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The Impact of Gender Language Socialization On Women in Leadership

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**The Impact of Gender Language Socialization
On Women in Leadership**

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**MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK
AUGSBURG COLLEGE
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA**

CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

This is to certify that the Master's thesis of:

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS

THE IMPACT OF GENDER LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION ON WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

EVELYN NELSON

APRIL 30, 1993

Gender language socialization is pervasive. Men and women are affected by gender language socialization. Women are being kept from leadership positions through gender language barriers. Both would benefit from having leadership roles more equally shared, honoring diverse styles of leadership, and acknowledging differences.

My research design is evaluative. My study is qualitative. My criteria for determining causation is whether the dependent variables (women in leadership) are affected by the independent variable (gender role socialization). For this study, the results of the dependent variable are skewed by each culture studied. Thus, future studies need to know each cross-culture's perspective, but in relationship to relative samples from each cross-culture.

The research concepts include stereotyping of sex roles, language styles and how women's work is viewed by society, how women's sex roles are stereotyped in the media, the ways in which men and women express themselves, and how women's work is viewed by society.

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THE IMPACT OF GENDER LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION ON WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP

Introduction

It is critical to learn more about women's leadership styles. Men and women are the stakeholders of this study for all would benefit from having the leadership roles shared more equally between the genders. While some may not immediately see any gain to learning about women's leadership styles, this study shows how sharing the responsibilities and the advantages of leadership, honoring diverse styles of leadership, and acknowledging differences can aid in understanding and accepting each other.

The significance of this study is to raise the awareness of how women are kept from leadership positions through gender language barriers (Tannen, 1990). These barriers affect women's work as it is viewed in our society (Nyquist & Spence, 1986; Rosener, 1990; Newmann & Bensimon, 1990).

Because we all attach our own connotations to gender words such as feisty, spunky, or lady, the context in which these words are used can carry varying weights of repression depending on the recipients value system. For instance, during the 1984 presidential campaign, one headline called Geraldine Ferraro "spunky" and another "feisty". As Michael Geis (cited in Tannen, 1990) observes, spunky and feisty are words used for small creatures such as a Pekingese, but not a Great Dane. In other words, they lack real power. Does Pekingese also refer to Peking or Chinese, who are a small people in stature, versus Denmark, where the people are larger?

The low estimation of women's roles within the labor market has contributed to women's oppression (Sarvasy & Van Allen, 1984) which can

be linked directly with my research when you examine the data.

Stereotyping sex roles through gender language styles and meanings are still prevalent in overwhelming proportions.

One particular example of the significance of this study to social work, viewed predominantly as a female profession, is to show how it has been affected by gender language socialization.

The early founders of social work were women such as Mary Richmond and Jane Addams (Flexner, 1915).

In 1917, Mary Richmond published *Social Diagnosis*, a work which organized a theory and methodology for social work, an orderly professional process of study, diagnosis, prognosis and treatment planning which was seen as important for the development of social work as a profession.

Jane Addams worked with settlement houses such as Hull House, offering a day nursery for children, a club for working girls, cultural programs, space for neighborhood political groups to meet, and lectures on such topics as community participation, social awareness, and roles of women. Hull House was also active in research on issues affecting women.

Yet, the question was raised in 1915 by Abraham Flexner, Assistant Secretary, General Education Board, New York City, at a presentation at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections as to whether or not social work is a profession. Flexner stated that medicine, law, engineering, literature, painting and music are unmistakably professions because they involved intellectual activity; they derived their material from learning and science; they have an organized and educationally communicable technique; they have evolved into social and professional status; and they work for social improvement.

However, Flexner claimed that social workers are mediators between the client and the agency or professional rather than being the professional. He claimed the social worker takes a problem, decides on the nature of the problem and refers to the appropriate referral source. Thus, Flexner said, social work lacks specificity and training and cannot be technically professional because of the variety and vagueness in which social workers work. Rather, what is needed are "well-informed, well-balanced, tactful, judicious, sympathetic, resourceful people." While Flexner acknowledges that other professionals also refer, he says they refer as professionals of equal status rather than being mediators.

I wonder if those words would have been used if social work were not viewed as a female profession. I can't imagine men being described with adjectives such as "well-informed, well-balanced, tactful, judicious, sympathetic, and resourceful." in terms of their professions. Was Flexner threatened with the thought of having to share power with women?

In response to Flexner's concerns, consider how social workers actively intervene in finding solutions to problems. Social workers promote social change, provide skilled services to families and individuals, work in public service and have political involvement. Social workers deal with changing the behavior and life situations of individuals by changing dysfunctional elements in society itself by being lobbyists, administrators and advocates. Social workers are involved in policy making. They're advocates for people and causes, such as culturally sensitive child adoption and placement issues. The profession of social work does indeed involve intellectual activity, material from learning and science, and has an organized and educationally communicable technique.

In 1955, when the National Association of Social Workers (NASW) was formed, requirements for membership were baccalaureate, masters or doctorate degrees. Men had been entering the profession for some time and had begun replacing women in leadership roles. However, despite the increase of men in administrative positions, there are many more women than men in social work and it is still seen primarily as a woman's profession.

"Knowledge of and skill in interpersonal communication are essential for the practice of social work, contributing to worker self-awareness, to relationship development, and to psychosocial assessment. They are also essential to the development of competence in bridging distances based in cultural and other differences between workers and clients" (Olson, 1993).

Another example of the significance of this study is shown by the lack of value of social work by the statewide salaries offered in the field. Information for the year 1993, from the State of Minnesota Department of Employee Relations shows that Social workers' basic entry level hourly salaries are \$12.32 - \$16.08. The salary range for a senior social worker, which requires a master's degree, is \$13.12 - \$17.25. In comparison, highway helpers, which require no education, have a basic statewide entry level range of \$13.42 - \$13.80. Highway maintenance, administrative secretaries, and personnel officers, all of which have no educational requirements, have a basic statewide entry level range of \$11.44 - \$16.08. In contrast, the field of psychology, which is viewed primarily as a male profession, starts Level I positions with a range of \$14.52 - \$19.17, Level II at \$16.63 - \$22.14 and Level III at \$19.17 - \$25.60. The point is made that male dominated professions which provide similar services, have similar responsibilities and competence, offer higher salaries than those that are

predominantly female. In addition, many positions that require minimal education and training offer salaries comparable to female dominated social service positions with extensive educational requirements.

Another example of the significance of this study is from the Minnesota Coalition of Licensed Social Workers. The legislature has not passed the bill to allow third party reimbursement for social workers in private practice, although they have been doing this kind of work for over 60 years. Although there are some changes being made, male dominated professions, such as psychologists, who have similar responsibilities, have been receiving third party reimbursement for years. The Coalition has hired a lobbyist and has social workers joining together to let their legislators know this bill should be passed!

Literature Review

Leadership is looked at from different perspectives in the literature. For the purposes of this study, five different themes will be used: the white male system, the cross-cultural system, leadership styles, obstacles to women, and power.

Literature suggests that leadership is "a process of influencing others to act in a way that will accomplish the objectives of the leader or the organization. Or..."leadership is not so much the exercise of power itself as the empowerment of others." (Dublin (1987).

Traditionally, leadership has been viewed in terms of what traits and qualities an effective leader should have, and specific actions that individual leaders may take. Now, however, rather than viewing leadership purely from an external viewpoint (physical and behavioral), leadership through a deeper self-knowledge and understanding is being viewed as just as important as actions (Newmann and Bensimon, 1990).

One concept of leadership is that it is a journey of learning accountability from exploring your inner self and your spirituality in terms of values and ethics. This is not the traditional linear leadership demonstrated by the male model. Rather, it is a circular path involving solitude, reflection, acceptance, action and courage. It is not always totally logical, rational and objective, which is valued in the white male system (Wilson-Schaaf, 1985).

Studies of masculine-feminine differences have found that women value relationships and make decisions based on protecting those relationships rather than being concerned with winning. Women use an interactive style of leadership which encourages others' participation and enhances people's sense of self-worth. Women have learned to share, show compassion, be giving and nurturing. Women tend to avoid using tactics that could jeopardize relationships (Greenhaigh & Gilkey, 1986; Nelton, 1991; Robins & Terrell, 1987).

