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Feminine leadership as a response to new challenges in higher education : myth or reality?

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IN HIGHER EDUCATION: MYTH OR REALITY?

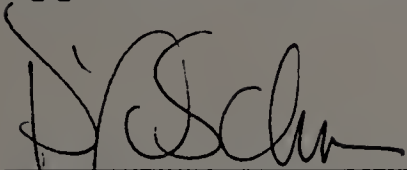A Dissertation Presented

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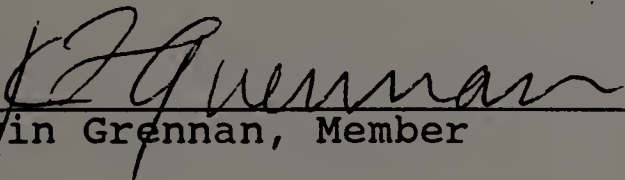
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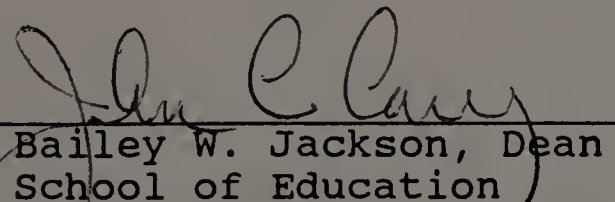
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Many people contributed to this effort, and all of them have my deepest appreciation.

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milestones, they have been true partners. My achievement is theirs as well, and I cherish their constant support and their great pride in my accomplishment.

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ABSTRACT

FEMININE LEADERSHIP AS A RESPONSE TO NEW CHALLENGES

IN HIGHER EDUCATION: MYTH OR REALITY?

FEBRUARY 1994

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This study explored the question of whether the
literature on women's leadership is relevant to the ways in
which a select group of female community college presidents
lead their institutions.

Three bodies of literature are reviewed. First, the
literature on the development and psychology of women is
reviewed. Second, the literature on leadership behavior, in
general, is reviewed. And third, the arguments for and
against Feminine Leadership as a new and viable leadership
model are reviewed. It is clear that the Feminine
Leadership literature is derivative: It takes many concepts
directly from the literature on women's development, and
reflects much of what the general leadership literature says

about important leadership traits and behaviors. While not entirely original, it does provide particular areas of emphasis. Women, it contends, are relationship-oriented: They collaborate, they manage in participatory ways, and they provide a caring, nurturing environment in the workplace. These characteristics, we are told, are particularly valuable during times of crisis and change.

In-depth interviews were conducted with four female Massachusetts community college presidents. The presidents were asked to talk about their career progressions, how they entered and effected change within their colleges, and the impact of the recent and dramatic cuts in state funding. The interviews were tape recorded and were analyzed from repeated listening to the tapes and written transcriptions.

The results of the interviews were that the women were far more different as leaders than they were similar. Feminine Leadership was not found to be a defining concept for them, in or out of fiscal crisis, although their use of language often did reflect some of the major Feminine Leadership themes.

This study concluded that the Feminine Leadership "lens" is too narrow to provide an understanding of the leadership of these four women. While relevant to particular individuals at particular times, it provides no

common thread for understanding them as a group. Each

leader brings to her role a unique blend of behaviors and

characteristics which define her leadership in far more

powerful ways than does the concept of Feminine Leadership.

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INTRODUCTION

The concept of "Feminine Leadership" suggests that females lead in qualitatively different ways than their male counterparts. Descriptions of feminine leadership within the literature carve out characteristics and operational styles which emphasize the preservation of relationships, the importance of empathy and care in dealing with personnel, the use of power in such a way as to empower others, and collaborative decision-making and management. Furthermore, these characteristics and skills, assert many, are particularly well-suited to leading institutions during times of crisis and change. This dissertation explores the ideas embodied in Feminine Leadership and examines that assertion.

Marilyn Loden (1985) was the first to describe "women's ways of leading" as Feminine Leadership. She and others who describe a unique and gender-related leadership perspective ground many of their observations and conclusions in the work of feminist psychologists who preceded them. Researchers such as Carol Gilligan (1986), Jean Baker Miller (1986), Nancy Chodorow (1986), and Mary Belenky (1986) have challenged what were generally-accepted human development

theories. The work of Freud (1925), Levinson (1978), and
Kohlberg (1969, 1976, 1981), they have argued, describes
patterns and goals which are far more relevant for the male
populations on whom the studies were based than for females,
whose psychological and moral development is different.
Studies which explore women's development have described a
perspective of caring and an overriding concern for the
preservation of relationships. Goals such as these are
decidedly different from the goal of autonomy, represented
as an "end-point" in many traditional models of human
development.

The literature on women's leadership suggests that the
very same characteristics described within the women's
psychological and moral development literature make women
more suitable to the leadership challenges of the future
than men. In a time of shrinking resources and heightened
expectations, leaders must be able to do much more than keep
the trains running on time. Warren Bennis suggests that, to
face such challenges, leaders must "empower people and
ideas, creating organizational cultures in which people gain
a sense of meaning, purpose, and challenge from their work"
(Hickman, 1990, p. 15). Proponents of Feminine Leadership
contend that the leadership ideas expressed by Bennis and
others fit perfectly with the unique perspectives that women

bring to leadership. Because of their caring orientation and a significantly diminished emphasis on personal achievement, women can work with those within and without the organization to identify and reach shared goals. In leadership roles, it is argued, they break down hierarchies, encourage collaboration, share power, and build motivation and productivity toward shared visions and goals.

The purpose of this study is to discover if, in fact, the concept of Feminine Leadership is relevant to the ways in which women lead their organizations. The study explores the relationship between the concept of Feminine Leadership and actual leadership concerns, values and behaviors of selected women presidents of Massachusetts community colleges. The community college sector in Massachusetts presents a particularly rich context in which to explore women's leadership. First, it is one of the few state systems which can claim a high proportion of women presidents (5 of the state's 15 community colleges are led by women). Second, the colleges are currently faced with unprecedented leadership challenges. State funding was reduced by 40% over the four-year period that preceded this study (1987-1991), while public expectations and demands of accountability increased. In the face of shrinking resources, college leaders must consider carefully what

their institutions can and will do. The community college mission, always broad, has expanded to much more than the provision of courses and degrees which prepare students for baccalaureate education or direct career entry. Now, developmental (remedial) education, English as a Second Language instruction, adult literacy, community service, ongoing job training, service to public "lower education," and international education have all become as central to the community college purpose as traditional degree-granting programs. The public and the legislature look to community colleges to respond, in public and accountable ways, to the shifting needs of a society in flux.

Given the circumstances currently facing public higher education in Massachusetts (and, it appears, soon to face many other state systems), it is important to understand the contributions of leadership models which hold promise for the future. Now, more than ever, college presidents must be able to deal with daunting fiscal realities and have the capacity to reshape our colleges in positive ways.

Is there any basis for believing that women leaders share common traits and characteristics which equip them to meet these challenges successfully? This dissertation explores that question, both through a review of literature which focuses on the viability of a "feminine leadership"

model, and through in-depth interviews with four women

college presidents in Massachusetts.

A Desire to Know

Embarking on this study was not the first time I

engaged in an inquiry about women and college leadership.

Both topics, individually and together, have fascinated me

for years.

As an educational administrator since 1974, I have

often found myself one of very few women in that role. The

fact of that circumstance made me look around from time to

time and wonder what, if anything, made me (and my women

colleagues) different from other women who chose not to--or

were not able to--enter that arena. I also wondered what,

if anything, made us different from our male colleagues.

About the latter, I had lots of opinions. Some of them

centered around my observation that it was discussions about

Kiwanis and football that separated us. But, on a deeper

level, I felt that I seemed to care about different work-

related issues and concerns than many of them did. I sensed

that many of my ideas and inclinations were at odds with the

dominant institutional culture. As Kanter (1980) points

out, token status can contribute to exaggerated perceptions

of difference. Still, one feels what one feels. And I <u>did</u> feel different.

Reading Gilligan's <u>In a Different Voice</u> (1982) gave <u>me</u> a voice. She gave expression to what I had been thinking and feeling. I could see myself and other women I knew in her descriptions. I could remember long, protracted arguments with male colleagues and friends in which it seemed impossible for them to understand that I wanted to accomplish my goals <u>without</u> disrupting important relationships. I could remember being accused of siding with everybody in a dispute because I was keenly aware of many points of view. My perspectives seemed to complicate things where others wanted clean, single answers. I remember underlining more than half of Gilligan's book and then reading others that provided source material for her work.

The experience was validating for me in yet another way. Years before, when I had been an English teacher at Weston High School, Carol Gilligan had served as a consultant to our effort to develop a sex education and moral development curriculum. During the early 1970s, she was a research assistant to Lawrence Kohlberg, whose moral development theory formed the basis of our work and of our subsequent curriculum. She was clearly Kohlberg's disciple;

if she questioned his theory or its application to female students, we never knew it. Her later "breaking away" from Kohlberg was particularly meaningful to me. It said, "So, we understood the world one way yesterday, but now we see it differently."

Such breakthroughs allow one to view a situation or problem through an entirely different lens--and perhaps come up with answers that could not have been thought of before. A new form of leadership held out that promise to me. Perhaps the perspective that Gilligan and others "uncovered," if applied to leadership, would offer some new ways of dealing with difficult leadership problems.

Finding Out

Three pieces of research--all conducted during my University of Massachusetts doctoral study--preceded the work of this dissertation. The first was a study of Massachusetts community college presidents to discover significant factors that contributed to their appointments as college presidents (Sperling, 1983). The study included both male and female presidents. There were few significant patterns that emerged. Their educational backgrounds were different, their job preparation and previous experience were very different from one another, and there were no

important differences between the career paths of men and women presidents. Only two important variables surfaced. The most common route to the presidency was through the academic track (i.e., previous experience as an academic vice president or dean). The second important conclusion was that each search had been unique in terms of its priorities and goals. Consequently, colleges had chosen their leaders based upon their then-current circumstances and what they thought they needed in a leader at the time.

The second study (Sperling, 1989b) was based upon Gilligan's research and involved in-depth interviews of three community college division chairs. It explored managerial decision-making to see if Gilligan's gender-related considerations held true for academic leaders as they dealt with difficult supervisory situations. I patterned the interviews on Kohlberg's (1976) "dilemmas." There were no "right" or "wrong" answers. However, each response led to consequences of great importance to those involved. I asked each manager to explain his or her reasoning for each decision, and then posed follow-up questions based upon their responses. I interviewed one woman and two men. The woman's responses were very close to the ways in which Gilligan and other feminist developmental psychologists have described the concerns and priorities of

women. One of the men was quite opposite. He focused on

"correct" answers to the situation and paid minimal

attention to the relationships or human consequences

involved. The other man was somewhere in the middle--more

like the first man than like the woman, but still quite

sensitive to the human issues involved. The study, as

limited as it was, validated some of my initial instincts,

but presented shades of grey that seemed interesting to

explore. It whetted my appetite to learn more about the

relationship between women's "difference" and leadership.

The third piece of research looked at the status of

women in higher education administration. The study

explored patterns of hiring and promotions, identifying

barriers to advancement as well as ways that successful

women administrators had broken through those barriers. Not

surprisingly, those women exhibited some of the same traits

that come through strongly in the interviews of the four

subjects of this study: high power and achievement drives,

good self-esteem, and a strong motivation to manage

(Sperling, 1989a). The study also highlighted the

relationship between the women themselves and the culture

(policies and practices) of the organization. In settings

in which promoting and supporting women was important, women

experienced fewer barriers and achieved higher status. In

organizations in which such policies did not exist or were not aggressively implemented, women were far less successful. Still, in all settings, some made it; and I remained interested in those who did. I also continued to question the relationship between their leadership and so-called gender-related characteristics and attributes.

This dissertation allowed me to look at that question in the context of settings in which unprecedented leadership demands existed. I considered that extremely important in light of the distinctions that have been made (and are addressed within this dissertation) between management and leadership. Difficult times call for strong leadership in ways that less challenging times do not. An institution can be managed when the maintenance of the status quo will do just fine; it must be led when its basic assumptions and very existence are threatened. What I wanted to know was how do women presidents lead their institutions at such times, and is the research on Feminine Leadership relevant to their actual leadership.

The interviews themselves were fascinating. The longer we talked, the more I felt as though I had entered the women's worlds. I felt more and more able to understand how they saw themselves, their institutions, their problems, and their solutions. At the outset of the study, I expected to

synthesize and present the findings for the women as a
group. Highlighting similarities and differences, I would
summarize patterns and themes that related to their
leadership. Reading and listening to the interviews
convinced me to present each woman separately before
discussing them as a group. Their individuality was simply
too compelling to permit it to be blurred through analysis
which focused only on general patterns and trends. The
patterns I found within each interview were at least, if not
more, interesting than those that pertained to them as a
group.

     "People become what they are over time. There's a kind
of cumulative meaning to a life...that isn't so easy to
sweep aside", writes novelist Susan Miller (Flake, 1993).
Like Miller's characters, these women leaders must finally
be understood as individuals--with unique histories,
personalities, styles and characteristics that define their
leadership in far more important ways than does their
gender. To be sure, there are elements of the research on
women which come through strongly, but Feminine Leadership
as a defining concept does not. The presidents--and their
leadership--are more complex than the view of leadership
that is presented through the research on women as leaders.

Organization of the Study

This study is presented in six chapters. The first chapter sets forth the problem and describes the context for the study: community college education as it now exists within the Massachusetts public education system and the nature of the major challenges that face it. It sets the stage for examining Feminine Leadership as a promising model to meet these considerable challenges.

The second chapter presents a review of relevant literature. The first part of this chapter explores the research centering around the development and psychology of women. This body of literature contributes to our understanding of the ways in which women's perspectives and orientations differ from the male populations previously described within the psychological and moral development literature. It is upon this body of work that the Feminine Leadership literature bases many of its conclusions about women's leadership. The second part of Chapter Two considers women as leaders. It explores the literature on leadership, in general, as well as the literature on women as leaders and as managers. It examines the overlap and differences between these ideas. This chapter also articulates the debate about feminine leadership as a concept. Hearing from those who dispute the conclusions

reflected through the Feminine Leadership literature, we
learn why they reject claims of "women's ways" of leading.

The third chapter outlines the research methodology.
It discusses why an open-ended, qualitative approach was
chosen as well as some of the issues involved in conducting
in-depth interviews with public, and often cautious, people.

In Chapter Four, we meet the women--one by one. We
hear them talk about themselves, their colleges, their
challenges, and their courses of action. We experience each
woman as a person and as a college president, and we become
keenly aware of how different each is from the other.

Chapter Five presents the aggregate findings of the
study. It explores the patterns of similarity and
difference that were found, irrespective of Feminine
Leadership principles, and then compares the study's
findings to the Feminine Leadership literature. We begin to
see that while Feminine Leadership ideas are relevant at
times, they fall far short of "explaining" the leadership of
these women.

Chapter Six is the concluding chapter. It summarizes
what has been learned through the literature and from the
women presidents themselves and draws conclusions about the
relationship between the presidents' perspectives on
leadership and the Feminine Leadership literature. Arguing

that Feminine Leadership offers too narrow a perspective to
gain a meaningful understanding of the leadership of these
four college presidents, it speculates as to the reasons for
widespread advocacy of feminine leadership models. Areas
for further inquiry are also suggested.

CHAPTER I
THE CONTEXT

Leadership is always leadership in a context. The specific context for this study of leadership is the Massachusetts Community College system, which, during the period from 1987 until 1991, endured an unprecedented period of transition and fiscal uncertainty. Faced with substantially reduced state funding, the context for community college leadership changed in important ways.

This chapter discusses the purpose and major goals of community colleges. It also describes the erosion of each college's state funding base during the four years which preceded this study. These goals and particular circumstances frame the specific environment for community college leadership during the time frame most relevant for this study.

What Community Colleges Do

Community colleges have evolved from their predecessors, the junior colleges originally developed in the 1930s. No longer solely dedicated to providing the first two years of baccalaureate education, today's

community colleges have missions and goals that are broad and call for varied and diverse programming.

Described as "comprehensive" in nature, the community colleges of the 1990s most often identify the following major functions:

1. Preparation for transfer to a four-year institution through liberal arts and careers coursework.

2. Preparation for direct job entry through career or vocational education.

3. Remedial (or developmental) education.

4. Continuing and part-time education.

5. Community service through short courses, workshops, and non-credit courses as well as through college-sponsored events open to the public.

6. Targeted instructional services for business and industry.

7. Student guidance.

(Cohen and Brawer, 1989)

The various functions are often listed differently with certain categories subsumed under others, but the directions listed above represent goals that are generally subscribed

to by most of the nation's "comprehensive" community colleges.

What tends to differ from institution to institution is the emphasis that each of these goals represents. Changing student populations, societal values, and the state of the economy have all played significant roles in determining areas of emphasis within individual institutions. And, as Cohen and Brawer (1989) point out, the availability of federal funding has had a major influence on directions for community colleges as well. They discuss specifically the influx of federal dollars for occupational education that came through the Vocational Education Acts of the 1960s. Later, special community college set-asides both allowed and encouraged community colleges to develop and broaden vocational instruction.

State-level coordinating councils and post-secondary commissions have also played a role in directing institutions to fulfill certain components of their missions more fully than others. Some state agencies have assigned or denied instructional programs to specific institutions based on a statewide perspective of perceived need and a desire to balance the offering of programs within geographic regions. The now-defunct Massachusetts Board of Regional Community Colleges performed such a function, making final

determinations for degree and certificate-granting authority
in instructional areas for each Massachusetts community
college. The Commission on the Future of the State College
and Community College Systems considered specific
refinements of individual missions and goals for each of the
colleges in the state, including recommendations for the
phasing out of particular offerings (Commission on the
Future of the State College and Community College System,
1992).

Continuing education has oftentimes been regulated
through state agencies as well. Some·institutions have been
assigned continuing education functions, while others were
denied permission to operate such programs (Cohen and
Brawer, 1989). Massachusetts is somewhat unique in this
regard; it has been one of only two states in the country
that mandate that instruction in community colleges that
occurs after 5:00 p.m. operate at no state expense. As a
result, both credit and non-credit continuing education
programs have traditionally operated in an entrepreneurial
mode, generating funds to sustain their own operations as
well as to support other instructional functions.

Developmental education, always a significant component
of education at the community college level, has grown both
in importance and in share of the American community

college's resources over the past 20 years. Although the

debate over causes of the decline of academic preparedness

of college students continues, the indicators of such a

decline are uncontested. Statistics from both community

colleges and universities depict a steady slide in literacy

and mathematical competency levels of entering freshmen from

the mid-sixties to the mid-eighties, with a leveling off at

the low point of around 1986 (Cohen and Brawer, 1989). In

response, community colleges have offered, and increasingly

have mandated, remedial coursework in reading, writing, and

mathematics for students who are assessed at precollege

levels in these areas. In Massachusetts, the former Board

of Regents required such non-credit prerequisites for

students attending any of the state's fifteen community

colleges, although most had already put such provisions in

place. The Long-Range Plan developed and adopted by the

Board of Regents in 1982, emphasized the role of

developmental education within the Massachusetts community

colleges, and incorporated mention of the responsibility for

basic skills assessment as well within its goal statements

for community colleges (Massachusetts Board of Regents,

1982). The Commission on the Future of the State College

and Community College Systems reiterated the basic skills

responsibility of community colleges and gave that role even

more emphasis than had preceding documents (Commission on the Future of the State College and Community College System, 1992). And the newly adopted Mission Statement released by the state's Higher Education Coordinating Council assigned the community colleges "primary responsibility to offer courses, programs, and other educational services for individuals who seek to develop the skills necessary to pursue successful collegiate study" (Massachusetts Higher Education Coordinating Council, 1992).

Supplementing the important and largely uncontested commitment to the provision of developmental education at the community college level is the growing priority of providing English as a Second Language instruction to recent immigrants. Large numbers of Hispanic, Southeast Asian, and Portuguese families reside in various sections of Massachusetts, and many adult students from these groups turn to local community colleges for both English language instruction and subsequent entry into degree and certificate programs. One community college located in southeastern Massachusetts enrolls hundreds of Portuguese--and recently, increasing numbers of Asian--students in English as a Second Language classes; another serves a city in which 52% of the graduating high school seniors are Southeast Asian, many with limited English language proficiency; and several

colleges serve large numbers of students whose primary language is Spanish.

Although community college educators are sometimes loathe to highlight the prominence of compensatory education in curricular and service offerings, the need for such services clearly continues and is expected to increase. Growing cultural diversity, low skills levels among high school graduates, and increasing numbers of non-traditional students promise to keep the community college focused on this component of its mission. External funding too plays a role, much as it has with vocational education. The federal government has encouraged increased activity in this realm through community college set-asides and special project monies specifically earmarked to provide compensatory and developmental education to skills-deficient adults.

Questions about the balance between career and transfer education and the relationship between these and developmental education continue to dominate discussions of the role and mission of community colleges. Indeed, the Massachusetts Board of Regents, in a 1989 document entitled, <u>Missions and Changing State Context: The Community Colleges</u>, highlights the question of balance among these functions as the first of three key issues confronting community colleges as they plan for the future. In a great many institutions,

the emphasis on the transfer function has diminished, while career preparation and basic skills development have increased. The recently approved Higher Education Coordinating Council Mission Statement for Community Colleges (1992) suggests that both the transfer and basic skills missions will remain important to the identities of Massachusetts community colleges in the future, as both are seen as providing necessary routes of access to higher education for underrepresented populations.

Cohen and Brawer (1989) observe that the major areas of community college development within the last decade continue to move community colleges further and further away from the rest of the higher education community. They refer not only to the provision of basic skills education and training, but to the increasing focus on community service, contract education, and fee-for-service arrangements with business and industry.

Much of a community college's community service and contract education is entrepreneurial in nature, often designed around specific and stated needs of corporate or community clients. Frequently, there is little connection to the customary academic processes through which courses and services are traditionally developed, approved, and offered on college campuses. Revenue generation, clearly an

increasing priority and one mentioned as well within the
Commission on the Future of the State College and Community
College System's Working Draft (1991), serves as an
important force in building liaisons with entities that can
ensure the growth and solvency of higher education
institutions. The recognition of local community needs
through active community service, likewise, provides a
bridge which has served to solidify the place of the
community college within its larger community. Always an
important aspect of the community college, this function too
has been given greater emphasis at many institutions as
questions about the unique functions of the various segments
of higher education have been examined. The 1992 Community
College Missions Statement (Massachusetts Higher Education
Coordinating Council, 1992) is consistent with this
direction. It is likely, therefore, that the emphasis on
responsiveness to specific community needs will continue to
distinguish community colleges from other segments of higher
education.

