewer publications than men (European Molecular Biology Organization, 2007). For every funding dollar allocated to a research grant of a male principal investigator (PI), the average grant of a female PI provides 80 cents, in part, because women are less likely to become PIs on NIH grants with larger dollar caps. Grants with big budgets are consuming an increasing portion of the NIH budget, but less than 17% of center grants are awarded to women. As more and more funding dollars are shifted to large multi-investigator projects, the ability of women to gain parity in dollars per grant will no doubt decline further.

A recent report on the status of women in science compiled by the United States National Academy of Sciences (NAS) (*Beyond Bias and Barriers, 2007*), a report on discrimination against female scientists and engineers, noted and documented significant gender gaps throughout the academic pipeline which showed that the number of women in the sciences decreases at every educational transition from high school to fully tenured positions. The report suggested that women, on average, devote more time to teaching and mentoring, activities not highly valued in tenure and promotion decisions. They also have less access to the support systems and resources that increase faculty productivity.

The report cited unconscious but pervasive bias, arbitrary and subjective evaluation processes, and a system which places primary childrearing and family responsibilities with women. The report concluded with a number of recommendations including changes in academic hiring and evaluation procedures, additional support for working parents at the institutional level, and efforts to institute blind reviews in peer review processes to eliminate gender bias. New York columnist Tierney (2006), for example, pointed out that even though a committee may be composed largely of women, the committee's peer-reviewed work was ultimately evaluated by an NAS committee of 19 members that included 10 men. Although some agencies such as the U.S. National Science Foundation (NSF) have tackled the problem of the underrepresentation of women in the sciences by providing grants that foster institutional change, more progress is needed for women to reach parity with their male counterparts.

Various reasons have been cited to account for the underrepresentation of women in leadership roles in the sciences including hostility from male colleagues, the perception of the scientist as a white male in a lab coat (Amrose, Dunkle, Lazarus, Nair, & Harkus, 1999), lack of interest of young girls in science careers, high attrition rates, a chilly campus environment facing female students majoring in the sciences, and problems balancing home and work life. The mass media — print, film, television — continue to depict scientists as men. The lack of significant role models and mentors and institutional opportunity structures that favor male scientists' career progress are other frequently cited factors to account for women's underrepresentation in the sciences.

Although society's perceptions of women in science are changing and young girls are encouraged to pursue careers in scientific field, some myths continue to linger. For example, one of these myths centers on the belief that girls are less interested in science than boys are. Or that math and science teachers are no longer biased toward their male students. One organization that is trying to change those lingering myths is Sally Ride Science (www.sallyridescience.com), named after the first women in space. Sally Ride Science arranges science camps which bring together groups of girls and exposes them to astronauts, engineers, and scientists and provide hand-on experience with science projects such as building a telescope. Likewise, the NSF's (www.nsf.gov) Research on Gender in Science and Engineering program seeks to broaden the participation of girls and women in science, technology, engineering, and mathematics by supporting research and educational services to develop a larger and more diverse domestic science and engineering workforce. Efforts such as these help dispel the perception that science is largely a male domain.

Mentoring is considered to be one of the most important factors for explaining female academic career progress (e.g., Joiner, Bartram, & Garetta, 2004). Mentoring in organizations can be viewed as a developmental relationship, whereby managers provide assistance and support to particular subordinates through sponsorship, coaching, exposure, and provisions of challenging assignments.

Women Leaders in Higher Education

Shirley Marie Tilghman was elected Princeton University's 19th and first female president in 2001. Previously, she had served on the Princeton faculty for 15 years as a professor of molecular biology and chairperson of Princeton's Council on Science and Technology which encourages the teaching of science and technology to students outside the sciences. She was the founding director of Princeton's multidisciplinary Lewis-Sigler Institute for Integrative Genomics and one of the founding members of the National Advisory Council of the Human Genome Project Initiative for the National Institutes of Health (NIH).

A native of Canada, Tilghman spent two years in West Africa teaching postsecondary school. She received her Ph.D. in biochemistry from Temple University in Pennsylvania. During her postdoctoral studies at NIH, she was member of the team that discovered the first mammalian gene and continued to make scientific breakthroughs as an independent investigator at the Institute for Cancer Research in Philadelphia and Professor of Human Genetics at the University of Pennsylvania. Tilghman developed an international reputation for her groundbreaking discoveries as well as her efforts on behalf of women in science.

Among Tilghman's accomplishments at Princeton are family friendly employee benefits, an increase in the undergraduate female student body to about 50%, an undergraduate college funded by alumna and former eBay CEO Meg Whitman, and affirmative action decisions which allocated high level jobs formerly held by men to women. Her hiring practices have been controversial and she has been charged with gender bias (Goldfarb, 2003) when she appointed Amy Gutmann as provost, Anne-Marie Slaughter as dean of the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs, Maria Klawe as dean of the School of Engineering, and Janet Lavin Rapelye as the dean of Undergraduate Admission. Nevertheless, President Tilghman also appointed men to prominent positions and pointed out that she hired more men than women, in fact, six men and four women (Goldfarb, 2003).

She also raised the profile of the arts at Princeton, launched an ambitious $1.75 billion fundraising campaign, the expansion of the university's neuroscience institute, and increased support for the engineering school and international outreach (Cole, 2007). Tilghman also initiated the Princeton Postdoctoral Teaching Fellowship, a program across all sciences and engineering disciplines that brings postdoctoral students to Princeton each year to gain experience in both research and teaching. In 2002, she was one of the five winners of the L'Oréal-UNESCO International for Women in Science Award, and the following year received the Lifetime Achievement Award from *the Society of Developmental Biology. She is a member of the NAS, the Institute of Medicine, and the Royal Society of London.*

In an address Tilghman (Tilghman, 2005) delivered at Columbia, the Princeton president offered some interesting insights concerning her position on women in science. First, she noted that the future vitality and prosperity of the United States fundamentally depends on the scientific and technological creativity and innovation that is nurtured within its research universities. By encouraging women to embrace science, academic institutions are likely to increase the range of problems under study, and this will broaden and strengthen the entire enterprise. Tilghman also argued that if women continue to be underrepresented in science, mathematics, and engineering, these fields will look increasingly anachronistic to students, as law, medical, and business schools reach gender parity in their student bodies. Tilghman cited data reported by the Association of American Medical Colleges that reported that 45.2% of medical school graduates in 2003 were female, whereas according to the American Society for Engineering education, only 17.4% of Ph.D. degrees in engineering were awarded to women in that year.

The president also called attention to the chicken and egg dilemma when it comes to gender stereotypes about women in science suggesting that it will not be possible to erase gender stereotypes unless the academy increases the number of women in science and engineering — both as students and on the faculties. Finally, Tilghman discussed the moral obligation that institutions of higher learning have to every girl who dreams of becoming a scientist or engineer to level the playing field in order to ensure that the attainment of such dreams are based on abilities and determination. According to Tilghman, it is simply unjust for a profession to exclude a significant proportion of the population simply because they are women.

Introduction

Shirley Tilghman is one of several women at the helm of Ivy League universities. Judith Rodin, a clinical psychologist was the first when she took over the presidency of The University of Pennsylvania in 1994. She was followed by Amy Gutmann, a political theorist who took over in 2004. In 2007, Harvard University appointed Drew Gilpin Faust as the 28th president who succeeded Lawrence Summers who made headlines for his ill-considered remarks about the mathematical abilities of female students. At the time of this writing, 4 of the top 10 universities in the United States (in addition to the presidents mentioned, Allison Richard at Cambridge University and Susan Hockfield at Massachusetts Institute of Technology) are led by women. The female university presidents came to their posts from a variety of positions: provosts, vice presidents or vice chancellors, of academic affairs, government agency leadership positions, and other nonacademic careers (Chronicle of Higher Education, 2005). Most of them did not specifically look for presidential appointments.

Women progress in higher education would not have been possible without Title IX, enacted by Congress in 1972. This legislation prohibits sex discrimination in higher education which led to the development and enforcement of affirmative action programs without which women would not have evidenced the progress they made in the academy. Many countries around the world now have equal opportunity legislation and penalties for breaches; however, that does not always guarantee that the legislation works, since significant barriers to career progression continue to exist in many academic disciplines and professions.

According to Dugger (2001), statistical data detailing the trend of women's advancement in institutions of higher learning in the United States tend to show a rosy picture. Women now outnumber men in college enrollment at the undergraduate level and have reached parity with men at the graduate level. However, despite these gains, substantial disparities in salary, rank, and tenure between male and female faculty persist. Moreover, the terms and conditions of women's employment in academia have worsened, reflecting the reorganization of the structure of higher education in the United States. According to Dugger (2001), "while more of the professoriate is composed of women today compared to the 70s, there continues to be a disparity in the salaries, rank, and promotion of women in both science and education which cannot be accounted for by such human capital variables as degree, rank, length of service, or number of publications" (p. 128). According to Tilghman (2005), universities stand at the end of a long and imperfectly constructed pipeline that is partially controlled by external forces but also involves factors that are under the control of institutions of higher learning. Attempts at fixing the leaks in the pipeline have included exposing the dangers of stereotypes, single-sex instruction, women-only information session in recruiting female graduate students, "morning" MBA program (Shellenbarger, 2008) to attract at-home mothers, self-employed people or others working odd schedules, and positive reinforcement through mentoring.

Careers in the academy have been changing for several decades as the U.S. higher education system has evolved from one of elite exclusivity to a multilevel mass education system. Flagship research universities emphasize individual scholarship, whereas comprehensive state universities and community colleges focus on educating masses. Colleges and universities increasingly rely more heavily on part-time and nontenure track positions than in the past. Women and minorities are more heavily represented in these positions. At the same time, the number of full-time new hires has steadily decreased. These factors combined result in negative consequences for women and minorities.

In the midst of systemic change in higher education, a common pattern has emerged. Relatively small numbers of women and members of ethnic minorities progress up the academic career ladder or become institutional leaders (Dugger, 2001, p. 119). If women do attain leadership positions in academic institutions, they populate a narrow range of disciplines such as nursing, psychology, law, and languages. Finally, critics of the U.S. educational system have argued that brick-and-mortar universities are resistant to change due to substantive institutionalization and fail to serve rapidly changing consumer demands which include convenience, flexible course schedules, and a greater orientation toward real-world problem solving.

The underrepresentation of women in education, as in science and engineering, has many causes, some of which are rooted in childhood socialization practices, when boys and girls confront divergent parental, scholastic, and societal opportunities and expectations (Tilghman, 2005). Others include the lack of role models and the need to balance work and family. To understand why women are more willing to accept declining terms of employments in academe, we must consider the social practices that constrain women's choices. Women are often less mobile than men and have fewer alternative choices outside of the academy. They are also more responsible than men for childrearing and bear the burden of the lack of adequate and affordable day care. Benjamin (2001) concluded that as long as society imposes these relative disadvantages on women, universities can successfully offer women terms of employment that would not be acceptable to similar numbers of qualified men. Stacy and Thorne (1983) claimed that the epistemologies of the disciplines affect the degree to which they are congenial or resistant to women's leadership roles in higher education. Disciplines such as history, literature, and women's studies, for instance, have strong traditions of interpretive understanding as opposed to fields more deeply rooted in positivist epistemologies such as economics or political science.

Bailyn (2003), in her study of women at MIT, argued that "academia is anchored in assumptions about masculinity as the normal universal requirement of university life" (p. 143). The author noted that as a result of the persistent difficulties, some women decide to leave academia altogether, opting instead to join firms which offer greater levels of support and more opportunities for combining work and home responsibilities. Knight and Richards (2002), looking at universities in the United Kingdom drew similar attention to the dominant position of masculinity within academia and the active marginalization of femininity in everything from the way academic disciplines are constructed to the recruitment and selection process of faculty and administrators.

Fenton (2003) highlights two key problems confronting women in institutions of higher learning: first, the "nature of the academic environment binds men into a hierarchical fraternity and marginalizes women" (p. 13). The author suggests that competitive values are being reinforced by changes in higher education, and the marketization of higher education has created a more overt split between teaching and research which disadvantages women who spend more time on administrative duties which are not deemed worthy of promotion. It has also been suggested that the development of competitive values, reinforced by marketization, has promoted a macho culture in university science departments (Fletcher, Boden, Kent, & Tinson, 2007). The second barrier, according to Fenton, is an unwillingness to implement policies for establishing gender parity in universities.

Women Leaders in the Arts

Marin Alsop, the first woman to direct a major American orchestra, at age 51 stepped into her new position as the first female conductor of the Baltimore Symphony in September 2007 when she conducted the orchestra opening to the 2007–2008 season (Funke, 2007). Her appointment resulted in diverse reactions ranging from claims that *"female conductors have cracked the glass podium" (Veltman, 2009) to a "one-woman vanguard" (Tommasini, 2007). Despite Alsop's credentials which include degrees from Julliard, studies with Bernstein, extensive concert, and recording experience, she was deemed unacceptable by a group of orchestra musicians who questioned her musical stature and wanted the conductor search to continue (Scher, 2005). Alsop's appointment was a landmark treated in a big way by the international news media. Although women have served as guest conductors and conducted performances at major orchestras such as New York Philharmonic, Alsop's appointment provided an opportunity for her as a female conductor to shape the overall direction of an orchestra as significant as the Baltimore Symphony.*

Alsop grew up in a professional musician's home. After hearing Bernstein conduct the New York Philharmonic at age 9, she decided to become a conductor. She earned a bachelor's and master's from the prestigious Julliard School and served as music director of both the Colorado Symphony Orchestra and the Eugene (Oregon) Orchestra before becoming the principal conductor of the Bournemouth Symphony Orchestra in England in 2002 which preceded her appointment as music director of the Baltimore Symphony. In 2005, Alsop received one of the MacArthur Foundation's $500,000 "genius grants," which over a five-year period supports recipients who have shown extraordinary originality, dedication in their creative pursuits, and a marked capacity for self-direction.

Recognized for her energy and awareness of current trends in the classical music world, she also gained fame as the first woman to record the entire collection of Brahms' symphonies.

In July 2007, she won the 17th Annual European Women of Achievement Award presented to women whose vision, courage, and determination have made a major impact on increasing the influence of women in European affairs. In 2008, the Baltimore Symphony Orchestra announced its first balanced budget in five years, which observers attributed to Alsop's financial acumen. Alsop considers the need to overcome the focus on her as a woman as opposed to a conductor one of her major challenges.