The cross-cultural viewpoints bring other perspectives to leadership and language.

Ella Jo Baker, a woman of Afro-American heritage, devoted her adult life to building organizations that worked for social change by encouraging individual growth and individual empowerment. Baker's (as cited in Payne, 1989) perspective was that "the very idea of leading people to freedom is a contradiction in terms. Freedom requires that people be able to analyze their own social position and understand their collective ability to do something about it without relying on leaders." She stated in one interview, "Strong people don't need strong leaders...People have to be made to understand that they cannot look for salvation anywhere but to themselves."

Mary Taylor says, "Society would have Black women choose to live life through their spouses, who they (society) will discriminate against and keep in low level positions" (Hall, 1987).

In the Ohoyo Training Manual (1983), a self-help leadership manual for women of the American Indian-Alaska Native culture, differences are discussed. Rose Robinson (Hopi) commented, "All the women in my tribe are in leadership roles because we are matriarchal." Women have a certain presence and control over tribal affairs although it may not be visible. Skills of listening, observation and the careful use of words are valued. Indians stress the feeling or emotional component rather than the verbal. Modesty and personal reserve are still adhered to by many tribal groups.

Janet McCloud (Tulalip) (Ohoyo Training Manual, 1983), states, "The main concern of Indian women traditionally has been survival--that's still our main goal today--for our people, our families and ourselves."

Tannen (1990) has defined female and male patterns as patterns of different cultures. This cross-cultural perspective has begun a reframing of the differences so that the male style is not held to be the preferred style. Understanding and mutual accommodation is advocated for improved intercultural communication.

"This position of respect and mutuality has also been taken in the discussions of racial and ethnic differences in communication. However, this cross-cultural/intercultural approach is limited. Absent from its consideration is the role of power in communication" (Olson, 1993).

The usual occurrence is for the dominant culture to expect submissions and/or acculturation of the minority. Therefore, rephrasing gender as a culture has enlightened many women to a different reality of their minority status. However, this still has not enlightened many as to how

they continue to perpetuate the stereotypical expectations to cultures such as persons of color. In other words, women are just as guilty of doing the same thing with women of color as men do with women.

The barrier to this study is the reluctance of our society to acknowledge the extent of the problem of how gender language socialization impacts women in leadership. As Sorrels (1983) says, "The keys to any social reform lie in the acceptance of the need for correction and commitment to finding ways to make that correction." An image of the female as inferior to the male is created by sexist communication.

Anne Wilson-Schaaf (1985) talks about the White Male System being everywhere, and after awhile, like pollution, we don't see it. She says the White Male System is seen as totally logical, rational and objective. In the White Male System, logic and communicating have to do with winning, as does negotiating. Women get the message that they're acting "right" if they're being logical, rational and objective, and they are invisible or discounted if they behave like "ladies". The "stoppers" are that women are told not to be so serious or so sensitive and/or that women are so hard to understand, why try?

Men continue to be seen as having more legitimate authority than women, even though over the past 15 years, there has been a liberalization of sex role attitudes (Nyquist & Spence, 1986).

Many still think of the corporate world as a game of the fittest who are always the strongest, toughest, most decisive, and powerful. This leads to controlling people through controlling resources, and in turn, by controlling people, controlling more resources (Rosener, 1990).

In everyday life, hierarchical structures exist in which men are more likely than women to occupy high-status roles due to gender-linked

behavioral expectations. In these roles, men wield more power than women and it is believed that men have the right to dominate interactions and women are expected to comply (Davis & Gilbert, 1989).

Gilligan (cited in Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, & Tarule, 1986), points out that women have been missing even as research subjects, so scientific studies generalize their findings of men to women. Thus those attributes associated with males, such as rationalism and objectivity are valued while women's thinking as emotional, intuitive and personalized is devalued. We learn about the development of autonomy and independence, abstract critical thought and morality of rights and justice. Women tend to associate morality with responsibility and care rather than with rights and justice. We've learned less about interdependence, intimacy and nurturing, language that does not convey leadership to most people. Thinking is attributed to men. Emotions to women.

Studies need to point out how women's styles can work. Are women's styles more beneficial in some settings such as social services and not in competitive organizations? Will future studies show that men and women are capable of all kinds of leadership?

The female experience needs to be confirmed so that a woman can trust her perceptions and processes and move on. Wilson-Schaaf (1985) says that our system is made up of the "understanders" and the "overstanders." The "overstanders" make the rules. When the "understanders" learn the rules, the "overstanders" change them.

As shown in previous research, ways of talking associated with masculinity are associated with leadership and authority while feminine communication styles are not (Tannen, 1990). Therefore, gender language socialization, demonstrated by words such as control, aggressive,

courageous, forceful, competitive, achievement oriented, and independent, used to describe dominant styles of leadership, are stifling for women.

However, words such as emotional, passive, dependent, nurturing, intuitive, submissive, cooperative, vulnerable and listener are not words usually associated with leadership, yet, they are used to describe femininity.

Different patterns of communication have resulted from differences in socialization of men and women. This socialization begins even before birth. The first question asked is whether it's a girl or a boy. Then that baby is treated, usually unintentionally, with cultural expectations that place limits on how the child develops. Young boys are described in terms such as cunning, strong, and tough, while girls are described as cuddly, cute or soft (Tift, N., 1993).

Conventionally, men are taught to choose self while women are taught to choose others (Olson, 1993). Separation and individuation, words valued by our male dominated society, leave women feeling vulnerable and disconnected because, unlike men, they've not had years of exploring and testing limits. The men may say, "I have a right to my opinion." A woman will say, "It's just my opinion." Women want to communicate their limits, not their power. Women want to stay attached, not push away others.

While it is recognized that these differences are not "defects", the patterns are defined according to male norms, for instance, giving directives rather than making requests, using declarative statements instead of asking questions (Olson, 1993).

According to Belenky, et al., (1986), words such as "should" and "ought" are used when solving moral problems. Both men and women are taught what they should think, feel and do. Men are taught it's not okay to show vulnerability while for women, it's expected.

In addition, women's behavior is attributed to "their hormones," which is a type of gender bias. While this has its part in putting women in their place, it will not be the focus of this paper.

Until very recently, the ideal leader was seen as independent, tough, and individualistic. Business management has been dominated by males with aggressive, hierarchical, action-oriented leadership styles. Men have been expected to solve problems, using tactical power of developing systems and procedures, strategies, and plans. Men have been seen as coercive leaders by setting goals and standards for others and establishing systems of rewards and punishments (Nelton, 1991; Sargent, 1981; Robins and Terrell, 1987).

The women in leadership today are the role models of future generations. Therefore, how to offer support and raise public awareness of the significance of the negative impact of gender language on women in leadership requires some deep consideration.

For instance, Newsweek, during the 1984 presidential campaign, credited Ferraro as having "a striking gift for tart political rhetoric, needling Ronald Reagan on the fairness issue and twitting the Reagan-Bush campaign for its reluctance to let Bush debate her" (Tannen, 1990).

The connotations attached to tart, are a sexually promiscuous woman, twitting describes a bird in its cage, and needling brings up visions of a domestic scene, all of which undermined Ferraro's power while supposedly complimenting her.

Women traditionally have a harder time asserting their authority than men. They have a harder time being heard. The results of different studies (Nyquist & Spence, 1986; Davis & Gilbert, 1989), suggest that traditional sex roles have demanded that men lead and women follow. This has kept

women in a subordinate position causing adverse implications for women. Until more women are in prominent positions, issues which most directly affect women will not fully be understood and efforts at resolution will be minimal.

In an attempt to adjust their styles of leadership to fit the masculine model, some women have tried speaking louder, longer and with more self-assertion. While they may command more attention and respect, they may also be disliked and put down as being aggressive and unfeminine. Possibly most damaging of all, since our images and attitudes are shaped through language, we all make different assumptions about men and women (Tannen, 1990).

Gilligan (cited in Belenky, et al. 1986), speaks of women gaining a voice. Things are not as they always seem to be. Truth lies hidden beneath the surface. At this point, for most women, the journey does not feel like progress. They have self doubt and often don't speak. But it is not a passive silence; on the other side of this silence, reason is stirring. In our present society, the study showed women have a harder time being heard and asserting their authority than do men.