The Impact of Funding Cuts

In 1980, Howard Bowen drew attention to the tremendous
disparity in education costs per student among higher
education institutions nationwide. Community colleges

evidenced no fewer disparities in such costs than did their four-year counterparts. A decade ago, before public colleges faced the kinds of cuts in state support that they now face, per-student costs in community colleges ranged from $1102 to $4150. There were no significant funding patterns that related either to the size of the city in which the institutions were located or to the size of the student body serviced by the college. Both "high-cost" and "low-cost" colleges were spread throughout the country. Today, cuts in funding for higher education are prevalent throughout the country. But few states have been hit harder by such cuts than Massachusetts, which experienced a 40% reduction of state support to higher education over a four-year period. In a state-by-state analysis conducted by the Massachusetts Board of Regents in 1991, Massachusetts ranked 29th in the country in per-student appropriations ($5630 per student). Four years before, it had ranked second in the nation, spending $7590 per full-time equivalent student.

Community colleges were subject to precisely the same budget cuts, in the same proportions, as the state's public four-year institutions. Many have argued, however, that the effects of the cuts on students who attend community colleges are more drastic. The community colleges in Massachusetts enroll the largest proportion of the students

who participate in public higher education (40.3%, as opposed to 25.4% for the state colleges and 34.3% for the universities) (Board of Regents of Higher Education, 1991). Of those students, more are members of "underserved" populations (i.e., minorities, women, and the poor) than are their counterparts who enroll in baccalaureate and post-baccalaureate institutions. Reducing access to community college education is seen by some as denying support to those who have fewer options in general, and no other alternative for higher education. The fact that both budget cuts and consequent reductions in staff are occurring at the very same time that applications for admission to these institutions are increasing was the subject of considerable concern in the recently published report, The Massachusetts Public Higher Education System: An Independent View (1991). The issue of access, always important in discussions about community colleges, has become even more significant in light of increased funding pressures and the need to choose among institutional priorities.

As it is difficult to fathom the impact of cuts that total hundreds of millions of dollars, a microcosm of that scenario may be more revealing. Specific reductions in a single community college's budget over the past four years can provide a direct and dramatic example of the erosion in

public support that was experienced by each of the state's higher education institutions.

One of the state's fastest-growing community colleges began Fiscal Year 1989 with a state allocation totaling $12,547,186; that allocation was cut to $12,181,181 before the end of the fiscal year. The following year, the college was to budget for $12,233,833 in state funds, an amount that was then reduced to $11,762,569 during the winter months. The new allocation for Fiscal Year 1991 was $11,456,447. By Spring, another round of reversions brought the year's total to $10,634,512. The next appropriation--for the 1991-1992 school year--was $9,207,095.

The experience of each community college was much the same. The cuts were deep, and they came both in the form of reduced initial allocations as well as mid-year reversions of funds already allocated. At a time when student enrollments were increasing, cutbacks were forcing quick decisions, sometimes resulting in unexpected and radical changes in institutional elements that were assumed to be inviolate.

Breneman and Nelson predicted in 1981 that the "economic pressures of the 1980s will heighten the tension between educational mission and finance" (p. 3). They said that institutional leaders would have to make choices

between and among activities that had all become included in the "comprehensive" community colleges of the seventies. At that time, they saw the major choice as being between community-based learning and service and the traditional emphasis on transfer programs. More recent writers have seen the choices and the options as more complex. Cohen and Brawer (1989) note that different tuition rates can be charged for different programs. And community colleges have discovered that increased collaboration with the local business community has enabled them to generate revenues by charging fees to businesses that often exceed those approved by local boards for traditionally-enrolled students. Among the other cost-saving measures that Cohen and Brawer enumerate are: limiting enrollments, reducing the number of low-enrollment classes, restricting staff leaves and travel, reducing the number of full-time faculty while employing more hourly-rate faculty members, reducing student support services, renting facilities for off-campus courses, and freezing purchases of new supplies and equipment. But, more and more, community college leaders are being forced to prioritize, determining what is central to their mission and in what particular directions their institutions will focus their efforts in the face of declining public support. Breneman and Nelson (1981) concluded that despite the

certainty of tight budgets in the eighties, most
institutions had not developed clear priorities to guide
their development or resource allocation. Clearly, the
nineties have brought even more dramatic cuts and increased
challenges to the comprehensive mission of the community
college.

The Leadership Connection

The context for leadership of Massachusetts public
community colleges is one which calls for exceptional
leadership abilities. The status quo may no longer be
maintained, even if it <u>were</u> desirable. College leaders must
address the ways in which their institutions will change and
must be able to effect such changes.

The Feminine Leadership literature tells us that women
are equipped with skills and attributes that make them well-
suited to deal with institutions under stress and in times
of change. This dissertation examines that premise by
exploring the relevant literature which both supports and
disputes a Feminine Leadership model. The following chapter
begins with a review of the literature on the development
and psychology of women, providing an understanding of the
foundations on which Feminine Leadership models are based.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Themes of Connection and Care

The concept of Feminine Leadership finds its roots in
an emerging body of literature devoted to women's psychology
and development. By and large, those who describe women's
development take issue with developmental psychologists of
the past. Traditional developmental theorists, they
contend, based their psychological and developmental
theories on studies of predominantly male populations. In
such studies, women were most usually viewed in terms of the
extent to which they "fit" constructs developed on the basis
of research using male subjects. And, in the eyes of early
developmentalists, women didn't fit as neatly as men. Freud
(1925), Erickson (1950), and Kohlberg (1969)--all highly
respected psychologists whose theories have guided both
practice and continuing human development research--viewed
women as deficient in psychological development (McClelland,
1975; Gilligan, 1982; Giele, 1982; Brine, 1988). According
to the developmental stage theories developed by each of
these leading psychologists, women, by and large, emerged at
earlier or lower developmental stages than did their matched
male counterparts.

In recent years, feminist psychologists such as Carol
Gilligan (1982), Nancy Chodorow (1980), and Jean Baker
Miller (1986) have contended that earlier studies based on
predominantly male samples had established male models of
development. These models, they assert, are not necessarily
relevant for women. Characteristic of such developmental
theories are hierarchies in which separateness, autonomy,
and the ability to make judgments based on principles of
justice and "rights" are developmental goals. They
represent the highest levels of both psychological and moral
development. Viewed through the lens of such developmental
constructs, a priority on maintaining connections with
others and making decisions based on a desire to accommodate
the needs of others are considered immature responses.
According to Kohlberg's moral development hierarchy, such
responses denote less-developed individuals. As "immature"
responses came most often from women, lower levels of
development seemed to characterize women in general
(Gilligan, 1982).

In her challenge of Lawrence Kohlberg's theory of moral
development, Carol Gilligan set forth the premise that
psychological differences between women and men are so basic
and pervasive as to render judgments made on the basis of
existing moral development theories invalid. Women,

according to Gilligan, are more likely to be oriented toward

connection and attachment to others, while men strive to be

separate and autonomous. Individual achievement, described

within previous human development models as an important

goal, is far less significant to women than to men. Women

place a higher value on intimacy, caring, and responsibility

to others (Gilligan, 1977, 1982, 1986; Lyons, 1988). The

values of care and connection, Gilligan asserts, are

"...salient in women's thinking [and]...imply a view of the

self and the other as interdependent and of relationships as

networks created and sustained by attention and response"

(1986, p. 238). The moral voice more characteristic of

men--"one that speaks of equality, reciprocity, justice and

rights" (Gilligan, 1988)--provides a very different

orientation to one's view of oneself as well as oneself in

relationship with others. The goals of the individual with

a "justice" orientation are to arrive at objectively correct

conclusions and to exhibit a sense of responsibility toward

commitments and principles rather than to people. "Justice-

oriented" individuals strive to deal with others with

reciprocity and fairness, making an effort to remove

themselves from a situation, in a Solomon-like way, to make

a correct and even-handed decision. In contrast, a

"response" or "care" resolution, associated more often with

women, reflects a sense of personal connection and
responsibility to people rather than to principles. The
care response reflects empathy for others' situations and
viewpoints; there is an effort to "walk in another's shoes."

 With two such different views of an individual's goals
and relationship with the world, a single paradigm for moral
development, argues Gilligan, is both erroneous and damaging
to those whose developmental progression does not fit the
defined norm.

 Neither Gilligan nor the researchers who looked at
similar issues with other populations subsequent to her
original work contend that the ethic of care is exclusively
a feminine trait (Derry, 1987; Counts, 1987; Lyons, 1988;
Gilligan and Pollack, 1988; Jack and Jack, 1988). All of
the studies that have been patterned on Gilligan's work
(most using moral choice dilemmas, as she did) have
identified significant proportions of women whose
predominant mode of thinking is one that is more closely
identified with a justice/rights orientation. But Gilligan
and others have found consistently that the voice of care is
gender-related. It is more likely to be female than male,
and it rarely emerges as a predominant voice in male
responses to ethical dilemmas. Her research, then, makes
its contribution both to the study of psychology and to the

debate about gender differences; it draws attention to a
mode of thinking and operating which broadens existing
models of human growth to include what she describes as a
gender-related characteristic, omitted entirely from
previous descriptions of human growth and development.

Gilligan's themes of connectedness, responsiveness, and
care are echoed again and again by other researchers who
have focused on the psychology of women. Jean Baker Miller,
in Toward a New Psychology of Women (1986), talks about
"relational modes which foster psychological development"
(p. xxiii). She contends, like Gilligan, that a close study
of women's experience sheds light on all human experience
and allows us to broaden our definitions and constructs so
that they better describe the human condition in general.

Once again, in Miller's work, traits that characterize
women include involvement with emotions and feelings, as
opposed to a primary reliance on rational thought.
Relationships are primary. Women pursue emotional
connection with others, identifying and responding to
others' needs as a matter of course. They cooperate rather
than compete; and they are likely to participate in the
growth and advancement of others. The following words,
although they come from Jean Baker Miller, might easily have
come from Carol Gilligan, so close are their perceptions:

Women stay with, build on, and develop in a
context of connections with others. Indeed,
women's sense of self becomes very much organized
around being able to make and then to maintain
affiliations and relationships. Eventually, for
many women the threat of disruption of connections
is perceived not as just a loss of a relationship
but as something closer to a total loss of
self....Individual development proceeds only by
means of connection. One can, and ultimately
must, place faith in others, in the context of
being a social being, related to other human
beings, in their hands as well as one's own (1986,
p. 83).

The roots of this sense of connectedness, so strongly

asserted by Gilligan and Miller, find explanation within the

work of Nancy Chodorow. Chodorow asserts that the

individuation process early in life becomes "a crucial

differentiating experience in male and female development"

(1974, p. 43). All children, male and female, depend upon

and identify with their mothers to such a great extent

initially that they are unable to distinguish themselves

from their mothers. The girl, however, is involved in a far

more intense "same-sex" relationship that continues to

resemble the earlier relationship of infantile dependence.

As a result, the female child's relationship and modeling

become very personal, and a value on attachment is

reinforced. In contrast, the mother facilities the

individuation process for a male child. The child begins to

identify with his father or other adult males, and the boy's

masculine gender identification replaces the earlier

identification with the mother. Since the male child

generally has less contact with his same-sex parent than the

female child does, he grows up with more "distance" from his

own gender model. Masculine gender identification, says

Chodorow, "involves denial of attachment or relationship,

particularly of what the boy takes to be dependence or need

for another, and differentiation of himself from another"

(1974, p. 51).

The pattern continues for both boys and girls, with

boys reaching for autonomy and separateness, and girls

continuing both their relationship of attachment with their

mothers as well as with others. "In any given society,"

Chodorow contends, "feminine personality comes to define

itself in relation and connection to other people more than

the masculine personality does" (1974, p. 44). Belenky,

Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule (1986) agree, asserting that

the separation and individuation characteristic of men, "can

leave women feeling vulnerable and unconnected" (p. 65).

The theme of connectedness, so strongly developed

through the psychological theories described above, is

reflected as well in the recent work of others who have

studied women's development and identity formation.

Josselson (1987) discovered issues of attachment and

separation and the need to preserve relationships and connections with others throughout various levels of women's identity formation.

Her work focuses on women who were interviewed as college students and then again twelve years later. Through their experiences and feelings, she delineates four major categories which describe women in various stages of identity development. Women in the Identity Diffusion stage, described somewhat unflatteringly as "lumps of clay," allow themselves to be shaped by whatever or whomever is willing to mold them. Those in the Foreclosure stage are bound to others who love, care for, and guide them--usually their families. The Moratorium stage is characterized by women who are actively struggling with new models and ways of being, searching for an identity that "fits." And those in the Identity Achievement stage have chosen among options and have developed a strong sense of self which is open to new experiences and ideas.

Regardless of their developmental "categories," all of the women's stories reflect struggles to deal with separation while, at the same time, maintaining relationships and connections with significant others. Even those with the highest level of independence, the Identity Achievers, who do not rely on relationships to fulfill basic

security needs, emphasize the use of relationships for validation and support (Josselson, 1987, p. 181). Josselson's concept of "anchoring" is reminiscent of the "web" described by Gilligan in In a Different Voice (1982); women require relationships, even as they separate or individuate, since they experience themselves very much in relation to others. "Who a woman is," writes Josselson, "reflects her sense of what she means to others" (1987, p. 175). Anchors may be family members (as they are almost exclusively for those in Foreclosure), or they may be mentors in the workplace, or personal friends. But anchors--as connections--are essential to women. Relationships are seen as playing a vital role in psychological functioning of women at all stages of development.

The stages defined by Belenky et al. (1986) are somewhat different from Josselson's, but the themes are much the same. As women move through the various "ways of knowing," they discover increasingly more effective ways to integrate their intuitive, empathetic, and relational qualities with "separated knowledge"--that which is more impersonal, reasoned, and objective. At all stages, consistent with the theories put forth by Gilligan, Miller, Chodorow, and Josselson, there is a struggle between

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attachment and separation. The highest level, if you will,
provides women with the best of both worlds. They utilize
their natural relational mode while still dealing with
critical analysis and impersonal arguments as well.

Although all of the stages described in Women's Ways of
Knowing provide opportunities for dealing with ever-present
issues of caregiving and the place of relationships in
women's lives, the discussion of such issues becomes most
focused in the description of Procedural Knowledge and the
movement of some women to Constructed Knowledge. To define
the Procedural Knowledge stage, the researchers actually
adopt Gilligan's language; they use her terms "separate" and
"connected" to describe the relationships that Procedural
Knowers have with the knowledge they gain. Separate Knowers
play "the doubting game" (p. 104), positioning themselves in
an impersonal, purely rational relationship with knowledge.
They approach problems, whether human or mechanical, as one
approaches a math problem: Pure reason is brought to bear
in the solution. Connected Knowers, on the other hand,
depend upon the knowledge that comes from personal
experience; they attempt to respond to others in their
terms, and they bring empathy to bear in the solution of
problems. The researchers theorize that because the
subjective voice--that of feelings and intuitions--has been

largely ignored within formal school environments, women

students learn to take on the more analytical, objective

perspective found in Separate Knowers. Constructed

Knowledge is put forth within this study as a "reclamation

of self--an attempt to integrate knowledge that [the women

studied] felt intuitively was personally important with

knowledge they had learned from others" (Belenky, 1986,

p. 134). The Constructed Knowers have come to grips with

both their intuitive and analytical sides; they use both to

formulate understandings and to make themselves understood.

They are not subject to the conflicts of women who are

Separate Knowers, who deny their intuitive inclinations, or

those of Connected Knowers, who often experience difficulty

in communicating what they "know" with those who are more

analytical. Constructed Knowers make judgments based upon

facts and information, while at the same time considering

the personal context in which a particular situation is

seated. With access to both forms of "knowing," they arrive

at solutions that best meet the needs of all involved.

Although Belenky et al. (1986) do seem to imply a sense

of hierarchy for the ways in which women "know," all of the

categories they put forth deal with the now-familiar issues

of connections to others and the ways in which those

connections serve to satisfy the needs of women. The most

sophisticated level of "knower" within their construct does not in any way deny relationships with others, but finds a way to integrate that important part of herself with a more reasoned, analytical side. She embodies a more complex mix of emotion and reason.

Power

The same sense of connectedness that characterizes discussions of women's development is found as well in discussions of the ways in which women think about and use power. Differences in use of power, contends McClelland (1975), emanate from differences in definitions of power. Power, as seen by women, represents a sense of strength and an ability to implement; it is less closely linked to advancing oneself, controlling or limiting others (McClelland, 1975; Miller, 1982; Shaef, 1985). The strength that women see as power enables them, according to Miller (1982, 1986), to use their power to empower and to foster growth in others.

There is clearly a strong relationship between the way that women are said to define and use power and the theories which present women as responsive, relational beings. Miller (1982) talks about empowerment of others in relation to recognition of others' needs; McClelland (1975) makes a

similar point in his discussion of strength as an avenue for
nurturance and the building of resources to give to others;
and Shaef (1982) speaks of "personal power" within the
"female system" that forms connections with others. Miller
(1982) makes the further point that women feel compelled to
define power in terms of others, for if they determined it
and used it in terms of their own self-interest, they could
precipitate an attack and risk abandonment as a result.

As we have seen, challenges to traditional models of
development and psychology speak to a particular perspective
for women. It is the one described by Ann Wilson Shaef in
Women's Reality:

> The essence of life in the Female System a woman
> comes home to is relationships--not relationships
> that define and validate, but relationships with
> the self, one's work, others, and the universe
> that nurture and grow. Not static relationships
> that are neatly categorized and packaged, but
> relationships that evolve and change, contract and
> expand. A process of relationships (1985,
> p. 113).

It is also, as we shall see, a perspective that permeates
discussions about women as leaders and as managers.

Leadership and the Matter of Gender

To understand the concept of Feminine Leadership, it is
useful to explore what is said about leadership in general

and then to turn to what is said about the particular ways in which women lead. Therefore, we turn first to the literature that describes effective leadership behavior without regard to gender, and then to an exploration of Feminine Leadership, both through the literature that supports it as well as through that which questions or refutes it.

Leadership

Leadership is many things to many people. Varying definitions and descriptions abound, each coming at its view of leadership from a slightly different angle. Early leadership theories emphasized traits that leaders have in common. Later, situational and contingency theories introduced the notion that the context in which a leader leads provides direction for the leadership style he or she adopts. Behavioral leadership theory places the focus on what effective leaders _do_ to move their organizations in desired directions. Although specific situations and personality traits may vary, behavioral leadership theory assumes that certain general behaviors make for good organizational leadership and are adaptable to a variety of situations. This discussion of leadership focuses on a behavioral perspective for two reasons. The first is that

Feminine Leadership takes its lead from behavioral theory, framing its distinguishing characteristics in terms of general leadership behaviors. The second is that transformational leadership, discussed later in this chapter as a response to the rapidly changing environment of the 90s, also builds upon a behavioral model.

All discussions about leadership emphasize the relationship between leaders and followers, for it is clear that leadership is a relational concept (Katz and Kahn, 1978; Burns, 1978; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Bennis, 1990). And most discussions, early on, make a distinction between management and leadership, as both conjure up images of followers and leaders and some sort of relationship between the two. Although dictionary definitions of the two terms still leave the inquirer wondering about the "real" difference, the following quotations from recent works on leadership do not:

> Management effort has to do with order, procedure, and fitting square pegs into square holes. Heroes defy order in pursuing their vision (Deal and Kennedy, 1982, p. 38).
>
> Managers run institutions; heroes create them (Deal and Kennedy, 1982, p. 37).
>
> Leaders are people who do the right thing; managers are people who do things right (Bennis, 1990, p. 18).

> The thoughtful, imaginative and effective use of
> power is what separates leaders from people in
> authority (Bennis, 1990, p. 156).

> Leadership begins where management ends, where the
> system of rewards and punishments, control and
> scrutiny, give way to innovation, individual
> character, and the courage of convictions (Kouzes
> and Posner, 1987, p. xvii).

> Good managers get things done. Great managers are
> able to accomplish impressive and monumental
> tasks. Leaders, on the other hand, tend to alter
> dramatically the attitudes of their followers,
> who, in turn, through conviction, make significant
> things happen (George Conger, President of Aims
> Community College, quoted in Roueche, Baker and
> Rose, 1989, p. 15).

Leaders, it appears, may also be good managers; but the

concept of leadership embraces much more than the behaviors

associated with keeping an institution well oiled.

Although the leadership literature is replete with

assertions that the topic is an elusive one--while at the

same time presenting us with list upon list of specific

leadership behaviors and characteristics--common themes do

emerge which begin to shape our ideas of what effective

leaders do:

1. They fashion and gain commitment to a vision.

First and foremost, a leader must be able to discover

and communicate a focused vision (Katz and Kahn, 1978; Deal

and Kennedy, 1982; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Kanter, 1989;

Roueche, Baker and Rose, 1989; Bennis, 1990; Parnell, 1990).

"The president of a college," writes Dale Parnell, President
of the American Association of Junior and Community
Colleges, "sets the tone, the motivation, and the positive
attitudes about the future of the college and articulates
these clearly as part of the mission and goals of the
institution" (p. 26, 1990). Words such as passion,
persistence, inspiration, forward-looking, and heroism all
appear in discussions of visionary leadership. They embody
the notion that a leader is able to bring people to a new
place, as it were: to engage them in dreaming a shared
dream and to give them a sense of confidence that, with
their commitment and dedication, the dream can be realized.
Visionaries provide common goals and purposes and inspire
the will to achieve them. Based on his recent study of
faculty and staff perceptions of community college
presidents, George Baker (1988) asserts that the president's
ability to present a vision is the most important leadership
quality of the ten that emerged from his work. Bolman and
Deal concur, pointing out that vision is the only
characteristic of effective leadership that is universal
among the many studies of "good leadership" of the last
decade (1991, p. 411).