Introduction

The Arts as Context for Women's Leadership

Compared to academic disciplines such as science and education and the institutional environments in which they operate, the arts offer a very different context for women's leadership. Although individual accomplishments and performance are two of the defining characteristics of an artist in most genres, the arts also build communities that spur economic revitalization in a neighborhood, erect historical structures, foster strong connections among diverse groups, create folk art centers, and develop a variety of cultural, educational, and recreational activities in the community.

Grint (2000) suggested that "leadership might better be considered as an art rather than a science, or, more specifically, as an ensemble of arts" (p. 27). If this is indeed the case, the author argued that "the treatment of leadership as an ensemble of the arts accounts for four paradoxes that have bedeviled our understanding of leadership: (1) leadership as an art has more to do with invention than analysis, despite claims to the contrary; (2) it appears to operate on the basis of indeterminacy or the inability to predict outcome events on the basis of objective analyses while claiming to be deterministic; (3) it appears to be rooted in irony, rather than trust; and (4) it usually rests on a constructed identity but claims a reflexive identity" (p. 6). In this section, I introduce a number of leading female artists who represent various artistic genres in this leadership ensemble of the arts. Female artists discussed in this section include female orchestra leaders, painters, sculptors, and dancers.

Artists, like leaders, have the power to inspire, transform, and connect us to something larger than ourselves (Klein & Diket, 1999). For many people, the great works of art such as Leonardo's Mona Lisa, Michelangelo's David, Le Corbusier's architectural designs, or primitive indigenous drawings found all over the world evoke powerful responses that transcend reality and ordinary states of consciousness (Klenke, 2008, p. 257). Leadership as an art often draws on the field of aesthetics (e.g., Strati, 1999; Botanski & Chiapello, 2005; Atkinson, 2007) and promotes the idea that the aesthetic qualities of organizational life may be a growing contributor to organizational success (Carr & Hancock, 2003). Guillet de Monthoux, Gustafsson, and Sjostrand (2007) concluded that "aesthetic leadership is the ability to organize muddled realities to move easily between different spaces (fields of flow) by providing an inviting yet defined container for the emergence of creative thought and action" (p. 263).

Artists whether they are musicians, painters, poets, dancers have a strong emotional involvement with their work — they are consumed by passion, enthusiasm, and high levels of energy. In some art forms, team performance is as important as or even more important than individual performance. Music and dance as art forms are examples. The conductor of an orchestra not only has to get the best individual performances from the members but also facilitates the convergence of individual players as they become a unified collectivity. The conductor's job has changed from wielding the baton to a more collaborative role that is based on partnerships between conductors and musicians. The work in orchestras is done literally in concert and requires a very high level of between-member coordination (Allmendinger & Hackman, 1995). Because there are far more talented musicians looking for work than there are open positions, most orchestras are staffed with fully qualified players. Likewise, in a well-choreographed ballet, individual dancers are interdependent on interactions among the members of the ensemble. In both art forms, the work requires close coordination between leaders and the members of the music or dance ensembles.

Arts-based leadership research is still in its infancy but is growing in popularity, as it offers diverse alternatives to traditional text-based leadership research. It is emerging as an evocative genre of qualitative research. Numerous qualitative research methods have been developed which guide the choice of methodological and theoretical foundations, the types of research questions for which arts-based research is appropriate and strategies and techniques for the collection, analysis, and interpretation of arts-based data (Klenke, 2008).

Music Only one musical genre has been singled out for discussion here, conducting classical music and leading an orchestra, although women have attained prominence in many areas of music ranging from classical to popular. However, despite inroads made by early pioneers such as composers Clara Schuman and Lili Boulanger and conductors such as Sarah Caldwell, Judith Somogi, and Victoria Bond, women rarely appeared on the podiums of major orchestras in the first half of the 20th century (Veltman, 2009). Although women historically have been active as teachers, singers, and amateur performers, it is only in recent decades that they have become accepted as full members of professional symphony orchestras. Adding female conductors to the mix begs the question of what the conducting profession might look like today if Herbert von Karajan had been a woman.

According to Veltman (2009), classical music institutions around the world are embracing the notion of female conductors more than ever. In addition to Marian Alsop, in 2009, Xian Zhang made history when the Giuseppe Verdi Orchestra in Milan announced her appointment to the position of music director, making her the first woman to earn that title in a country as conservative as Italy. In the United States, women now lead the Berkeley Symphony, the Reno Philharmonic Orchestra, the Altoona, Flagstaff, and Midland Symphony. JoAnn Falletta who directs the Buffalo Philharmonic Orchestra is the longest serving director in the history of the orchestra whose contract runs through the 2011–2012 season.

In the past, people saw orchestra leadership connected solely with men and the archetypal image of the maestro, like that of a scientist, was a man. Influential music critic Schonberg (1976) eloquently described the maestro as

> He is of commanding presence, infinite dignity, fabulous memory, vast experience, high temperament, and serene wisdom. He has been tempered in the crucible but is still molten and he glows with a fierce inner light. He is many things: musician, administrator, executive, minister, psychologist, technician, philosopher, and dispenser of wrath … After all, he is a leader of men. His subjects look to him for guidance. He is at once a father figure, the great provider, the force of inspiration, the Teacher who knows all. (p. 89)

No female maestros were mentioned in the biographies of famous maestros. In the past, the musical establishment has claimed that female conductors lack the gravitas to lead an orchestra.

However, since the late 1980s, the gender composition of orchestras around the world and attitudes toward female conductors has been changing. In one of the few empirical studies on women in symphony orchestras, Allmendinger and Hackman (1995) examined the relationship between the gender composition of professional symphonies and several outcome measures including players' motivation and satisfaction, work relationships, job security, compensation, and growth opportunities. In a comparative study of 78 orchestras in four nations — the United Kingdom, the former East Germany, the former West Germany, and the United States — the authors found that scores on the outcome measures showed a decline as the proportion of women increased from token representation to almost 50%. Life in a traditionally homogeneously male orchestra is not much affected by the presence of one or two women, such as a female harp player. But as their numbers increase, women become, in Yoder's (1991) terms, an intrusive presence on high status turf that previously has been an exclusively male province. Allmendinger and Hackman set out to test this hypothesis.

The authors collected data on male and female orchestra members using quantitative, qualitative, and archival data sources. Among the more interesting gender-specific differences found in this study was that men viewed their orchestras as better structured and as having greater integrity as ensembles than did women. Women rated the music director as more active in coaching players and in doing organizational work than did men. Women were also more optimistic than men about the financial future of their orchestras. Although scores on all dependent measures declined significantly as the proportion of women in an orchestra increased, on most of the dependent measures including satisfaction and motivation, the authors also found "a significant reversal of the decline at some point on the gender composition spectrum as the downward trend either flattened or reversed itself" (Allmendinger & Hackman, 1995, p. 435).

Nevertheless, gender was the only variable accounting for the variance in the dependent measures. Age and experience interacted with gender with women players being considerably younger and having significantly less experience than their male counterparts. For example, the older players were significantly more satisfied than their younger colleagues. Sex typing of instruments also emerged as an important factor. In an earlier study, Allmendinger and Hackman (1993) found that women were significantly overrepresented in the first and second violins, violas, and cellos, while being underrepresented in the woodwind, percussion, bass, and brass sections. Thus, women played mainly in the largest section of the orchestra and were not as prominent and visible as they would be if they were playing instruments for which there were fewer players per part.

The availability of training and fellowship opportunities for aspiring female conductors are also increasing. For example, Alsop established the Taki Concordia Fellowship that exclusively supports the development of female conductors through mentorship and providing professional opportunities with major orchestras and established musical directors (Veltman, 2009). In Europe, Australian-born Simone Young was the first female conductor to lead the Vienna Philharmonic Orchestra in 20005 and now conducts the Hamburg State Opera in Germany while at the same time serving as its musical director and general manager. Nevertheless, with the exception of Alsop and Falletta, women's leadership successes have largely been achieved in small and midsize orchestras with only these two women directing large scale, major orchestras in the United States.

Women, according to Scher (2005), have yet to attain the power, prestige, and astronomical pay scale of baton-wielding superstars at the Big Five orchestras in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Cleveland, and Chicago. They also make up only about 18% of the United States conducting doctorates and remain a minority among applicants to conducting courses. But the few women conductors, known as "chicks with sticks" in the music industry, are exceptional role models for those who follow them. Nevertheless, although leadership role occupancy of women has increased significantly in business organizations, it has changed considerably less in the music world. While the incompatibility of an international lifestyle demanded by many conductors with raising a family applies to other performing artists and many business careers, the conducting profession seems particularly sluggish about catching up (Duchen, 2010). However, a gradual sea change is taking place with an increasing number of women taking up the baton. It may be largely a matter of time until women are a common sight on the highest podiums. British conductor Julia Jones took the baton at the Royal Opera House in 2010. French conductor and harpsichordist virtuoso Emanuelle Haïm, known for her beauty, charisma, and her profound knowledge of the scores she conducts, is perceived as a sensational new figure on the Baroque music scene that has fascinated and electrified the public for almost a decade. Thus, Duchen (2010) concludes that it is only a matter of time before a Herbertina von Karajan emerges to change the orchestral world.

Dance Dance is an art form that involves rhythmic body movements and is often regarded as a form of nonverbal communication. Definitions of what constitutes dance are dependent on social, cultural, aesthetic, and moral constraints, since dance encompasses many different types including ballet, ballroom, folk, and postmodern dance as well as ceremonial performances found, for example, among African and American Indian natives. Some musical genres have a parallel dance form such as baroque music and baroque dance, whereas others such as classical music and classical ballet developed separately (Scheff, Sprague, & McGreevy-Nichols, 2010).

Closely linked to dance as an art form is choreography or the art of creating dances which covers the entire process from concept to stage production (Minton, 2007). Today, major elements of choreography such as form, style, time, and space are enhanced by a variety of technologies including multimedia, lightning effects, and motion capture.

One leading woman who was a world renowned dancer, choreographer, and teacher was Martha Graham (1894–1991) who revolutionized dance, lightening, stage designing, costuming, and music with her creative perfectionism and offered a new dance language and new concepts. One of the foremost pioneers of modern dance, Graham's influence on dance has been compared to the influence Stravinsky had on music, Picasso had on the visual arts, or Frank Lloyd Wright had on architecture. In her autobiography (Graham, 1991), Graham pointed out that she was not interested in characters or ideas, but movements and that she wanted these movements not to be beautiful or fluid but fraught with inner meaning, excitement, and surge. She translated her father's dictum that movement never lies into memorable performances over a period of 70 years.

Graham spent most of her formative years on the West Coast where she discovered her calling as a dancer in her teens. After completing her studies at an arts-oriented junior college, she enrolled in the newly opened Denisham School of Dancing and Related Arts in Los Angeles. From there she moved to New York where in 1926, she established her own company, the Martha Graham Center of

Contemporary Dance of which Graham served as the first director grooming a new generation of dancers. ''Chronicles,'' first performed in 1936, is considered by many as Graham's defining work which brought contemporary sociopolitical issues such as the Wall Street Crash, the Great Depression, homelessness, and devastation to the stage. Many times during her long career, Graham used dance to make a political statement. Her ability to translate pure, raw emotions into expressive movement was her signature as a dancer and choreographer.

For most of her life, Graham resisted the recording of her dances because she believed that performances should exist only live on stage and should not be filmed or photographed. She also refused many offers to cash in on her name, her company's skills, or the growing visibility of modern dance. Her instrument for advancing the cause of modern American dance was her finely tuned body that served her well for decades (Wills, 1995).

She finally departed the stage in 1968 after refusing for years to leave despite critics who kept pointing out that she was past her prime; Graham herself in her autobiography (Graham, 1991) cites her 1970 appearance in ''Cortege of Eagles'' as her last performance. After leaving the stage, Graham sank into a deep depression and succumbed to alcoholism for several years. When she quit drinking, she returned to the studio and went on to choreograph new ballets and many revivals. In 1976, she was awarded the Medal of Freedom, the first dancer to receive the highest civilian award in the United State. *Time* magazine listed her as the ''Dancer of the Century'' and *People* magazine named her as one of the female ''Icons of the Century'' in the same year.

Painting Whereas pitch and tone are the essence of music, color and tone are key contextual elements in painting although rhythm is also used as a basic design principle. It is a compositional element that the painter employs to help the viewer's eye move around the canvas. Paintings are found on many different types of surfaces — canvas, stone, jewelry, pottery, and parchments. We are indebted to Pliny the Elder who mentioned a number of Greek women painters such as Timarata, Calyso, and Olympias (Vequaud, 1977). Manuscript illumination afforded us many of the female artists during the medieval period produced largely by nuns across European convents. The Renaissance and early Baroque eras (1400–1650) were dominated by famous male painters including daVinci, Titian, Raphael, and Donatello. However, there were also a number of outstanding artworks produced by talented women, equals of their more widely recognized male counterparts. These time periods were the first in history during which secular women painters gained international reputations. Lavina Fontana, a prominent painter in the School of Bologna, Italy; Caterina van Hemessen, one of the leading portrait artists of the Flemish School; and Artemisia Gentileschi who enjoyed huge successes as an early Baroque painter were major representatives of women's achievements as painters. Many of the female painters of this period received commissions during their lifetimes, were able to support themselves and their families, and gained the favors of contemporary art critics. They also benefited from the rise of humanism which elevated the status of women during the Renaissance and consequently began to change the way women were depicted in the arts.

The period of contemporary art is usually dated sometime after the 1970s which marked the advent of postmodernism and set the temporal boundaries for contemporary painting. The contemporary arts scene is characterized by greater diversity of genres and artists. They have been described as individuals who (1) are important figures or widely cited by their peers/successors; (2) are known for originating significant new concepts, theories, or techniques; (3) have created a significant work, or collective body of work or a person whose work has become a significant monument, have been a substantial part of a significant exhibition, won critical attention, or are represented within the permanent collections of renowned galleries or museums (List of Contemporary Artists, 2010). Today, many women meet these criteria with female contemporary artists representing a wide range of genres in this category to include video, installation, digital, conceptual, graffiti, and Internet. Perhaps, one of the most promising and controversial female artists is Elizabeth Peyton known for her stylized and idealized portraits of celebrities including John Lennon and Michelle Obama and European monarchy (Peyton, Higgs, Lafreniere, Hickey, & Smith, 2005). The market value of her art has steadily increased as her recognition as an influential contemporary female painter grew. In 2006, her portrait of John Lennon on oil fetched $800,000. Peyton's paintings are in the collections of the Museum of Modern Art and Guggenheim in New York, the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, and the Kunstmuseum Wolfsburg, Germany (Peyton, 2010).