The women who participated in Gilligan's study spoke about speaking up, speaking out, being silenced, not being heard, really listening, really talking, words as weapons, feeling deaf and dumb, having no words, saying what you mean, and listening to be heard.

The women perspectives were grouped into five categories:

1. Silence - the women experience themselves as mindless and voiceless.
2. Subjects of whims of authority, receiving and reproducing knowledge, but incapable of creating their own.

3. Having subjective knowledge, conceived as personal, private, intuited.

4. Possessing procedural knowledge - learning procedures for obtaining and communicating knowledge; truth lies hidden beneath the surface.

5. Having constructed knowledge - experience selves as creators of knowledge, value both subjective and objective strategies of knowing.

The study showed that "woman talk" in both style (hesitant, qualified, questions posing) and content (concern for the everyday, the practical, and the interpersonal) is typically devalued by men and women. Women's experiences need to be confirmed by themselves, other women and by papers such as this so that they keep their perceptions and begin to trust themselves.

Rather than being based on the male style of hierarchy, power and competition, Hooyman and Cunningham (1986); Chernesky (1986); and Walton (1983), state that power for women is facilitative. Women perceive power from internal sources such as using intuition and nurturing.

J. Hagberg (1984) speaks of different stages of power. Stage I is powerlessness, where people frequently question their self-worth. They know little about how decisions are made in their organization. They feel overwhelmed and confused when asked to make a decision. They manipulate others to get things done. They feel they have a characteristic that draws discrimination from others.

In Stage 2, people connect with others who have power, believing they'll be brought along by these people. It's not what you know, but who you know.

Stage 3 is power by symbols, like some sports figures, doctors, lawyers, pilots, or entertainment figures. This stage is symbolized by feelings of competitiveness, needing to prove oneself, thinking they've "arrived," and that power means being in control of others.

Stage 4 shows more congruency in having power by reflection. It is characterized by influence and respect, separate from position and status, showing integrity while planning, organizing, listening to others and helping work out solutions. Stage 4 people have learned to admit weaknesses and mistakes. They speak out about things in which they do not believe.

While Stage 4 still primarily focuses on self, Stage 5 gets beyond the self. Stage 5 gives away power and lets others lead. These people live with an inner sense of justice which does not do things for personal return. They have looked at their dark sides and can accept them in themselves as well as in others.

Stage 6 people can live with ambiguity and the abstract, such as "The more we know, the less we know;" "The question is the answer;" "Commitment means detachment."

There may also be a Stage 7 called something like power by transcendence.

I believe many women are at Stage 1 or Stage 2.

Hagberg (1984) says Stage 2 and Stage 5 may look alike, but Fives consciously give away power, while Twos can't give away something they don't have.

It's possible to be at a particular stage in one area of a person's life and at another stage in another area of a person's life.

Power, as defined in male models, is property, money and rules. The male model conveys the message of dependence: I'll take care of you; Trust

me; I'll make decisions for you." While this message gives men power, it also gives them a burden of taking care of others (Hooyman and Cunningham, 1986). When someone takes care of another, it puts the other in a dependent subordinate status.

Most people cling to the idea that power is evil, malicious and unfeminine. Machiavelli said in the 1500's that power corrupts (Robins & Terrell, 1987). But, everyone has power. Robins & Terrell, describe six kinds of power: information, magnetism, position, affiliation, coercion and tactic.

The key to having power through information, is to have information other people value.

Examples of magnetism come from leaders with charisma such as King, Kennedy and Hitler. They were able to captivate others to follow.

Note that no women are mentioned. What of Mother Theresa, Golda Mier and Indira Gandhi?

The power of position comes from titles and communicating through proper channels.

Affiliation leaders make a group feel like a team and people want the team to benefit.

Coercion is exemplified by law enforcement officers who can threaten with, "Do it, or else."

Tactic leaders bring order and structure with procedures, strategies, and plans.

According to Robins and Terrell (1987), women in leadership positions use information, affiliation, and tactics as their styles of power more frequently than magnetism, position, and coercion.

Several major researchers (Robins & Terrell, 1987; Sargent, 1981; Van Wagner & Swanson, 1979) hold that there is little difference in the power needs of men and women, but that the needs are expressed differently by each sex. Men are more other-directed, such as using external action as arguing and boasting. They see dependence as being weak.

According to findings by McClelland (1976), cited in Van Wagner & Swanson, (1979), men have more freedom in not having to worry about checking home security, are not afraid of being robbed or threatened, and see themselves as powerful actors in their external settings. Women, on the other hand, have fewer actual outlets for powerful behavior, see themselves as the object of assertive behavior, and perceive themselves as finding power from internal resources.

Hypothesis and Research Questions

My hypothesis is that gender language socialization is a barrier to all women and specifically to women who gain recognition as leaders. The implications for social work are shown in the salary disparities, lack of third party reimbursement, and lack of recognition as a profession the same as those viewed as predominately male professions. Language is used differently for women, has different meanings and understandings, and has a negative impact for women in leadership. Men and women have been socialized from childhood to attribute different meanings to language in referring to men and women. Language is then interpreted into actions that are stereotypical.

For example, researchers Harriet Wall and Anita Barry (Tannen, 1990) gave identical information about academic background, publications and letters of recommendations on prospective professors to college students and asked them to predict how well the candidates would do if hired.

including their chances to win a distinguished teaching award. Some students who read the materials under a woman's name predicted that she would not win the award because, as one writer put it, "Too much business, not enough personality." However, no one made references like this when the exact same "file" was read under a man's name.

Some of the questions that need to be answered are:

Are women be recognized as leaders and not as women who are like men and use men's language?

When women are leaders, are they considered unfeminine?

Are women trusted as leaders?

How do women's leadership styles differ from men's styles?

Methodology

The research design is evaluative. The study is qualitative. The women surveyed told their own experiences and having the same questionnaire for each woman simplified the process of evaluating for any bias. The criteria for determining causation is whether the dependent variables (women in leadership) are affected by the independent variable (gender role socialization).

Variables of interest address how women view their way of knowing information (Belenky, et.al, 1986; Wilson-Schaaf, 1985; Hagberg, 1984).

The variables include how these issues are different for women of color (Alexander, et al., 1987; personal communication, May 26, 1992; H. Young, personal communication, April 2, 1993; personal communication, June 3, 1992 & March 11, 1993; Y. Myers, personal communication, April 7, 1993; A. Mori, personal communication, April 8, 1993; Verble & Walton, 1983; Payne, 1989).

In order to measure gender differences in language, this researcher asked about language usage regarding women that the research participants may have noticed. The researcher asked if they have seen any difference in how we describe successful women in positive terms from how we describe successful men in positive terms.

In order to be able to measure the impact of gender language differences on women in leadership, the researcher gave the research participants a list of terms, and asked if these or similar words influenced them as women in leadership. The researcher also asked each woman what she was currently doing, or what she could be doing as a leader to help other women understand the impact of language.

A determination was made that these women are a representative cross section of the bigger population of women. Women in leadership positions whom the researcher was able to identify by newspaper articles, referrals and leadership titles, and were willing to talk to her, were chosen for this study. Participants are women in leadership roles in business, politics, social work and other human services, and school settings. They represent African American, Indigenous Native or American Indian, Caucasian, Vietnamese, Cuban, bisexual, lesbian and heterosexual populations.

For this study, the results of the dependent variable are skewed by each cross-culture. Neither leadership nor gender language is viewed the same in other cultures. It would be interesting in future studies to know each cross-culture's perspective, but in relation to relative samples from each cross-culture.

Each participant chose the location for the interview to be held. The researcher asked the questions and recorded the information on a separate sheet of paper as they replied.

Three graduate students pretested the questionnaire (Appendix A) which was used for each participant.

The researcher's cost for the study included copying, postage, parking, transportation, and any necessary long distance telephone calls.

The researcher's analysis and interpretation involved assessing personal characteristics, obstacles, support, and leadership styles. The broad question that was to be answered was whether or not, in the participants' opinion, gender language socialization has been an obstacle to these women in their achievements. Content analysis was the procedure used to analyze data (Appendix B).

All the women surveyed were given a consent form (Appendix C) from Augsburg and told why the questions were being asked. Their participation was voluntary and participants were informed of how the researcher intended to use the research as the basis for a thesis. Information has been compiled anonymously unless permission has been given specifically by participants for use of their name.