A leader's ability to envision the future is
insufficient unless the leader can inspire his or her

followers to buy into that vision (Deal, 1982; Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Bennis, 1990). The creation of a vision to which followers will subscribe is only possible for leaders who understand the values and concerns of their constituencies (Bolman and Deal, 1991). A strong leader will know his or her followers and be able to both understand and "speak" their language. Beyond words, however, the leader who "models the way" (Kouzes and Posner, 1987) demonstrates his or her own commitment to the vision, demonstrating to followers that it is "we" who will work hard to make the vision a reality. By creating a strong sense of identification between leader and followers, the effective leader will create a collective sense of purpose and energy toward shared goals for the organization.

2. Leaders model integrity.

    Bennis (1990), Kouzes and Posner (1987), and Roueche et al. (1989) stress the need for a leader to build trust. Trust, they point out, takes time; it requires a constancy and reliability that institutional members come to count on. Peters and Waterman (1982) speak of a "values leader." He or she sets an expectation of predictability and reliability--an understanding that what is said can be believed. Subordinates within any organization are quick to take note of instances of dishonesty, inconsistencies, and

other practices which suggest that the rhetoric is different

from practice (Bennis, 1990). If trust does not exist,

organizational members will be likely to withhold or distort

information in taking a self-protective stance to safeguard

themselves. Lack of trust breaks down whatever sense of

commitment employees feel toward their employer.

Credibility, asserts Kouzes and Posner, "is the single most

significant determinant of whether a leader will be followed

over time" (Kouzes and Posner, 1987, p. xvii).

3. Leaders involve and empower others.

> In cooperation, people realize that they are
> successful when others succeed and are oriented
> toward aiding each other to perform effectively.
> They encourage each other because they understand
> the others' priorities help them to be successful.
> Compatible goals promote trust. People expect
> help and assistance from others and are confident
> that they can rely on others; it is, after all, in
> others' self-interest to help. Expecting to get
> and give assistance, they accurately disclose
> their intentions and feelings, offer ideas and
> resources, and request aid. They are able to work
> out arrangements of exchange that leave all better
> off. These interactions result in friendliness,
> cohesion, and high morale (Tjosvold, 1986).

Consistent with the perspective expressed above,

concepts relating to collaboration, shared decision-making,

and empowerment are central to discussions about leadership.

Kouzes and Posner (1987) consider the ability of the leader

to foster collaboration and to strengthen others to be the

most significant of the five leadership practices to which they devote their book, The Leadership Challenge. Kanter (1983) echoes that emphasis, asserting that the only projects that failed within the study she reports in The Changemasters did so because of a failure on the part of management to build coalitions of collaborators. The managers involved in these projects did not recognize the kind of support to be gained through collaborative ventures.

Collaboration among groups or between individuals spreads authority and influence to greater numbers of people within the organization. It allows leaders to capitalize both on the energy and ideas of more than one or two individuals as well as to underscore the importance of each and every contributing member of a team. It also contributes to a broader sense of responsibility for agreed-upon actions and decisions. Katz and Kahn (1978) report widespread approval of participative management among developed nations throughout the world. Miller, Hotes and Terry (1983), writing about higher education administrators, agree, stating, "....It has been proven that shared responsibility in decision-making results in better and longer solutions" (p. 63).

In her discussion of the ways in which "giving power away" serves to strengthen the organization, Kanter (1989)

stresses four responsibilities of one who leads
collaboratively: giving people significant work to do on
important issues, giving individual discretion and autonomy
over the tasks or responsibilities they have taken on,
providing recognition of their role and their work, and
assisting staff members in making connections and building
relationships with others in power. The notion here, and
throughout recent literature on leadership (Katz and Kahn,
1978; Boyatzis, 1982; Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Kouzes and
Posner, 1987; Kanter, 1989), is that increased power
actually accrues to managers who empower others. Through
the collective efforts of many, rather than few, energies
and talents throughout an organization are brought to the
fore and utilized, contributing to both increased
productivity and a spirit of cooperation and trust.

It is thought by some that a future that portends
increased competition, more international linkages, and
diminished resources will call for increased dedication to
teamwork and collaboration. "Cowboy management...[which
operates in an] every-man-for-himself environment," will not
serve corporations well in the decades to come, asserts
Kanter (1989). The changing times, she predicts, will not
be kind to adversarial management, within or among
companies, as it requires significantly more resources to

compete than to cooperate. Coalitions, alliances, and
partnerships will characterize the nineties, changing both
the way in which American business operates and the nature
of its leadership. The leaders of the future will need to
know "how to compete in a way that enhances rather than
undercuts cooperation" (p. 362). Partnerships and alliances
will be fluid, depending upon the specific market demands;
competitors in one scenario are likely to be allies and
collaborators in another context. Corporate leaders of the
future, it is argued, will require even stronger skills in
facilitating teamwork and collaboration and in building
trust among collaborators.

Roueche, Baker and Rose (1989) point out that theories
about educational leadership have followed closely the major
theories about leadership in other settings. Nowhere is
that more apparent than in their discussion of shared
decision-making and collaboration as values of community
college leaders of the 80s. The presidents their study
cites for excellence are ones who speak about delegation,
empowerment, and interreliance among college staff from
various rungs in the hierarchy. Interviews with college
staff members support their leaders' claims of collaborative
management. Their involvement and the president's use of

their input, they stressed, were crucial in building

commitment toward the realization of college goals.

4. Leaders celebrate successes publicly.

The recognition of others, already mentioned in the

context of collaboration and empowerment of organizational

members, is the subject of considerable discussion in the

work of those who have focused on characteristics of

successful leaders (Deal and Kennedy, 1982; Peters and

Waterman, 1982; Kouzes and Posner, 1987). A successful

leader is one who does a bit of "cheerleading." He is she

recognizes and celebrates in public ways the accomplishments

of employees. Public recognition is one of the most

powerful ways that managers can honor the traits and

behaviors they wish to encourage (i.e., collaboration, risk-

taking), while demonstrating to others that success is

attainable (Peters and Waterman, 1982; Kouzes and Posner,

1987).

5. Leaders take risks.

> Our leaders must reacquaint themselves with the
> world, must explore in the presence of others,
> must reach out and touch the people they presume
> to lead and must, occasionally at least, risk
> making a mistake rather than doing nothing
> (Bennis, 1990, p. 97).

Willingness to hear new ideas, to try new approaches or

new ways of doing "old" things, to experiment, to reach out

for new opportunities are all descriptors of leadership

behavior that, perhaps more than any other, separates

leaders from managers. Kouzes and Posner (1987) call

leaders "pioneers" in describing their willingness to step

out into the unknown in an effort to find new and better

ways. Peters and Waterman (1978) talk about a leader's

willingness to make mistakes and to learn from them. And

Deal and Kennedy (1982) call leaders "heroes" who challenge

the system through experimentation; they contrast leaders

with managers, who focus on routine maintenance of the

status quo. Katz and Kahn (1978) take this point still

further by observing that creative leadership requires

subordination of existing structures that would otherwise

pose barriers to innovation and change. Structures, they

say, must not be allowed to take on the type of rigidity

which then limits and contains the free flow of ideas needed

to stimulate creativity and organizational vitality.

Creativity, risk-taking and openness are discussed

within the context of leading organizations through times of

change by Bennis (1990), Kouzes and Posner (1987), Kanter

(1985, 1989), Katz and Kahn (1978), and Burns (1978). "The

ultimate test of anyone in authority," says Bennis, "is

whether he or she can successfully ride and direct the tides

of change and, in so doing, grow stronger" (p. 156). Others

note that uncertainty and impending change are the conditions that serve to test leadership and which, in fact, require it (Kouzes and Posner, 1987; Burns, 1978). Oftentimes, the structures or "environmental factors" that were depended upon are no longer in place or are at risk. The organization is then confronted with the need to change in order to maintain or establish a different relationship with a changing environment. Innovations and new solutions must be generated. "Origination of structure or initiation of structural change," observe Katz and Kahn, present "the most challenging of all organizational tasks" (1978, p. 536). Such tasks can usually only be accomplished by top echelon managers, as they are generally the only ones within the organization with both the authority and the perspective to bring about such major organizational changes.

Whether change is brought about by external pressures or by a desire within the organization to "build a better mousetrap," leaders are clearly seen as the most important agents of change. Kouzes and Posner emphasize this point, commenting, "Perhaps more than anything else, leadership is about the 'creation of a new way of life.' And to make that happen, leaders must foster change, take risks, and accept responsibility for making it happen" (p. 36).

A Word About Transformational Leadership

As one reads about leadership and organizations, there is a sense that bureaucratic models have failed us. They have separated bosses from workers through rigid hierarchies and have alienated and disenfranchised those embedded at lower levels of the organization. Newer leadership models propose ways to "flatten" the organization. The aim is to gain deep commitment and involvement from all organizational members in solving problems and reaching organizational goals. Transformational leadership emerges for some as a viable model for moving an organization forward during difficult and challenging times. Originally described by Burns (1978), it occurs "when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Roueche et al., 1989, p. 34). The notion of collective commitment and energy that transformational leadership implies is in sharp contrast to Burns' concept of "transactional" leadership, in which rewards and punishments serve as motivation for action. The more traditional reward system, say some, does not go far enough. Although it provides individuals with rewards for productivity and excellent performance, it does not reach into the organizational culture enough to affect the entire

environment. "Exceptional leaders," assert Roueche, Baker and Rose, "can change the organizational values and thus change, or transform, themselves, their followers, and the institution itself" (p. 34).

Transformational leadership emphasizes some of the major leadership themes that have been put forth within this discussion. According to Bennis and Nanus (1985), transformational leaders communicate and gain support for a vision of what the organization can become. They share leadership and encourage collaboration in the realization of their goals. And the goals themselves reflect the shared values of leaders and followers.

Roueche, Baker and Rose (1989) suggest that the best community college presidents, particularly during times of crisis and change, are transformational leaders. Rallying followers around a "shared vision," they "demonstrate the ability to influence others [while acknowledging] the importance of attending to and motivating people...toward institutional excellence" (p. 269).

As we have seen, the emerging literature makes a clear distinction between management and leadership. It also casts leadership itself in terms that bring leaders and followers into close, and often interdependent, contact with one another. One can ask--and we now will--how different

these new leadership values are from those said to be held

and practiced by women leaders. Surveying the themes within

the Feminine Leadership literature allows for comparisons

and observations regarding the relationship between bodies

of work on leadership which, thus far, have remained quite

separate from one another.

Feminine Leadership

> What really does happen...is that women take the
> nurturant imperative into the workplace with them.
> Even in jobs which require a fair amount of
> assertiveness and leadership, women find ways to
> fit their wish to 'care for others' into the job
> description (Baruch, Barnett and Rivers, 1983,
> p. 117).

The sentiment expressed in the above quotation is

echoed throughout much that has recently been published in

the popular press. Women: The Road Ahead, a Fall 1990 Time

magazine issue devoted exclusively to women, provides a

discussion of a "new style" of leadership evidenced by

women. The article argues that women's leadership is less

hierarchical and more open and inclusive than the model that

is currently most prevalent in the workplace (Rudolph, 1990,

p. 53). In a similar vein, Nannerl Keohane, president of

Wellesley College, was quoted in the December 24, 1990 issue

of Community College Week as declaring that "caring,

compassion and collaboration would make a difference if women were in more leadership roles, in higher education and beyond" (p. 8). Jerry Owens, President of Lakewood Community College in Minnesota, concurred in the same article, indicating that "women's leadership offers a new way of looking at solutions and problems" (Mercer, 1990).

Through much of what is either implied or stated about women and leadership, there is an assumption that female leaders are inclined to stress interpersonal relationships, are attentive to the concerns of those with whom they work, and are flexible and open to new ideas. In contrast, men are said to be intensely competitive and inclined to use intimidation and domination to lead organizations. In Men and Women in Management, Powell (1988) suggests that management theories developed with men in mind may not apply equally well to women. He wonders whether female managers might better be described with models of their own. His point of view is not uncontested, as we shall see from an examination of the literature that both supports the concept of Feminine Leadership and that which refutes it.

For the most part, descriptions of what is "feminine" about leadership use behavioral leadership theory as a base. The leadership behaviors and characteristics already discussed are referenced often as one looks at the

literature pertaining to women and leadership, with some behaviors receiving a great deal more emphasis than others.

The interpersonal aspect of leadership is one that comes to the fore as a predominant characteristic of Feminine Leadership. Rosener (1990), in a Harvard Business Review article, discusses Burns' concepts of transactional and transformation leadership in gender-related terms. She observes that men are likely to view their job performance as a series of transactions with subordinates in which rewards or punishment are exchanged for service. Women, on the other hand, practice transformational leadership, imbuing subordinates with a concern for a broader goal and encouraging participation in reaching that goal such that individual self-interest is transformed into interests of the group. Rosener calls this form of influence "interactive leadership" and asserts that it describes leaders who encourage participation, share power and information, and have the ability to excite others to "come on board." Rosener's observations are supported by others (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Thompson, 1985; Ragins, 1987; Helgeson, 1990), whose research has led to the conclusion that personal interaction plays a more important role for women leaders than for men, in that women are more inclined to use impersonal means of influence and control when in

leadership positions. In her in-depth study of four women managers, Helgeson (1990) cited some specific behaviors related to women leaders' interactions (that were not evident in the day-to-day work lives of the men studied by Mintzberg, who used a similar methodology in 1973). Women leaders, she contends, put themselves in the center of the organization--both literally and figuratively. One of the ways in which this plays out is in their use of space. The women she studied wanted their offices to be in the midst of things, rather than in the corner or at the top of their building. They tended to place other important organizational functions around them so that they could be within the flow of traffic rather than removed from it. They did not describe unscheduled encounters as interruptions, as the men often did; they welcomed them as opportunities to make personal contact with others in the organization. The women, like the men she studied, preferred live communication to mail, but viewed correspondence as a more important component of their job. They were much more likely to write personal notes to staff in addition to initiating and responding to formal correspondence. And the women leaders scheduled time, often in the form of formal meetings, to share information with subordinates on a regular basis. Her discussion of the ways

that women leaders are likely to express organizational

visions differs from what she posits is a male approach as

well. The expression of a woman's vision, she contends, is

not removed or distant; it reflects a sense of connection

and is often voiced in a way that urges widespread buy-in to

the values it represents.

Women's negotiating skills are also relational, asserts

Greenhalgh of the Amos Tuck School of Business

Administration at Dartmouth, in his study of gender

differences in negotiating styles. Women, he found, treat

negotiations within the context of continuing relationships.

They see a need for regular contact, interaction and

agreement; while the men he studied were more likely to

focus on competition, autonomy and, ultimately, winning

(Naisbitt and Aburdene, 1985). Sandra Kurtzig, founder and

president of ASK Computer Systems, makes a similar

observation in Rudolph's (1990) recent _Time_ magazine article

when she says: "The best way to negotiate is to understand

what the other side wants. With men, it's often all or

nothing. They can end up where it's the last time either

side will do business with the other" (p. 53).

A form of interaction that is mentioned perhaps more

than any other in discussions of the ways in which women

lead is collaboration (McClelland, 1975; Kanter, 1977;

Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Loden, 1985; Helgeson, 1990;
Rosener, 1990). In much of the literature that expresses
the ways in which women find themselves at a disadvantage in
a male-dominated arena, a collaborative or "relationship-
oriented" style is viewed as a liability. It is a style
that can set women apart from the managerial mainstream and
work to their disadvantage within the organizational setting
(Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Harrigan, 1978). More often,
however, collaboration is viewed as a particularly valuable
approach to leadership. Much of the recent swing within
management and leadership literature toward a view that
encourages collaboration and shared decision-making relates
to what has been expressed as a changing picture for
organizations of the present and the future. Stewart, in
1978, discussed what he called a changing "management
climate": He described a shift from a "traditional" climate
in which bureaucracy and hierarchy dictate professional
relationships and decision-making processes to a "purposive"
climate, in which an overall concern for goals suggests
integrated utilization of information and people. At a time
when new approaches are needed, individuals at all levels
within the organization become an important resource.
Tapping an array of talents within the organization suggests
new ways of structuring interaction. Women, it is

contended, bring new values into the workplace (Helgeson, 1990), using collaborative and relational skills in their leadership of organizations and of work groups (Kanter, 1977; Loden, 1985; Morrison, 1987; Harding-Hidore et al., 1990; Rosener, 1990). In much the same way that Gilligan describes a web of connections that women create around them, Helgeson (1990) and Thompson (1985) discuss the ways in which women leaders level the hierarchy within their work environments. Their strategies include seeking input from many within the organization and creating task forces and interdepartmental work groups in which ideas are shared. Through these strategies, they assure a general sense of widespread involvement and gain more information about the motivations and potential contributions of people throughout the organization.

Women, argue Thompson (1985) and McClelland (1975), empower by listening, sharing, and teaching. In LaBella's (1985) study of women's empowerment of other women within an organizational context, "fostering inclusion" emerges as the most important way in which women empower others. Other strategies utilized by women in her study include: providing and sharing information, providing encouragement, and altering the environment. The concept of encouragement is reflected as well in the work of Kouzes and Posner

(1987), who, while finding no significant gender-related differences in any of the other four major leadership behaviors described in The Leadership Challenge, found "encouraging the heart" to be more prevalent among female leaders than male leaders.

The writings on androgyny in management assume a perspective on women and leadership similar to those expressed in the literature that focuses specifically on women's leadership behaviors and characteristics. The androgynous manager, according to Powell (1988), Loden (1985), and Harriman (1985), is one who is both task-oriented and people-oriented; one who blends behaviors traditionally associated with men or only women (Asplund, 1988; Powell, 1988). Clearly, concern for people and for their points of view is seen as a feminine characteristic that can serve to balance the more "masculine" task orientation of the traditional manager. Androgynous personalities, observes Asplund, "may be both tough and sensitive, focusing on achievement as well as on human relationships, combining characteristics of the traditional male and female models as appropriate to their own nature" (1988, p. 72).

Feminine Leadership as a Response to Change

Views of the organization of the future reflect particular themes: increased complexity, greater interdependence between and among organizations, availability of large amounts of information, and a more heterogeneous workforce (Kanter, 1983, 1985, 1989; Drucker, 1988; Bennis, 1990; Parnell, 1990).

How will organizations need to change to respond to the challenges of the future; and, more to the point, what kind of leadership will be needed? It seems clear that increasingly complex external environments will call for more complexity and flexibility within the workplace. In The Changemasters, Kanter argues for "...more relationships, more sources of information, more angles on a problem, more ways to pull in human and material resources, more freedom to walk around and across the organization" (1983, p. 148). She speaks of the need for leaders of organizations of the future to be "team creators" and "team users": managers who are skilled at getting others to buy into collaborative creation (p. 221). "Command and control" leadership that depends upon traditional hierarchies and separate departmental fiefdoms, argues Drucker (1988), will not prove effective in a time when the expertise of individuals at many different levels within the organization must be

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utilized to the fullest. He envisions an even greater need

for collaboration among specialists who work within

different units of the organization and a need for everyone,

regardless of level, to take responsibility for meeting

common goals. The leader of the future, he asserts, must be

a "conductor" who provides a common vision for and

leadership of the collaborative efforts of colleagues as

well as subordinates (p. 48).

The argument is even stronger in Kanter's most recent

book, When Giants Learn to Dance: Mastering the Challenge

of Strategy, Management and Careers in the 1990's (1989) in

which the power of collaboration--specifically partnerships

between and among organizations--is the major theme. She

sees an industrial future in which relationships become all-

important. Corporate partnerships will be formed and the

partners will be interdependent, organizations themselves

will become far more integrated, and it will be the rare

instance when an individual corporate entity will be able to

compete in a multinational marketplace. In a similar vein,

Dale Parnell, President of the American Association of

Community and Junior Colleges, says that the college

president of the future "will articulate the image by

networking with other institutions [and] by paying

unrelenting attention to the purposes of the institution and

the quality of product" (1990, p. 28). Networking, for him, is an inclusive term. It refers to the development of cooperative efforts among colleges and universities, both locally and abroad, as well as closer cooperation and articulation with elementary and secondary schools, the business community, and the service community. "No single sector of the economy or of education can make much progress alone," he states. "It must be done together in the search for synergy" (p. 248).

The need for more collaboration with other institutions, the need to draw upon new approaches and ideas, the need for greater employee commitment to institutional goals, and increased employee diversity are all seen as conditions that suggest that a more "feminine" approach to leadership will be necessary to face the challenges of the future. Established organizations, says Rosener, must expand their definitions of effective leadership: "By valuing diversity of styles, organizations have the flexibility to survive competitive, increasingly diverse economic environments" (1990, p. 124).

The Feminine Leadership literature argues that women leaders are the leaders of the future, possessing, more often than men, skills to facilitate, to integrate different points of view, and to encourage consensus. Researchers who

have defined and described Feminine Leadership point to the values and distinguishing behaviors of women leaders as those which will become increasingly important to organizational leadership (Naisbitt and Aburdene, 1985; Asplund, 1988; Helgeson, 1990; Rosener, 1990; Rudolph, 1990). The message, as Helgeson states it, is "What business needs now is exactly what women are able to provide" (1990, p. 39).

The Other Side: Challenges to the Concept of Feminine Leadership

In much the same way that Gilligan's work has been challenged, so too have conclusions about gender-related leadership behaviors and characteristics been found by some to be erroneous or to represent explanations of women's behavior that ignore significant variables. Claims of gender-related differences, say Maccoby and Jacklin (1974) and Morrison (1987, 1990), are greatly exaggerated and are based on evidence that is "suspect at best" (Morrison et al., 1987).

Based on a recent literature review of gender-related leadership behaviors, Ragins (1987) concluded that male and female leaders do not appear to differ significantly on actual leadership behaviors. Her conclusions are consistent

with those of Dobbins and Platz (1986), who, on the basis of
a meta-analysis of six field and two laboratory studies,
concluded that males and females do not differ in the major
areas in which much of the Feminine Leadership literature is
based: those of initiating structure and "consideration"
leadership behaviors. Powell (1988) does report gender-
related differences in what he terms "micro" behaviors
(i.e., response of poorly performing subordinates, influence
strategies, access behavior). But he too reports a lack of
evidence that male and female managers differ in
"consideration" behaviors or in people-oriented or task-
oriented behaviors toward subordinates. While finding
significantly more women leaders who "encourage the heart"
by recognizing achievements and providing regular
encouragement of good effort, Kouzes and Posner (1989) found
no significant gender-related differences in collaborative,
enabling and empowering behaviors--behaviors that are among
those most often cited as distinguishing characteristics of
women leaders.