Sculpture Sculpture is a unique art form, different from painting, music, dance, or poetry because it involves three-dimensional space. Sculptures cast in marble, stone, or hard metal date back to ancient Egypt. Just as the materials used for sculpture vary widely, so does the size ranging from larger than life sized, monumental figures displayed in public places to small carved gems used as seal rings. The social status of the sculptor, compared to that of a painter, was usually lower, mainly because many sculptures are unsigned and few sculptors such as fifth B.C. Greek sculptor Phidias or 20th century Picasso attained fame and wealth.

The classical period of ancient Greece produced some the most exquisite sculptures as the artists began to expand the formal aesthetic boundaries and portrayed the human figure in a realistic manner as expressions of freedom, self-consciousness, and self-determination, values that defined Greece during the classical period. The sculptor in this context became the creator of human values and used deities as an inspiration to create humanity in stone and bronze (Boardman, 1985). Many different forms of sculpture flourished in India adorning Hindu and Buddhist shrines. During the Renaissance period, preoccupation with Greek imagery was rekindled. Donatello's bronze sculpture *David* and Michelangelo's *David*, possibly the finest sculpture in the world, as well as his *Pietà* are among the masterpieces of this period. During the 20th century, Auguste Rodin, often compared to Michelangelo, is widely credited as the father of modern sculpture and widely recognized as the greatest artist of the era (Hunsiak, 1981; Tucker, 1974). Pablo Picasso, one of the most prolific artists, revolutionized the art of sculpture by combining disparate materials including readymade objects such as a bicycle wheel. His artistic accomplishments brought him universal renown and immense wealth during his lifetime.

This brief expose into sculpture as an art form begs the question why there have been so few female sculptors who left their marks on the artistic landscape remaining invisible, although we know that many women practiced the "male" profession of sculpting throughout the ages. While women frequently have been the subject of sculpture, they infrequently practiced the art of sculpting. Women sculptors often had few opportunities for apprenticeship and little support. Many of the women worked alone, learning the difficult and often physically demanding mediums like bronze and marble and faced considerable obstacles to gaining commissions and showing their work in this male-dominated art form (Rubinstein, 1990).

One exception during the Baroque era was Luisa Roldán, daughter and wife of two Spanish sculptors who is known for the colorful wooden sculptures and statues she created for the Cathedral of Cadiz. She also worked in small terracotta and ivory. In 1688, she moved to Madrid and petitioned for the position of sculptor to the royal chamber which was granted to her in 1692 under King Charles II without compensation. Roldán continued her work as court sculptor under King Philip V until her death in 1706 (La Roldana's Saint Ginés, 2009).

During the 19th century, a new wave of women sculptors entered what had been a male-dominated art form and challenged, partially rejected, and redefined male artistic traditions (Harrison & Taylor, 1992). According to Beattie (1983):

> The dramatic rise of women sculptors to prominence in the 1890s was directly related to the changing image of the art. The cult, not only of the statuette, but of modeling as the sculptors most direct means of self-expression, and the consequent revolution in the bronze founding industry, had deeply undermined the principal argument against women's involvement in sculpture, their ability to cope with the sheer physical effort it required. (p. 195)

Margaret Giles' *Hero* exemplifies the work of a 19th century female sculptor. Giles was a member of a group at The Training Center that included Florence Steele, Ruby Levick, Ester Moore, and Gwendolyn Williams, all of whom studied modeling in the early 1890s at the National Art Training School (now the Royal College of Art) at South Kensington, winning prizes in national art competitions (Beattie, 1983).

Beginning in the late 19th century in major metropolises, such as Paris and London, women showed a marked increase in the number of commissions they earned to execute permanent sculptures for public places. Sterckx (2008) reported that during the period from 1789 to 1914, at least 230 sculptures were commissioned from women artists for public spaces in Paris, London, and Brussels. Although the number seems high, it is actually extremely low in relation to the number of public sculptures that were produced by men. According to the author, the female contributions to the public sculptural repertoire in the three cities lie somewhere between zero and three percent. Moreover, with few exceptions, women sculptors worked in lesser valued genres, formats, and media and their works often ended up in venues of secondary importance. Their sculptures were more often placed inside public or semi-public buildings rather than outside, and of those placed outside, only a few are prominently placed on pedestals in large squares or parks. Women, according to Sterckx, were allowed to operate in the sculptural arena as long as they stayed in the margins, often working in the borderland between the public and the private sphere. Although the conditions and contexts in which the sculptures by women in Paris, London, and Brussels were commissioned and installed differ greatly according to time and space, urbanization, population, political and economic situation, state patronage, women's emancipation, and artistic taste played an important role in having their works recognized.

Among contemporary female artists, Polish sculptor Magdalena Abakanowicz made a name for herself using textiles as a sculptural medium. In the 1960s, she began a series of three-dimensional fiber works called Abakans which secured her place in the art world as one of the great artists of the time. Each Abakan, usually hung from the ceiling, reaches sizes as large as 13 feet (Brenson, 1995). During the 1980s and 1990s, she changed medium and scale and began to use metals such as bronze as well as stone and clay. One of her most unusual works is titled *War Games*, which is a cycle of monumental structures made up of huge trunks of old trees, with their branches and bark removed and partly bandaged with rags and hugged with steel hoops (Kitowska-Lysiak, 2004). A common thread in Abakanowicz's sculptures is the artist's fascination with the natural world and her personal experiences with injustice and aggression she was exposed to during the Communist regime. Her sculptures often reflect the emotional heritage of her political environment (Inglot, 2004).

Summary

Though we live in an era that espouses equal opportunity and political correctness, the doors for women leaders in the sciences and arts, and to a somewhat lesser degree in higher education, have yet to swing wide open. A comparison of the status of women leaders in science and engineering and in higher education offers some interesting parallels but also some intriguing divergences. In some disciplines such as education, women have made significant gains, largely because of the passage of Title IX in the 1970 and the affirmative action programs that followed on the heels of this legislation. The large gaps between the educational levels of men and women that characterized the 1970s have essentially disappeared for the younger generation. Women's accomplishments in higher education, both in terms of the number of leadership positions women are occupying and the prominence they have achieved, exceed those of women in science and engineering where women still lag significantly behind males. However, education has and continues to be sex typed as a female discipline while science and engineering are disciplines considered incongruent with the female stereotype. In the arts across the different genres, particularly music, painting, and sculpture, women leaders continue to be underrepresented. Despite some spectacular successes of individual women leaders in science and the arts, radical change is slow to come.

Chapter 11

Global Women Leaders

Angela Merkel assumed the office of chancellor of Germany in 2005. She was the first woman to occupy the chancellery as well as the youngest incumbent. Her previous political appointments included chairperson of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) and chairperson of the CDU–CSU (Christian Social Union) coalition, president of the European Council, and chair of the G8 which Merkel took over from Margaret Thatcher. Merkel is a member of the 38 participants of the Council of Women World Leaders, a policy program of the Aspen Institute and a network of current and former women presidents and prime ministers that was established to mobilize the highest level women leaders globally to promote gender equality and increase the number, effectiveness, and visibility of women leaders (www.cwwl.org). In 2009, Merkel was elected to a second term as German chancellor who, despite economic and political challenges, remains one of Europe's most popular leaders.

Merkel was born to a Protestant minister and his wife, a schoolteacher. As a child, she showed early talents for math, science, and languages and originally pursued a career as a physicist. She was educated at the University of Leipzig, the former East Germany where she studied physics. Merkel spent 35 years in Communist East Germany. According to Mayer (2010), it was her experiences under communism that equipped her with skills to circumvent barriers (p. 35). Merkel herself stated that in East Germany, people always ran into barriers before they were able to discover their personal boundaries. She obtained her doctorate in quantum chemistry and worked as a chemist at a scientific academy in East Berlin. Merkel only became interested in politics after the collapse of the communist regime. After the fall of the Berlin Wall, she stepped into the growing democratic movement and started her meteoric rise as one of the world's most powerful women (Mills & Schlesinger, 2007). After reunification, West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl, her mentor, named Merkel his Minister of Women's and Youth Affairs. In 1994, she was appointed Minister for the Environment and Reactor Safety, the post that served as the stepping-stone of her political career. When a slush fund scandal and Kohl's refusal to admit any wrongdoing thrust the party into turmoil, in 2000, Merkel became the first chair of her party, the CDU, a male-dominated, socially conservative party. She wrote a devastating article in a German newspaper about Kohl who promoted her political career in which she sought his removal. Initially, Merkel was dismissed as a token appointment, later as plain and boring but is credited with leading Germany out of the recession.

Often compared to British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher, Merkel has been called Germany's Iron Lady. Like Thatcher, she holds a degree in the physical sciences and has a zeal for reform. Merkel rose to power by aggressively knocking off established party members. However, she lacks unified party support and the charisma to rally the public behind her reforms, both of which were key elements to Thatcher's success (Risen, 2005). Many political observers in Germany speculate that Merkel will not be a radical reformer. Nevertheless, as chancellor, she proved herself as a pragmatic politician who undertook reforms in the German economic, labor, financial, and health care systems and is active on the international scene promoting strong American–German partnerships, future energy developments, and extensive international cooperation. For example, Merkel offered Europe's support for the Jewish state. According to Elkins (2005), "das Mädchen" ("the girl" as she was referred to by Kohl) is an ardent proponent of women's rights and often complains about the glass ceiling restricting women in the workplace.

Merkel has often been described as a phenomenon in German politics. Her biographers and magazine columnists have attributed her rapid political rise to luck or personal characteristics such as assertiveness and an instinct for power. However, according to Sokoll (2005), such attributions are unconvincing because they ignore the political and social conditions under which her ascent took place. Recently, Merkel has been criticized at home and abroad for mishandling the euro crisis and her controversial approach to Greece's debt. The austerity plan she implemented to reduce Germany's deficit angered many European Union members who believe the cuts are socially imbalanced as did the departure of senior CDU conservatives (Connolly, 2010). The election of Germany's new president in 2010 will be a turning point for Merkel's political career, especially if her candidate loses and the opposing party takes over the presidency.

Merkel topped Forbes magazine's list of "The World's Most Powerful Women" in 2009 for the third consecutive year (Serafin, 2009). According to Forbes, power is determined by three factors: career accomplishments, economic clout, and public profile. Merkel is the recipient of the 2008 Charlemagne Prize for her work to reform the European Union. The toymaker Mattel recognized her when they introduced an Angela Merkel Barbie, complete with black trouser suite in 2009 (Pavia, 2009).

Introduction

Over the past 25 years, multinational companies have proliferated and globalization has moved from the periphery to center stage. By 2005, China, India, South Korea, and Taiwan had become major global players. Multinational military teams and peacekeeping forces have become common replacing some of the traditional military function. Along with this economic and military integration, a one-world culture has emerged from the world market for television, by rock concerts, and fashions (Bass & Bass, 2008). At the same time, European and third world multinational organizations increased their presence in the United States adding new dimensions to diversity in the selection and evaluation of employees by U.S. firms. Spurred by rapidly changing technologies, market and cost competitiveness, and the growing convergence of consumer preferences are forces and dynamics that drive an increasing global mind-set among leader, followers, customers, and competitors. Individuals, businesses, and organizations are now challenged by a global economy driven by electronic communications.

Global leaders need to develop the skills and competencies to effectively deal with international government relations, expatriate assignments, and cultural issues outside their national boundaries. Among the global leadership competencies are seeking opportunities to learn, being open to criticism, seeking and using feedback, being committed to making a difference, learning from mistakes, being insightful, acting with integrity, having the courage to take risks, adapting to cultural differences, and having broad business knowledge (Spreitzer, McCall, & Mahoney, 1997). Since many studies have found that women are interpersonally skilled, flexible, and inclusive as managers (i.e., Feltes & Steinhaus, 1998), they should be well poised for international assignments. But again, we run into a paradox. On the one hand, we have a substantial pool of female managers who are well suited for international tours and willing to go on expatriate assignments while on the other hand, the number of women actually selected to work in middle and upper level management position overseas remains small.

The rise of multinationalism among corporation indicates that not only are leaders required to be proficient at managing diverse workers at home but they must also be adept at leading workers whose culture may be foreign to them (Thomas, 1998). Several studies have shown a significant positive relationship between an organization's bottom line and its ability to develop global leaders (i.e., Paik & Sohn, 2004; Travers & Pemberton, 2000). Aycan (2001) pointed out that in many organizations, international experiences are critical to upward mobility and leadership development. Contrary to the prevailing myth that women do not seek international appointments, primarily because of family responsibilities, reported that women do not turn down overseas appointments at higher rates than men.

Cross-Cultural Leadership

At the heart of cross-cultural leadership is the concept of culture. Most definitions of culture include references to societal norms, standards, beliefs, and values as expressed in language and the arts. Culture is a complex and multifaceted construct which may include leadership culture, business culture, national culture, and world culture (Rosen, Digh, Singer, & Phillips, 2000). The impact of culture is seen across nations and leadership characteristics. For example, in the United States, speed of processing information and ideas is labeled intelligent, while careful and deliberate thought is considered intelligent in Uganda. Similarly, many leaders in the United States believe that the majority of the people who work for them want to develop interpersonal relationships characterized by collaboration, trust, and open communication. Leaders in the People's Republic of China act similarly, but for very different reasons emphasizing group relations instead of relations between individuals. Asian cultures have been strongly influenced by Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism and thrive in a social order that subordinates the individual to the group and women to men.

Assertiveness in the United States is related to perceptions of effective leadership while in East Asia nonassertiveness is perceived as lack of leadership potential. Chinese leaders advocate an egalitarian workplace in which all employees could improve their lot together, both economically and culturally. They encourage collaboration and broad participation in decision making by replacing individual rewards with collective rewards (Offerman & Phan, 2002). ''Face'' is another human relationship concept in Asian societies which is to be guarded and preserved. To save face means protecting the self-esteem and dignity of other in interpersonal interactions. Conversely, causing other people to lose face is to be avoided at all costs.

In Japan, the Sinto concept of wa means harmony, peace, unity, and reconciliation (Parry, 2006). Parry (2006) stated that "in Japan, harmony, or wa, is an end itself" (p. 107). As the author noted, it is also the highest goal of human and business behavior. Isomae (2005) added that the Japanese avoid any disruption of wa and consider violations of this religious principle offensive because it interferes with the establishment of sustainable relationships and trust.

Global leaders need a diverse repertoire of skills to manage the culture of their organizations and countries, including a new kind of intelligence known as cultural intelligence (CI). CI is broadly defined as the capability to deal effectively with people from different cultural backgrounds and understanding, respecting, and valuing these differences. More specifically, Earley and Ang (2003) defined CI as ''a person's capability for successful adaptation to new cultural settings; that is, for unfamiliar settings attributable to cultural context'' (p. 9). According to the authors, CI is distinct from social and emotional intelligence in that it requires people to switch national contexts and rely on their ability to learn new patterns of social interactions and devise the right behavioral responses to these patterns.