The research concepts include stereotyping of sex roles, language styles, and how women's work is viewed by society. How women's sex roles are stereotyped in the media (Kilbourne, 1990), the ways in which men and women express themselves (Tannen, 1990, Sorrels, 1983), and how women's work is viewed by society (Nyquist & Spence, 1986; Rosener, 1990; Newmann & Bensimon, 1990) shape attitudes . This socialization is oppressive to women seeking their highest potential whether it be in the home, the work world, or in leadership.

Discussion and Implications

Several women interviewed by this researcher shared the ideas put forth in the studies in the literature.

The participants thought that both men and women see women as an exception, or different from other women when she succeeds. "She stepped into her husband's shoes," or "She took over in a way you'd not expect from a woman," or "She's really smart for a woman," or "We understand she's really bright," are ways the participants have heard women described. When women are successful, it's a surprise.

The same words are not used to describe successful men as are used to describe successful women. For example, aggression is seen as negative when used to describe a woman. Even the tone of voice makes a difference such as when it's used for football players or athletes, but is derogative for women (personal communication, March 12, 1993).

DePree (1990) says leadership is an art, more tribal than scientific. Nearly everyone, at different times, plays two roles: creator/implementer - often seen as the boss and the subordinate. Hierarchy is inappropriate here.

He listed essential rights for a new concept for work:

1. Right to be needed - use of gifts - meaningful personal relationship to group's goals.
2. Right to be involved - system of input and response and need to take action.
3. Right to covenantal relationship - contractual relationship tends to be legal - based on reciprocity. Covenantal relationships fill needs - enable work to have meaning - abandon to talents and skills of others - same as when falling in love.
4. Right to understand - mission personal career path, opportunities - competition - working environment "sense of place."
5. Right to affect one's own destiny - performance, promotion part of person's involvement.

6. Right to be accountable - need to contribute to goals - share problems - risk.

7. Right to appeal - non-threatening.

8. Right to make a commitment - is this a place where I'm allowed to do my best?

He says a way to evaluate leadership is among followers. Signs of outstanding leadership appear when they are reaching their potential, learning, serving, achieving results, changing with grace, and managing conflict.

Can these results be attained by women who are emotional, passive, dependent, nurturing, intuitive, submissive, cooperative, vulnerable, listeners, feisty and ladies?

While their styles of leadership varied, none of the women spoke of deciding to become leaders. They spoke of fulfilling needs, expectations of family, and following a vision.

One participant (personal communication, May 15, 1992 & March 11, 1993), called women's leadership styles holistic and relationship building. She says leadership is having patience with people and getting people working together. "Women have a lovely quality of being accommodating to other people's needs and responsibilities outside the business world and being flexible with working styles."

Even thinking of women as having a "lovely quality" does not connote leadership.

One woman said leadership needs to be caring for people rather than for rules. She said understanding rules is not always useful to judge character. Rather, she recommends learning about people, finding out what

makes them tick, and to do that, a person must keep learning about herself (personal communication, May 9, 1992).

Men are not as flexible or bendable to the "rules" possibly because they are seen as the "keeper of the rules" and bending is seen as a challenge or threat to their authority rather than accommodation.

C. Holden, Director of the Hospice Program at North Memorial Hospital, (personal communication, March 7, 1993) has seen her style of managing change over the last 20 years. At age 23, when she first became head nurse, she said she imposed her ideas on others. Now she believes in empowering people and in creating an atmosphere for people to flourish. She now appreciates the ideas and skills of her staff and it feels good to see them succeed. She is much more committed to the professional growth of her staff than she was. She wants to have an environment for them to feel free to create ideas, take risks and make suggestions. And she's more likely now to say, "Let's try it," and let them do it rather than take it on herself. This may involve lightening caseloads to make it possible.

She's been aware of two different styles of managing in her work experience. One is, "Are they doing their job?" and the other is, "What are they doing if I give them the time to do it?" One uses words like share, empowering, doing a ministry, while the other is concerned with making the best use of time, productivity and effectiveness of staff.

One participant (personal communication, May 19, 1992 & March 4, 1993) uses a cooperative learning approach in her classroom. As the facilitator, she sets up the reading and then the students use their insights to teach the material. As a leader, she has special skills, but is not the expert with all the answers.

R. Clark, Area Social Worker for the Bureau of Indian Affairs (personal communication, March 30, 1993), is one of several of the women who became a leader because it was a family expectation. She describes her style as a rabble rouser, one not everyone appreciates. She says since some men have a hard time being open, as a female minority, she can say things that some men might want to say, but were fearful of saying. The men can sit back and while she has a sense of being used, she says that's okay. She is threatening to some non-minority women because they're okay with being assertive, but not aggressive, and she does not always see the line. She brings an openness and honesty to her leadership. When people have a narrow viewpoint, she urges them to see the big picture, look under and broader.

Because H. Young, Director of Pacific Council, (personal communication, April 4, 1993), was strong willed and outspoken, she was the despair of her mother. The image here of Asian women was someone who did not speak out and was submissive. She played the game because she thought that behavior was expected of her. But people started letting her know it was okay to be assertive and she slowly started speaking up. She made the transition from a "china doll" to a "dragon lady," a very interesting position. Because she doesn't fit the image, she makes people uneasy. But, she says, "Many people who just came here are behind me, and I'm not there yet. Of the 3rd and 4th generations in America, they're behind me yet.

Huoa has been here since 1967. She says she has always been strong willed and outspoken. When she came here, there were a couple elements to her being a leader. Because she was strong willed and willing to speak out, she risked getting into trouble. She felt compelled to speak on behalf of the refugees who came after her and over time became recognized.

She wears many hats, which at first was confusing, but now is almost second nature. Today, she is the only woman of the Asian culture with the Minnesota Center for Women in Government. While she was apprehensive, this has worked out well. She facilitates a group and feels like an equal. But when she returns to her own community and meets with the male leaders, her language will change as well as her body language. She will be totally different because she needs to be careful with the men. With women, she can be freer, acting as an advocate or a confidant.

She sees men defer to women if they have money, or if they are married to men of money, more than they accept a woman's position. Some don't take her seriously until they find out who her husband is. She says, "I'm a woman on my own merit, not because my husband is well known."

Y. Myers, an Indigenous Native Licensed Social Worker, (personal communication, April 7, 1993) doesn't see herself as falling under the norm as leadership is seen in the dominant culture. "Culturally, you need to earn the right to be a leader by taking on certain responsibilities of caring and nurturing for concerns of people within the Native communities". Her other part is a spiritual path she walks which is clear and strong. Part of her vision of that path is "stepping out, walking and speaking her truth, looking at changes and healing the situations within the communities." The bottom line to which she attributes her qualities are her spiritual and cultural identity, her role as a woman, understanding her role and teachings around that role in the "old way." The reason she says "old way" is that they have gone through so much the last 500 to 600 years that the tradition is in flux. Part of her leadership encompasses, "walking, talking, knowing, honoring, and speaking truth."

The last piece of her leadership is the teachings given to her the last 6-7 years from an elder of the Seneca nation.

She looks at her leadership style as inclusive of all peoples, or part of a circle of which she's a spoke. For the circle to become whole, she has to remember connectedness. Because of this viewpoint, she does not look at egalitarian leadership. Leadership is a two-way path. A teaching given to her by her grandmother is that when one is taking in lessons, they can take them, hoard them, and not give them back to the people. This is probably self-destructive. Her path, learned from her grandmother, is to filter the lessons through her being and give back to her people. She views her leadership as finding her responsibilities to her people.

She looks at a leader as reaching out and looks at words such as strength, goodness of heart and ability to be very present. A woman such as Welma Man Killer, chief of the Cherokee Nation, can walk into a room and her presence is known before she opens her mouth. Her language is inclusive. She meets the needs of her people and steps outside her people to carry the message to all people.

Yako does not see her leadership valued by society. She sees leadership in the dominant culture as "me, myself and I; whatever I can get for self." She does not think it is an extension of consciousness of people or what the future will be or could be. "It is not an extension of the next 7th generation which is right now." This 7th generation prepares and has the responsibility for the next 7 generations. She says, "Me, myself and I are shortsighted." But it's what makes her style of leadership not valued by society. Her style is about having a vision beyond herself and having dreams and understanding her relationship to it all.