The presence of "care" and "justice" considerations in
the decision-making of men and women school superintendents
and principals was looked at by Counts (1987) in an effort
to apply Gilligan's conclusions about gender-related moral
orientation to workplace decision-making. Counts found that

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her total population of women, as well as her separate
populations of women superintendents and women principals,
used care considerations to a greater extent than did the
men she studied. She also determined, however, that the
women in the <u>higher</u> of the two leadership positions--the
superintendents--were far less likely to use care
considerations in the decision-making process than were the
female principals. Derry's study of moral reasoning among
men and women managers within corporate settings (1987)
found even less of a difference between males and females at
any level within the organization; three-quarters of the
considerations mentioned by both the male and female
managers interviewed were "rights" or "justice" responses,
categorized by Gilligan (1982) and Lyons (1982) as more
characteristic of the moral reasoning of men. Both
researchers pointed out that their samples were not
representative of the general male and female populations
upon which prior moral decision-making research has been
based. Both concluded, as well, that environmental factors
in the workplace played a role in contributing to a more
"rights" and less "care" orientation on the part of women
executives, particularly those at higher organizational
levels. "People get rewarded for following rules, for
making fair and just decisions--not for being caring,

building strong relationships at work, or alleviating other's burdens," observed Derry (1987, p. 70). George England, author of The Manager and His Values (1975), concurs, pointing out that although individual managers may come to work with certain "intended values," the expression of those values can often be blocked by organizational factors.

Just what those factors may be has been addressed by several researchers who have concluded that the appearance of gender differences does not necessarily reflect women leaders in the context in which they often find themselves. The organizational environment--usually dominated by males at top levels--contend Powell (1988) and Morrison (1988), contributes to stereotypical perceptions and unrealistic expectations of women leaders. Morrison's study of 76 female corporate executives yielded some conclusions that are decidedly different from those which typically shape the concept of Feminine Leadership: The executive women were not better able to reduce interpersonal friction, nor were they more understanding or humanitarian than their male counterparts (1988, p. 51). Aside from minor differences, the women scored much like the men on various measures of leadership behaviors, leading Morrison to conclude that there are "few personality or behavioral differences between

executive women and executive men" (p. 53). But, says

Morrison, they are perceived differently, and that in itself

causes behavioral differences. "Imagined" sex differences

have led to differences in performance expectations, causing

women to use a set of behaviors intended to gain them

acceptance as leaders in a male world. They are, by and

large, combinations of seemingly contradictory behaviors

(i.e., take risks, but turn in consistently outstanding

performances) through which they can compete with men on

equal footing, but remain acceptable in an environment in

which they are still outsiders.

Kanter (1977) also views the environment as a major

factor that accounts for perceived gender-related

differences in leadership. When women are few in number,

she argues, they take on a "token" status, becoming "stand-

ins for all women" (p. 209). She contends that many of the

findings about men and women turn on the issue of

proportions rather than gender differences. Ratios, she

argues, determine the type of behavior that an individual or

group will adopt. In skewed groups, in which the ratio of

"dominants" to "tokens" is approximately 85:15, the culture

of the group is determined by the dominant group, and the

"token"--oftentimes a woman in a male-dominated culture--

attracts attention that both distorts reality and forces

behaviors that are not natural to the person in the token position. Kanter asserts that those who observe women in nontraditional roles have a tendency to exaggerate differences and to create generalizations from them. With too few other members of the token's "type" around to present alternative models, stereotypes based on very small samples are assumed to represent all members of the token's category. No valid generalizations, she concludes, can be drawn from a small number of token individuals.

Women in top-level leadership positions are still relatively rare. The very fact of that situation, argue many who refute the concept of Feminine Leadership, makes it difficult to separate those factors that relate to their actual leadership modes from those which are related to their "outsider" status. As LaBella (1985) points out, the research supporting Feminine Leadership is both mixed and sometimes based on questionable methodology. Laboratory studies have often been used to support gender differences in leadership behaviors, while field studies are less likely to elicit such differences (Ragins, 1987). It is clear from exploring the literature that questions conclusions about Feminine Leadership that the challenges are fair-minded ones and raise many still-unanswered questions about the relationship between leadership and gender.

Some Summary Comments

The purpose of the final section of this chapter has been to examine behavioral definitions of Leadership and Feminine Leadership and to explore the relationship between the two. Without such an examination, it is difficult to assess how and if these concepts differ and just what the "feminine" aspects of leadership refer to. As we have seen, the concept of Feminine Leadership itself is not unchallenged. Although it is written about and talked about by many as if it just _is_, there are many studies that have not yielded gender differences on measures of leadership behaviors.

Research that supports Feminine Leadership appears to take its lead from the work on women's development that has identified particular categories of thinking and behaving. The categories, for the most part, reflect a nurturing, caring perspective. They describe women in terms of a natural propensity to view the self in connection with all others with whom she relates rather than as an autonomous, independent entity. The carryover to leadership is direct. Rather than looking at leadership from a situational perspective, in which appropriate leadership behaviors are based upon the demands of particular situations, Feminine

Leadership theories align more closely with behavioral

constructs of leadership. Such constructs say that certain

behaviors make for good leadership. Such a context fits

well with ideas about Feminine Leadership, as they too are

based upon certain behaviors that characterize women,

regardless of particular situations.

When we look at the leadership behaviors that are put

forth by major writers in this area and we look, at the same

time, at those behaviors which are said to characterize

Feminine Leadership, we see a great deal of overlap. Many

experts on leadership talk about collaboration and

empowerment of organizational members as important

leadership principles; proponents of Feminine Leadership

contend that women are more inclined than men to practice

such behaviors as they lead. The ability to communicate and

build support for a collective vision is seen as crucial to

leadership; women, it is argued, can obtain greater

commitment to a collective vision than men because they

connect with staff members at a more personal level.

Providing ongoing encouragement of employees and "modeling

the way" are put forth as exemplary practices for effective

leadership; women are said to be strong in these areas, in

that they call for relational skills that are very much part

of a woman leader's repertoire. Feminine Leadership, as a

concept, does not appear to break new ground. Rather, it seems to lay claim to particular leadership behaviors already described within the general leadership literature and to reject many behaviors which the general leadership literature also rejects, calling them management characteristics. While I have concluded that Feminine Leadership is <u>not</u> unique and separate, it nonetheless seems clear that it does reflect a particular emphasis among a large number of leadership behaviors and characteristics. The emphasis underscores women leaders as nurturing, caring, and collaborative. They empower subordinates and are able to generate cooperation and personal commitment. These are characteristics which, we are told, will be increasingly important in the future and, most especially, during times of uncertainty and change.

Because the literature is both polarized and ambiguous, it leaves us with some important, unresolved questions: Is the area of emphasis alluded to above real? Do women leaders evidence these characteristics and behaviors to an extent that allows us to arrive at the generalizations reflected within the Feminine Leadership literature? If so, to what extent do they hold up during difficult and challenging times?

To pursue these questions, we turn to four women presidents of Massachusetts community colleges. Chapter Three introduces us to the interview methodology used with the women in this study. In Chapter Four we meet the women, one at a time. Their interviews provide a window on the ways in which they see themselves providing leadership to their institutions of higher learning at a time that is providing perhaps the greatest challenge to Massachusetts public higher education in its history.

CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

Conducting this research provided a particular challenge. Central to the purpose of the study is an understanding of the interviewees as leaders. As we have discovered, leadership theories abound. Such theories are well known to most who occupy leadership positions, so asking leaders, either through a questionnaire or an interview, how they truly lead seemed an unproductive route to their actual leadership values and characteristics.

Data Collection

I chose a qualitative inquiry strategy--that of in-depth interviewing--in order to gain a deeper understanding of these women as leaders than that which could come from either quantitative data or from a structured interview in which a series of questions provokes a series of responses to those questions. In Patton's discussion of qualitative findings, he describes the unique value of open-ended responses in terms of permitting the researcher to understand the world as it is seen by the respondents. Direct quotations, the basic source of raw data in qualitative research, reveal "depth of emotion, the ways

they have organized their world, their thoughts about what is happening, their experiences, and their basic perceptions" (Patton, 1990, p. 24). The intent of this research was not to derive a statistically significant generalization which would support or refute an existing theory. Rather, it was to increase our understanding of the leadership paradigms of a selected group of college presidents whose context now includes leading institutions of higher education faced with severe and often unpredictable challenges and constraints. The ability to gain a holistic view, through naturalistic methods, allows for an inductive analysis of the data. Patterns and themes that emerge form the bases for conclusions, rather than fitting what emerges into prescribed categories. The use of in-depth interviews provided a rich opportunity to discover some of the important "truths" of leadership for these presidents, irrespective of existing theories and constructs relative to leadership and gender.

Given the nature of the research, the researcher herself comes into play in important ways. She must be able to facilitate a "conversation" with the interviewee that gets at the central ideas under exploration without steering the interview in predetermined directions. To prepare for the interviews with the four college presidents, I conducted

pilot interviews with two female community college deans. The pilot interviews had two main purposes. First, I wanted to determine the extent to which the open-ended questions I planned to use would elicit responses that pertained to individual leadership perspectives and courses of action. And second, I wanted to gain practice in conducting an open-ended interview in which the interviewer listens carefully and probes for further detail, without guiding the direction or content of the response. Since my pilot subjects did not have overall or final responsibility for institutional budgets, I interviewed them only about the areas of the college over which they had jurisdiction. I found that questions that asked them to talk to me about the times "before" and "after" they became deans of their areas yielded rich, free-flowing discussion of the ways in which they perceived their influence as leaders. They were eager to talk about changes they made and how they had made them. Encouraging them to talk specifically about some of their greatest challenges, most difficult moments, or most satisfying accomplishments also seemed to open up the interview to actual stories that were detailed in both expressions of attitudes as well as actions. Listening carefully and determining when and how to probe for further detail were the greatest challenges for me during these

pilot interviews. Conducting them provided an opportunity

to practice these skills as well as to ascertain which open-

ended questions seemed to work best.

Four of the five female presidents of Massachusetts

community colleges were invited to participate in the actual

study. They all accepted. Each received and signed the

Research Agreement that appears in Appendix A. Each woman,

as it turned out, was president of an institution quite far

removed geographically from the others. One was in a large

eastern city; one in the southeast corner of the state, with

an urban, but much smaller, population base; one was in a

central location with both suburban and urban campus

locations; and one was president of a small rural college in

the western part of the state. Their terms as president

ranged from one to thirteen years. None were founding

presidents, and each was the first woman president at her

institution.[1]

Each president agreed to a two-hour interview, which

would be tape-recorded. As in the pilot, the interview

questions were broad and open-ended, allowing interviewees

to choose the specific events and ideas they wished to talk

about. The questions followed the Interview Guide, which

appears as Appendix B.[2] The open-ended nature of the

interviews also meant that the subjects could talk about

events and ideas in their own "voices," using their own styles, organizational patterns, and points of emphasis. I attempted to choose questions that would focus them on areas likely to give rise to leadership issues in general as well as those that would be particularly important during the fiscal crisis that was facing each of them. The word "leadership" was not used in any of the initial questions or probes. Pursuant to the suggestion of Taylor and Bogden (1984) and Inglessi (1990), I began the interviews by asking them to talk about some key events or experiences that led them to the presidencies they now hold. Such a question is intended to set the tone of the interview, to get them to talk about something familiar, and to serve as a model for unstructured questions that do not specifically define what they should say. I did probe for further detail during this section of the interview as well as throughout. As the interviews proceeded, I asked each of them to tell me about: the colleges they "inherited"; some of the ways in which their colleges changed during their presidencies (and how those changes came about); a major accomplishment or challenge; and how they are dealing with the current budget crisis. Oftentimes, these topics did not emerge as separate questions because the interviewees had, themselves, introduced one of the topics in discussing another, related

one. Dealing with the budget crisis, for example, came up
very early in the remarks of two interviewees; and
discussions of the colleges before they arrived on the scene
gave rise to stories about changes they made and, sometimes,
their most significant accomplishments or greatest
challenges.

At times, topics were introduced which had no bearing
on any of these questions, and the interview proceeded along
the course set by the interviewee. My primary role was to
probe for the details of the experiences (i.e., "How did you
feel then?"; "Can you remember how you reacted to that?";
"What happened after that?") and the meaning the subjects
attached to them (Taylor and Bogden, 1984).

I tried as much as possible to get the presidents I
interviewed to tell me stories. The strength of in-depth
interviewing is its potential for illuminating unique human
experiences (Taylor and Bogden, 1984). Although, as
Inglessi (1990) points out, life stories don't completely
register "time past," they do "map experiences the
individual considers important"; and they permit expression
of thoughts in the context in which the individual sees
them. The point of this research was to enter into their
experience and hear their realities about leadership. The
people I interviewed are cautious. They are accustomed to

being interviewed and to being quoted. I was aware that even as they appeared to be relaxed and spontaneous throughout, there were times their words seemed carefully chosen. It seemed that they were most authentic when they became involved in telling a story. At such times, the transcriptions go on for pages at a time, almost uninterrupted; there is much rich detail; and there is much greater emotional content to what is being expressed. On several occasions, it was clear to me that these presidents' stories reflected attitudes and interpretations of events that seemed contradictory to--or at least inconsistent with--earlier statements made in a less free-flowing way. I tried, therefore, to induce them to tell stories, and I tried to listen and observe carefully and nonjudgmentally (Taylor and Bogden, 1984).

Tom Cottle stresses the need to pay attention in a way that opens the interviewer up to seeing things in a new and different way. "If there is a rule about this form of research," he states, "it might be reduced to something as simple as pay attention. Pay attention to what the person does and says and feels; pay attention to what is being evoked by these conversations and perceptions....Paying attention implies an openness..., a watch on oneself...." (Taylor and Bogden, 1984, p. 95). I used a tape recorder

for all of the interviews; and, aside from the interruption

imposed by the need to turn the tape over, found it a

tremendous aid in paying attention. It enabled me to listen

and watch carefully during the interview and to take notes

on observations or reflections, as there was no need to

capture the actual content of the interview. The tapes

themselves captured inflections, pauses, interactions with

others, and asides that proved most important in making

meaning of the interviews and noting patterns both within

individual interviews and between presidents. The actual

presence of the recorder did, however, impose a liability.

I noted at several points during each interview an awareness

of the tape recorder that appeared to inhibit frankness or

spontaneity. One president asked who would be transcribing

the tapes, and I was aware of how much more freely two of

them spoke after the actual interview had ended and the

recorder had been turned off. Nonetheless, the tape

recorder did capture interviews in their entirety and

allowed for a detailed analysis of fairly lengthy

discussions.

Data Analysis

A grounded theory approach was used to interpret the

data. The grounded theory method is based on discovery and

theory building rather than an analysis of the data vis-a-
vis pre-existing theories or assumptions (Taylor and Bogden,
1984). The researcher allows the data to emerge. The data
are analyzed, not with a specific theory in mind against
which the data are used for verification or refutation, but
in terms of themes and patterns that are presented by the
data itself. Insight is the objective. The important
questions in this form of research have to do with what the
data reveals. The researcher's conclusions are shaped by
examination and re-examination of the data. Inductive
analysis of the data is a process; theories emerge and are
shaped and reshaped by ongoing data collection and analysis
(Lincoln and Guba, 1985). The researcher constantly
compares specific incidents in the data, refines concepts,
and integrates them into developing theory (Taylor and
Bogden, 1984). Theory generation becomes more reliable as
the emerging patterns become more focused and redundancy
occurs. Once theories have emerged, the researcher verifies
them by reflecting back on the data in light of new
theoretical interpretations. "Discovery and verification
mean moving back and forth between induction and deduction,
between experience and reflection on experience, and between
greater and lesser degrees of naturalistic inquiry" (Patton,
1989, p. 47). This approach, assert Lincoln and Guba

(1985), is particularly well suited for understanding human beings and human phenomena, particularly in areas that are relatively unexplored. The research is not used to predict, but to understand. Gaining a true understanding of the presidents interviewed in this study meant suspending judgment and prior theoretical constructs, and listening carefully to what they had to say.

In order to assemble the interview data from the four college presidents in a way that it could be analyzed and re-analyzed in depth, the tapes were transcribed. The transcription process itself reacquainted me with the data, even before I began an intentional process of analyzing it. Because the transcriptionist could not transcribe the tapes word-for-word (she often missed terminology with which she was unfamiliar, couldn't separate voices when there was overlapping conversation, or couldn't hear quieter portions or asides), I spent a good deal of time listening to the tapes to fill in missing words and phrases. As I did so, I made note of observations that added to those already chronicled during the interviews themselves.

Using the approach to interviews described by Taylor and Bogden (1984), I read and reread the transcribed interviews, keeping track of themes, hunches, interpretations, and ideas. I looked for patterns and made

note of where I found them, both within individual

interviews and between and among interviews. I created

categories of recurring topics, perspectives, and themes and

looked for relationships among the categories. As I

generated theoretical interpretations, I went back through

the data to see if these notions were indeed supported by

the data. I discarded propositions that didn't hold up. I

attempted to "discount" data in light of the context in

which it was collected. The examples that Taylor and Bogden

(1984) use for discounting data include an examination of

whether interviewees say different things in response to

questions than when talking spontaneously as well as noting

how they act or talk when the tape recorder is on versus

when it's off. Taking the context of the interview into

account was important, as noted earlier, because I was

dealing with public people at a sensitive time

(restructuring and layoffs were occurring regularly). There

was also the issue of my relationships with the

interviewees. As an administrative colleague, there was

both a familiarity (and even friendship) with some, and a

possible sense of distrust in an environment in which

elimination of colleges had been publicly suggested by the

governor. Discounting does not mean discarding data; it

simply means attempting to understand it in the context in which it was collected.

The initial chaos of the material gradually did give way to patterns and themes. As the reader will see, some of the themes were related to those already discussed within the material on Feminine Leadership; others were not. It was clear to me, however, that there was an internal logic to each interview as well as ways in which the themes within some interviews related to those within others.

In considering how to organize the data for presentation, I decided to follow two "story lines," as Taylor and Bogden (1984, p. 137) describe them. One follows the themes and patterns that emerged from the data, irrespective of their relationship with the concept of Feminine Leadership. The other integrates the major ideas put forth within the Feminine Leadership literature with the interview data, indicating areas of congruence and incongruence. This approach is consistent with Patton's (1983) discussion of inductive analysis, in which he distinguishes between categories and themes that formed the initial basis of the study, and those which emerged without previously identified "labels" (p. 306).

In the initial presentation of the interviews, I have attempted to represent each woman's story as she told it,

selecting specific material that represented general themes, patterns, and, at times, contradictions. Although the Interview Guide described previously (see also Appendix B) was used to guide each interview and insure that several broad topics were introduced, each woman's story took on its own direction and focus, appropos of each one's sense of what was important to discuss and to describe.

Throughout the interviews and the discussion of them, I have drawn particular attention to material that was emphasized by the subjects. Quotes are used often, both to provide vivid "pictures" of the women as well as to allow their own emphases to emerge in their own voices. As Patton (1983) reminds us, "The primary data of in-depth, open-ended interviews are quotations. What people say, what they think, how they feel, what they've done, and what they know--these are the things one can learn..." (p. 246). Presenting the material as much as possible as they expressed it allows us to learn as much as possible from them. It also allows us to come to understand them more fully as individuals, something that has emerged from this study as key to understanding their leadership.

The women that we meet in Chapter Four are very different from one another. The chapter introduces us to each separately, to allow their individual stories and

themes to unfold. It then deals with areas of commonality

and great difference to allow us to look at them through the

lens that the literature most often addresses: women

leaders as a group.

1.   The fifth woman president, whom I did not interview, also led a small rural institution in western Massachusetts and was, similar to one of the selected women, quite new to her job. She was also new to the state higher education system. Given the time and depth inherent in the processes of in-depth interviewing and data analysis, it was decided to limit the study to the four selected women, whose personal and institutional diversity made them a particularly rich group from which to draw relevant insights.

2.   The Interview Guide follows the format outlined by Patton (1983). The Guide articulates the broad areas to be covered within each interview. The interviewer then develops specific questions, which may change slightly from interview to interview, to facilitate discussion of the issues listed in the Guide.

CHAPTER IV
THE WOMEN

Joan

Joan, President of Swanee River Community College, was the most senior of the women presidents with whom I spoke. Her comfort level in the position was apparent from the very beginning of our time together. The president's quarters within the college were spacious and well appointed. The outer office area served as more than generous space for two office assistants/secretaries and a reception space for visitors. Joan's interior office was equally spacious and had separate space allocated for informal conversation (couches, chairs, and a coffee table), with another, very separate area dedicated to more formal exchanges and desk work. Coffee was "on" in both the reception area and in Joan's office, and I was offered some in both. Before we began, Joan asked that she not be interrupted and closed the door to assure both privacy and quiet. Later, when her private telephone line rang on several different occasions during the interview, she ignored it. It was only when her office assistant interrupted to let her know that the main college telephone system was down that she answered her own private line.

Becoming President

In talking about her "way up," Joan stressed
preparation for the job. She recounted in very specific
detail the various ways in which her previous positions had
provided her with skills and learning opportunities. She
talked about her previous job as vice president of student
affairs for a large state college in New York as presenting
her with opportunities she had not had in her previous
position and ones that she found useful as she entered the
presidency that she now holds: experience in dealing with
the private sector, unions, and litigation. It was,
however, her experience as an administrator within a
religious order that Joan spoke most about. As a nun, she
rose through the ranks to become the president of a private
Catholic college at the age of thirty-five. Operating
within a religious order seemed to have had a more
compelling effect on Joan than other experiences which,
relatively speaking, received little emphasis in her
discussion. One of only two of the women presidents who
raised gender issues, Joan talked about the religious order
as being a hospitable environment in which women could gain
confidence and move ahead.

It was just a given that obviously women could do
these jobs and do them well. There was never any
question about it in that environment, so in a way
that also was probably a very helpful experience
because I was sort of socialized in my adult life
never to have any self-doubts about my
capabilities. It often entertained me to observe
things at some of these [board] meetings....To see
how enormously competent the women in religious
work were compared to many of the priests, who for
some reason seemed, as a class, to be, you know,
less competent and less skillful.