Most of these definitions suggest that CI has been defined as the possession of a key set of valued skills in a culture. Despite variations in definitions, CI addresses a set of skills, from basic to advanced, that allow an individual to become effective at eventually transferring social skills from one culture to another. When well developed, the CI set of skills allows for better cross-cultural respect, recognition, and reconciliation or adaptation (Brislin, Worthley, & MacNab, 2006). As a new construct, CI holds promise for research on female expatriates, as women are increasingly seeking international stretch assignments precursor of promotion to the upper ranks of management. According to Mercer Human Resource Consulting (2006), women comprise only 15% of the expatriate population among U.S. companies, although there is no shortage of qualified female candidates.

The effects of increasing globalization are also evidenced in leadership research. According to Hofstede (2001), for example, cross-cultural and multinational research publications have grown more than fourfold in the last half of the century.

Hofstede's work (1980, 2001) is based on his IBM Values Survey collected from personnel in 50 countries. This research identified four major dimensions along which cultures differ: (1) power distance or extent to which a society accepts the fact that power in institutions and organizations is unequally distributed; (2) uncertainty avoidance which taps respondents' beliefs about uncertainty in the future and the extent to which they feel uncomfortable with ambiguous situations; (3) individualism versus collectivisms or the extent to which a culture is characterized by a loosely knit framework and people are supposed to take care of themselves as opposed to cultures with tight social frameworks with strong and cohesive groups; (4) masculinity versus femininity, an index of the intent to which members of a culture endorse work goals usually more popular among men than among women; and (5) long-term versus short-term orientation.

Hofstede's indices have been widely used in cross-cultural leadership. For example, Den Hartog (2004) found that the masculinity–femininity score of cultures on this index was high if cultures were seen as assertive and tough, interested in money, uncaring about people or the quality of life, and oriented toward performance and achievement. On the other hand, the masculinity–femininity index was low if the culture valued modesty, tenderness, and warm social relations and in countries with increased opportunities for women. Hofstede (2001) holds that masculine and feminine cultures create different leader types.

The second influential cross-cultural leadership study is the GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness) Project (House, Hanges, Javidan, et al., 2004) which studied middle managers in the same industries in 62 nations in more than 800 companies. GLOBE is one of the most ambitious and broadest research efforts that surveyed 173,000 middle managers in 62 cultures. All regions of the world were represented. A team of over 150 international researchers led by Principal Investigator Robert House collected quantitative data measuring leader behaviors and leadership practices and organizational and societal culture. The quantitative surveys which were developed and validated separately for each participating country were combined with narrative case materials. The dimensions assessed in the Globe Project are power distance, uncertainty avoidance, in-group collectivism, institutional collectivism, gender egalitarianism, assertiveness, human orientation, performance orientation, and future orientation. For each of these nine dimensions, items were developed at two levels: societal and organizational. Finally, besides culture, GLOBE also included a measure of perceptions of leadership consisting of behavioral and attribute descriptors that are hypothesized to either facilitate or impede outstanding leadership.

Both similarities and differences in leadership have been found in cross-cultural research. For example, in the GLOBE study, the investigators found universal positive leadership attributes such as trustworthiness, justice, and dependability. However, there were also significant differences between the countries. Latin American managers, for instance, placed more emphasis on relationships than their North American counterparts. Some of the cross-cultural differences are linked to the values, language, religion, education, wealth, and politics of the participating cultures. Feedback sessions where managers and subordinates examine performance are useful for American managers in developing employees, whereas they are considered enforced admissions of failure by German managers. The researchers concluded that leadership is culturally contingent upon the culture in which the leader functions.

The GLOBE research represents a major departure from the two-culture comparisons that have characterized cross-cultural leadership for a long time. Through multinational, long-term studies such as GLOBE using teams of investigators, all employing the same instruments which were developed using a theory-driven approach and procedures, researchers have been able to respond to many of the criticisms of the earlier cross-cultural studies and provide credibility to the field of cross-cultural leadership as an independent area of inquiry.

GLOBE data have also been used in other areas of leadership research. For example, Bajdo and Dickson (2001) utilized the GLOBE organizational culture data to predict women's advancement into management from various organizational culture variables, after controlling for industry effects. The authors found that organizational culture values of human orientation and gender egalitarianism were positively related to perceived percentage of women in management. They also reported that power distance was negatively related to women's advancement. Overall, the culture dimension of gender egalitarianism was found to be the most important predictor of the perceived percentage of women in management.

According to Bass and Bass (2008), the cultural dimensions of consequence to leadership in a given society include traditionalism versus modernity, collectivism versus individualism, universalism versus particularism, and pragmatism versus idealism. These cultural dimensions reflect value orientations that guide the beliefs and actions of leaders and followers, women and men with differences in shared values being at the root of cultural differences. Significant differences among these dimensions are one of the primary sources of clashes between countries. For example, individualism is often regarded as the characteristic of modern societies, while collectivism dominates in more traditionally oriented cultures such as China and Japan. Many leader behaviors such as decision making, negotiating, resolving conflict, and motivating followers are determined by how a leader approaches these task based on his or her preference for individualism or collectivism.

Graen and Hui (1999) argued that the perceptions of what it means to be a global leader are changing. No longer will "geocentric globetrotters" who are transferred from country to country to manage foreign operations be seen as the exemplars of the global leader. Instead, "transcultural creative leaders" will be required. These are people who can "learn to (1) transcend their childhood acculturation and respect very different culture; (2) build cross-cultural partnerships of mutual trust, respect, and obligation; (3) engage in cross-cultural creative problem solving to resolve conflicts; and (4) help construct third cultures in various operations" (p. 9). According to the authors, the most important issue of developing global leaders is learning how to manage cultural differences to enhance effectiveness, risk management, and innovation. They advocate a new form of cultural understanding known as transcultural facilitation which requires leaders to look beyond cross-cultural difference and bridge their subordinates' subcultures as well.

Thomas (1998) encourages global leaders to make allocentric attributions of others instead of adopting ethnocentric strategies which prevent leaders to step outside their own cultural frame of reference. According to the author, ''allocentric leaders understand that differences exist, appreciate them, and then make causal attributions about someone that fit within the person's cultural norms and values. Allocentric leaders are able to take a variety of ethnic perspectives without attaching a value judgment to them'' (p. 110).

The extent to which leader behaviors and practices are universal continues to remain an important empirical and practical question. While some studies have shown that charismatic and transformational leadership styles are universally valued, based on the way these styles are enacted across cultures. Yet despite the trend toward increasing globalization that could lead to increased cultural convergence, leaders continue to be guided by culture-specific values that have prevailed in their countries for decades despite changing management practices making the emergence of a worldwide common organizational culture unlikely (House et al., 2004).

Globally, women have achieved the highest levels of leadership either as political leaders such as presidents or prime ministers of countries or as CEOs of major multinational companies. However, in most of the remaining contexts presented in this book including technology, the media, sports, and the arts and sciences, women are not as widely recognized as leaders in their fields, and their accomplishments and successes are not as widely publicized as those of leading women in politics and business. In this chapter, I present a collage of selected global women leaders who have not always captured the attention of the media but are shaping the present and future of their countries, institutions, and organizations.

Global Political Women Leaders

In 1960, Sirivamo Bandaranaike became the world's first elected woman prime minister, and in 1974, Isabel Perón of Argentina became the first woman president. Among the past global women political leaders who have attracted worldwide attention were Benazir Bhutto (Pakistan), Corazin Aquino (Philippines), Kin Campbell (Canada), Gro Harlem Brundtland (Norway), Margaret Thatcher (Britain), Golda Meir (Israel), and Indira Gandhi (India). These female leaders have generated a body of work consisting of autobiographies, biographies, and, in some case, scientific and position papers. Although many of the global leaders' ascents have been described by the media as meteoric, in many cases, their access to political leadership required significant investments of time and money along with significant sacrifices.

In a classical article, Adler (1996) identified 25 global women leaders who have led countries and government in diverse political and socioeconomic contexts around the world. There were some commonalities in the background of these women including being raised in economically advantaged families (although some women grew up in poverty) in which education was an important value (12 of the 25 women had earned doctorate or professional degrees) and most of them were married and had children.

Most of the women gained power in highly competitive elections and only six rose to their countries highest leadership position through appointments. In addition, most women leaders were driven by a vision or mission, developed and used broadly based popular support, rather than relying primarily on structural support and leveraged the fact that they were women.

Despite these commonalities, a significant degree of diversity was also evident in Adler's study of global leaders. In fact, diversity across countries, issues, leadership styles, and paths to power seem to be the dominant pattern, past and present. Some women have led economically developed countries such as Great Britain and Switzerland, whereas other women have led underdeveloped countries such as Haiti and Bangladesh. The same diversity prevailed when it came to size, ranging from large nations such as Argentina to some of the smallest such as Iceland. The global women leaders represented most of the world's major religious traditions with four women at the helm of predominantly Muslim countries and the full spectrum of political regimes and parties including communism, liberal labor party traditions, and conservatism.

For a while, European countries had taken a strong lead in the number of women leaders, although the contexts in which the women have risen to the highest office differed greatly. In parliamentary democracies which are prevalent in many European nations, women sometimes constitute more than 40% of the members of a national legislature (Bass & Bass, 2008, p. 1001). Europe also has installed numerous female presidents and prime ministers. However, in contrast to politics, European countries have been slow in appointing women to the board of directors of business organizations. Some European countries such as France where women are making up 9.3% of 103 boards tracked by GovernanceMetrics International are now considering legislation to adopt quotas to boost the number of female directors to 40% (Patel, 2010). Norway and Spain have a similar quota system in place which stipulates that 40% of the board of a publicly quoted company should be women, otherwise that company could be delisted.

Some female global political leaders have held mostly ceremonial power. For example, Mary Robinson of Ireland's political power as president (1990–1997) was limited, although she discovered ways to express her views and support for progressive change within the constitutional constraints of her office. Yet she was widely regarded for her feminist and transformational leadership (Sykes, 1993, p. 224). Queen Elizabeth II took over the monarchy at age 25 and has ruled Britain for over five decades with nominal political power but has become an institution.

As noted in Chapter 3, in Asian countries where after Europe the largest number of female political leaders is found, family ties represent important pathways to power. Kann (1999) noted that patriarchal policies, which are found in many countries, are particularly deeply entrenched in Asian societies. Jalalzai (2004) reported that of 44 female presidents and prime ministers in Asian and South American countries, 30% were wives or daughters of former presidents and prime ministers even though the general political participation of women in these countries is low and restricted by cultural and religious values. The importance of kinship in leadership succession explains, at least in part, why women in relatively less egalitarian cultures and political systems gain the highest political offices (p. 101). Addressing women's rise in Latin American countries, Saint-Germain (1993) suggested that the concept of marianismo, the counterpart of machismo, is part of the explanation. According to the author, ''under this system, women derive their identities through their male relatives — fathers, brothers, husbands, and sons, and achieve their highest fulfillment as wives and mothers'' (p. 77).

In African countries, on the other hand, where we find some of the most repressive cultures, none of the female leaders apparently have family ties to male relatives, at least not in the political arena. As Africa's first head of state, Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, occupied many leadership position in her country including minister of finance as well as abroad as vice president of Equator bank in Washington, DC, before her inauguration as Liberia' president in 2006. The Harvard trained banker and administrator promotes the concept of United States of Africa. In Liberia, she is leading the country's anticorruption reform; rebuilding its infrastructure including roads, bridges, hospitals, and schools; and restoring Liberia's reputation (Fofana, 2010). Johnson Sirleaf too has been named the ''Iron Lady'' of Liberia, a nickname she earned by surviving several years in prison and exile for criticizing the government. She has been successful in reconciling the numerous fractious in her country and get it back on the right path.

One of the most controversial female politicians on the world stage is Yulia Tymoshenko who was the prime minister of the Ukraine in 2005 and again from 2007 to 2010. She was Ukraine's first female prime minister in 2005 and the coleader of the Orange Revolution, a series of protests and political events that took place in Kiev and spread across Ukraine from late November 2004 to January 2005 following a cooked presidential election that transformed the politics of Eastern Europe (Wilson, 2006). Tymoshenko played a leading role in the attempt to bring down the post-Soviet government that ruled Kiev and swept a new nationalist coalition to power. The Orange Revolution set Ukraine, one of the most corrupt states, on a pro-Western course (Osborn, 2010). During the revolution, the media dubbed her as the nation's ''Joan of Arc,'' as she led a crusade to rid the country of the elite robber bandits. She emerged in the Western media as the belligerently populist leader whose good looks, energy, and antiestablishment rhetoric made her an icon during the revolution (Slivka, 2006) admired for her fiery passion for politics and her country.

Tymoshenko also ran for president of the Ukraine in 2010 but lost to her opponent, Viktor Yanukovych whose victory she did not recognize. After her defeat in the presidential election, Tymoshenko blasted her opponent and accused him of threatening the sovereignty of the Ukraine and questioned his competence. Faced with Tymoshenko's cult-like following, the newly inaugurated president, who was suspicious of her headstrong political style, was forced to concede her the prime ministership she demanded (Slivka, 2006).

Born in 1960, Tymoshenko fought her way out of poverty, jails, and standoffs with Russia and knows how to fight and be tough. She graduated with an honors degree and holds a Ph.D. in economics with over 50 research reports to her name. Before she entered politics, Tymoshenko was a wealthy business woman who made her fortune with a chain of video rental stores. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, she held several high positions in Ukraine's oil and gas industries including that of president of United Energy Systems where she made spectacular profits, enough to start her own political party. While in office, Tymoshenko went after Ukraine's so-called oligarchs by controlling gasoline prices and hiked state pensions and salaries. Her opponents were quick to point out that Tymoshenko was once an energy oligarch herself.

The public is fascinated by Tymoshenko's telegenic personality and good looks, particularly her hair which has become a staple of her persona. She wears it in a traditional Ukrainian wrap-around style braid, a hairstyle that became iconic during the Orange Revolution. She once joked that her hair was a steering wheel that drives the state. Facebook nicknamed her "Hair of State." However, as Levy (2007) noted, her braid is not just a fashion statement. It is a calculated political tool with significant cultural resonance that underlines Tymoshenko's nationalist credentials. Moreover, the braid has religious overtones, since Tymoshenko tried to capitalize on the revival of the church in Ukraine and the braid echoes the haloes found in representations of Orthodox Christian icons.