Other women spoke of cooperative learning approaches and shared leadership styles.

"Working off-hours to get the job done because of family responsibilities, not necessarily working 9 to 5, often fits better for women" (personal conversation, March 12, 1993). However, this participant also believes this style of leadership is considered inferior by our society.

A. Mori, Vice President of Administration and Public Relations of the Metropolitan Economic Development Association, personal communication, April 8, 1993, became a leader from seeing a need in the community and deciding to help. She sees herself as a conciliatory leader with a vision to bring people together with different views.

As a vice president, she is treated differently because of her title. She is perceived as assertive, powerful or ruthless, contrary to her personality, until people get to know her and realize they have the wrong image.

She sees more women being criticized as they are moving up. It's the getting there. Women are more challenged in a position, need to demonstrate more ability to prove self, when men take this for granted. However, when women have made it to the top, gender stops being an issue. Once that person is truly a leader, there is more commonality between men and women.

But, she says there is something wrong with a system that takes motivation from people. When she came here at age 13 from Cuba, there was no question but that she would succeed. She was seen as presumptuous if she acted differently, but she didn't have a sense of "less than." Now, labels and expectations on people's hearts are transmitted, and people don't think they can make it anymore.

Nurturing and intuition are her strengths she brings to leadership because she knows what it is to be seen as less than, less capable, more emotional, or "our time of the month." She see that time as a strength because, "women are more in tune because of dealing with our own cycles, we can deal with cycles in business. We are more sensitive to people's needs."

Yet, she sees this as an obstacle because, while she will intuitively know things, she will have to go back step-by-step logically for others to understand. Her answers come from a personal faith and combined experience.

Another obstacle is from the Hispanic culture which doesn't challenge authority. The Hispanic culture respects authority and people misunderstand and take advantage. People will tend to think Hispanic people are too passive when they are just respecting authority.

A participant, a social worker who is African American (personal communication May 15, 1992 & March 11, 1993), says people don't take her seriously. They question her competency and knowledge. As an example, she may say something at a board meeting and what she says isn't heard until a man or a white woman says the same thing. This sometimes happens to men of color too. People don't even realize that their expectations are different.

Patronizing by women particularly bothers her. Because they may be afraid of being seen as racist, they do not say something when they really should; when the criticism would have been helpful.

Racism and sexism are the primary personal challenges facing African American women leaders. In addition to the competition, conflict demands, political issues, power struggles, moral and ethical dilemmas that their

counterparts face, African American women leaders are challenged with their status as members of a culturally disrespected and gender-biased group.

A panel of African American women at the University of Minnesota Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs (Hall, 1987), said, "all Black women share a responsibility to contribute their skills in some way to the survival of Black people, the betterment of their region, the nation, and the world. The Black woman's leadership role requires her to take action wherever and whenever she recognizes that action is required."

White women do not share this additional burden to being women.

The perception of another participant who has held a high office in the National Association of Social Workers, (personal communication, May 22, 1992 and March 10, 1993), is that the male model of control is a figment of our imagination. Her position is that leadership is developing cooperation. Leadership is encouraging people to bring out their best, letting people do things differently, unless there is a compelling reason for them to do them the same. She believes the feminist approach is the belief that people probably are doing a good job until there is evidence to the contrary.

Participants would like men and women to share more with each other.

One participant (personal communication, May 26, 1992), spoke of providing opportunities for all women to talk collectively. She sees a leader as a mediator and an excellent listener. She would like to see men and women share their gifts of leadership more with each other; the men listening to the women and the women learning some things that men do very well.

However, before men would be interested in this concept, women would need to prove what's in it for men to do this. Just the aspect of self actualization would not suffice, sadly.

Men feel more freedom to deliver ultimatums with no need to explain actions. Women expect explanations (C. Holden, personal communication, March 7, 1993).

R. Clark, (personal communication, March 30, 1993), would like to see men and women looked at with their differences, but would like men and women to talk to each other as not being so different.

H. Young, (personal communication, April 4, 1993), worries about the struggle between men and women. By just being on one side, whether it be male, minority or white bashing, we don't go anywhere. She would like to be truly inclusive and invite men to tell how they feel about issues. She's concerned with the rage on both sides.

Several women spoke of the expectations of women which are different than those of men.

One participant (personal communication, March 4, 1993) says, "women's organizations get magnified with expectations. Somehow, they're supposed to meet personal needs of their employees. They're supposed to be nurturing. And people get mad if these expectations are not met. These kinds of expectations are never made of mixed gender organizations."

The expectations of the traditional Vietnamese upbringing has a criteria for women. They are to have homemaking skills, look pleasant, be clean, sensible and their language is to be elegant and moderate, not rude or vulgar. They have a saying of turning the tongue seven times before saying something because there is nothing worse than gossip. It is important for Vietnamese women not to be loud, gossipy or insensitive. Language is to be

meaningful and truthful. In regard to sexuality, women are not to flirt. The rule is virtue is lead by virtue. The biggest obstacle to Vietnamese women becoming leaders is the stereotype of Asian women in the home.

“Women have to be bright, poised, ever watchful and conscious of their demeanor, almost to the point of being proper. Women need to look like men by not calling attention to themselves. They can't appear feminine in attire.” (C. Holden, personal communication, March 7, 1993).

Yako, (personal communication, April 7, 1993), thinks of women in leadership positions in her community as having a presence, a vision and a dream while knowing the needs of the people with limited resources. She sees leadership as the ability to see the human side, admit mistakes and moving forward. She sees humor as a key part of getting through a crisis. Also, the spirit of self needs to be strong, not boasting or loud, but inclusive. Yako believes leadership needs to be a two-way street. When there is no longer any give and take, leadership loses and becomes about power and control.

One participant (personal communication, March 10, 1993) says she's confused about what she thought were truths earlier. "We're still not talking about women as though they're the same." She believes women's groups are as guilty as the “good old boys.” Neither is accurate about it. The “good old boys” talk in terms of being "hard driving". These are the women they take seriously. The Zoe Baird incident pointed out the difference in what we look for. How many men were ever asked about their child care arrangement? Women can't leave motherhood behind, but men can leave fatherhood behind. Also, her belief is that if Hillary had been accused of being unfaithful to Bill, it would have been a bigger issue.

All the participants were contributing to helping in the understanding of the impact of gender language.

One teaches women's studies, talks about language a lot, with cross-cultural perspectives on leadership, i.e. class, race and gender.

Another says what she does is largely unconscious. She works with a wide range of women; corporate, prison and women who have been in violence. She meets them where they are, which is at many different levels.

Another speaks up whenever she feels the need to protect her freedom and the freedom of those who work for her.

One participant is reading a lot about gender language right now. She's interested in the impact of language forming thoughts, rather than thoughts forming language. She's trying to put things together for herself and others. One way she's doing this is to be on a panel to address the issues on sexual assault. She says, "Our language and the way we're thinking about major issues is why we're not getting anywhere."

Another participant brings her awareness to the boards and committees on which she serves. She acts as a role model for others of her community.

Informally, they all discuss these issues with other women.

Yako, (personal communication, April 7, 1993) says when fear is present, the barefoot squaw who walks ten paces behind her man like a beast of burden is the stereotype seen. Instead, she is a role model for women to define their inner spirit truth. The lesbian part of her is not all she is. How she wants to carry that message of who she is helps other women see who they are and define their sexuality. Women in her culture are seen as visionaries or life givers, so while the language may not be clear, for her it's carrying that presence to bring about change and awareness of self as gifts.

Two-spirited are the words used for lesbian or gay which is maintaining balance between the male and female aspect of one world to another. She sees that as a responsibility that is difficult at times, but needed.

Yako talks about the "ghost rules." The only time she knows they're there is when she steps on one and they squeak.

Into this atmosphere, she wants to keep her own integrity and create safety for women with whom she works.

In a leadership role, Huoa, (personal communication, April 4, 1993), believes it is her responsibility to be a mentor to the younger generation, to introduce them to the world.

She is offended by productions such as the *King and I* and *The World of Suzie Wong*. She is not a guest any longer and cannot stand by and see her people portrayed in such a stereotypical way. In trying to bridge the gap between the new and the old, she and others gathered at the Ordway in an open forum to learn ways to deal with this type of production. As a result, the Ordway has an Asian cultural advisor on programming.