Her decision to leave the Catholic college where she

was president and move on to a large public college, in a

lesser position, revealed a carefully thought-out change of

direction. She first left the Order and then decided to

leave the college, although she had been invited to stay in

place as a lay president. She talked about her prediction

that, over time, she would be resented in that role:

I...sensed that while the Board was eager for me
to continue, there would be possible harm to the
college in terms of its key constituencies from my
continuing as a lay person. There would be some
old-time Catholics who would resent that I had
left the Order. [I determined] it would be better
for the college for me to leave.

Her apparent step down into the vice presidency of student

affairs at a public college was something she viewed as

necessary. She described it as "a great experience" and was

quite specific in talking about its worth to her:

It exposed me to the public sector. I'd never set
foot in a public institution before, and it gave
me lots of nightmarish, but helpful, experience in

dealing with, you know, large litigations and
issues. And there were horrendous student
problems at that institution. We had armed
robberies in the dormitory, and rapes were
frequent, and that kind of stuff....So I had lots
of opportunities to learn to operate in the public
sector....It was a helpful move, a very helpful
move, as it turned out to prepare me for the job
at Swanee River...and I have to say that this is
the first job--being President of Swanee River--
that I was ever really well-prepared for. All the
other jobs I had I was sort of thrown into them
without any prior experience or preparation,
really. And you know, you struggle and you learn,
but at a certain price to yourself and probably to
other people too.

The frankness with which Joan talked about learning--or

not learning--how to do various aspects of the jobs she held

characterized her discussion throughout. Later, as she

discussed strategies that worked or didn't work, she was

thoughtful and open about what might have contributed to

their failure or success as well as what she learned through

her experiences.

Being President

The institution Joan inherited is one that she

described as "tidy, but sleepy." It was tightly managed,

and authority was centralized. Although clearly critical of

its prior style of management, she praised its sense of

community, describing a place in which people liked and

respected one another and were mindful of the needs and

constraints of the large immigrant population the college had always served. Her descriptions, here and elsewhere, were peppered with "feeling" words: "It had a nice feeling to it," people were "sensitive" to the income levels of students, "people were chafing at some of the ways things were managed."

The changes and new initiatives that Joan described had a lot to do with bringing outside influences into the college. While crediting the efforts of people within the college, it was clear that she made a concerted effort to introduce ideas or even people from the outside that would influence insiders to move in new directions.

Those new directions took several forms. The first major change she attributed to her leadership was in the information processing arena. The change, she said, "came about as everything does here, with a certain deliberateness." She talked about introducing computerization first within the administrative areas, where both the need and the desire to automate were clear. The processes the college developed, she stressed, "were very targeted to the needs of our users, our local users."

She told me that Swanee River is probably less advanced in administrative computing than many other institutions, but stressed her attempts to introduce both administrative

and academic computing in ways that tapped into the needs

and interests of the college users:

> Then gradually we began to introduce computers
> into the academic programs, always approaching it
> from the point of view of trying to find
> incentives or encouragement for faculty to adapt
> computers usefully. One thing we did not do at
> Swanee River was to take up a trend just because
> it was a trend. There were institutions, for
> example, that bought everybody a computer first
> thing. We never have done that and we still
> haven't done that, and I think it was the wise
> decision, because there are places where computers
> are sitting around unused in offices of people who
> are not ready and probably never will be ready to
> use them. So we followed the path of...trying to
> do some little things to encourage awareness and
> participation, such as having a faculty workshop
> and demonstrations...and then we've left it to
> faculty to pick up on these things as they see
> themselves fitting this technology, and I think
> that's worked.

The other way in which she talked here as well as

elsewhere about "encouraging" new practices is through the

introduction of outside people who already had the skills or

perspectives she was eager to introduce:

> One thing we've done is when we've been hiring
> full-time people in the last six, seven years,
> we've tried to inquire into their knowledge and
> experience with computers and...look for somebody
> who has it because we feel that once individuals
> on campus were very comfortable with...this
> technology and using it in their courses, that's
> going to influence others. So I think that's been
> our strategy.

Joan used much of the same language later, as she talked about efforts to internationalize the curriculum, clearly something that was on her agenda but not so clearly on that of the faculty.

> I hired a guy to replace a language teacher and I created the position of Director of International Education/Enhanced Language Instruction. It was a sort of way of selling the creation of the position of Director of International Ed. and I had as a goal to make it a full-time position, see how it worked out and make it full time. And we got a really good guy who was an African national and he had a degree in international relations....He was a person who...was eager, uncorrupted by unions and things like that, so he came in and worked like a dog for a year.

Her "working like a dog" metaphor was one I heard echoed throughout. As she talked about people who helped her to influence directions within the college, her language reflected a special regard for people who, as she described them, worked hard, "seized opportunities," and "liked to hustle." In discussing the need to be responsive to the community, she said:

> We looked for people that were aggressive and out to find out what we could do, not just to sit and wait to see what somebody asked us to do. So, I think we've had some very good people working at Swanee River who've had that kind of an attitude.

All of those references made me think about the way she had described herself early in the interview. Not that she used

those words to talk about herself, but it was easy enough to
see parallels between the kinds of people whom she perceived
as having a positive influence on the college and the
qualities that seemed to have propelled her. The very fact
of her talking as much as she did about other people struck
me. Time after time, in talking about college directions
and initiatives, Joan told stories about the people who had
made those things happen. "I" rarely was heard in her
commentary; more often, she used "we" or named particular
individuals as she spoke about college development and
change.

<div align="center">Ways of Leading</div>

Joan mentioned authoritarianism throughout the
interview--and always in negative terms. In discussing her
predecessor, she had talked about tight controls and an
authoritarian form of leadership. Later, in telling a story
about the college's International Education grant which was
initially unsuccessful and was later rewritten and funded,
she emphasized the difference between the first approach and
the second:

> He [the initial grant writer] had a slight
> authoritarian streak in him, a very pleasant
> person, but it didn't always register why I
> couldn't snap my fingers and everyone would drop

dead. So, Roger had a better approach to the processing of things, and I think that helped the grant.

The second grant writer involved faculty who were, as she described it, enthusiastic about the project and, now that it was funded, eager to be involved.

How Joan gets things done without being authoritarian was the focus of much of what she had to say about her presidency. She talked about being "pleased" and "satisfied" with "broader participation of people in decision-making" and processes through which "we consult broadly before any major decisions are made."

The Collegewide Budget Committee, initially put in place twelve years ago, reflects some of her goals in this regard. The committee, composed of faculty and staff members from each academic division and major administrative and student service area of the college, is provided with information about all of the college's accounts. Based on allocations and requests from all of the college's cost centers, the committee advises her on each year's spending plan. She sees the process as advantageous in many ways:

> We rotate membership...so many faculty have a much
> better idea of what the college has to face in
> terms of allocating resources. So it cuts down on
> a lot of criticism. They're not in much of a
> position to yak about things that they see when
> they see how hard it is. And also, we don't have
> any secrets here, or any slush funds....All the

money that comes into the college--all-college purpose trust fund, everything--is laid out before this group for revenue sources that are to be applied to a given spending plan....It's a process that generally works. Every once in a while we get a committee that, you know, does some ridiculous thing, but not too often. And one of the biggest benefits out of this is the education it offers people in terms of how things are done. And also, no one can say that the president has this big, secret slush fund that she's running around spending because they're the ones who allocate it....So it's a good tool for education, and it's a good tool for me because it tells me what people are thinking in ways maybe that if you rely solely on your senior people, you might not be getting.

She then went on to an example of a request made by the academic dean on behalf of faculty that the budget committee opposed:

[He] had asked for $25,000...for released time for faculty to work on various things that are going on--assessment, general education....And the committee said that they would prefer to have the funds used to reduce class size in some disciplines rather than for released time for faculty--that they felt it was more useful educationally and that faculty, if forced to choose, would prefer that to the other....So, I was very intrigued to hear this, and would not have guessed it. And the dean had not particularly consulted faculty. He talked with the chairs about the released time and, of course, that's always a great carrot with the faculty. But, this other priority emerged in our conversation with the budget committee. So we agreed to revise ourselves accordingly.

In describing the way in which her executive administration interacts with this process, she alluded to a

check and balance sort of system. The senior deans present

their priorities to her, and she gives tentative approval to

ones that she would be willing to support at the end of the

process. She then receives independent advice from the

Budget Committee. Her "approval" of a budget request, she

stated, is tantamount to saying, "This is an O.K. idea, but

I'm going to want to know first what the Budget Committee's

priorities are....Let's see how we all think it matches up

compared to all these other ideas we're going to see."

Joan explained her own influence on the committee as

one that appears and reappears throughout the process. Her

interaction with the committee, it seems, serves an

important purpose in keeping a running dialogue going with a

substantial group of faculty leaders. As they serve on the

committee, they participate with the administration in goal-

setting through the budget allocation process. She

described what some of that interaction might look like:

> Usually at the beginning of the second semester
> they'll invite me in, and I go in and give them a
> little schpeel, and I might raise things that
> we're thinking about in the administration, either
> things that I talked to the deans about, or things
> that I'm concerned about myself....I give them
> some sense of what I think need to be priorities
> for the year....Like, for example, last year I
> talked to the committee about not shortchanging
> the...physical plant maintenance account because I
> felt that we have a responsibility to keep up a
> good-looking campus no matter what happens....I

gave them a real schpeel about the bad things that
ensue when we don't keep up the maintenance. Now,
that was partly based on the fact that committees
of old had sometimes said to themselves, "Oh well,
you know, let's take away all that money for
cutting the grass, or putting chemicals in the
grass, or whatever we do to the grass."...So I
gave them a little schpeel about that
and...had...a good, sympathetic ear. So I have
that kind of conversation with them, and then it
gives me a chance to see if there's any serious
opposition to something that may be contemplated
and that needs to be explained more or dropped or
whatever. And it gives me a chance to see what's
on their minds too.

The deans meet with the Committee over the course of

the year too, to "discuss what they have proposed." Joan

commented that such exchanges give the committee an

opportunity to "hold the administration accountable--which

they do."

She talked about overriding the committee occasionally.

But, even then, the dialogue continues. As she explained

it, she provides them with a written account of a decision

that is contrary to their recommendation. The committee, in

submitting its final budget proposal, also documents quite

thoroughly what their thinking has been, and makes

recommendations for the future as well.

She alluded to some negative reactions from the deans

("This gets on the nerves of deans; some of them don't go

for all of this processing"), but seemed committed to the

outcome of what even she described as a "sometimes annoying

[and] inefficient" process. Most important in all of this,

it seems, is that she keeps faculty and staff engaged with

her, she hears what's on their minds early on (there are few

surprises), and she can and does fund initiatives and

activities that have faculty and staff support. The

process, in fact, is clearly more important than the

product. She gave me several examples of recommendations

she "didn't think were the greatest ideas in the world," but

"they had thought it through and...had adequate discussion,

and I was going to stick with it."

Much about the process was, she explained, a reaction

to the previous administration--a way of changing style and

making that change clear throughout the institution. But

before she could open up participation within the college,

she had to find a way to take the reins from those who held

information close and wanted to keep it that way:

> When I came in we had a Dean of Administration who
> had been an army officer. He ran the place like
> it was the Third Infantry Division of the Second
> World War, so when I came in I began to first
> myself take over from him, simply to master what
> was going on in the institution, where the sources
> of funding were. There actually were sources of
> funds that no one else even knew existed...that
> were buried away, so I began by exposing all of
> this too....I must say I put him through some
> semi-torture....So we had an interesting life
> together; he's a character. I began to master all
> the information myself so that I would be up on it
> and I didn't feel that I couldn't....I just didn't

want to be in a position where he would say, "You
can't do X, President Joan." I spent hours my
first year doing nothing....I sat down and pored
over twelve account vouchers...just to, you know,
get a complete grip on things. So then, I guess
it was my first year here, I introduced the wild
innovation of having the senior people make their
proposals and decide in a group together how the
budget would go. And then the second year I was
here, I implemented the collegewide budget
committee process.

The process, and the way she works with it, seemed to

be a metaphor for much of what Joan told me about herself

and her ways of leading within the college. Her own will,

it appeared, rarely emerged as an administrative directive.

Rather, she seemed to form and implement many ideas and new

directions through others as primary agents of influence and

through careful coalition-building within the institution.

Responding to Fiscal Crisis

Joan's discussion about the college's fiscal woes began

with a chronology of money slowly disappearing. She talked

about being on sabbatical leave in 1988 and hearing from the

acting president that salary money had been transferred out

of the college's account by the Board of Regents. Her

uniquely casual style and her familiarity with budgets and

with politics came through as she described some of what

went on at the beginning:

The Regents were doing a couple of weird things.
One, they were taking back some unspent 01
[salary] funds. Which was unusual, but, you know,
we hadn't yet transferred them into other accounts
because those were the glory days when we had a
lot of dough sitting around....When I got back
from leave in May, I noticed that they were
funding the ERM [library materials] account out of
Capital Outlay funds that year. So it was evident
that there was a lot of screwing around with the
budget in Boston, and...of course later it became
evident that it was because they wanted to keep a
lid on any problems because of Dukakis running for
president. So we saw that somehow the revenues
had begun to decline in the state because they
were making do with these little tricks.

More serious difficulties followed, and dealing with

the legislature was harder in 1989 than it had been the year

before. She described her reaction to the first mid-year

reversion in 1989, and then her decision to cut positions in

1990:

So we began then to become more cautious. At the
beginning it was a matter of caution....We were,
you know, not feeling that--keeping a couple of
positions vacant, taking measures, cutting back
some, I think, in the 03 [part-time and
consultant] account. It was fiscal year '90 that
we made any real cutbacks of people...October of
'89, I guess....And we laid off after that ten 03-
type people. They were 03, but they were
virtually permanent positions, because they were,
30 hours or whatever, a couple of the secretaries
at the Women's Center...[and] counselors. Because
we weren't ready for that size reversion in terms
of the funds we had. We were caught short. And
politically I didn't feel my Board would sit still
for just raising fees without doing some cuts that
were visible....We had to come up with some

$400,000--maybe $200,000 in cuts and $200,000 in raising fees.

This was Joan's first reference to the college's Board of Trustees and, as in a later interview with another president, it surfaced around decisions to cut staff positions. In Joan's case, staff members seemed to represent a sacrifice she needed to make in order to give the board assurances that the college was doing everything possible to operate efficiently and to demonstrate the need to increase student costs. Where was her budget committee now that the truly difficult decisions were before the college? Very much out of the picture, it seemed. She didn't mention their involvement, and when I asked if they played a role, she responded, "No, they really didn't. I met with them to <u>tell</u> them what cuts I was making." The internal process she described involved "lengthy meetings with the deans," in which each made recommendations, she "looked over things and had [my] own recommendations to make," and together they "came up with a list of things that we all signed on to."

The type of faculty involvement that she had described earlier was quite different from what she described when the college's projected shortfall implied the loss of positions. Not only did she not consult with the faculty leadership, as

she had during more routine budget deliberations, but she portrayed their stance as one that was not conducive to such discussions:

> The union took a very strong position that they didn't want to have anything to do with deciding about cuts. And they didn't want to be consulted. They just wanted to be free to tell me how rotten they were, or whatever. So, when I went to the budget committee, I told them what I was going to do and, you know, they said the usual things.

Her tone of voice was different in talking about faculty as "union" than it had been before. But it did make me think about her earlier reference to the Director of International Education, who "worked like a dog" and "was uncorrupted by unions and things like that." The faculty, acting as a union, clearly presented more difficult challenges than the faculty who served on her team, in a sense, in advising her about budget priorities outside the context of a real fiscal crisis.

Although more cuts followed, she referred back several times to the "tough one," the one where "we let people go." Her strategy after that was to build reserves "so as to be ready for the next blow." Building reserves meant raising student fees, which she did two more times, once in the middle of the year. In choosing the amount to raise fees the second and third time, she "built in a factor for

accumulating a safety net." Budgeting, as she describes it,

has now become bare bones budgeting, and there is little

hope that new initiatives that cost money will go forward:

> Two years ago we formulated a basic budget that
> incorporates the principle of absolute necessity
> in regard to the expenditures....We always try to
> be a little optimistic as we're getting ready for
> the next year and I think things will get better,
> so we'll have things just as we have things in
> this year's spending plan. The budget committee
> is reviewing some new things that we might like to
> do. But they'll all be cut, I'm sure, by the time
> September rolls around, by the ways things are
> looking, by the time we get down to a final
> document. So, as we prepare the study plan, we
> often start out looking at possibilities that can
> then be dropped from the table, you know.

The impact of the budget situation on college staff has

been major, and Joan talked freely about its implications:

> It's been one political campaign after
> another....He [the faculty union president] tries
> to get them [the faculty] all activated, and it's
> wearying, you know. And of course I'm out there
> doing the same thing. I'm telling everybody,
> "You've got to call your reps," and I'm beating up
> on the reps and spending all my time on this type
> of activity, as it's very, very stressful to the
> institution as a whole.

She described her concerns about how preoccupation with

the fiscal situation sometimes plays out in college

classrooms and then focused on her own dilemma in dealing

with what she felt was unprofessional behavior:

> It becomes distracting, and occasionally I worry
> because some faculty, I think, overdo using

students or tying into student activity....I think
students need to be informed, and we should inform
them fully, but sometimes there's a diminishing
return....They had the students all worked up--
some of them, some few--over the furloughs, and
using class time to discuss it constantly when
they were supposed to be learning math and science
and other things. And so those are worrisome
things because on the one hand, one is dealing
with professional people who must be responsible
for themselves, and I can't tell them what to do;
they've got to understand what their
responsibilities are professionally. On the other
hand, if I see or hear that stuff is going on that
is not professional, I feel I have to somehow try
to make some suitable intervention, you know. It
can be very stressful....

Her approach to the problem is reminiscent of the way

she described some of her dealings with the Budget

Committee:

    I do different things. I don't go...it would be
    useless (laughs) to say to someone, "behave
    yourself," but I drop something, you know. I may
    drop at the MACER (Management Association
    Committee on Employee Relations) meeting, say, you
    know, "I've had a couple of complaints from
    students that some people have done nothing but
    talk about this furlough in their class the last
    three weeks. Do you think that's a good way to
    go? Could you counsel faculty at the union
    meeting to say, "Look, you know, you don't want to
    alienate the students by not teaching them their
    subject matter. Could you confine your comments
    to a few minutes at the beginning of the class?"
    So they say, you know, John said, "Look, I'm not
    encouraging them to do that kind of thing." So,
    you know, we have a little conversation about it
    and who knows whether it helps or not....You use
    such avenues of persuasion as can be available,
    you know.

And later, when describing her response to a faculty-
led rally:

> And some of them brought their classes to the
> rally and it makes me uneasy too. So I try to
> live with what seems fairly reasonable...and try
> to intervene when things seem to be getting out of
> hand.

Dealing with administrators and staff about the budget

situation seemed to require less strategizing than dealing

with the faculty. She emphasized how hard it had been on

them to have travel funds cut as well as funds to do

"interesting and different things in their departments."

She talked about them as being on the "front lines, where

there are disappointed and angry people," dealing with,

"staff and students who are either paying more or not

getting enough salary or whatever it is that's happening"--

the general day-to-day stresses involved in those exchanges.

It sounded like an institution under siege in many

ways: angry and disappointed clients, low morale among

faculty and staff, and a place where new ideas were seen as

difficult, if not impossible, to launch. Her own role at

this particular time was something about which she talked at

fairly great length. Within the college, she saw herself as

needing to "put forth a positive and optimistic outlook for

people,...to generate feelings of possibility in people."

The president must "always maintain an outlook that's

positive and optimistic," she told me, "...because it gives

people in the institution something to cling to...." This

was the first and only explicit reference she made to any

conscious position on leadership. Creating a "climate of

possibilities," keeping morale as high as possible, "helping

to create a more positive image for public higher

education": These were all things that she talked about as

her responsibility as president. Social functions have to

be kept up, she argued, for their value in maintaining human

connections among people:

> If you're hanging out with your colleagues, and
> you're having a glass of wine, you know something,
> it becomes more difficult to...go someplace and
> say, "cut that guy's budget; don't cut mine" or
> whatever....And I think it's helped to create a
> more positive climate.

Public relations outside the college have also become

more important to Joan. Whereas she previously spent a

relatively small proportion of her time courting public

opinion, she described much effort and time now "wracking

our heads...about what kind of stories do we want to get out

there....And plotting them, and timing them much more than

we did before."

As for the future, she was not terribly optimistic.

She was very serious and thoughtful as she spoke of a

political conservatism "that governs Massachusetts and the country now."

> Everyone is shedding responsibility for everyone
> else, you know, instead of joining to form some
> community of interest. And it's gotten to a point
> where it's even acceptable...to be a selfish beast
> or something like that. People aren't even
> ashamed of it anymore....It really worries me as a
> long-term trend because, after all, our enterprise
> depends upon the recognition on the part of the
> public...that by all of us contributing something,
> we can make something wonderful possible that
> benefits all of us, but especially benefits those
> who are most needy.

She talked about the impact of combining bad economic times with the sort of selfishness and "individualism" she felt had become increasingly prominent during the last ten years. "It doesn't make for a good environment for public services," she told me. But, Swanee River Community College itself, she felt, would come through just fine, in part "because the community is poor, and they love us more and we love them more, and there's more of a symbiosis, perhaps, here than there might be...in other regions."

The community's connection to the college was something that she said she had come to take for granted. But it seemed to be everything to her. The community was the reason the college was there, and the community residents could be counted on not to let the college down. She used words like "satisfying" and "gratifying" to describe working

at Swanee River. I was struck by the paradox between her comments just a few minutes before about the general level of selfishness that mitigated against public service and the local climate that Joan felt would continue to provide security for Swanee River. As she saw it, the future of the college was very much dependent upon a community that viewed the college as an ally and vital resource.

Rachael

The newest of the presidents I interviewed, Rachael had been president of Jessup Community College for a little over a year when we met. The college had recently acquired a modern, high-tech building to house its new urban campus, and Rachael had moved her office from Jessup's suburban campus, in a town twelve miles away, to the Downtown Campus. Her office at the Downtown Campus was in the midst of a great deal of activity. Located on the fifth floor, where several of the deans and all of the faculty had their offices, the area was heavily trafficked and seemed more conducive to quick meetings than to long, in-depth conversations. Rachael's conference table was in her office, and the whole area was visible to passers-by through a floor-to-ceiling glass wall, with vertical blinds that provided little privacy unless completely closed. She

suggested that we meet in a quiet conference room at the
suburban campus location. The setting was ideal for a long,
relaxed session, and we both comfortably helped ourselves to
coffee as we settled in to talk.