In 2001, Tymoshenko was voted as one of the most beautiful women in international politics. She was also ranked three times by *Forbes* magazine among the most powerful women in the world. Tymoshenko resigned as prime minister in 2010 when her second government collapsed.

Global Business Women Leaders

Most of the literature on women business leaders focuses on high-profile women, CEOs of major corporations and is less vocal about women chief executives who have created their own businesses or assumed the leadership of the family businesses. Aburdene and Naisbitt (1992) almost two decades ago reported that not only have a disproportionate number of women founded their own enterprises but these women-owned businesses in the United States employ more people than the entire *Fortune 500* list of America's largest companies combined. Contrary to popular beliefs, the dearth of women leading major corporations abroad does not mean they have been absent as global business leaders.

Fortune magazine annually publishes the list of the 50 Most Powerful Women in Business Global (Fifty Most Powerful Women in Business, 2009). In order to be included in the rankings, a company must generate a minimum of $6 billion in revenues per year. In Europe, 12 French CEOs or company presidents made the top 50 followed by 6 British CEOs. In France, Anne Lauvergeon, CEO of Areva, a nuclear company ranked no. 4, is at the helm of a firm that sells uranium, reactors, and waste storage. Lauvergeon created Areva through a series of mergers and acquisitions of state-owned companies. Areva operates in 23 countries, a global powerhouse with more than 75,000 staff. Lauvergeon has been ranked by *Forbes* as one of the world's most powerful women, ahead of Michelle Obama and Hillary Clinton (Pagnamenta, 2010).

Lauvergeon grew up in the heartland of France where her father was a geography professor. Her childhood dream was to become an archaeologist. A scientist by training with a degree in physics from an elite engineering school in Paris, she worked in the mining and atomic energy industries before founding Areva and became one of the most influential figures in the controversial global power industry (Lagarde, 2005). In 2008, she produced revenues in excess of $18 billion and is heavily investing in foreign markets including India and China. Lauvergeon enjoys the backing of French President Sarkozy who promotes French nuclear technology and also served as chief deputy of staff for G7 summits under President Mitterand. Lauvergeon, the archetypal overachiever, was among *Time* magazine's 100 Builders and Titans in 2005. *Financial Times* named her as the no. 2 most fashionable business person (Fain, 2006).

Reports of global women business leaders in oriental countries including India, China, and Japan are conflicting and paradoxical. On the one hand, in many oriental countries such as India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh that rank poorly on a variety of economic indicators as well as education and health indices, women generally hold low status positions and wage gaps between female and male corporate leaders are large. For example, according to a survey compiled by the World Economic Forum (WEF), India ranked 114th out of 134 countries in the India gender gap of 2009 (Raina, 2009). Traditional Hindu texts document the duality of the role of women — there is the fertile, nurturing, benevolent woman and the ruthless, aggressive, destructive one. The roles of wife and mother are two dominant traditional roles. Traditional Hindu texts state that women must be honored and adorned and yet the son is the preferred child and there is no rejoicing when a daughter is born (Nath, 2000).

On the other hand, although women are underrepresented in corner offices around the world, female executives in India are on the rise and Chinese business women are shattering the glass ceiling, at least according to some recent reports. According to the Pakistan Defence Forum (India Rising, 2010), India has more women CEOs with 11% of 240 large companies — Indian as well as multinational, private as well as state owned — compared to 3% of the *Fortune 500* companies. As many as 54% of women are in financial services, 11% are in the media, another 115 in pharmaceuticals, and 4% each are found in manufacturing and IT.

In India, Chanda Kochhar, CEO and managing director, ICICI Bank; Shobbana Bhartia, chairperson and editorial director, HT Media; and Preetha Reddy, managing director, Apollo Hospitals have been identified as powerful business leaders. Kochhar debuted at no. 20 in the *Forbes* list in 2009 and was also ranked consistently by *Fortune* magazine since 2005. She started working at ICICI, now India's largest privately owned bank, as a management trainee and member of the team charged with establishing the bank. She was rapidly promoted to assistant and general deputy manager and later managed the corporate and international business of the bank in addition to serving as its chief financial officer. Under Kochhar's leadership, ICICI Bank won The Asian Banker — "Best Retail Bank in India" award for five consecutive years (ICICI Bank, 2010). She was instrumental in transforming ICICI from a retail to a universal bank (India Knowledge@Wharton, 2010) over a 20-year period during which she created and ran different businesses. She set up the finance infrastructure for the bank. Kochhar has supervised all banking functions including finance, risk, audit, compliance, and international. In an interview with the

Pennsylvania University Wharton School of Management with Professor Michael Useem, Kochhar stated that she considers adaptability the greatest challenge and that a person who can take on a challenge and maintain equanimity and turn it into an opportunity is the most effective leader (India Knowledge@Wharton).

In Singapore, Ho Ching was on *Forbes* list of the top 100 Most Powerful Women in the World, ranked no. 5 (Pavia, 2009). In 2007, she was selected as one of the 100 Builders and Titans who shaped the world by *Time* magazine and ranked no. 3. Ho began her career as an engineer with the Ministry of Defence and then ran a mix of defense, technology, property, and stock brokerages. In 2002, she became the CEO of Temasek Holdings, the investment arm of the government of Singapore. When Ho took over the company, she overhauled Temasek setting up more precise performance guidelines while raising accountability and transparency. She has been credited with converting Temasek from a Singapore-focused firm to a leading investor in Asia, making investments in Indian and Chinese companies, primarily in the telecom and banking industries. Although she is the wife of the prime minister of Singapore, Ho maintains a very low profile and believes that it was her risk-taking propensity rather than her family ties that won her the top job at Temasek (Bahree, 2007).

Latin American countries have produced numerous female political leaders such as Eva and Isabel Peron of Argentina, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro of Nicaragua, and, more recently, Michelle Bachelet, president of Chile from 2006 to 2010. However, in the corporate world, only few women occupy top leadership positions. One exception is Maria Asuncion Aramburuzabala de Graza, called Marisun by her friends and known as Mexico's beer queen, appeared as no. 26 on the *Fortune* magazine list of the 2009 50 Most Powerful Women in Business Global. She is a business woman in Mexico who heads the Grupo Modelo, brewer of Corona beer cofounded by her grandfather. Marisun is CEO and president of Tresalia Capital, a spin-off of Grupo Modelo. The "Queen of Corona" is the richest woman of Mexico who had little business experience when she inherited the family's beer empire (Gregory, 2002).

When her father died without leaving a male heir, nobody thought she could run the brewery. The beer heiress had to fight her brothers-in-law for the control of the company.

Equipped with a head for numbers and degree in accounting, Marisun expanded her business holdings when she bought a 20% stake in the Mexican media giant Grupo Televisa along with three seats on its board (Malkin, 2000). The company dominates television, radio, and publishing and is now making a big push into the Internet. Aramburuzabala, one of Mexico's rare power brokers, believes that job creation is better for Mexico than any social program and she is paving the way for other women to crack Mexico's glass ceiling.

Global Technology Women Leaders

Information and communication technologies around the world have made it easier for women to pursue careers and move up through the ranks of management and manage work and family roles more effectively. Unlike a few high-profile women leaders in IT such as Carly Fiorina and Esther Dyson who served as the founding chairperson of ICANN, the Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers, the international agency charged with setting the policy for the Internet's technical standards and domain name system in the U.S. statistics on global women leaders in IT are difficult to come by, since they are not getting much press.

One high-profile woman is Neelam Dhawan, the managing director of Hewlett-Packard (HP) India, who was ranked no. 37 in *Fortune's* annual global list of the "50 Most Powerful Women in Business for 2009." As managing director, Dhawan is responsible for driving revenues and profitability countrywide across various HP businesses. Previously, she was leading Microsoft's sales and marketing operations in India. Before her controversial departure from Microsoft, Dhawan worked in all the top IT companies in India such as HP and IBM. She brought more than 25 years in IT when she joined HP as India's leading IT woman. Her resignation from Microsoft meant returning to HP where earlier she was vice president for customer solution.

In many countries around the globe, successful women business leaders in IT are self-made to break away from the tradition of being tied to their families, particularly in the IT and telecom industries. Peggy Yu, for instance, together with her husband started up Dangdang.com in 1999, a Chinese online bookstore modeled after amazon.com which offered an initial public offering in the United States in late 2010. Dangdang comes from the Chinese adjective "xiangdangdang," meaning the clanging sound for fame. At the time, China had only four million Internet users; eight years later, the number of Chinese netizens had mushroomed to over 120 million. According to Peggy, she founded the e-commerce firm on "mouse plus concrete" theory. "Mouse" refers to the infrastructures for entrepreneurs to start an e-commerce business (Yan, 2007). Her business model is also based on values such as low prices, large selections, and convenience.

Peggy holds an MBA in finance from New York University and a bachelor degree in English literature from a Chinese college. She has also been very active in intellectual property rights in China. Prior to founding Dangdang.com, Peggy worked at a number of MNCs in China and also founded Tripod International, a financial advisory firm. When Peggy and her husband launched the online book retailer, it was difficult to predict that Dangdang.com would spur a $150 million buyout offer from amazon.com (Women in tech: Peggy Yu, 2005). Like Amazon in the United States, Dangdang in China has moved from a large seller of books to a multipurpose company selling everything from cosmetics to baby gifts.

Global Sports Women Leaders

While some sports such as cricket are national favorites in countries such as the United Kingdom, others are big players on the international scene. Golf is one of them. It is truly a global sport both in terms of golf tournaments which travel around the world and an international cadre of female golfers who compete in them. We briefly introduced this sport in Chapter 7 noting that it is both an individual and team sports. Unlike many sports (e.g., tennis, softball, basketball) that require an opponent or team in order to play, golf is very conducive to individual play in noncompetitive casual settings. In view of this situation coupled with the fact that golf is not a physically demanding sport, the gender gap in golf is particularly perplexing (McGinnis & Gentry, 2006). We also mentioned in Chapter 7 that golf is useful as a career and networking tool in that it provides women with prime opportunities to conduct business in informal settings. In this sense, golf could be viewed as a valuable resource of which women have not taken full advantage.

One global female golf sensation is Hawaiian-born, Korean American Michelle Wie who started playing golf at age four. Like so many of the women leaders featured in this book, she was an early achiever. By the time she was 10, she made her first try at qualifying for the PGA tour held in Hawaii. Her parents were both natives of South Korea. Her father was a former professor of transportation management at the University of Hawaii and her mother an amateur golf champion before they took over managing their daughter's career. In 2000, she became the youngest girl to ever qualify for a USGA event. By the time Wie was 12, she had grown to nearly six feet.

In 2003, she tried to qualify again for the Sony Open where she finished 46th out of 96 players. She gained so much notoriety after this event that she was offered a plethora of LPGA exemptions throughout the season. Michelle ended playing many LPGA events during that year including two men events but did not come close making the cut in either one of them (Michelle Wie, 2010a). She turned professional at the age of 16, and after a false start at the Samsung World Championships where she was disqualified for rules violations, she ran off a string of top 5 finishes in LPGA tournaments in 2006. The same year, she enrolled at Stanford University but ended up attending only spring and fall semesters. In 2010, Wie played her way back into the headlines, back into the prediction game, back into making the unusual look as usual by winning her second career pro title at the Canadian Open. With the victory, she wrapped up the best 12 months of her pro career (Kelley, 2010).

Wie's golf career has taken many twists and turns. For a decade she was surrounded by media hype, positive as well as negative. Arnold Palmer stated that she was going to attract people that Tiger Woods did not, young people both boys and girls. She was ranked in the *Forbes* magazine Top 20 Earners Under 25 with an annual earnings of 19 million dollars. On the negative side, she was criticized for making only one cut in a men's tournament, and has made no cuts on the PGA tour. Her handlers including her parents were accused of misguiding and mismanaging her. Professionals, fans, and the media critics were angered that allowing Wie to compete in PGA events took away opportunities from more deserving golfers. She was criticized for dressing in inappropriate clothing during golf tournaments and responded by wearing more athletic clothing designed by Nike. Finally, her prolonged absences, allegedly the result of a wrist injury, raised questions as to whether the injury was fabricated by Wie and her parents (Michelle Wie, 2010b). Today, even Wie agrees that mistakes were made.

In the present economic climate with a worldwide recession, the women's tour began to shrink and lose prize money and sponsors. At the same time, a flock of well trained, pressure proof Koreans came ashore and started not only winning every event but dominating the entire LPGA. A lot of things have happened to Wie since people began to declare her the female version of Tiger Woods when she was 12. At age 20 now, Wie still appeals to both the American and lucrative Asian markets (Howard, 2010).

Global Peace Women Leaders

Shirin Ebadi is an Iranian lawyer and human rights and democracy activist who was awarded the 2003 Nobel Peace Prize for her work promoting the rights of women and children in her home country. She was the first Iranian and the first Muslim woman to receive the prize. The Iranian government discredited the honor making an official statement that the Nobel Peace Prize is nothing and that it was politically motivated by a pro-western institution to embarrass Muslims and the Iranian people. According to Washington Post reporter Ignatius (2003) between the lines of the Nobel announcement was an implicit argument that human rights activists such as Ebadi represent a better way to change repressive regimes than U.S. soldiers hunkered down in Iraq. The state-sponsored television did not report the news until the end of the broadcast following the sports roundup. The channel refused to carry Ebadi's acceptance speech because she did not wear the hijab that the Iranian government requires all Iranian women to wear in the awards presentation. Ebabi countered, ''instead of telling Muslim women to cover their heads we should tell them to use their head'' (Celebrating Shirin Ebadi, 2003).

In her book, *Iran Awakening* (2004), Ebadi explains her political and religious views on Islam, democracy, and gender equality when she states:

> in the last 23 years, from the days I was stripped of my judgeship to the years of doing battle in the revolutionary courts of Teheran, I had repeated one refrain: an interpretation of Islam that is in harmony with democracy and equality is an authentic expression of faith. It is not religion that binds women, but the selective dictates of those who wish them cloistered. That belief, along with the conviction that changes in Iran must come peacefully and from within, has underpinned my work. (p. 204)

Ebadi insists that Islam and human rights are compatible despite the fact that even Islamic scholars have pointed out that Islam is a religion of discrimination and separation. Ebadi, on the other hand, believes that the human rights abuses and the oppression of women by the Iran government contradict the true teachings of Islam. Instead, the patriarchal culture uses its own interpretation to justify human rights violations and gender inequality. Her life's work has been to prove that with another interpretation of Islam, it would be possible to introduce democracy to Muslim countries.