The participants of this survey have strong opinions regarding the impact of gender language on women in leadership.

All the participants had negative reactions to some of the words in the study. Culture made a difference in how words were viewed. Lady, china doll, feminine, fragile, emotional and soft were not valued by most of the Caucasian participants. One participant asked what soft and feminine mean. They're physical words and say nothing about ability. Most of the participants felt comfortable with the words feisty and spunky and used those words themselves. However, in the Asian culture, words such as gentle and ladylike are valued. In the Indigenous Native culture, words like

vision and spiritual are used. Some participants liked the words understanding, intuition, sensitive and nurturing. While others thought they were not particularly nurturing themselves, they saw it as an important quality for women. The point was made that some of these words would be positive in some settings, but not in others, such as social service versus business, certain cultures versus others.

One participant said she's hesitant to use words like dynamic, powerful, and forceful with women. They seem to be male words, while women's words are facilitator, empowerer, enabler. Charismatic is still a male event, not that women aren't doing it.

Words mean different things for men and women. He's forceful, she's pushy. The family picture on his desk means he's a solid, responsible family man. The family picture on her desk means her family may come before her career. He's talking with coworkers: He must be discussing the latest deal; She's talking with coworkers: She must be gossiping (Black Student Affairs Office, 1988).

Another participant believes we're correcting our language; she's not so sure about our thoughts. "We have constructs for social language. Before Reagan and Bush, gay/lesbian rights were in the closet. Now they're talked about. Abortion rights are now opened up so it's an open topic" (personal communication, March 10, 1993). She thinks the same is true of women. There are things we don't say, but we're thinking it. For example, a neighbor of hers says he doesn't like Hillary. When asked why, he says, "It's because she doesn't know her place."

R. Clark, (personal communication, March 30, 1993), believes men have a better understanding of offensive language to women and try to make amends by saying, "I'm sorry, I didn't mean that," and dance around it.

Although we're not doing well, she believes men have a sense of being accountable.

Rosalie doesn't like soft words when describing women in leadership. Words used to describe her have been feisty, spunky, nasty, nurturing, and intuitive. She does not find these words harsh.

In Vietnamese there is a word between soft, nurturing and gentle. For instance she talks softly and is gentle and nurturing with kids. The word is "diudang." Women are supposed to have many manners. If Huoa (personal communication, April 4, 1993), goes from one part of the room to another, she will go behind people, however, her daughter would go "over the food." Another good attribute for women is, "sang," which means classy in looks without being uppity or ladylike. "Duyen" and "dang" mean charm or charisma.

When asked if she noticed a difference in how we describe successful women in positive terms versus successful men in positive terms, Huoa said this is a question more for white women. Vietnamese women are not seen as leaders. She doesn't project herself as strong, so people don't call her a "bitch," however, they may call her "dragon lady."

A. Mori, (personal communication, April 8, 1993), believes there is a change in language use. People are more aware of how to properly address women. Woman is used instead of girl. Chairperson is used rather than chairman. There is more guardedness about describing women's styles as "women's styles." Managers are called "managers," not "women managers."

Aida has not gotten involved particularly with language. However, she is part of a group of women, called the Minnesota 100, who have high executive positions, or have potential, who are getting mentors for themselves. They are the third group of 100 women, and while they have

not discussed language or labels, they have discussed action and tone. For instance, sometimes, men will refer to "you women." Or at a meeting, men will try to be considerate of the women in the room.

Several of the women spoke of the sacrifices they have made as a result of their leadership roles.

Rosalie sacrificed marriage and children, although she has a large immediate family.

Yako had to sacrifice some friendships because of no longer fitting with them. She's needed to step away because of the incongruities.

Hua has sacrificed seeing her son grow up, having family time and having time to herself. She believes something needs to change when business expects a 60 hour week or you're not committed. Particularly in non-profit, if you really believe in what you're doing, you're supposed to "lay down your life." Also, when her son cracked his skull, a woman she worked with told her to give him to a nurse so she could be at work rather than wait for her mother-in-law to take care of him. Even with a miscarriage, she was to get right back to work. Rather than being a piece of machinery in an organization, she would prefer to be an individual. She believes in balance.

Aida, (personal communication, April 8, 1993), believes the "superwoman syndrome" is going away. There is more appreciation of what women bring to the table such as intuition, nurturing and caring. Values are changing. Regardless of whether it's working in the home or outside the home, the question is, "Where do I really want to go and what do I want to accomplish?"

The literature shows similar findings. There is more awareness, but there is conflict about changes to be made.

In a recent study by Rosener (1990), women business managers who have broken the glass ceiling in medium-sized, non-traditional organizations were described as having found another way to succeed. In this exploratory study, members of The International Women's Forum were sent an eight-page questionnaire asking about their leadership styles, organizations, working-family issues, and personal characteristics. Respondents also identified a man in a similar organization with similar responsibilities who also received the same questionnaire. The respondents were similar in age, occupation, and educational level, which suggests that the matching effort was successful. The response rate was 31%.

A major independent variable was the respondent's gender. The dependent variables were the leadership styles, the results such as money earned, household income, use of power, etc. Rosener's study results supported her hypothesis that female executives have found another way to succeed. Their leadership styles were described as being participatory, or using an interactive leadership style. This includes encouraging participation and sharing power and information. Many of the participants described their participatory style as coming naturally, not something they adopt for its business value.

Both men and women in the study described their feminine characteristics with words such as being excitable, gentle, emotional, submissive, sentimental, understanding, compassionate, sensitive, and dependent. The masculine words were dominant, aggressive, tough, assertive, autocratic, analytical, competitive, and independent. Gender-neutral words were adaptive, tactful, sincere, conscientious, conventional, reliable, predictable, systematic, and efficient. All these words were used in describing themselves as leaders.

In Rosener's study, similarities were found between men and women leaders in characteristics related to money and children. Women respondents earned the same amount of money, which is contrary to most studies, and just as many men as women experience work-family conflict.

"But the similarities ended when men and women described their leadership performance and how they usually influenced those with whom they work."

The men are more likely to "view job performance as a series of transactions with subordinates - exchanging rewards for services rendered or punishment for inadequate performance. They are also more likely to use power that comes from their organizational position and formal authority."

The women respondents see themselves "getting subordinates to transform their own self-interest into the interest of the group through concern for a broader goal. Moreover, they ascribe their power to personal characteristics like charisma, interpersonal skills, hard work, or personal contacts rather than to organizational stature."

Rosener called the women's style of leadership "interactive". She said, "the women encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work. All these things reflect their belief that allowing employees to contribute and to feel powerful and important is a win-win situation--good for the employees and the organization."

One disturbing finding from Rosener's study was that both men and women pay their female subordinates roughly \$12,000 less than their male subordinates with similar positions and titles. No reasonable explanation has been made for this. Some thoughts about this were that anyone but the most conscientious boss would gladly settle for paying less. Perhaps the men had

impressive educational backgrounds or had been on the job longer than the women. But then, why the similar positions and titles? Perhaps, women leaders gave their female subordinates positions and titles beyond their earning capacity. Not likely. Perhaps Rosener had backup information that would explain why.

In the *Debate* that followed the study (Epstein, 1991) the editor-at-large of *Working Woman*, Kate Rand Lloyd, said that from a survey *Working Woman* did in 1985, the attitudes of men and women may have something to do with female subordinates receiving \$12,000 less. Men associate money with power while women tend to a definition of money that includes career, family, and personal relationships. Therefore, women may give in and accept smaller salaries for the sake of personal relationships when men feel uncomfortable with women earning more money than men.

Rosener's study talked of women making their way into top management by adopting skills and attitudes they have developed from shared experiences with women. By drawing on what is unique to their socialization as women, they are creating a different path to the top. Rather than in spite of, they are succeeding because of certain characteristics generally considered to be "feminine" and inappropriate in leaders.

For example, a feminist alternative model for supervision would use units responsible for their own work. This is not original to feminists because it draws on participatory management, matrix organizational designs, and quality control circles. This model would take away the need for superior domination through hierarchical patterns of authority requiring a new way to think of organizations. Competing with one's peers and colleagues would not be necessary. The emphasis would be placed on the importance of group harmony.