In the Beginning

Rachael seemed to enjoy talking about "the old days"
and spent much of our time together telling me stories about
herself and the college when she first got there.
Everything she told me was reflected later on as she talked
about herself in the role of president. Her status and the
immediate issues she was dealing with had changed, but the
person who described her early years at the college was very
much the same person who currently leads the largest
community college in the state system.

Originally hired as an instructor, Rachael took a $2500
cut in pay to come to Jessup from a state college where her
faculty position was a non-tenure track one. She was on the
verge of a divorce and explained that, with a young son to
raise, the security of the job made both the pay cut and the
hour and twenty minutes commute worth it. Offered $9,000,
she held out for $12,400 and began teaching office education
courses in 1976.

She anticipated teaching for a few years and then going back into the construction business, from whence she had come. At the very outset, it was clear that she experienced herself as a business woman who had entered--and then stayed in--education for specific reasons:

> When I came out to Jessup originally, I came out thinking it would be a few years of teaching and then on to something different...into a business field rather than an educational field. Education to me was a security blanket. Teaching was a security blanket. I knew I could do it, I knew I had the credentials to do it, I knew I enjoyed it, and it was fun to do most of the time. So it was a comfortable move for me then.

What Jessup afforded Rachael at that time were many of the same things that have been important to her throughout her administrative career: close working relationships with colleagues, opportunities to create and to advance, and her ever-strong connection to the world of business, particularly to the construction trades. Those elements come through strongly as she talked about her earliest years at the college:

> People that worked around me were willing to accept me very quickly into the groups, so to speak, so there was a social acceptance as well as an academic acceptance....We worked on things together, we worked on things as a team in that department....We really developed our own camaraderie, you know, and it was fun.

I enjoyed the teaching. The hours allowed me to
work here, and still I'd be back to the city on
some public boards that I really enjoyed doing,
the Community Development Board, and we were doing
major city work on housing rehabilitation,
economic development and social services, and it
allowed me time in the morning. I used to come in
late in the day, like 12:00 for my classes in the
afternoon. It allowed me to go to City Hall in
the morning and do my committee work then, and go
to teach, and still get back in time to take care
of what I had to take care of on the properties in
the evening....So it fit into my life very nicely.

The only thing I didn't like, quite honestly, was
the commute. I was pretty selfish about driving
all the way out here....But what I saw happening
here, and I think what Jessup did, is that it gave
you opportunities to do things. If you got an
idea, there was generally support for that idea.
In other words, nobody ever said no. If you had a
thought about something to do and you presented it
and it sounded like it was realistic, they said,
"Go ahead." And I became...the division
volunteer--that's what I used to call myself. If
there was something new, then we would, you know,
look at a way to do it, and I would be the one to
carry the ball....

Although recognized as an excellent teacher (she

received the first Faculty of the Year award from the

students), clearly the most excitement, and the most

opportunity, for Rachael was outside the classroom. She

talked about chairing the Academic Standards Committee in

her second year, and then applying for both the business

division chair position and the dean of administration in

her third year at the college. The stories about the two

jobs were intertwined, and the way she told them says much

about Rachael.

She talked about a reorganization within the college

that created large divisions, where once there had been

smaller, independent departments reporting directly to the

dean. There was a lot of "jockeying for position," as she

put it, and several more senior faculty members took on the

division chairmanship for brief periods of time. Around the

same time, the dean of administration's job opened up; and

Rachael, at the end of her second year of teaching at the

college, applied for one of the institution's four most

senior level positions. Her attitude about her decision to

apply is characteristic of many of her more recent actions

and decisions:

> I used to see him every morning, coming and
> going...and I used to wonder what he did from
> early in the morning to very late....I really did.
> I said, "I don't know how this guy runs the place,
> but what takes him so darn long? I mean, he's
> here very early and he goes till late at
> night...." And I, you know, heard that he was
> leaving. I said, "Gee, I could do that job. I
> mean I could handle administration and finance."
> I didn't have any doubt that I could do it, so I
> applied for the job....I did feel...it was a shot
> in the dark kind of thing, but I would try it
> anyway.

And, when she did not get the job:

And that was the end of that....Well, you know, I
think you always feel badly when you lose
something, but I figured, well, what the heck....I
had nothing to lose by trying for it. And then I
decided that I'd stay on teaching. And then that
whole division structure came up, and everybody
was jockeying around to see who would apply and
who would get it....

With the division chair position came a $4000 raise, at

a time when faculty raises were frozen. Although she had,

by that time, earned a doctorate, financial advancement

seemed clearly linked to a move into administration.

Rachael's characterization of her "step up" reflected the

same sense of pragmatism that runs through most of her

discussions about important decisions:

I took it [the division chair's job] because I
could make $16,000....The only way to move was to
move into a different job, so I moved into the job
that opened up, and I figured running that
division was like running the department I
chaired...at the high school. It was about the
same size as the division in those days. So, you
know, I figured this isn't going to be any big
deal....

Managing the division presented Rachael with challenges

as well as opportunities. She talked about her role in

acquiring much-needed new equipment for the division and

promoting its growth within the college. Her first major

challenge came when she "volunteered" the division for a

move to a new location, a middle school five miles away,

when no one, including her own faculty, wanted to go. The

college had leased the space in order to expand, and the
extension location was clearly viewed as an isolated
outpost. "I wanted to go," she said, "because to me it was
an opportunity for more space and expansion....We couldn't
do anything unless we had more space, so I saw it when the
opportunity came up...and then I had to go back to the
division and try to get [them] to go along with it."

She envisioned what the space could mean for her
division:

> The place [was] a shambles of a middle school, but
> there was tons of space. I mean, you could walk
> in and you knew if you painted it and fixed it up,
> faculty could have big offices and you could have
> big classrooms, clean classrooms. And at that
> time, the President promised to have it in better
> condition than [the current building] was, and
> that was kind of a stipulation that we would go
> along with it provided it was going to be better
> for the division and better for the faculty.

When the president's promise of paint and repairs fell
through, she got a college secretary's husband who worked
part-time as a painter and members of the student government
to come in over the summer and paint. "My credibility's on
the line," she remembers saying to the president, and
assuring him that he too would be "in trouble" if the work
didn't get done before the fall. And so it did.

Rachael talked about the new campus as a place of
opportunity--for the new programs that could be run there as

well as for the "explorer-type" of faculty from other
disciplines that joined the business faculty there. The
division grew as a new hotel and restaurant management
program and a computer applications program were added.

She chaired the business division until a new president
came, years later. Describing the conversation in which he
asked her if she felt ready for the dean of administration's
job, she remembers telling him, "I was ready ten years ago,
but the college didn't know it." When the discussion turned
to the job that would soon be vacated by the retiring dean
of continuing education, Rachael told of responding in a way
that, then and now, characterizes her confidence and sense
of purpose:

> I know I could do that one blindfolded, but I
> don't want that job. That's what I'm doing
> already. I want something different....But what I
> don't want to do is I don't want to become the
> college bookkeeper, and I don't want to be stuck
> in an office, and I don't want to be buried in the
> budget. I want to still have an opportunity to do
> other things.

She describes life as the dean of administration and
Finance (the title was changed when she assumed the
position) in very different terms, and one gets the sense
that Rachael has always been adept at "reading" new
scenarios and adapting herself to the needs of new
situations. She said she "sensed what he was like." "I

knew," she said, "it was going to be different for all of us
on campus. I knew even as a division chair, life was not
going to be the same. I mean, it was going to be a
different kind of schedule...those kinds of things." And,
ever the pragmatist, she reasoned, "So if I'm going to make
those commitments to a job, I might as well make them for
the dean's job rather than for the division chair's job."
And again, the same sorts of thoughts that accompanied her
move to the division chair's job:

> It was time for some movement...and I figured,
> "What am I going to lose?" I really didn't think
> I had anything to lose if I said that it doesn't
> work. You know, I'll go back to faculty, if not
> here, somewhere else.

She described life with George (the new president) as
an exciting, but tumultuous time. The words "opportunity"
and "problem solving" came up time and again as she talked
about those three years. She loved the challenge of, as she
put it, "trying to figure out what worked and what didn't
and what it needed to make it work." She went on:

> He gave you opportunities, and he
> listened....There were certain times during his
> presidency when...I felt he needed me--for either
> background or to carry a project through, and I
> felt good being able to do that for him. I felt
> like that was what I was really supposed to be
> doing.

Most of all, she talked about that period as a time of mentoring. The things that George taught her, she felt, were invaluable and could have come from few people. An astute politician, he involved her in legislative and business meetings, providing her with direct involvement in the political process that shaped his strategies and decisions. She commented, "I remember saying, 'I've never sat in on anything like that in my life'...and I never would have had an opportunity to do that with somebody else. But he brought me in at those key points."

Those key points resulted in a $40,000,000 construction project for a new college campus in 1991--a time when state funding for operation of the colleges had been cut dramatically. She provided great detail in describing how George had accomplished it. Summarizing, she said:

> It happened because of the way it was designed to
> happen....It's Jessup, it's the neighbors, it's
> the Chamber [of Commerce], it's everybody. They
> own it. And that's what George was smart enough
> to do. And I don't know who else would have been
> smart enough to do that. I certainly wouldn't
> have been, beforehand. I wouldn't have known that
> I had to build that big a constituency. He did.
> He knew we had the support in [a city in the
> northern part of the college's service area]...but
> he didn't have it down here. So he had to build
> it down here.

As President

Moving into the presidency of Jessup was something that Rachael depicted as a natural move, both for her and for the college. The building project had been approved but not initiated when George accepted a new position on the west coast. She said:

> If they had to deal with another new president, another external person who came in, with a different vision from George's--a different vision from the faculty--this college couldn't survive right now. There's too much else going on here....The environment's too unstable. The campuses would have been gone. You wouldn't see this [gestures toward the new construction] out here if there was a new president...deciding all these things. It would have been gone,...[we] would have lost the money....And just knowing what had to be done at those times saved it, and the new person wouldn't have known that....So I think for the college it worked out....And I think the Trustees saw that; I think they saw the stability within the institution, and I think they saw an understanding of the budget,...and I think they saw all of this going on, and wanting to make sure things stayed on track....

And then, reminiscent of earlier statements at times when she moved up into other positions, she remarked:

> I didn't plan on being president when I came here. That's the last thing I ever planned on. I planned on doing well enough so that I could manage my house, raise my son, and still feel good about what I was doing, still feel...like I was contributing in some way. And...teaching, you know, was always fun for me because I enjoyed it. And that...always has been a security blanket. I

still feel like it is. I still feel like it's
still there for me, if I ever want it.

Rachael talked about her own style as one in which she
was "bringing the best of the past two presidents to the
presidency." The first president, she felt, had created a
"family atmosphere." The second had been responsible for
much forward movement, but had created a sense of anxiety
and uncertainty in college staff. Her presidency, she felt,
was enriched by knowledge of how to do things differently
than the traditional models that had been established years
ago: how to look for new avenues of revenue; how to bring
about new directions; how to "go right to the top" of other
agencies to get assistance, advice and support; how to
cultivate, nurture, and utilize influential connections
outside of the college.

Although she wondered aloud about the wisdom of
continuing along in George's footsteps rather than
establishing her "own presidency" immediately, she felt that
her influence was of a different kind. Her own way of
being, she revealed, has helped her in establishing some of
the relationships that have been most important to the
college. She explained what she meant this way:

> As easy as it was for George to make some inroads,
> a lot of people weren't always comfortable with
> George. There was a charisma there that some
> people are very comfortable working with and

others are not. And I'm able to reach those that
are comfortable with it and those that aren't in a
way that George couldn't. So I see a different
working relationship with some constituencies that
[were] already in place and some that were out
there, but never really partners because they were
uncomfortable with that. So I see being able to
do things that he wasn't able to do. The...people
we've been able to secure for a foundation, George
couldn't get those people. I think there's
something different that goes on with a different
person in the role. I can't describe it, I don't
know what it is, but when you can sit across from
a [names a successful businessman], who doesn't do
any of this stuff at all, and convince him that
the college is important to the community....And,
you know, there's a...group of successful people
up there who haven't always had it easy, and
haven't always made it to that successful point
easily, you know. I had somebody describe it
once; it's easy to hit a home run if you're born
on third base....It's when you're up at bat over
and over and over again, and you have a few
strikeouts that if you get the home run, you can
appreciate it more. And I think that's the group
of people I'm able to reach. I've been able to do
that....I think people are comfortable with me. I
don't think I'm threatening.

Rachel continued to talk about the ways that she felt

she was perceived by others and also continued to compare

herself with her predecessor, who was clearly a most

important influence on her and on her presidency to date:

I think I'm more sincere about what I'm trying to
do and it's not for Rachael Martin that I'm trying
to do it....I think the message comes through that
it's for the college that I want this, and it
doesn't matter to me who gets the credit for it
along the way....It's more for the college, and to
try to put aside all that other stuff. You know,
the ego isn't there. Or maybe it's a different

kind of ego....I'm able to make those connections.
I don't know what it is, but I do think it has
something to do with the personality. I do think
it's got something to do with how people feel in a
meeting with you, as strange as that sounds. I
think it's important if people are comfortable
with you. We've got [names another successful
businessman] on the foundation...a very successful
development. An immigrant from Cuba who's really
made it. But you can sense out from people what
they can do for you and what they can't do for
you, and you don't ask them for things they can't
do....I think it's skills in trying to figure
those things out too....I believe I feel things
sometimes more than I see them.

In talking about her presidency, she said, "I want to

be the college's president and the community's president,"

underscoring the connections she is actively pursuing with

the area's local business community.

As Rachael talked about her most difficult challenges,

they centered around personnel issues. She talked a lot

about people themselves, their motivations, and her

continuing struggle to understand what motivated others to

think and behave in ways that were different from her own.

She told richly-detailed stories about difficult personnel

situations that she handled as dean of administration and

finance as well as some that occurred within her presidency.

The difference was that, as a dean, she had much support

from the president, who both advised her and backed her up;

as president, she was clearly less certain about her

judgments.

Time and again, issues about dealing with strong personalities and questions about whose best interests were at stake in particular situations surfaced. As she described a situation involving an administrator whom she eventually let go when she was dean, she explained:

> There's something else working inside Jeff that has to prove he's right all the time....And he doesn't have the best interests of the people. And I thought, "God, he doesn't have the best interests of the college...he doesn't have the larger picture in mind."

As she described individuals digging in over another issue, she said she had to

> ...let Marsha run [her part], and Steve run his piece, yet force them to talk to each other in a way that they could develop some mutual respect and break down those very old wars....[Until that happened], neither area really recognized the importance of the other.

And later: "It was more understanding the personalities around the whole thing....The personalities there and the dynamics of the group were incredible."

And about another situation, which was resolved through eventual staff terminations: "I didn't have time for the nonsense of it all....These people are supposed to solve our problems, not create our problems. You know, I shouldn't have somebody like this...."

As president, dealing with the faculty over difficult issues has presented Rachael with similar challenges. She is reflective about them, often replaying the situations in her mind, confronting what she was feeling at the time. Describing her reactions, negotiations, and decisions, she revealed some of her struggles in her new leadership role.

One of the events she described occurred within the first few months of her presidency. While she was trying to make sure that the new construction allocation would not be pulled back in the midst of the fiscal crisis, a new governor was elected. He ordered a review of the project and, around the same time, announced mandatory furloughs for all state employees. Jessup's faculty began to discuss job actions such as "sick-outs" and picketing. Rachael responded by advising them that she felt it was not in the college's best interests for them to take such actions. She remembers feeling:

> How dare they do this at a time when I don't have time to deal with it....It was like, how dare they do this? We're in the middle of this huge project. How dare they?....Most important was their raises and the furloughs and those other things...job actions...in the middle of the whole thing. And my reaction was, "How can they think this way? How can they even think this way?" You know, it's kind of...for me...coming back to the reality of: wait a minute. Now they're faculty; they're engaged in classroom experience, and they don't see what's going on anywhere else. And,

maybe they don't care. Maybe they really don't
care. Maybe it's not going to affect Joe Jones'
life [on another campus] whether or not this goes,
and maybe it's not going to affect one of the
nursing faculty here. So it was like a shock to
me. I said, "I don't believe this is
happening."...They should be grateful....

As she reflected on her reaction, she talked about the

meaning of the faculty response and the lesson she drew from

it:

That was a lesson to me, a good lesson, and maybe
it's good that it happened...because it warns you
that you can't just expect everybody to be on
board with everything, just because you are. Or
just because you have one vision of the thing, it
doesn't necessarily say that everybody on campus
has to have that same vision. But, you know, the
real job of the president is to keep the
institution whole and moving. And it's almost
like, "get on board with me," but not everybody
can and not everybody wants to, so that's OK....I
think the key is...that you don't...lament over
it. You deal with it as best you can....But you
pay attention to it after that.

Later, she analyzed it less in terms of different

visions and more in terms of people's most significant

interests:

I think no matter how you present the
case...people deal with the issues that are
immediate to them. And I don't mean to say that's
selfish of them, but to say that's real....

Then she talked about the wisdom of bringing the issue

before the faculty in the first place:

I thought at the time I made a mistake speaking at
that faculty meeting. After I did that I said, "I

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made a mistake and I shouldn't have done it."...It
was like, maybe it was too patronizing--unlike me.
And I didn't want it to be, but I wanted them to
know what the hell was going on out there, because
I didn't want them to later say, "We didn't know
this was happening, and if we had known, we might
have looked at things differently."...The truth of
the matter is...I laid down the information, and
said, "Do what you want, but here it is."

I found myself admiring her openness. Presumably,

every president searches for ways to deal with the "what I

want/what they want" dilemma. But, of the presidents I

interviewed, Rachael's inner voices came closest to the

surface as she talked about her own reactions to such

dilemmas.

Rachael's business perspective comes through in much of

what she describes. "If you want something, you may have to

give up something else," one hears in her stories. She

often mentioned such compromises and trade-offs in talking

about achieving results that were particularly important to

her.

About the resolution of a difficult personnel issue,

she said,

But it worked out, you know, and I guess that's
what you have to look back on....It's not always
clean, and you don't always get the...outcome you
want....I got him out, but I wanted him out
cleaner....I didn't want to pay him one extra
cent, you know, but I had to do it....It was like,
"All right, I have to do it....Why do I have to do
it?"...Swallowing things in the process sometimes

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you don't really like to swallow, but...to solve
it....It isn't always going to be perfect....None
of the solutions were perfect.

And, in talking about accomplishing her goal of
providing professional development opportunities for faculty
in the face of a clear difference of opinion from a college
trustee:

> I think opportunities for mini-grants helped, but
> I really think I'll pay the cost on that too.
> I've already paid it on the Board of Trustees with
> [one member], so it's cost me in that regard. It
> may cost me a bigger vote down the road....You
> know, it's like you make five friends and twenty-
> five enemies. But if you really believe in
> professional development, you believe in some ways
> of rewarding service and rewarding proposals, then
> I think you have to...do it, you have to just do
> it. You say, so five get it; that's five more
> than would have gotten it otherwise. None would
> have gotten it...and look at it that way.

The pragmatism and perseverance that characterizes so
many of Rachael's actions and decisions are again in
evidence in these instances.

Fiscal Crisis and College Priorities

Rachael's presidency began in the midst of fiscal
crisis. Coming out of the role of dean of administration
and finance, she had a clear sense of the budget process and
the implications of various state policies. She talked

comfortably--almost in a verbal shorthand--about such

matters:

> This is not a surprise. What will be a surprise
> is if they act on things like what's showing up in
> the House Ways and Means budget....If that ever
> stays in the budget, all the colleges will be in
> very serious trouble, because they've taken away
> tuition retention. We used to have a small piece
> of it. Now,...and the governor said yes to
> eighty, and he said yes to a hundred, and we
> thought we were getting a hundred per cent, and
> then they wanted to take it away completely
> instead of giving it to you completely, and they
> wound up talking about the ability to raise fees.
> So that is going to...hit us hard.

Rachael talked about her fiscal options and was

knowledgeable and straightforward about the mechanisms

through which the college could survive without cutting

academic programs and essential student services. The most

significant savings could come by classifying all day school

part-time faculty as continuing education faculty. Since

the college could keep the money generated through

continuing education offerings, it could use that money to

"keep the college whole," as she put it. That, and an

increase in student fees, would allow Jessup to continue to

offer all of its current programs to students. The

difficult part again seemed to be the people part, and her

frustration showed as she talked about faculty reaction:

This is where I sit back and say, "We're saving
everybody's job. We're saving the college by
doing this," and the union's going to bitch about
it. So what do you do, how do you communicate?
You are cutting back for survival purposes....They
know that, and they'll understand that, but they
have to take the opposite position....It may even
get to the point where you have to do it and you
have to deal with it...as a grievance...and a
major problem....We waste all this time, and maybe
we may win and we may lose....No matter how...sure
you are, you're never really, really sure that
it's going to come out in your favor.

Rachael expressed a sense of betrayal because she felt

that she was doing everything possible to protect faculty

from the impact of state cuts to the institution. We hear

the same frustration we heard as she talked about faculty

discussions of job actions as she says, "Why don't they see

it? It hasn't affected them....They feel the impact of the

furloughs and the lack of a contract, yes, but not of the

budget cuts....They're protected." She explained that it

was a conscious decision to protect faculty and programs and

students; that those were her priorities.

Her views on the budget are closely linked to a

conscious realization that some things will stay and some

will go and that the budget crisis was forcing those

choices:

Well, I think what you wind up doing is you wind
up setting the real priorities for the
institution....You just keep your eyes on those
priorities and keep funding the priorities, and

that's really what I do. That's really what my
focus is going to be.