Ebadi was born in 1947 in Hamadan in the western part of Iran. At the time of her birth, her father was the head of Hamedan's Registry Office and one of the first lecturers in commercial law. Her family moved to Teheran when she was one year old. She studied law at the University of Teheran and in 1969 passed the qualifying exams to become a judge. After a six-month apprenticeship in adjudication, she began to serve as a judge. While serving in that position, Ebadi continued her education and obtained a doctorate with honors in private law from the University of Teheran in 1971 (Ebadi, 2003). She is the first woman in the history of Iranian justice to have served as a judge when in 1975 she began presiding over a legislative court.

Following the victory of the Islamic Revolution in 1979 which overthrew the Shah of Iran, Ebadi was dismissed from her position as judge, presumably based on the belief that Islam forbids women to serve as judges. She was demoted to a secretarial position serving as a minor clerk in the very court she once presided over. The conservative clerics who took control of Iran after the revolution introduced severe restrictions on women, calling them too emotional to occupy high-ranking positions in the judicial system. One of the first political manifestations of the new regime was the mandatory veiling of women. Ebadi's vocal defense of human rights antagonized the Iranian judiciary which briefly jailed her after she was accused of producing disturbing evidence that implicated government officials in the murder of university students in 1999. Her sentence was overturned in a court of appeals. After having been housebound for a number of years and being denied the license to practice law, she finally applied for early retirement and set up a private practice in 1992 in the basement of her home. She also began teaching at the University of Teheran and established a nongovernmental organization, Association for Support of Children's Rights in Iran.

As a lawyer, Ebadi is known for taking up cases of liberal and dissident figures. She represented the family of Dariush Farouhar, a dissident intellectual who, along with his wife, was found stabbed to death in his home. She also represented the mother of Arin Golshani, a young girl who was tortured to death while in her father's custody. Child laws in Iran automatically award custody to the father in divorce cases, a law Ebadi is fighting to change. A large number of political and civil activist have been arrested in Iran and some of them were sentenced to death after summary trials behind closed doors. Iranian women who seek equal rights are charged with conspiring to overthrow the Iranian Republic. Punishments such as stoning, amputation of limbs, crucifixion, and flogging exist in Iranian law and have been enforced on many occasions.

Unlike many professional women who fled after the Islamic revolution, Ebadi stayed in Iran. After the election in 1997 of President Muhammed Khatami, a reformer who called for tolerance and the rule of law, she began speaking out forcefully on human rights issues, especially on behalf of women and children. "The crucial issues for women," she says, "are custody [of their children after divorce], divorce, and being able to study in any field or enter any profession we want. We think if we change men's attitudes toward women, which are a gender and sex issue, we will change their attitudes toward religion as well" (Shapiro, 2010).

Ebadi became an outspoken critic of the Bush administration's democracy-promotion efforts and deplored the "axis of evil" rhetoric which accused Iran of working to build nuclear weapons and supporting terrorists. She argues that instead of the United States demanding that Iran should embrace democracy, each nation needs to select what is best on its own. According to Ebadi, the fight for human rights is conducted in Iran by Iranian, the people who are against any foreign intervention in their country. She argues that the United Nations should focus on pressing the Iranian government to restore democracy and human rights, rather than imposing economic sanctions. Ebadi sued the U.S. government in 2004 for blocking the publication of her book in the United States as part of a ban on literature from nations subject to U.S. sanctions. She was told that because of the sanctions, her book would not be published in the United States, since the proceeds would go to the author and this to Iran because she lived there. After a long legal battle, Ebadi won and was able to publish her memoir in the United States.

Ebadi eventually fled Iran during the turmoil that erupted after the 2009 disputed election while her husband and one daughter remain in her home country. While in London, her Nobel Prize Medal and a ring she received from a German association of journalists were taken from her bank box by the Revolutionary Court, much to the disbelief of the Nobel Peace Prize committee. The Iranian foreign ministry subsequently denied the confiscation and also criticized Norway for interfering in Iran's affairs (Hafez, 2009). In an interview with *The Sunday Telegraph* in February 2010 (McDowall, 2010), she expressed her frustration at the regime's brutal treatment of Iranian protesters and described its chilling threats against her. Her sister was arrested and her husband was beaten and his passport was taken away. Although it was later returned only for him to discover that the returned passport was a forgery (Gedmin, 2010).

Ebadi now lectures, teaches, and receives recognition and rewards for her work in different countries. She believes that the threats against her life, security, and family continue. Nevertheless, she volunteered to be the lawyer for the arrested leaders of the Bahá'I, a faith community founded in Persia that advocates the unity of God, the unity of religion, and the unity of humankind (Momen, 2000).

In 2004, Kenyan environmental and political activist Wangari Maathai was the first African women to receive the Nobel Prize for her contribution to sustainable development, democracy, women's rights, and peace (Maathai, 2003). Born in Kenya in 1940, she was also the first woman in East and Central Africa to earn a doctorate degree. She founded the Green Belt Network in 1977, a grassroots organization through which she helped women to plant more than 20 million trees. The purpose of the movement was not only to conserve the environment but empower women to improve the quality of their lives. A number of other African countries including Tanzania and Uganda started similar initiatives. The 2004 Nobel Prize was awarded to Maathai in recognition for her work in the Green Belt Movement. Many other awards followed including the 2007 World Citizenship Award, the Indira Gandhi Prize awarded the same year, the Disney Conservation Award (2006), and the Outstanding Vision and Commitments Award (2002). She was listed sixth in the Environment Agency (UK) peer review of the world's top 100 Eco-Heroes. In 2005, Maathai was honored by *Time* magazine as one of 100 most influential people in the world, and by *Forbes* magazine as one of 100 powerful women in the world (About Wangari Maathai, 2010).

In her memoirs (Maathai, 2007), the author describes growing up in the central highland of what was then British Kenya as the third of six children. Her parents were peasant farmers who lived from the soil and also kept cattle, goats, and sheep. Her mother gave her a small garden of her own in the middle of the family farm and showed her daughter how to plant and care for crops. By the time she graduated from high school, the colonial era of most of Africa was coming to an end. Young Maathai was one of a number of promising students to receive higher education in the United States through a program funded by the Joseph P. Kennedy Foundation and through the Kennedy Airlift was flown to the Mount St. Scholastica College in Kansas (p. 94). Later, Maathai continued her studies in the United States where she earned a Master of Science from the University of Pittsburgh followed by doctoral studies in Germany and completed her studies with a Ph.D. in veterinary anatomy from the University of Nairobi.

Prior to receiving the Nobel Prize, Maathai sought numerous academic, environmental, and political challenges. She worked her way through the faculty ranks to become chair of the department of veterinary anatomy and associate professor, again being the first woman in the region to attain those positions. She received numerous honorary doctoral degrees from universities around the world including one of the most elite liberal arts colleges in the U.S. Williams College (1990), the University of Norway (1997), and Yale University (2004). She was politically active in Kenya serving on the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK). In 2002, Maathai was elected to Kenya's parliament and in 2003 she was appointed assistant minister for environmental and natural resources.

Like Ebadi, Maathai experienced her share of political problems. Shortly after her divorce, Maathai ran for the position of chairman of the NCWK. She lost this election by three votes, ran again for the position the following year and lost again. But she was overwhelmingly chosen to be the vice chairman of the organization. Maathai continued to be elected to serve as chairman of the organization every year until she retired from the position in 1987. In 1982, the parliamentary seat representing her home region of Nyeri was open, and Maathai decided to campaign for the seat. As required by law, she resigned her position with the University of Nairobi to campaign for office. However, the courts decided that she was ineligible to run for office because she had not reregistered to vote in the last presidential election in 1979. Maathai believed this to be false and illegal and brought the matter to court. The judge disqualified her from running on a technicality. When she requested her job back, she was denied. As she lived in university housing and was no longer a member of staff, she was evicted from her home (Maathai, 2007).

In addition, Maathai was faced with personal problems. After her husband left her and sued for divorce claiming that she was too strong minded a woman whom he could not control. He publicly accused her of adultery with another Member of Parliament. The judge in the divorce case agreed with the husband, and Maathai called him incompetent or corrupt (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wangari_Maathai). The judge was angry, charged her with contempt of court, and sentenced her to six months in jail. Shortly after the divorce, which proved to be very costly for Maathai making it difficult for her to provide for her children on her university salary, she accepted a position with the Economic Commission of Africa. Since her new job required extensive travel, she sent her children to live with her ex-husband (Maathai, 2007).

In 2006, Ebadi and Maathai, along with four other female laureates — Riboberta Menchu (Guatemala, 1992 for dedicating her life to the plight of the indigenous people of her country), Jody Williams (United States, 1997 for her work with the International Campaign to ban Landmines), Mairead Corrigan Maguire (Ireland, 1976 for her efforts to end the sectarian violence in her native Northern Ireland), and Betty Williams (Ireland, 1976, corecipient) — established the Nobel Women's Initiative to bring together their experiences in an effort for peace, justice, and equality. The vision of this initiative is for the six women Nobel Prize Laureates to use the visibility and prestige of this award to bring together women's rights activists and organizations worldwide to address the causes of violence and transform the world (http://www.nobelwomensinitiative.org). The women laureates believe that the Nobel Prize (which carries an award of $1.5 million) is not only an exceptional honor but also carries a tremendous responsibility.

Summary

In this chapter, we met some extraordinary women leaders representing every continent on the globe. They are witness to the fact that despite huge gains women made in the professions, business, and politics, on the world stage women's lives and rights continue to be restricted. But in virtually every context in the global arena, there are women leaders who have greatly excelled in their spheres of influence. However, in many contexts including technology, sciences, and the arts, women leaders remain underrepresented as they are as Nobel Laureates.

The Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded for more than 100 years; however, only 10 awards went to women. Reasons for women's underrepresentation on the global stage have relied on sex-role stereotyping, role congruity, and similar-to-me theories which have been discussed in previous chapters. As societies around the world are increasingly globalized outside of their borders and become more and more diversified within their borders, the demand for effective global leaders will continue. Women represent a significant proportion of the global leadership talent pool and will be increasingly called upon to serve their constituencies abroad.

Chapter 12

Epilogue

Introduction

Women leaders are reshaping political, corporate, and social agendas in developed and developing countries around the world. They bring to leadership different points of views, values, experiences, interests that provide diverse and unique prisms through which they view and approach the tasks and responsibilities of leadership. Leadership has and continues to be a gendered concept and practice. According to Yoder (2001), "How women enact their role as leader is inextricably intertwined with the basic realization that they are women bringing with them all the stereotypic baggage that comes with gender roles" (p. 815). The women leaders portrayed in the preceding chapters highlight the need for new models of leadership and leadership development. Personality characteristics of leaders as antecedents of a variety of leadership outcomes such as organizational performance or individual motivation which at one time comprised a considerable portion of leadership theory and research are losing influence, as the contexts in which leaders and followers operate become increasing complex, uncertain, and volatile. Followers have recently entered into the leadership equation (e.g., Kellerman, 2007, 2008; Chaleff, 2009) and an even smaller number of studies intentionally assessed the context of leadership. Porter and McLaughlin (2006) estimated that three out of every four empirical articles ignore followers and organizational contexts.

In the final chapter, I reflect on the progress and lack thereof, rapid change coupled with the persistence of the status quo, and the increasing number of paradoxes women leaders are confronted with and have to learn to manage. The pervasiveness of paradox — paradox of gender, leadership, power, equality, to name a few — creates a new context for leadership, a context which, as the remaining contexts discussed in the book, presents its own set of challenges but also offers opportunities for new insights, metaphors, and concepts, as leaders must figure out how to resolve the contradictions and tensions embedded in paradox. Learning to live with and manage paradox is not a skill taught in most leadership development programs and, for the most part, the academic leadership community has not been very responsive to incorporate paradox into conceptualizations of leadership. Recognizing the coexistence of opposites, finding balance between extremes, and resolving contradictions are part of the challenges of leading in a paradoxical world.

How Things have Changed, yet Remained the Same

The roles of women around the world are changing opening new opportunities for leadership. In 1992, *Life* magazine featured on the cover the U.S. Congress which at the time had a handful of female members and predicted that given the current rate of change it would take over 300 years until gender equality is reached in Congress. In 2009, *Time* magazine issued a special report under the heading "The State of the American Woman." In a survey, *Time* in collaboration with the Rockefeller Foundation addressed gender and power issues in an attempt to determine if the battle of the sexes is over. Reporter Gibbs (2009) summarized the findings which showed that the argument where women belong, in the home or the workplace, is over. Moreover, a large majority of respondents indicated that women's growing role in the workforce is good for both the economy and society in general. As Gibbs stated, "As the Old Economy dissolves before our eyes, women and men express remarkably similar goals when asked about the importance of money, health, jobs and family" (p. 26). Moreover, the extent to which men and women agreed on issues that divided them was striking given the many changes that occurred over a generation. Women have gained more freedom, more education, and more economic power. At the same time, the survey found that "women are less happy than they were a generation ago as women wrestle with the same pressures and conflicts that once accounted for male unhappiness" (Gibbs, 2009, p. 29).

Late in 2010, Elena Kagan was confirmed as the Supreme Court's 112th justice and fourth female justice in the United States while working on this manuscript, Elena Kagan was confirmed as the Supreme Court's 112th justice and fourth woman. Former CEOs Meg Whitman and Carly Fiorina achieved senior political leadership nominations. Carol Bartz, one of the early Fortune's 50 Most Powerful Women and former CEO of Autodesk turned down the top job at Yahoo (Brady, 2010) while Cathie Lesjak became interim CEO of HP after CEO Mark Hurd resigned after an investigation into a sexual harassment claim which unearthed expense report irregularities. Brenda Barnes quit her job as CEO of PepsiCo's North American operations in 1998 to raise her three children. At the time she was widely criticized for hardening the glass ceiling. In 2004, with her children in college, she landed another CEO position at Sara Lee where she managed to become one of the United States' most high-profile, high-achieving business leaders who rejoined the workforce after taking time off for the family. Quitting a high-profile CEO position and landing another one years later was unheard of a decade ago. At Xerox in 2009, one female CEO, Ann Mulcahy, handed over the reins to another woman, African-American Ursula Burns. For many working mothers, it was inspiring to see Mulcahy, a mother of two grown sons, step down in favor of a woman who has a 16-year-old daughter and a 20-year-old stepson and was herself raised by a single mother in a New York housing project. "This is a bases-loaded home run," commented professor and management researcher Noel Tichy adding that we now have something to share with our MBA female students that we've never had before (cited in Byrnes & Crockett, 2009).