The women who described themselves as predominately "feminine" or "gender neutral" reported their female subordinates followed their leadership more than women who described themselves as "masculine."

They used such forums as the "bridge club" where members from different functions could contribute in a relaxed atmosphere. Or they try to make people feel included by drawing them into conversations and asking their opinions.

"These women say they willingly share power and information rather than guard it...While many leaders see information as power and power as a limited commodity to be coveted, the interviewees seem to be comfortable letting power and information change hands."

In the Debate, C. Epstein (1991), took issue with Rosener's study. She said, "The category is people, not men and women." She claims the study wasn't accurate because Rosener asked people to describe their leadership styles rather than observing men and women at work. She states that current research shows that men and women tend to stereotype their own behavior according to cultural views of gender-appropriate behavior. Thus men tended to described themselves as having a "command and control" style while women leaned toward "transformational" patterns, using interpersonal skills.

She gave an example of her own research of a woman attorney who described her own style as "caring" while a male associate characterized her as a "barracuda."

She also said in a large women's voluntary organization where she is a staff member, she has seen women with authoritarian, combative, and punitive behavior, as well as warm and interactive styles.

She says, "women ought to be in management because they are intelligent, adaptable, practical, and efficient - and because they are capable of compassion...And those qualities of toughness and drive that many men are made to feel comfortable with should be prized in women who wish to express them when they are appropriate."

This is the point this author has been making. "Women can have qualities of toughness and drive when it's appropriate." Who determines when it's appropriate? Are male leaders described as intelligent, adaptable, practical and efficient. Intelligent, yes. Are the other adjectives used? Rarely. Women are described differently, and we have a long way to go before women will be described with the same terms used for men. While Epstein wants "wholeness," she emphasizes the differences. Would a male ever be called a "barracuda," as a female was in Epstein's *Debate* ? While men are described as "authoritarian," would they be described as "combative" and "punitive?"

In another study, Davis & Gilbert (1989) instructed partners in 61 mixed and same-sex dyads, (grouped as high-high, low-high, high-low, and low-low in dispositional dominance), to choose a leader and complete a task. High-dominant women became leaders over low-dominant male partners 71% of the time, while high-dominant men became leaders over low-dominant women 90% of the time. When paired with high-dominant men, high-dominant women became leaders only 31% of the time. It seemed high-dominant women altered their dominance behaviors in response to what they accepted as legitimate desires of males and "appropriate" traits and behaviors. The 71% of high-dominant women who became leaders over low-dominant men is more than twice that from previous studies.

A similar survey by Nyquist & Spence (1986), used a sampling of 80 male and 80 female psychology students grouped by sex and dominance characteristics. The experimenter instructed the subjects to determine the leader of their dyad, and then were given a task to complete. "The experimenter emphasized that what was of particular interest in this study was leadership under time stress and how the latter affects quality of performance." Results of this study showed nearly the same percentages as Davis's and Gilbert's work. "In same-sex pairs, almost three fourths of the high-dominance individuals became leader; the proportion was even higher (90%) in mixed-sex pairs in which the man was high dominant. In contrast, only 35% of the high-dominant women paired with a low-dominant man became the leader."

Many studies of leadership were associated with masculine attitudes and examples. There was discussion that Nyquist's & Spence's study (1986) that was just described was "actually masculine because, like a boss-secretary relationship, it required the follower to take dictation from the leader."

For this research, one comparative study was used. "Constructing the College Presidency," (Neumann & Bensimon, 1990) because while most college presidents and vice presidents are men, this study gave a representation of women.

Newmann and Bensimon (1990) used the hypothesis that, as a result of their differing beliefs about the organizational world and the leadership role, college presidents are likely to differ in their agendas and in how they perform the job.¹

The sample consisted of thirty-two institutions (eight public/private, eight state colleges, eight community colleges and eight independent

colleges), varying in their geographic locations, size, and setting. To assure diversity, four "new" presidents, (less than three years) and four "old" presidents (more than five years) were included. Women and minority presidents were somewhat over-sampled to ensure representation, but no mention was made as to whether or not they thought this changed the sample or results.

The study was qualitative, using open-ended questions over a three-day period of site visits. Limitations were that the study was small and the analysis was limited to the presidents' conceptions of the presidency. The study resulted in identifying four different presidential types or styles of leadership:

The type A president is externally directed, generally concerned about making major contributions to the state, country, local regions and communities and to humanity in general. They are active participants in shaping the outside world assuming a public service role. They see themselves as initiators, entrepreneurs, risk-takers and future oriented rather than the present.

The type B president attends primarily to the internal organization, being student centered. They see themselves as supporters and teachers. They are concerned with assuring the comfort and well-being of the college's "people." These are the "here and now" type.

Both type A and type B are initiators, but one is external and one is internal.

The type C president is likely to lead during a financial crisis. They direct attention and energy to the external world, but they are concerned with short-term interactions such as securing one-time gifts. They also tend to link institutional image-building with resource stability and social

acceptance by launching major fund-raising and image-building campaigns. This is characterized as reacting rather than initiating because they spend the majority of their time looking for resources.

The type D president is internally directed, focusing on program review procedures, budget processes, and organizational structure. They believe they should be involved in virtually every facet of college life. They act minimally in the external world. They are also reacting to financial crisis, but plan for retrenchment, disciplined expenditures, and cut-backs in programs, services, and positions.

Types A & B, in being initiators and connected to their institutions, were relatively untroubled in terms of finance and faculty morale. Types C & D, being more reactive and distant in their relatedness to the institutions, were less stable.

For the purposes of this paper, this study is one of only two studies found directly involving women. Yet, of the four different leadership types delineated, this study did not find any differences with women in any of these types. Are women equally represented in each type, or more in one type than another? No information regarding the women was given which would answer this question. This study missed the variable of being a woman.

The media has a large influence over the language of the general populations. The following studies show different aspects of the power of the media.

Kilbourne (1990) studied the effects of female stereotyping in advertising where the independent variable, the sex role, was manipulated, portraying women either in a housewife or a professional role. He hypothesized that subjects will draw inferences about the managerial

attributes of the woman directly from the role portrayed, and that the inferences will be generalized to other women.

Two implications came from the study: 1. Men were more affected by the sex roles than women. Men viewing the ads attributed managerial qualities to the professional versions. 2. Since non-preferential job treatment is a societal goal, any activity or practice detracting from that goal should be eliminated through public policy. Stereotyping sex roles in advertising may be a contributory influence of sex discrimination in the workplace by being an inhibiting factor for women in their assumption of managerial roles.

Quotes from a brochure distributed the week of March 15, 1993, at Anoka County from the American Lung Association of Minnesota, state, "Your ex-smoker is trying to break a habit that's become part of his life...If you know your husband is used to having a cigarette to unwind from a hard day at work, ask if he wants a hot drink instead...fears that quitting smoking is hurting him in some way. His fantasy is that he is that one person in the world for whom smoking is beneficial...You might ask him how you could help. Perhaps you might treat him to juice at breaktime...or tell him about the self-help manual...that he can order from the local American Lung Association."

There were four references to female gender. There were ten references to the male gender, and four references to male/female gender.

The April, 1993, issue of *Working Woman*, had an article about women dead-ending in Hollywood. It listed the following information.

Barbra Streisand was the co-producer, director and leading lady of "The Prince of Tides". Penelope Spheeris directed "Wayne's World", one of

the biggest hits of 1992. Penny Marshall's, "A League of Their Own," grossed more than \$100 million.

This year's Academy Awards' theme was "Oscar Celebrates Women and the Movies."

Yet, 95% of the 100 most powerful people listed in *Premiere* magazine were male. Of the 400 members of the Producers' Guild of America, only 15% are women. Only two women, Julia Roberts and Barbra Streisand open a film on their names alone.

Sex sells products also in the film industry. The 6-year-old son of a friend was watching a perfume ad for Jean Nate'. The ad showed women dressed in helmets, goggles and jumpsuits, parachuting from a plane. The 6 year old young man said, "Now, they're going to make you think it's really a woman who parachutes out of that plane. Isn't that stupid?"