She linked the need to focus on priorities with her
vision for change in the college. The new urban campus had
opened up the college to Hispanic and Southeast Asian
populations. The faculty, she feels, are resistant to the
new populations. "They were not hired for a multiethnic
campus," she said, "They were hired for suburban...upper
middle class communities." She expressed the challenge that
she sees before her: "...you don't just change the
institution. You have to change the thinking of the people
in the institution." She talked about senior faculty and
the need to "acculturate" them into a new campus culture.
"I think it will happen in some; I don't think it will
happen with everybody," she acknowledged. "And that's OK,"
she said a little later, "You're not going to reach a
hundred percent all the time. I'll reach the ones I can
reach....I'm not going to lament over those I can't win
over. [I'll] concentrate on those that we can."

The way that she sees to accomplish her goal is through
international faculty and student exchanges. She talked
thoughtfully about how immersion in other cultures would
open people up to a greater appreciation of those cultures;
that it would ultimately make them more receptive to the

non-white students they are teaching and will be teaching in greater numbers in years to come. Then, as her business head clicked in, she quickly detailed at least three or four different ways to arrange such exchanges, some of which, she thought, could generate income for the college. And finally, she commented, "It's not going to be easy because those are the things that look like frills...in tough budget times."

I did not hear doom and gloom in her discussion about the budget. Instead, I heard about generating funds through different financial arrangements, and I heard about priorities such as faculty development and international exchanges. Through it all, I was reminded of the little engine saying, "I think I can; I know I can."

Rachael reflected on herself at the end of the interview, talking about herself in ways that place a capstone on much that we have already learned about her as a person and as a president:

> I was a novelty in that business [construction] in those years....They never understood me, why I was there, what I was doing....I was neither a professor [nor] a real estate person. I was always two people....I remember even going through graduate school for my CAGS. We were building then, and I was at [names the college] in a CAGS program, and I was building apartment houses at the time. And everybody else had a [school] site that they could work with...for...graduate papers

and everything. And I never had a place, I mean I
never had a subject...to write about....I always
had my business, and that was it. So I
was...neither fish nor fowl there for a long, long
time. I felt that way even when I was here in the
very beginning....

What I learned about myself was that I learn very
quickly with things, and that if it were something
that was new, you could figure out a way to do it.
Or, you could get someone who knew how to do it
and they could teach you how to do it in a hurry.
And it was...never to say "no" to an opportunity
because you thought you couldn't do it. You would
just find out how to do it, and you could do it.

June

Driving out to Lakeview Community College set the stage

for the interview that was to follow. First one leaves the

city behind, and then the suburbs. For over an hour, before

reaching the college, I drove through farmland and rolling

hills, crossing streams and passing by small picnic areas

along the side of the two-lane road. The college reflects

the same sense of peace and serenity captured by its

environs. It is set back from the road, with a great

expanse of lawn and woodland in front of it. The visitor

parking lot faces a pond alive with ducks. Just beyond the

pond, a large tent had been erected for the outdoor

commencement scheduled for the following week.

The building was quiet, since classes were over for the

semester. June greeted me outside her office and asked me

to remind her of how much time I needed. She then asked her
secretary to confirm some afternoon appointments and not to
disturb her for the next two hours. We sat at a round table
in the reception area of her office, and she gave the
interview her full attention despite the hustle and bustle
that could be heard outside her office.

Getting Ready

After thirteen years of teaching English at several
different levels (community college, four-year college, and
then university while earning her Ph.D.), June found herself
laid off. She talks about that experience as if it had just
happened:

> One Saturday morning, Easter Saturday morning, I
> was awakened with a bailor being at our door with
> a lay-off notice. That was the first I knew about
> it...that there were going to be any cuts and all,
> and that I was one of them. And the outrage that
> being told you're being laid off in that form
> occurred. I must say that experience has never
> left me....

For a while, she continued to teach on year-to-year
contracts, being rehired at the last minute when teachers
were needed. She recalls the frustration of the continual
uncertainty and of never being able to plan for the coming
year or prepare new courses. Demoralized with what had
become her teaching life, she decided to "see what [she]

could do about moving full time into administration." She
had served in coordinator and department chair roles in the
past, so administration was not a totally foreign world.
And it held the appeal of putting her in a position to
influence an entire institution better than could be done
from the classroom, and certainly better than she could do
at that point in time.

Having made the decision to look toward administration
as a career, June enrolled in a graduate program in
Institutional Administration. She was headed toward a two-
year Canadian certificate when a position as a campus
director came up, and she accepted it. She did not continue
with her coursework, but focused her work life toward a
career in higher education administration.

Her next move came after three years, when she applied
for and subsequently accepted an academic deanship in a
Massachusetts community college. She considered this move
to be "the next logical move upward."

June detailed an experience that she felt was of great
significance to her in her first year as an academic dean:
that of attending "Leaders," a professional development
program for women leaders in higher education held in
Arizona each year. She talked frankly about how out of
touch with American higher education issues she was, and how

this program helped her. She recalls being impressed with
the vigor of American community college leaders,
particularly those from the west and southwest. After that
experience and a year and a half as an academic dean, she
began to see a presidency as a way to address the
frustrations she felt. Top among them was what students
weren't getting by way of an integrated academic/student
service experience. As an academic dean, she had a
"province." It was one that didn't allow her to direct
areas that dealt with financial aid, child care, student
appeals, and others that had particular relevance for
disadvantaged students. These were services, she said, that
had been "tightly boxed into Student Services." "I began to
think," she continued, "for a community college to be really
effective, all of those issues have to be worked out more as
an integrated part of the student experience." Being a
president would allow her to make the things happen for
students that she could not make happen through her narrower
role as academic dean.

She was open to a presidency wherever one might arise,
hoping only that it wouldn't involve a move across the
country. Two Massachusetts community college presidencies
became available within a very short time. She was a
finalist at one, was not offered the job, and immediately

thereafter applied for the other. Even as she describes her career as a result of "circumstances" and "serendipity," the deliberateness of her choices as well as her apparent "fit" with the institution that eventually hired her seem remarkably uncircumstantial.

Becoming President at Lakeview

June describes walking into a difficult situation at Lakeview. The previous president had been let go, morale was low, and communication between faculty and administration was poor. There was a feeling, even after the president left, that decisions were in the hands of a small group--all male, June pointed out--and that "other people, particularly faculty, were totally left out, not only of the decision-making process, but also of an understanding of how and why decisions were made."

On the other hand, June found a college where everyone wanted an important role in the college and where relationships among faculty and staff were collegial and respectful. She remembers her campus tour on the occasion of her interview that included meeting "every single staff person, including every secretary and every maintenance person and every tradesperson...." Despite warnings she had received about union problems and problems between the

administration and the Board, she detected a "strong sense
of community" among college staff and students and decided
it would be a good place to work.

Initiating a strategic planning process was how she
began. She described a broad-based planning group of about
twenty people: trustees, students, senior administrators,
faculty and staff. The plan that was developed defined
major strengths of the institution as well as goals and
objectives for the coming years. June's comments about the
Board of Trustees' role in this process provided an insight
into how she seemed to view her Board's involvement in all
college activities and decisions:

> We had a retreat with the Board of Trustees to be
> sure that they had a major role as a board in what
> we were proposing and there was wide acceptance of
> the Plan. And that would have to be actually
> before I took it--before it went finally to the
> Board for ratification.

The business community, too, was involved with members
of the college community in rethinking the college's role:

> We had a series of focus breakfasts with the
> various groups from the community--business men
> and women, human service agencies, educators--in
> which we talked with them about how they saw the
> college....Some people from the planning
> committee, some external people [talked about]
> what they'd like to see, what they felt was
> important in the future.

Through a collegewide professional day, the college staff became involved in reacting to the plan and thinking through implementation strategies. In describing the impact of beginning her presidency with this broad and intensive planning process, she said:

> I think it was the first time in a long time that the college community felt there was a sense of purposeness and a sense of direction....It worked well in creating almost a kind of bonding between me and the institution.

How different was the plan from what the institution had always been doing? The formation of internal and external community rose to the surface as the most important agenda of what became the college's master plan. Clearly an important part of Joan's vision for the college, it became the most significant new element in the college's official direction for the future:

> The overall focus was to put much more emphasis upon our relationship to the community externally, to focus on partnerships. We determined basically it is a small college. We would never have the resources to do everything that...we've really thought we would like to do, or should do; and that rather than be scattered about our purpose, that the way to achieve the things that we thought needed to happen was to identify what those were and then to form as many partnerships as were needed with schools, with other community colleges, the university, with businesses, with...the hospital community, to bring about the kinds of programs....So the focus, I would say the overall focus was on external communities and to

achieve much more involvement through partnerships
to meet the educational needs of the area. And
then internally, to also focus on developing a
sense of community...within the institution. So
that was very good, I think, building community.
But those are the two aspects that...neither one
of those had been identified previously as a major
focus.

Internal community building became an important theme

within the first year of June's presidency. The first

budget reversion came two weeks after she arrived, and her

response was to call an all-college meeting, a strategy she

says she has continued to use when important issues arise.

Using this mechanism of talking directly with
people and giving people a chance to interact and
ask questions and comment has been very
positive....I think it's been empowering for
people. I think they feel--especially coming out
of the college that had been noted for its lack of
communication at any time with its staff, and the
feeling of people being in the dark--I think it
was very important to establish that kind of face-
to-face, direct and full communication rather than
even doing it by memo. I mean occasionally, you
know, I do some memos too sometimes. But I think
there's generally a feeling that when there's
something important, we come together and talk
about it fully....

Striving for greater college involvement and better

communication, she broadened the executive council,

previously composed of the president, the assistant to the

president, and the four senior deans. The group, she said,

had been nicknamed "The Monday Morning Quarterback Club" by

those not in it. Through the development of the strategic

plan came clear recognition that "there needed to be an attempt to broaden the decision-making process in the institution." "I worked with people," she said, "to bring about a fairly significant reorganization." She "abolished" the position of assistant to the president, upgraded the academic division chairs to assistant deans, and added the assistant deans as well as some program directors to the Council. In restructuring the Council, she also attempted to change the emphasis of the group closest to her:

> The whole idea was to shift the weight of that group to the academic and student affairs areas-- to the service areas--because when I came, my sense was it was too heavily dominated by non- academic people, administrators....One of the things I really wanted to establish here was an environment in which it was clear that the direct instructional program and support for students was at the core of the college and the core of decision-making. So we did make some administrative adjustments of people's positions, some changes in that way. And generally, that has worked quite well. This group that I meet with...is a much broader group. It's a group of people who are directly in contact with faculty and students on a daily basis....I think the perspective they bring to decision-making has been extremely positive.

June talked a bit about the feelings of senior deans, whom she believes felt a loss of status at the outset. She thinks the reverse has actually happened--that their roles are seen in a better light by people who now "see what they

do and understand what they do." She used the dean of
administration as an example. After twenty years in the
job, he now talks about a "good feeling" and positive
relationships with faculty that he had not before enjoyed.
June thinks that the sense of power that used to come
primarily from controlling information has been replaced
with a sense of satisfaction in serving the college
community in ways that are understood and appreciated.

June spoke next about the budget process she has
instituted. Previously done "mysteriously" by the dean of
administration and the president, the process now involved
many more people. Contrasting her perspective with that of
previous ones, she remarked:

> My feeling is that people should have
> information...unless there's some compelling
> reason about personnel actions or something that
> they can't and shouldn't. The position here,
> before I arrived, was that people should only have
> information if they absolutely needed to
> know....Our budget process now--this is our third
> year, it's still evolving to some extent--is seen,
> especially with all these cuts,...as a process in
> which people...really do have inputs and questions
> why...certain things are done, and why others
> aren't. People can be involved in setting their
> own priorities.

She explained some of the mechanics. The executive
council is broadened to include "some additional people."
Each department develops its own budget request. All

requests are reviewed by the entire group, which makes some

"group decisions, largely by consensus." In a manner that

was strikingly similar to Joan's, she singled out plant

maintenance items as examples of fixed costs about which

many in the institution have little understanding. An open

process, she asserted, makes clear where much of the money

goes, and what can be cut and what cannot.

Budget Issues and College Priorities

Perhaps because June began her presidency just at the

time when budget reversions became day-to-day reality, her

discussion of the college's activities is peppered with

references to the effects of reduced state funding. It

seems clear that the strategic plan developed early in her

tenure at Lakeview guides her in considering possible

changes and new college programs. She talked both about the

things that she had not been able to do as well as those she

had been able to accomplish--almost in the same breath, as

if balancing one with the other.

The frustration of not being able to provide an adult

student center, a goal within the strategic plan, seemed, in

her mind, to be offset by her success in providing the

college with a much-desired theater. The cost of

construction as well as the need to relocate several other

functions thwarted the student center project. But the
theater did become a reality and, as she saw it, a symbol:

> There was an old band room that was used for
> theater productions, but it was just in terrible
> shape and people didn't want to use it for faculty
> meetings because it was just so unpleasant and
> noisy and dark. And then it became clear that
> that was really a priority to do something
> about...and I was able to work with our foundation
> to make it their priority two years ago. And,
> through a special grant from our foundation, we
> renovated that entire room into quite a nice
> little theater. It seats a hundred and fifty
> people and...we've used that now all the time for
> various meetings, lectures, music groups...and for
> two theater productions this year which ran, each
> one, four nights. And it sold out...so I think
> that it's been...almost a symbol to the college
> community that in spite of the fiscal
> circumstances, we can move ahead on things.

And then she talked about child care, with very much
the same rhythm to her remarks ("we couldn't do this, but we
were able to do that, and that is very important to our
college community"). This and that, in this case, were two
campus-controlled child care centers, one on campus and one
downtown. Operation of both sites had been recently
suspended because of cutbacks in the Department of Social
Service-funded child care slots for welfare recipients.
"Our priority," she told me, "is to reopen the one on campus
because we have to. I think there is a bit of disagreement
about this on campus, but we have to make our priority to

provide for students rather than for the community as a whole."

Her emphasis on direct student service and the centrality of academics, evident in much that she had already said, was underscored as she began to talk more broadly about recent personnel cuts and the reasons for her decisions:

> You know, in the course of these changes, we've had some problems. One of the things that I do feel strongly about this...that when we're making cuts, it's important to keep as much as possible of the academic program and the direct student services intact. I have made the cuts over the last three years when we've had to...at the administrative level. So, we have lost, I think, six administrative positions since I've come here. And whether that has meant more work for the remaining administrators and in some cases more work that simply has to be carried out by the professional staff and faculty....But I think that's been a positive move because I think that it's made it clear that the priority here is the integrity of the academic program....Historically, there's a sense of <u>pride</u> at Lakeview about the quality of the academic programs that the college offers...there's a sense of involvement in the intellectual and academic life. And I think that by trying to avoid letting the losses and the cuts occur...across the board and really trying to maintain the strength of our academic programs, that has really helped people maintain a sense of pride and commitment to what we do at academic institutions.

A bit later, June discussed in greater detail the lay-offs of seventeen staff members. As she described the

events that led up to the lay-offs, a picture of a carefully managed process unfolded.

It had become clear from budget projections in December that lay-offs would have to occur. June was advised by the Board of Trustees to develop "a clear statement of principles" to guide any lay-off decisions. She described the way in which she approached the task:

> So I did that and I worked on it hard around Christmas time and gave people an opportunity, again, to have input into that. I sent out several drafts within the college, met with different groups, and out of that came the reorganization to eliminate the one dean position. That was how we--that we were going to move from four to three deans. That was one part of it. But also there was a section on how...we would use reserves. Because we do have some institutional reserves, and there's always the question when you get into lay-offs of, "How come you've got reserves and you're laying off...?" So we developed a clear policy about...how much reserves we had, how much were needed for continuing operations of DCE [continuing education]..., and the cash reserves to balance our operating budget in the next couple of years, how much...needed to be held as a kind of quasi-endowment by the Board. And it's all worked out in that document.

The policy, which was subsequently approved by the college's Board of Trustees, also addressed the question of lay-offs:

> I've always tried to maintain that kind of very open communication with my Board, particularly my Board chair....Anytime there's been anything at all that could be construed as a potential problem

in the institution, that would become public or
something that would be a controversy, I've always
informed my Board chair that something is brewing
and...how we could handle it....And the Board has
really stayed out of administration....But I do
think it's very important to keep them informed in
things, so they don't read in the newspaper for
the first time that something is happening at
Lakeview or hear it on the radio....A community
like this is very different from a large city.
It's very, very critical to do that because things
are always out in the newspaper that happen
internally--both good and bad.

It's not clear from June's discussion of the lay-offs

exactly when an actual lay-off plan was devised, but it was

the deans, she stated, who had the most input into it.

(Since one of them was laid off, it's hard to imagine that

they, together, devised the plan, but June was silent on the

specifics of how the elimination of that particular deanship

came about.) The plan itself called for college

restructuring. Student services, as a dean's area, was

eliminated completely. The continuing education area took

on admissions and financial aid. Continuing education

credit courses became the responsibility of the dean of

academic affairs, who previously oversaw all other credit

courses save the continuing education ones. And athletics

(and the person who occupied the director of athletics

position) were eliminated. June said her goals were to

maintain the strength of the academic programs and to be

able to eliminate one dean's position. With scarce

resources, she said, the college--as small as it is--did not need to have four deans. She felt it did need to "consolidate" and to "narrow." She talked about an original plan in which she had hoped to convert the dean of students to a director of resource development. "But," she said, "as it became clear that we were going to have to do lay-offs, what actually happened was that that was one of the positions that I eliminated."

Once it was clear, in the spring, that retrenchment was inevitable, June was prepared for the events that followed:

> I showed the Board the figures, I showed the unions, met with the unions, showed them the figures, showed the college deans the figures and said on the basis of this, I'm going to have to implement the policy for personnel cuts that the Board approved in February....

She described the lay-off process very briefly:

> Doing lay-offs is difficult for me because it was really the first time that I had gotten to the point that I had to deal with that. I met with people individually, explained the situation to them, gave them their notices....

The next day, she called an all-college meeting. She had prepared, and distributed at the meeting, "a written analysis...on the rationale and what...happened, which positions and why, and so forth." The analysis was also made available to the press.

Despite her concern that the "good will" that existed would erode, she said she felt a very different response. She described a sense of camaraderie and pulling together during difficult times. People, she said, were "frustrated" and "disappointed" about cuts that had to be made. But their frustrations were directed externally rather than at college personnel. Staff cuts and subsequent reorganization were seen in the context of other cutbacks (i.e., equipment, services, and the imposition of higher student fees). She attributed some of her own activism to a sense that everyone was pulling together to deal with a situation that was hurting the entire institution:

> And I've been very active and...very
> outspoken....Last fall, during the [funding]
> debate, we really were the leaders in this whole
> part of the state....And I personally was really
> the leader of the...campaign in [this] county.
> And many, many people from the college, both
> students and staff, became really involved in that
> campaign, and we did a lot of...volunteer work,
> and we did a lot of mailings and--I mean within
> limits, you know,...we had to be somewhat
> careful--but I did a lot of speaking and...press
> conferences. And we did a lot of inciting, and I
> think that was actually a very positive thing for
> the institution. The people really rallied around
> that and felt that they were doing something
> constructive to deal with their frustrations....
>
> I think there's a real pride in the institution
> that certainly predates me....So I...think, in
> some ways, I've had somewhat of an easy time and I
> have not been--my office and my immediate

administration have not been a target for
disenchantment or for frustration. I mean,
rather, what one thing I would say has been
difficult for me is that people want me to be
really--they see me as a person who rallies, who
works with others to be sure that we protect the
interests of the college and fight all these
political issues.

Discussion about her role in fighting for the college

seemed to lead June into talking about her disappointment in

the way her role as president was being shaped by political

realities. She talked about the "fighting" being

exhausting. She also expressed her frustration over the

balance in her responsibilities as president and talked

about the role of president as she expected it:

For me, I would say that my biggest disappointment
as the president is that I am spending much more
time on political lobbying and simply on these
kinds of budget issues than I had ever
anticipated. I expected to do some of that,
obviously, but it has been a much, much bigger
part of the job and I would very much like to get
to the point in my career that I could really deal
with the kinds of issues that I see a president
providing--internal leadership for innovation and
for change. And, you know, I think some of that
is happening here, but some of it has not really
occurred because of the preoccupation with these
survival issues.

Interestingly, though, she commented about the way that

the desperate fiscal situation forced a careful look at how

the college was operating. The organizational changes, she

asserted, were related to budget considerations but were

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steps that needed to be taken for a more sensible, coherent approach to students. Most of the issues, she said, "were around" when the strategic plan was developed. Continuing education, for example, had no connection to the academic program offered during the day. "The dean of continuing education," she told me, "was hiring whomever he wanted and did everything almost like an independent college." The program faculty, she noted, had no involvement in what was being taught or who taught it. She ultimately gave over the responsibility for evening course planning and staffing to the assistant deans who were already coordinating curricula for daytime classes. "That change had to take place quite regardless of whether there was any difficulty with budgets or not," she asserted, "I mean, from an academic point of view, that had to change."

Some Additional Challenges

June described two other efforts that seemed particularly important to her. They both related to new perspectives she hoped would take hold and begin to characterize the way that college staff did business.

The first had to do with affirmative action. In order to strengthen multiculturalism at the college, she hired a Latino woman to recruit minority students, appointed a

"senior person" to an affirmative action position, and
initiated staff development activities related to diversity.
She described a nervousness on campus that she "was going to
only hire women, get rid of all the men, and not care
about...people's qualifications, but just about quotas and
so forth." Her own gender, she felt, generated some of the
apprehension. The "undercurrent," as she described it,
seemed to dissipate when she revamped a college search and
selection process, emphasizing the importance of
qualifications in hiring decisions. She feels now that her
actual hiring practices, themselves, have reassured many.
The extent of cultural diversity on campus, however, remains
a problem in her mind. Recruitment of a more diverse
student body has been fairly successful. Recruitment of
faculty and staff representing a mix of backgrounds and
cultures has not.

She tried, as well, to bring about changes in the way
administrators functioned as managers, but called her
efforts a "qualified success." In describing a year-long
grant-funded management training program, she emphasized the
things that she had learned from it more than what the
participants themselves gained. Those that enjoyed it and
seemed to learn from it, she judged, were people who were
already open to change. About others, she said:

I don't know how you get a group of people--unless
they choose to do that themselves--to make
meaningful changes....The thought of working with
managers the same way [that one evaluates and
works with faculty] is very threatening.