Half way around the globe in Afghanistan, a young girl was dragged away from her husband's house, beaten, and mutilated despite her protests that her in-laws were abusive and escape was her only survival chance. Under the Taliban, not 10 years ago, but yesterday, women accused of adultery were stoned to death; those who flashed a bare ankle were whipped. Yet the Iraqi government insists that the constitution promotes gender equality and provides for girls' education. Yet in 2009, a bill was under consideration that authorized husbands of Shiite families to withhold money from wives who refuse to provide sex, limited inheritance, provided custody of children in case of divorce, and denied women freedom of movement without permission of their families. The law passed and the 25% quota of women in parliament could not stop it. During the Taliban, women's voices were banned from the radio, and television was forbidden, but in 2010, a female anchor interviewed a former Taliban leader on a national broadcast. Robina Jalalai, one of Afghanistan's first two athletes, spent her girlhood locked behind the walls of her family compound. Now she is running for parliament and wants to create a sports ministry which she hopes to lead (Baker, 2010).

In another part of the world, Australia nominated Julia Gillard as the first female president who at the time of this writing was running in the general election. In Brazil, with her victory in the presidential election, Dilma Rousseff joined the increasing number of women chipping away at the highest political glass ceilings. As noted in Chapter 3, in contrast to the past when women political leaders often garnered the highest through family ties, recent female leaders have often followed more tortuous routes (Webley, 2010). Despite many pockets of stagnation, the changes we have experienced in women's roles in society and leadership over the last generation have happened fast. Collins (2010) believes that they occurred so fast before either women or men could find their ways to the barricades.

In Burma, Nobel Laureate Aung San Suu Kyi was released from house arrest after more than two decades of incarceration by Burma's military regime. During her imprisonment, the democracy movement Suu Kyi led was unable to change the power distribution of the country or free it from the iron grip of the dictatorship. With her release, the question now is "whether she can translate the lofty principles into reality. In any country, making the transition from an icon of democracy to a player of hard-boiled politics is difficult enough… . And Suu Kyi must complete this evolution in a place where the generals still rule, where she has been twice released and twice rearrested for her unyielding political stand" (Beech, 2010, p. 40). Regardless of her political future, the "Lady," as she is known affectionately by her people, upon her release received an outpouring of love and admiration for the unwavering moral courage and fortitude she has displayed over the years.

Context: One More Time

Context has emerged as major factor in leadership and is the thread of Ariadne that connects the chapters of this book. The context in which leadership is enacted puts gender at center stage acknowledging that doing gender may differ for women and men and that leadership does not take place in a genderless vacuum

(Biernat & Fuegen, 2001; Ridgeway, 2001). A fundamental premise underlying this book as well as my earlier treatise on women in leadership (Klenke, 1996) is that leadership effectiveness for women depends on the context in which leadership is enacted. The vignettes at the openings of the chapters are intended to reinforce this premise. For example, Lindsey Vonn (Chapter 7) is a very successful leader in sports but would not be an effective leader in the church (Chapter 9) or the military (Chapter 8). Eagly and her colleagues (Eagly & Johnson, 1990, Eagly & Karau, 2002) suggested that contexts can be evaluated as more or less congenial for women. These researchers identified critical markers for evaluating gender congeniality of the leadership context such as group composition, the gender typing of the task, and power emphases. Yoder (2001) pointed out that "there is a continually growing body of literature demonstrating empirically that effective leadership for men in masculinized contexts is not necessarily effective for women" (p. 817).

One contextual factor that is new since I completed the manuscript for my 1996 book is the economic recession which began in late 2007 in the United States. Indications are that what has been turned as the most frightening downturn since the great depression may be changing the relationship between the sexes. According to Bureau of Labor Statistics (2009), since the start of the current recession in December 2007, 7.6 million employees have lost their jobs and the unemployment rate has doubled to 9.8%. The vast majority of job losses occurred in male-dominated professions such as construction and heavy manufacturing adding to the already millions of jobs lost to outsourcing. The disproportionate impact the current economic crisis is having on men is known as the "he-cession" in the blogosphere.

In Europe, the situation is similar with men who were responsible for the making of the economic meltdown as the largest losers. In European nations, unemployment rates have stagnated at or near 10% for nearly a decade. In East and South Asia, the massive economies of China and India are expected to remain the world's top economies, with a growth rate of more than 4%. However, this represents a severe slowdown in these regions compared with recent years' performances (International Labor Organization, 2009, p. 7).

When women lose jobs, the victims are women. When men lose jobs, the victims are women because they have to make up for lost male income. In fact, it has been estimated that almost 40% of women are the primary breadwinners in their household (Gibbs, 2009). But in the current economic climate, women may be the winner if the era of male dominance is coming to the end accelerated by the economic crisis. As Caldwell (2009) noted, "there were no women among the high-profile malefactors in the financial meltdown suggesting that maleness has become a synonym for insufficient attentiveness to risk" (p. 24). Salam (2009) predicted that the macho men's club called finance capitalism would not survive the current economic crisis. The author argues that "this male order was created during the Great Depression and the New Deal under Franklin Roosevelt at a time when there were not a lot of lady dam builders around." Moreover, the author believes that the "macho men of the heavily male dominated global finance sector created the conditions for the global collapse and were aided and abetted by their mostly male counterparts in politics" (p. 68).

One consequence of the recession as a contextual parameter may be a greater acceptance of women as equal partners and more egalitarian arrangements at home and at work as women and men have to adjust to the new economic circumstances. With the increasing prevalence of corporate layoffs and rising job insecurity due to fear of unemployment, factors that largely affect men together with a pipeline of talented women leaders, women are positioned to design scenarios which promote greater egalitarianism between women and men.

The next generation of women leaders, Generation Y or the millennials, has grown up in a context characterized by significant economic turbulence: the dot.com boom and bust, significant labor force shakeups, corporate greed scandals; but they have also utilized a variety of technologies since childhood, populated the Internet, narrowed the salary gap, and now represent the fastest growing segment of the economy. In today's business world, where work can be done anywhere at any time, a flexible work environment can provide opportunities for work-life balance. Many companies are retooling to offer compressed workweeks, flexible hours, telecommuting that are having a collective impact by tearing down the old hierarchy brick by brick (Shipman & Kay, 2009). Millennial women leaders experienced a substantially different family milieu (dual earner parents) and workplace environment than leaders in decades past. Since leaders of the new millennium must contend with the reality of mounting job insecurity and the ever present potential for unemployment, will this current context defined by recession and economic crisis be a window of opportunity for women leaders? Will they be able to change gender salient, masculine contexts into environments that are more congenial to women?

As context moved to the center stage of leadership theory and research, women leaders who are crossing contexts are receiving increasing attention. Context crossers are leaders, women (and men) who simultaneously lead in two or more professional contexts or sequentially shift their leadership from one context in which they successfully established themselves to a different context in which they have to prove themselves. In Chapter 3, readers met Condoleezza Rice, former U.S. secretary of state to President George W. Bush. Not only did Rice have a successful political career, she also plays a leading role in others contexts such as higher education and the arts where she is known as a great pianist who believes that music is important for young minds, as it helps them to develop into a balanced personality and discover different cognitive pathways. In 2010, Rice joined Aretha Franklin known for her powerhouse voice with 20 Grammy awards to her name. The diva and the diplomat, "Democratic vocals and Republican tunes, an unlikely duo, alongside the acclaimed Philadelphia Orchestra raised more than half a million dollars for inner city music education" (Chang, Ellis, & Clarke, 2010).

Similarly, Rear Admiral Landy changed contexts when she left her position of Coast Guard District Commander to take over the helm of the Girl Scouts of America. As noted in Chapter 3, former executives Meg Whitman and Carly Fiorina transferred their business and leadership skills to politics. Both women, along with Linda McMahon, cofounder of World Wrestling Entertainment, a Republican who ran for the senate from Connecticut, were among the wealthy, self-financed losers in the November 2010 mid-year elections. Some voters believed that Whitman, who contributed over $140 million from her personal fortune in her bid for California governor, and Fiorina were trying to buy the election (Palmeri & Green, 2010).

To make a difference in the way leadership is modeled, researched, and practiced, women must attain a critical mass in the different contexts in which they exercise leadership. In the discussion of the underrepresentation of women on corporate board of directors (Chapter 5), we noted that having three or more women directors made a difference, whereas one or two do not. French and Norway have implemented 40% quotas for women directors which may be viewed as definitions of critical mass. Other researchers (e.g., Collins, 1998) have also identified a tipping point of 35–40% women to mark the attainment of a critical mass where the context becomes congenial for women.

Gender equality has been achieved in some contexts as evidenced by the increasing number of women who occupy senior leadership roles in certain political arenas and business organizations. For example, gender equality is apparent in politics in Finland where approximately 40% of the members of the national parliament are women. Gender equality is explicit on the government agenda. Since 2000, Finland has had a female President of the Republic; her second and final term ends in 2012. As Pesonen et al. (2009) noted, as a member of the European Union, Finland is affected by EU directives when it comes to equality between men and women. The authors pointed out that "despite severe resistance from several directions, quotas were introduced in the public sector in Finland in 1995, most notably with respect to representation of both sexes in government appointed bodies, with the quota for the minority sex set at 40 percent" (p. 332). However, Finland remains hostile toward extending gender-based quotas to corporate boards; instead, the private sector companies are expected to design their own strategies to achieve gender equality.

In other contexts such as religious institutions or the arts, women's participation has increased beyond tokenism but has yet to reach a critical mass. From tinsel town to the boardroom, from the International Olympic Committee to the pulpit, developing strategies for individual women leaders that expand women's power bases and access to resources and changing the context in which women enact leadership are major challenges facing all leaders regardless of gender.

The Leadership — Gender Paradox

The mysteriousness of paradox has fascinated poets, scientists, philosophers, historians, and lay people for thousands of years. Life is rich in paradox, overflowing with enigma. Daily, we are surrounded by paradox — looking bold but playing it safe, living in the best and the worst of times or the bigger you are, the smaller you need to be. We prepare for careers that we know will be obsolete. Clients come to psychotherapy seemingly wanting to change but then spend most of their time resisting change. People who solve lower order problems, instead of becoming content, become discontent about higher order issues, thereby enacting the paradox that says: the better things are, the worse we feel. We have more communications but less sense of community, more information but less understanding, and more machines for living but less leisure and relief from stress. In everyday discourse, we often use the word paradox when we are puzzled by what is going on around us. ''It's a paradox,'' we say, meaning it is problematic (Klenke, 2003b).

The basic assumptions in Western societies is that women are expected to lead from their communal core, being nurturing, kind, and collaborative, but as leaders they are supposed to practice leadership congruent with agentic characteristics, being assertive, dominant, and powerful. As a result of the incompatibility of the gender stereotype of women and views of effective leaders, female leaders in some contexts are viewed differently than male leaders who exhibit the same behaviors (Atwater, Carey, & Waldman, 2001).

Although the concept of paradox has received increasing attention in the study of leadership and management, by and large, these ideas either have not yet had much influence on empirical or theoretical leadership research (Denison, Hooijberg, & Quinn, 1995) or are becoming a management cliché that is overused and underspecified (Handy, 1994). The word paradox comes from the Greek ''paradoxos,'' with ''para'' meaning against or over, and ''doxos'' meaning contradictory. As Slaate (1968) pointed out, paradox fundamentally embraces clashing ideas; it involves contradictory, mutually exclusive elements that are present and operate equally at the same time. However, rather than compromising between the two opposing extremes, effective organizations, groups, and individuals change by simultaneously holding the two opposing forces in mind. Similarly, Eisenhardt (2000) noted that a paradox is not a compromise between two extremes, but a tension in the two contradictory or opposing forces. The author goes on to say that ''this duality of coexisting tensions creates an edge of chaos, not a bland halfway point between one extreme or the other'' (p. 703).

Paradox has also been described as the tyranny of the ''or'' to capture the either/or decision-making processes that are involved when we are confronted with paradox (Collins & Porras, 1994). The authors pointed out that companies often mistakenly believe that they must choose between two opposing forces like long-term profits versus short-term revenue growth, concern for employees versus concern for shareholders, and preserving the core versus stimulating growth. Great companies, on the other hand, according to the authors, are able to adhere to both sides of a given issue and therefore avoid the tyranny of the ''or.'' Recent theorizing has placed emphasis on paradox, contradiction, and complexity, as the inevitability of paradox is becoming evident in many leadership situations and contexts. Observers are becoming more sensitive to the presence of simultaneous opposites or contradictions in effective leadership and organizations (Cameron & Quinn, 1998). The authors also noted that perceptions of paradox occur more frequently in turbulent times when old paradigms, beliefs, and assumptions struggle to compete in a new environment.

When change is constant, it is hard to know what we are constantly changing; likewise, when contradiction is constant, it is hard to know that we exist in a state of constant paradox (Wacker, Taylor, & Means, 2000). According to the authors, the acceleration of the rate of change, coupled with the acceleration and massification of input, has created a state of seemingly permanent paradox. More specifically, Wacker et al. state:

> The space between seeming opposites — physical space, psychological space, space in time and emotion and logic — has shrunk so dramatically in the last decade that every condition, every course of action, every possibility has come to be permanently juxtaposed between its polarities. (p. 18)

They go on to say:

> Trapped between colliding opposites, buffeted between competing claims, we have to learn to act as if we contained two opposites within ourselves. We have to be and not to be, do and not do, exist in the now and exist in the then, start in the future and work back to the present and create the circumstances that allow the future to unfold in our favor. (p. 18)

To appreciate the idea of paradox as the simultaneous existence of two inconsistent states, conflicting demands and ideas or seemingly illogical findings require both/and instead of either/or thinking. Both/and thinking means that both sides of the continuum are accepted rather than one being rejected at the expense of the other (Klenke, 2003b). For example, centralization in organizations is not rejected in favor of decentralization, but centralization is embraced along with decentralization, thus creating tension. The idea of tension is not encapsulated by compromise, but by embracing the two opposing ideas to their fullest degree (Eisenhardt, 2000).

Although numerous researchers (e.g., Cameron & Quinn, 1998; Handy, 1994; Bobko, 1985) have argued that the removal of either/or thinking will lead to enhanced knowledge of leadership, organizational, and social structures, many leaders and their followers react to paradoxical situations with confusion, disorientation, ambivalence, or even schizoid behaviors.

People who believe or hold one position on a controversial issue and act in a way contrary to it are called inconsistent, or worse hypocritical. A person with distinctively different behavior patterns is referred to routinely as schizophrenic (Fletcher & Olwyler, 1997). As Stroh and Miller (1994) noted, more than ever before, leaders and managers are pulled in many directions many of which are paradoxical: they must do more and spend less, focus on core competencies and diversity, take risks and avoid costly mistakes.