Limitations

The research was limited to a small number of women in the urban Twin City area. Because of the small number and area, the study cannot be generalized to the larger population. Because of time and money constraints, surveying a large number of women was not possible.

The urban Twin City area was chosen because of limited availability to travel to other parts of the country. It would be of interest to see how gender roles are played out in other parts of the county, however. To have a good representative sample from other parts of the county would take six to eight months minimally, and that along with the other limitations would be good grounds for further study.

Men were not a part of this researcher's study. This has meant that men's viewpoints are not represented, but it also would have made this a

different study. However, men are represented in many of the studies found in literature.

Because the literature draws the same conclusions as the women surveyed, this author believes the study is an objective attempt at a cross-section of opinions. However, as indicated previously, the cross-cultural/intercultural approach is limited.

Because of the cross-cultural variables, this study is skewed in its perspectives. However, the cross-cultural viewpoints are an important aspect of this study to show the differences in attitudes toward women in leadership and use of language.

Future studies need to be made of each cultural perspective in relationship to relative samples from each culture because of the difference in viewpoints, values and customs.

Conclusions and Recommendations

Gender language socialization is pervasive. The studies have shown that existing communication patterns are defined by the male norm.

Terms such as forefathers, brotherly love, mankind, lady engineer, male nurse, mailman, and lady attorney stereotype the sexes, with the male in the dominant role (Sorrels, 1983). Yet these terms are prevalent today.

The term, King's English, is used even during the reign of Queen Elizabeth II (Sorrels, 1983).

If a term is changed from the male gender, such as chairman, it is usually changed to the non-gender form, chairperson, rather than chairwoman, when referring to a woman.

This researcher had never thought about names. Women have names such as Cathy, Vicky, Annie, Margie, Evy, or Sherri. These are the same names they've had since they were little girls. Few men keep the names of

Jimmy, Bobby, Johnny, Ricky, or Billy, they used as little boys. When men are called by these names, it's with disparagement, jokingly, or with endearment. Yet, women are called their little girl names everyday. This practice perpetuates the image of weakness for women. While men's names like Mike, Grant, Duke, Ernest, Don, John, and Paul denote strength for men.

Further study would be interesting to learn the extent to which names impact women. Women like Hillary Rodham Clinton change their names, and other women keep their names when they marry, or hyphenate. But few men hyphenate and this researcher knows of no men who have taken their wives names. "Think about it. How would a man react if, after having one name for twenty years or so, the culture told him to give it up and take on the name of the woman he married (Sorrels, 1983)?"

Men and women are affected by gender language socialization. Men who make an attempt to use gender inclusive language are viewed differently. They are seen as less powerful and are frequently overlooked and ignored in favor of a more forceful man.

The white society is one of the more oppressive to women when compared to the cultures surveyed for this study. In a linear sense, women are oppressed by the male dominated society, women of lesser power and status are oppressed by some women of higher status and more power. Women of color are oppressed by white women. And the white dominant society as a whole is oppressive to men and women of color.

It would be interesting to conduct further studies on gender language socialization on women of color. However, from this researcher's findings, language doesn't seem to be as big an issue in other cultures as it is for Caucasian women.

Perhaps one difference is because English is a second language for other cultures, and they have not been socialized in it since childhood. Also, because the women from Vietnamese, Cuban and Indigenous Native cultures don't view themselves as leaders as much as they view themselves as servers of their people, words connoting leadership don't seem as important. Although, once they find themselves in leadership positions, they strive for what they believe in as leaders.

Although women know a lot about leadership, because, for the most part, what women know about leadership is not recognized and valued in our society, women need to continue to make the efforts to gain acknowledged leadership roles. In this way, perhaps the existing values regarding leadership can be reconsidered.

The topic of leadership is interesting because it is a positive way to look at some of the problems facing women. Leadership is proactive and comes from a position of strength and choice rather than from weakness.

Women bring special qualities to leadership that are desirable and effective. Women are holistic, healing and nurturing; powerful, strong and dynamic. It's not that some men don't also have these characteristics, but for the purposes of this study, the focus is on women.

Women need to continue affirming their own and other's strengths and experiences. Networking with other women can be a means of accomplishing this. Men have been networking for generations. Networking can be done socially as well in the workplace. Women need to lose their fear of what others may say about promoting the skills and qualities of other women.

Men and women need to be educated to be aware of the impact of gender language socialization, recognize potential communication barriers, and acknowledge women's styles of leadership as valid and effective.

As we continue with the process, change will occur (Appendix D).

LEADERSHIP QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A

1. To what do you attribute your becoming a leader?
2. Will you comment on your leadership style and how you see it valued by society?
3. In your experience, what differences, if any, in the usage of language regarding women have you noticed?
4. Given this list of terms, have these or similar words influenced you as a woman in leadership?

feisty	soft
spunky	catty
lady	nasty
china doll	nurturing
feminine	vulnerable
fragile	intuitive
emotional	spitfire
5. What are you currently doing or could you do as a leader to help other women understand the impact of language?
6. As a woman, what strengths do you bring to leadership?
7. What have been your biggest obstacles, or what have you needed to sacrifice?
8. Have you noticed the following situations in your experience:
 - Difference in words people use in talking to women in leadership versus men in leadership?
 - Difference in how we describe successful women in positive terms versus men in positive terms?
9. What would you most like to see different?

SCHEMATIC

PROBLEM

Stereotyping
sex roles
Gender
language styles
Women's
work valued

QUESTION

How to
encourage
participation
in the process
to change

THEORY

Men and
women would
benefit from
more equally
shared
leadership roles

CONCEPTUALIZATION

The dependent variables
are women in leadership
The independent variable
is gender role
socialization

CHOICE OF
RESEARCH
METHOD

Qualitative
study
Design is
evaluative

POPULATION AND
SAMPLING

Urban T.C. women
in various
leadership
positions

OPERATIONALIZATION

A questionnaire was
used to survey
each woman in
leadership

OBSERVATIONS

Responses to
the questionnaire
were analyzed
and interpreted

ANALYSIS

Content analysis
was used

APPLICATION

The results
were used
for my thesis

CONSENT FORM

You are invited to be in a research study regarding women in leadership positions. You were selected as a participant because you are a women in leadership. Please read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Evy Nelson, student in the MSW program at Augsburg College

1. The purpose of this study is to determine whether language is used differently for women and whether it has different meanings and impact for women, particularly women in leadership. The information will be used as a basis for the researcher's thesis.

2. Subjects who agree to be in this study, will be asked to meet with the researcher at a setting of your choice and answer the questions that have been prepared and sent to you prior to meeting. The researcher will write down your replies as you answer. The time involved will be about an hour.

3. The benefits to participation are being able to share information with other women about your process in leadership, and in our understanding of the role of language. The final outcome of this study will be made available to the subjects.

4. The records of this study will be kept confidential. In any sort of report the researcher might publish, any information that will make it possible to identify a subject, will not be used unless specific permission is given to do so. Research records will be kept by the researcher in a locked box, and the researcher will be the only person to have access to the key to the box. The records will be destroyed after approval of the thesis.

5. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with Augsburg College. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

6. You may ask any questions you have now. If you have questions later, you may contact the researcher at (612) 933-4681.

7. You will be given a copy of this form to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information. I have asked questions and have received answers. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature _____ Date _____

Signature of Researcher _____ Date _____

If you would agree to be identified in the research, please sign below.

Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix D

Benefits to Men and Women

For every woman who is tired of acting weak when she knows she's strong...

There is a man who is tired of appearing strong, when he feels vulnerable.

For every woman who is tired of acting dumb...

There is a man who is burdened with the expectation of knowing everything.

For every woman who is tired of being called an "emotional female"...

There is a man who is denied the right to weep, to be gentle.

For every woman who is called "unfeminine" when she competes...

There is a man for whom competition is the only way to prove masculinity.

For every woman who is tired of being a sex object...

There is a man who must worry about his potency.

For every woman who feels "tied down" by children.

There is a man who is denied full pleasure of shared parenthood.

For every woman who is denied meaningful employment for equal pay...

There is a man who must bear financial responsibility for another pay...

For every woman who is not taught the intricacies for an automobile...

There is a man who is not taught the satisfaction of cooking.

For every woman who takes a step toward her own liberation...

There is a man who finds the way to freedom has been made a little easier.

Author Unknown

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