Therefore, effective leaders have to be fluent in handling and coping with paradox instead of avoiding it and reframing situations, which transform either/or alternatives into those which offer both/and solutions. For example, leaders who can only work in cooperative *or* competitive modes are at a disadvantage compared to those leaders with the requisite cognitive, emotional, and behavioral repertoire who can work in both modes simultaneously (Denison et al., 1995). Likewise, Kayworth and Leidner (2001/2002) reported that effective team leaders demonstrated the capability to deal with paradox and contradiction by performing multiple (and potentially competing) leadership roles simultaneously. An effective leader, for instance, may simultaneously demonstrate the ability to be assertive and authoritative while still remaining empathetic toward followers. Given the potentially competing and paradoxical nature of these two roles, leaders who were effective in these roles also exhibited higher levels of behavioral complexity. Conversely, less effective leaders did not exhibit the ability to simultaneously carry out these two roles (p. 17). Understanding situations from paradoxical perspectives is a critical key to effective leadership.

Paradoxes can be built and maintained in several ways: by separation (Poole & Van de Ven, 1989) and by accommodation (Lewis, 2000). According to Poole and Van de Ven, separation may be either spatial or temporal. Separation may be spatial in that the paradoxical elements operate in different spaces, or temporal in that they operate at different points in time. For example, overt sex discrimination has been considerably reduced in the United States through legislation and education but is very much alive in Arabic nations. Likewise, gender inequality can be separated by time such as before and after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Accommodation, on the other hand, exploits the positive potential of paradox in the form of acceptance, confrontation, or transcendence.

Leadership, Women, and Paradox

In a study of academic leadership, Pawlowska, Braun, Peus, and Frey (2010) examined the relationships between professors as academic leaders and doctoral students as followers at a German university using a grounded theory method. Although the professors expressed concerns for the career development and progress of their students, their behaviors were perceived as being self-centered and motivated by the need for achievement and power. While the students valued their autonomy, the professors fostered dependence resulting in adverse relationships between students and professors. A similar paradox has been noted by several authors (e.g., Kark, Shamir, & Chen, 2002; Tourish & Pinnington, 2002) who discussed the paradox of empowerment versus dependency in transformational leadership. On the one hand, transformational leaders are known to enhance followers' growth, self-efficacy, empowerment, and level of morality; on the other hand, dependency is created because the followers' motivation and self-esteem are derived from the leader's approval and recognition.

Just as transformational leadership may have two faces, so does power. One form of power is defined as "power over" which may express itself in position, power, coercion, authority, and control (French & Raven, 1959). According to this definition, power is defined almost exclusively in structural, hierarchical terms. The other face of power advocates the use of power in the form of empowerment instead of control (e.g., Conger & Kanungo, 1988). Empowerment or "power to" does not imply domination of others; instead, it deals with developing power over oneself. Here, power is something to be shared, something to use for the development and advancement of others.

Fletcher (2004) examined the paradox of postheroic leadership which she described as a dynamic, multidirectional collective social process in which the roles of leaders and followers are fluid as they jointly build a learning environment where new knowledge is cocreated and implemented. The author discussed a number of paradoxes embedded in postheroic leadership including power and gender. For example, with respect to gender, Fletcher questions why there are not more women making it to the top despite new models of leadership which are aligned with feminine characteristics, that is, the female advantage. Agreeing with Kark, Shamir, and Chen (2002), the author analyzed the resiliency of heroic individualism by pointing out that followers' need for heroes exert pressure on both formal and informal leaders to comply and retell their stories to meet followers' expectations.

Paradox, as research has shown, is a construct rich in meaning and a useful analytic tool to make sense of what is happening to women in leadership. As Gherardi (1994) noted, "ambiguity and paradox are the distinctive features of the symbolic order of gender which opposes male to female" (p. 598). The same statement applies to leadership as we look at the many paradoxes, inconsistencies, and contradictory findings that characterize leadership theory and research. For example, women leaders may be defined as powerful based on their formal position in the organization such as former CEOs Meg Whitman and Carly Fiorina or powerless based on gender stereotypes that women are unfit for leadership or internal organizational dynamics such as the glass ceiling. Similarly, the paucity of women in senior leadership positions creates a paradox in which the lone woman at the top is regarded simultaneously as an individual who is atypical of women since she has achieved such as high status and a representative of the class of women leaders, most of whom are not or will never be as successful as she (Wood & Conrad, 1983). Olsson and Walker (2004) conceptualized "female identity as inherently paradoxical in a world of corporate masculinity and showed how women executives' identity work involved shifting relational and frequently contradictory discursive constructions" (pp. 247–248). Thus, the inherent paradox is that women leaders can behave as non-leader women or as leader non-women.

Looking at the sometimes extraordinary, sometimes discouraging events women leaders initiated, observed, and experienced over the past decade leaves many of us with a pervasive sense of paradox and ambiguity which raises the question of how women leaders respond to the paradoxical situations they constantly encounter. Women leaders can accommodate paradox by developing responses that conform to stereotypes of effective leaders. They can practice a leadership style that is collaborative, sharing, caring, and transformational. As discussed in previous chapters, research has shown that women are more transformational (e.g., Eagly & Carli, 2003; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Druskat, 1994).

Women leaders can also accommodate the paradox by behaving as a leader, not a woman. To be accepted in male-dominated contexts, women leaders often have to display agentic behaviors such as assertiveness, task and performance orientation, and expediency, usually at the expense of their interpersonal relationships. In doing so, they may have to reject themselves as women in order to construct a viable leader identity. For example, research on mentoring has shown that the more women view male networks and mentors as appropriate guides for their own behaviors and values, the more they must disown their own personal socialization (Kram, 1985). Women leaders have acknowledged the existence of a paradox and crafted strategies to accommodate it. Olsson (2000), for example, specifies how female managers do this by "parodic inversions of heroic masculinity, on the one hand, and by vibrant assertions of women's experiences, on the other" (p. 248). Thus, to effectively position themselves in organizations, women leaders must straddle the paradox of identification and differentiation (Olsson & Walker, 2004).

Leadership Development For Women

Leadership development has been defined as "the expansion of a person's capacity to be effective in leadership roles and processes" (Van Velsor & McCauley, 2004, p. 2). This goal may be achieved through a variety of leadership education, training, and development programs which come in many forms and formats ranging from company-sponsored in-house programs to formal academic classes at the undergraduate and graduate level. There are programs that target female and male middle and senior executives, special retreats for CEOs, self-development programs leadership coaching, job experience and particularly stretch assignments, and for women-only leadership training programs. Underlying these different approaches to leadership development is the idea that experience is the most important way to develop leaders. Some authors (e.g., McCall, Lombardo & Morrison, 1988) have suggested that "experience" should consist of 70% challenging assignments, 20% interactions with other people, and 10% programs. Although women have achieved parity with men in terms of experiences and despite the large number of women in middle management, women still fall behind men when it comes to challenging assignments, especially global experiences which systematically rotate women through the different divisions and departments of their firms in different countries. International assignments are critical to leader development and upward mobility in organizations, yet women comprise only 15% of expatriates in the United States (Connerly, Mecham, & Strauss, 2008). Many organizations view leadership as a source of competitive advantage and are investing in its development accordingly (McCall, 2000).

A growing recognition, according to Broome and Hughes (2004), has been the greater focus on the context in which leadership development programs are delivered. The authors point out that leadership development increases within the context of work; therefore, the goal of the programs must ultimately involve action instead of solely being based on the acquisition of knowledge. Valerio (2006) concurred arguing that solutions should be grounded in the understanding of what actions are needed to develop talented women leaders. State-of-the-art leadership development is occurring in the context of ongoing work initiatives that are tied to strategic business imperatives (Dotlich & Noel, 1998).

Several taxonomies to classify leadership development programs have been advanced. Conger (1992), for example, developed a typology of leadership programs that depart from the assumption that many leadership competencies can be taught. The author notes that leadership development is not only necessary but in order to be effective and successful, training must be designed to (1) develop and refine certain teachable skills; (2) improve the conceptual skills of leaders; (3) tap leaders' needs, interests, and self-esteem; and (4) help leaders see and move beyond their interpersonal blocks (p. 34). In addition, the author classified existing leadership development programs into four categories: (1) leadership development through personal growth which provides participants with opportunities to experience teamwork, risk taking, self-acceptance, and reflection. Examples of programs falling into this category include outward-bound programs which involve activities such as rock climbing, a blind trust walk, and cliff jumping. Many personal growth programs rest on the premise that self-awareness is a catalyst for change; (2) leadership development through conceptual understanding — these are academic offerings often delivered in university settings in the form of executive leadership programs. These programs are conceptually grounded in different leadership theories such as transformational or authentic leadership which emphasize the cognitive understanding of leadership; (3) feedback programs — as noted earlier, feedback is a central component of leadership training, development, and education programs. Feedback programs begin with the assessment of the leader and her constituencies and focus on constructive feedback from several sources, known as 360-degree feedback which includes feedback from sources up and below the leader including peers, direct reports, supervisors, and external stakeholders such as customers; and (4) skill building programs — many of these programs use a competency-based approach which draws heavily on the behavioral sciences and is based on positivist foundations. These programs target the development of enhanced technical, interpersonal, or conceptual skills and provide participants with concrete experiences and practical applications.

Day (2000) developed a typology with categories that overlap with Conger's taxonomy. They include (1) 360-degree feedback; (2) executive coaching; (3) mentoring; (5) networking; (6) job assignments; and (7) action learning. In addition, the author makes a distinction between leader development and leadership development. In the former, the emphasis is on individually based knowledge, skills, and abilities associated with formal leadership roles, whereas the latter emphasizes building networked relationships among individuals.

Londen (2002) in discussing the leadership development process categorized leadership development programs as either individually or organizationally focused. Individual leadership development programs target a leader's business, technical, and interpersonal feedback and make use of extensive feedback which is central to leadership development. Organizational leadership programs often use calibration, revisions, and refinement of the skills and training needed to ensure that the company has a pool of competent leaders today and in the future. McCall (2000) stated that all leadership development programs should be systematic and based on a conceptual foundation, make extensive use of continuous assessments, use experience as a teacher, and should hold leaders responsible and accountable for their role as teachers and coaches. Allio (2005) added the need to establish a metric for assessing leadership effectiveness.

Among the skills effective women leaders need are the ability to lead networked corporations, to feel comfortable with the loss of organizational control, team and consensus building, the willingness to make tough decisions and take risks, and to manage responsibly. They need the skills that enable them to adapt to the needs of the organization. At first, women leaders were told that they had to learn to become tough, decisive, and assertive — like their male counterparts. Then leadership skills based on the female advantage came in vogue — participatory leadership, sharing power and information, and enhancing other people's self-worth. However, neither women or men have a lock on integrity nor the ability to inspire a team, develop good interpersonal relationships, and establish a flexible and accountable corporate structure — these diverse skills all leaders need to make their organizations successful and effective (Entine & Nichols, 1997).

Women-Only Leadership Development Programs

Among the many different types of leadership development, education, and training program women leaders can select from, for women-only leadership programs present a unique approach because they are specifically targeted for women in program design and delivery. These programs are designed to give women leaders insight into their interactions with the dynamics of top management teams, and new strategies for succeeding at the highest levels without compromising their own leadership styles (Vinnicombe & Singh, 2001). Thus, in addition to the typologies of leadership development programs described earlier in this chapter, we may also differentiate between sex-segregated and sex-integrated approaches.

Women-only leadership programs have their pros and cons. On the positive side, they take women's particular developmental needs, socialization, their experiences as leaders, leadership, and learning styles into consideration and build these factors into the design of the program. On the other hand, women-only leadership development programs have been criticized because they are build on women's presumed deficiencies which make them unfit for the leadership role. They are often designed to help women leaders to catch up with male counterparts. In sex-segregated leadership development programs that women leaders register for voluntarily, their attendance is viewed as a tacit admission that they need special help. Bennis (1988) described leadership-for-women-only programs as

> What we see today are all kinds of workshops and seminars where women undergo metaphorical sex change, where they acquire a tough

> talking, no nonsense, sink or or swim philosophy. Ironically, men are simultaneously asked to shed the same masculine character traits that women are encouraged to imitate through their own form of non-assertiveness and sensitivity training programs. So it's ok, even better than ok for old Charlie to cry in his office. How marvelous! How liberating! Women impersonate the macho male stereotype and men impersonate the counter-macho stereotype of the women. (p. 44)

Women-only leadership development programs add yet another paradox which Wood and Conrad (1983) referred to as the "paradox of equality through inequality" since many such programs are based on a philosophy that "emphasize the very perceptions of inferiority they seek to alleviate." The authors go on to say, "Exorcising socially ingrained attitudes and behaviors is the guiding objective, so training becomes remedial instruction, designed to bring women up to acceptable, i.e., male, standards" (p. 312).

Summary

In this chapter, I revisited the basic premise upon which this book, as its predecessor (Klenke, 1996) is based and reflected on the change or lack thereof over the past 15 years. The role of context has clearly moved to center in leadership research, whereas in the 1990s, few scholars paid attention to it. Now it is widely recognized that both leadership and contexts are gendered. For example, the current economic recession and financial meltdowns have created new contexts for female business and political leaders which demonstrate the gendered nature of these contexts. On the one hand, the economic recession may usher in the demise of the macho era and create new leadership opportunities and more egalitarian relationships. On the other hand, the financial meltdowns were perpetuated and dominated by male CEOs in the banking, insurance, and auto industries.

Recapping some of the highlights, positive and negative, constructive and destructive over this period of time calls our attention to important changes that have occurred. Across contexts in developing and underdeveloped countries, the number of women occupying leadership roles and positions has increased. The increase of women leaders across different contexts fueled existing paradoxes women leaders are exposed to — paradox of power, gender, leadership, and equality. Many of us have grown up with the "either/or" model, which according to Kelly (2006) is "an extremely powerful way to generate insight, deepen knowledge, strengthen understanding, and arrive at syntheses that are much richer than the starting points" (p. 18). Yet contemporary leaders must also develop the "both/and" mindset, since we live in a world characterized by multiple contradictory forces. Holding opposing ideas in our mind is difficult enough for many of us; reconciling paradoxes is even more daunting. Resolving paradox as a leadership competence is rarely a topic covered in leadership development and education program. Yet these programs are essential and critical for women to capitalize on the growing leadership opportunities available to them. Research on the various approaches to leadership development including women-only programs has shown that organizations that give women the resources and access to leadership development, training, and education stand to benefit from the return on investment by gaining competitive advantage along with productive and financially successful outcomes.

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