She struggled with the minimal institutional impact of

sending a few people away for training who then lack the

capacity to bring what they've learned to bear on a larger

group within the college. At the same time she acknowledged

the uneven impact of in-house training, and said, "I'm not

sure I'd do it again." Clearly, however, a successful

outcome of the training was the simple fact that people

liked it--that they "felt good to get together." Next year,

she said, they would do college-wide diversity training,

involving students, staff, and faculty in various

components. She spoke enthusiastically about the team of

outside consultants she had retained. Then she said:

    But I have to say, I really have some doubts
    whether it's going to be a success because we're
    going to get into the same kind of resistance.
    And there seems to be more of a sense of, well,
    someone comes in from the outside and talks to us
    and with us about affirmative action or diversity
    or about management. That means they're trying to
    tell us....It's difficult because you don't want
    those things to turn into a negative
    experience....[But] I don't think because of the
    skepticism or resistance of one or two people
    that, you know, you should avoid things that could
    be constructive.

Listening to her, one feels a sense of an unresolved struggle: how to get people to come on board in areas that cannot be mandated; how to change attitudes.

New Approaches

The college's recent external funding initiatives were the final areas on which June focused. Somehow, no matter what, the college's fiscal woes entered into the discussion of recent changes at the institution. But this effort, as with others, reflected a direction June felt the institution needed to take anyway. In fact, the strategic plan had articulated as a goal decreasing the college's reliance on the state budget and increasing alternative sources of funding.

She emphasized her work with the foundation. Much had happened within the last year, and she enumerated the kinds of activities through which the foundation was taking on more and more college support:

> We broadened the membership and in addition...we
> started a corporate campaign, we started Friends
> of L.C.C. [and] some alumni activities
> and...fundraising....The foundation last week just
> voted to hire, out of their money, not the
> college's, a fund-raiser for the foundation and
> for the alumni association, starting this summer.
> And to hire secretarial support....They just
> approved their...spending plan for the college for
> next year, and it more than doubled their level of

annual support to the institution, including
creating a new scholarship program, taking on the
staffing cost for this coordinator for the
foundation and alumni--a fund-raiser/coordinator--
and funding the cost of a site study for a second
building. I mean, they've really taken on some
new major initiatives that they support. So,
that's kind of exciting. Their funding is now to
about a hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars
for...next year, which is a lot more than they
have done in the past.

She talked too about a new way of structuring grant-

writing within the college. She had plans to hire a part-

time grant writer, put that person within the academic

dean's area to "really try to have that person as a resource

to...people who have ideas...rather than have it just the

office where all the ideas come from." Not a model that

anyone else had described or talked about having given

thought to. June seemed, once again, to be putting academic

affairs at the center of the institution, with other areas

organized such that they supported the academic enterprise

rather than representing separate but equal components of

the college. As she talked about her reason for the

nontraditional placement of the grants function, she said:

"That's what people feel. What they need is somebody to

help them...."

It was not a surprise, then, when she concluded by

talking about the nontraditional way in which she had

structured Lakeview's Learning Center. Usually an area

where tutoring and academic advisement were accomplished, June's Learning Center was recreated on a different model. It is led by the assistant academic dean, who holds a doctorate in counseling and has, like June, blurred the traditional distinctions between academic affairs and student services. In Lakeview's Learning Center, counselors and tutors work side by side to support and encourage students' efforts.

It struck me that we had ended almost where we had begun. Almost two hours before, June had articulated her desire to move her previous community college out of the "boxes" that separated academics from student services. She had made a case for greater integration of the student experience. It was, she had said, the reason she wanted to be a president. And it seemed to me that Lakeview was, in many ways, a laboratory for her particular vision of a restructured college environment.

Maria

Cornwall City College had a distinctive feel to it that served as a valuable introduction to it and to its president. It's a large urban campus, on the mass transit line, with both bus and subway stops right on the campus. Much about the college feels more "worldly" than the more

rural, and even suburban, campuses I had visited: automated

teller machines, a bookstore that carried a variety of

grocery and personal items, bilingual directional signs.

Locating the president's office was easy. The security

guard who directed me to register at the reception desk

provided me with clear and, one felt, heavily practiced

directions to the top floor of one of the six interconnected

buildings that comprised the campus. The area to which I

was directed felt like an executive suite. The carpeting,

seating, and tone of the complex were very different from

the other areas I had wandered through enroute to my

destination. They had been fairly plain classroom and

office areas, bustling with students and faculty. Up on the

third floor, voices were quieter, people dressed more

formally.

I was offered a cup of coffee and asked to wait for

Maria; she was still tied up with a previous meeting. While

waiting, I chatted with her administrative assistant, who

reflected on the fact that Maria and I were finally to get

together. Our appointment had been rescheduled three times.

Days, times, and locations had been changed to accommodate

Maria's rapidly changing plans. It appears that they were

still changing, as several other people went in and out of

her office while I waited. Finally, she emerged. An

immediate sense of vitality accompanies Maria. She is
small, redheaded, and, on the occasion of our interview,
wore a stylish red dress and very high heels. Her
appearance seemed to match her rapid speech and energetic
posture. Without saying anything, I got the feeling she was
thinking, "Now, let's get on with it. I've got many
important things to do today." Once inside her office, she
was both brisk and hospitable. She offered me another cup
of coffee and invited me to be comfortable in an area of the
office that accommodated a couch, a coffee table and
occasional chairs: an informal grouping which seemed to
encourage conversation.

Moving Up

We started with her career progression that led,
eventually, to a move a thousand miles from her previous job
to the presidency of Cornwall City College in Massachusetts.
Maria had been a faculty member at a large community college
in Florida when she took the opportunity to apply for an
American Council on Education administrative fellowship.
Through the fellowship, she served for a year as assistant
to the president of her own institution. She concentrated
on governmental relations, a focus that was new to the
institution and, it seemed, new to the Florida community

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college system at that time. The intense lobbying that she did set a model which others followed quite quickly. "[We] started," she said, "then within two years, I was training others within other institutions to do it." She sees a definite connection between teaching and lobbying and described the way that her teaching career prepared her for the new and highly political role she took on:

> ....In order to be a good teacher, not only do you have to understand your subject matter, but you have to establish credibility with your students. And you have to demonstrate that you have a certain amount of clout, deliver things to them and for them, and then you have to make them feel that you really and truly like them. And I found that the same things are true for lobbying. You need credibility, you need clout, and you need charisma, and you're still teaching. And so, it was a different classroom setting. Now it was the legislature and it was Congress and it was all kinds of people, but it was still the same type of relationship--something that I really knew well, that I believed in and therefore, I was able to speak with a certain amount of credibility about it....

Her language conveyed know-how and comfort with the political process, as she continued:

> It was also cooperation...because some people could deliver some legislators and others could deliver others, and together we could deliver for the system....

The visibility she gained for the college and her political acumen seemed to be important factors in her

designation as vice president of public affairs a year
later. After six years in that position, a "campus crisis"
created a need to fill the position of vice president for
education quickly and with an inside person. And so Maria,
who had been dealing with external affairs, the press and
the legislature, found herself in charge of all of the
internal academic and student affairs of the college at the
invitation of a new college president. As the vice
president for education, Maria presided over internal
planning and operations for the institution's five campuses,
including a seventeen million dollar financial aid program
and college-wide computer support. She supervised district
deans for academic and student affairs as well as campus-
based deans for each of the areas. The words she used to
describe her role mirrored the excitement in her voice as
she talked about those years: "It was great, it was
fascinating...it was fun, it really was. A lot of fun; it
was good to be back to the academic issues and students...."

Maria as President

Being president seemed much more important to Maria's
story than becoming president. She shifted quickly into her
role as president at Cornwall City College, skipping over
the details that had transported her to Massachusetts for

that job. As the second president of a large urban college,
she followed the founding president, who had served for over
20 years. She talked about the need for the president to
shift focus from internal affairs to external affairs and
vice versa; and indeed, throughout our time together, <u>she</u>
went back and forth between these two arenas with scarcely a
missed beat.

Maria spoke first, and most passionately, about the
needs of students and the ways that a college should be
structured for them. Apparently frustrated with the
division between day and evening courses and services that
is unique to Massachusetts, she spoke of some of the changes
she was trying to effect on her campus by way of providing
equal access and quality to evening "continuing education"
students:

> To me, okay, students select a time that he or she
> needs to go to college, but the <u>institution</u> is
> one, and the same things are offered to that
> student whether it's daytime or evening.
> Otherwise, one of them is going to get
> shortchanged, and so that whole concept means that
> we need to assess our students, it means we have
> to give them advisement, it means we have to give
> the correct placements, it means we have to have
> developmental education, it means the library has
> to be open at certain hours, it means that there
> has got to be somebody at the advisement office
> when they need help, financial aid. And it means
> that we need to think about this college in a

different way, with the same amount of money, even less. But the students deserve the service.

What the students deserve and how the college must respond were themes that continued as Maria discussed, with great intensity, the need to make placement into remedial courses mandatory for certain students:

> If there are certain courses that are leading toward degrees, in the English and the math, then we tell them, "Hey, before you do that, you've got to get tested."....I don't find the students resistant to anything as long as they really know that you're there to make it happen for them. If they understand that this is part of what can help them to succeed, they'll participate. They'll be glad to see it happen. If they think that what you're doing is creating an impediment, then they will resist and then they'll fight.

She viewed placement from the teacher's vantage point, starting with her own experience in the community college classroom:

> I can remember the days when I was teaching English Comp., and I had five or six different levels of English understanding in that classroom...and there was absolutely [breaks off]....What do you teach? Do you teach what you're supposed to teach in this course? Where half of your class is not going to pass because they don't even know what you're talking about. Or do you teach for the highly qualified student who is ready to go on to the next level without any problem?....What do you do? So either you become very rigid...and do what you're supposed to do, and then half of your class fails, and you feel miserable as a teacher, and as a student, you feel even worse. Or you...water down your course and teach for those that can't, and then the

others get so bored--they begin to feel that
you're really not there to teach a college
course--that you lose them.

And then, very much as a president speaking to the

faculty:

If, with assessment, we can separate, we can
say..., "These are the students who are ready for
you, for this course. These students aren't ready
for this course. They need to get ready for it.
Not that they can't do it; it's just that they
haven't had the basics that they need in order to
move into yours. We'll keep them here. We'll do
this with them, and then they'll be ready for you
next year. And you have a better chance of
success as a faculty member, a feeling of
satisfaction....More will stay with you, and more
will be coming out of that developmental
program...that can then be ready for what you have
to deliver."...

Planning and Organizing

Maria inherited what she calls a "fantastic

institution." But she still saw a need to move it into the

future. It underutilized technology, particularly

computers, and had remained somewhat insular. She put her

mind to raising awareness about stronger connections to the

external environment, particularly the surrounding

community. "They needed to think about the future," she

remarked. "I was not so interested in the past, and the

present is gone before we finish talking about it. It was

the future that we needed to talk about."

She chose not to do the "talking" by herself. Maria
brought in an external consultant to assess internal
perceptions: what faculty and staff felt the college
represented and what they wanted to see it do in the future.
The results, she said, were "confusing." Explaining one
particular issue she unearthed through this process, she
commented:

> Everyone operated in isolation. Students did
> student things over there, and Academic Affairs
> did their thing over here, and DCE did their thing
> over here, and when I asked the questions about
> enrollment, I got three different answers. And I
> said, "This is no way to do this." Really, I
> mean, I need...with all three of you doing
> enrollment, all three answers have to be the same.
> If all three of you are doing student things, it
> has to be the same response. It can't be
> everybody on your own doing whatever they want to,
> and nobody sharing information.

The administrative staff went on a retreat to discuss
the future, survey results in hand. The emphasis, she
stressed, was on "what needs to be done." The more
political questions of who would carry out particular tasks
and how the organization would be reshaped to accomplish
them were left to later.

The aftermath, she said, was "bloody." She asked her
administrative team to devise a plan for the college that
would allow them to address specific problems and move ahead
on new directions they had identified. Two plans were laid

before her: one that called for new hires for newly-created roles, and one that restructured roles and responsibilities of those currently employed. The "people-intensive one," as Maria characterized it, was too expensive; so reorganization was chosen.

She said little about the reorganization itself--just that it took from August to December to "work [their] way through it," that it was approved by the Board in December, and that it was in place by January.

Reorganization provided her with the opportunity to rewrite the college's long-range plan, which had been submitted to the Massachusetts Board of Regents just the previous year. Listening to Maria describe the plan reminded me of June, who had begun her presidency by involving her institution in a similar process. Maria spoke of a committee process, involving faculty union representation, department chairs, classified staff members, and administrators. The committee had "parameters"; she wanted them to deal with particular issues. Her initial discussion emphasized pragmatism:

> These are the things that we have done in the
> past, that we are very good at. These are the
> needs of the community that are out there. These
> are the dollars. Reality. Now, when we look at
> these three things, where do we go from here?

Where do we put our strengths? What do we build
on, and how do we do it?

Maria circled back much later in our discussion to talk
about the planning process again. In talking about the
importance of responding to the community, she used nursing,
a very costly program, as an example. She explained that
although other colleges were closing their nursing programs,
she was expanding hers. About this decision, she said:

> Why would we close those doors? It would not be
> responsible behavior, even though it is costly.
> Now if this is what we need to do, let's not worry
> about the money. Let's find out how we get the
> money later. But let's first establish what it is
> that is needed, and then let's try to approach it
> so we can deliver that. I always find if you tell
> people, "worry about the money," they don't think.
> They just worry about the money. But if you tell
> them "think," and then afterwards, when we know
> what the ideal is, then we can talk about some
> realities, and we can decide, okay, maybe we can
> only do this piecemeal, or maybe there is a source
> of money we hadn't thought about that we need to
> explore. But, otherwise, you only get the small
> thinking. And, I know what I can afford. I want
> to know if I had it all, what could I do? And
> that was the thinking that predominated. Not what
> can we afford.

The college's new long-range plan was the subject of
considerable debate among the faculty. After six months in
development, the plan was brought before the college
community, including the Trustees, in a one-day all-college
meeting. Small groups met to critique and to offer
improvements. The plan, Maria explained, became a

"charter." "If we achieved this," she said, "it was very good. If we didn't achieve it, it was still all right because you have to have something you are moving towards....And everybody feels ownership." She spoke of the importance of creating and sustaining a "living document,...not just [one] gathering dust on the library shelf."

New Initiatives: Connections and Partnerships

> They had ideas; they just didn't think there would be anyone receptive to them....I said, "Don't burden me with history. I don't want to know where we <u>have</u> been. I want to know what we <u>want</u> to be."

Maria speaks proudly and enthusiastically about several ideas that emerged from subsequent faculty and staff discussions. One new initiative involves interactive fiber optics connections between her college and various area high schools. The college has begun to teach courses to high school students through video linkages. "Right now there are only three high schools connected, but by next year we could have as many as sixteen or seventeen," she declared. She stressed something else:

> We work with the high schools and we ask them what they need in order to reinforce their curriculum....And the teachers for these courses are both ours as well as the high school's. So we

both share in the teaching, and we're doing it as equals.

Connections with the world outside the college came up again and again, as she stressed, "[Now] we're a community college in the kind of urban conditions we're in....Looks pretty good!"

And, with considerable animation, she tried to convey what appeared to be, more than anything else, her dream about her college. It expresses the interrelationship that she wanted college and community residents to feel:

> We've never participated in the Cornwall City Community Parade. I mean, it sounds stupid, right? The most important day for the people of Cornwall City is the Cornwall City parade. And, here's the college, which is one of the major employers....Everybody in this town has to come through this college, because they get off [the train]. And we were not part of this community. And, we march in the parade [now], and the pride of the people of Cornwall City when they see us is rewarding enough. That the college is there; it's their college, and they're there.

And then she added, "Things like that, they seem like foolish little things, but they're so important....We're building relations." As if to underscore the theme, she pointed with pride to a college foundation, just three years old, supported by community business leaders, which has raised over a million dollars.

How to get people within the college "on board" in new and exciting ways seems to present challenges which Maria,

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as president, saw as hers to meet. As she talked about her role in encouraging new ideas, she remarked, "You create the excitement of what's happening, and there's always someone who's always willing to try. And that person is usually a leader--faculty leader, professional staff person who's a leader....With people that are creative, the only thing you have to do is provide them with the possibilities...." How does she know who might be interested in what? By keeping her ear to the ground, she told me, and paying attention. While acknowledging that she hears less about what's on people's minds than she used to as a faculty member, she said she makes a conscious attempt to involve herself in meetings and informal exchanges that keep her involved with people throughout the organization.

New Leadership

As Maria talked about her desire to propel people to independent action, she contrasted herself with the previous president. Faculty, she said, were angry that they were expected to participate in a different way than they had in the past. She regarded their anger as a reluctance to think for themselves, to take responsibility:

> I guess it was the shock,...the change of
> management style. The president here had been the

founding president....He was a father image, and
he operated like that. And I explained to
everybody that I had already had five children,
and that was all the mothering that I was going to
be able, <u>willing</u> to do. That we were all here as
professionals and in partnership....

In talking about her way of stimulating the kind of

involvement she wants, she said:

I've asked them to assume responsibility. You
know, you just can't simply say, "Well, I'm not
responsible for this" or "I can forget about it."
No, no, no, no. Wait a second, <u>you</u> are
responsible. You have the right, and therefore
you have the responsibility, and it's a learning
process. When the father image is not there to
take care of you, and you have to come up with
suggestions and recommendations and
implementation--as long as you know that you're
supported, because everybody has bought into this
idea--you go ahead and do it....You have to
understand the culture of the institution and know
how much you can push them and how much you have
to step back. It's almost like a seesaw, or
should I say two steps forward and one backwards
sometimes....Because otherwise, you lead no one.

And finally, she spoke fairly explicitly of a

leadership "model" and of her application of it:

Sometimes you step back completely and allow the
leadership to come from another area, because
they're the ones that can provide it at that
particular moment....[You must] be very sure of
yourself, be very secure with who you are and what
you are. Like that, you're not defensive about
your position. You don't mind the competition.
As a matter of fact, you want to because the
better the minds that surround you, the better
your job will be. And, you know, the stronger
your people are, the better the whole place will

be....I think I have pretty strong leaders here,
and I encourage them....

Our interview ended rather abruptly, in about half the
time that had been prearranged. Maria had another
appointment--a group of people who, it seemed, had already
been kept waiting a considerable length of time, judging by
the conversations with her assistant that had twice
interrupted our time together. In response to my request to
continue at another time, she was gracious in asking her
assistant to arrange for another one-hour appointment. The
second appointment proved a frustrating experience, I think,
for both of us. Due to other appointments, Maria was over
an hour late. When she declared herself ready to speak with
me, she asked that I ride with her to an appointment at a
nearby location, while her assistant drove. We could, she
said, talk while we rode, and I could take notes in lieu of
tape recording our conversation. The drive lasted
approximately fifteen minutes, during which we began a
discussion of the college's new general education
curriculum, a faculty accomplishment about which she was
clearly pleased. Weaving in and out of downtown traffic to
make an appointment for which she was apparently already
late proved a considerable distraction! Although Maria had
attempted to oblige my request for a more extended

interview, it seemed that we were past the point where the interview could provide sufficient depth or thoughtfulness. Hurrying from the car at her destination, she suggested a continuation another time--perhaps at her home, in a more relaxed setting. I indicated that I'd assess the material she'd already provided and recontact her if I felt a need to meet again.

Actually, I didn't. Much information had already been gathered during our time together. And the likelihood of arranging for a profitable and uninterrupted continuation seemed slim. I decided to let the interview stand as it was.

CHAPTER V
FINDINGS

Taylor and Bogden (1984) warn the researcher not to form concepts before exploring what the data reveal. In Chapter Four we met each woman and heard her tell her own story in her own way. This chapter brings together those stories, exploring the patterns that emerge. Themes and ideas from the Feminine Leadership literature are "overlaid" on the discussion of these women as leaders to explore the extent to which the concept of Feminine Leadership actually reflects the leadership concerns, values and behaviors of these four women presidents.

Before Becoming President

It was interesting to note where each of these women began her story. I asked them to tell me how they came to be a college president, and they chose very different starting points. Three of them went quite far back in time, and those narratives revealed important insights into who they were as they approached the leadership positions they now hold.

Joan had been a nun. She was thoughtful about the value of the sisterhood and certain that it helped her gain

confidence in her ability to lead. She was clear about the fact that women were provided opportunities through the religious order that might not have been there in secular life. Her next position, as a vice president at a state college, provided her with experience and preparation for the presidency. She was casual and mildly sarcastic about the hierarchy within the church; and that same off-hand style characterized the way she later talked about events and people at the college.

Rachael's description of her early beginnings stressed preparation for the job as well. She gives us a history that shows her to be a "scrapper" right from the beginning. A determination to seize, and even create, opportunities comes through her accounts of her early years at Jessup Community College. Her years as a businesswoman prepared her to move into administration and finance; and her years as a teacher and then division chair prepared her for high level academic leadership. She pursued a doctorate because she knew that she needed it to move into positions of more authority and responsibility. The same intensity of purpose flows throughout the interview: Prepare and then do it.

June talked about preparation in a few different ways. Like Rachael, she spoke of the credentials and work experience she accumulated which led her to increasingly

more responsible positions. She spoke about lessons she had learned along the way (i.e., her story about being laid off gave her some insights about how she would never conduct herself). And she also described what she had learned in her academic dean's position that gave her a clear vision of what she would want to do as a president. In fact, we hear her describing at the end of the interview many of the things she had thought about as she considered how colleges should operate.

Although Maria did not spend much time talking about her pre-presidential period, she did emphasize the teaching and lobbying experience she gained. Public relations and governmental relations were important in her early career; and at the time of our interview, they emerged as areas that continue to define and direct her courses of action.

We see in all four of these women a strong sense of confidence that characterized each from early in the career progressions they described. Joan, the only one who raised the subject of gender early in the interview, did so to make a point about where her confidence comes from. She attributes her early self-assurance to the religious order, in which it was clear that women could achieve and lead. Rachael's early stories are filled with remarks that display her eagerness to move on to the jobs she knew herself

capable of ("Gee, I could do that job"; "I was ready ten years ago, but the college didn't know it"; "I know I could do that one blindfolded....I want something different.") June wanted higher level positions so that she could have a greater level of influence. And Maria tells a story of moving from one new job to another--all very different from one another--without any apparent concern about her prior knowledge of each new role. She seems confident that because she has learned new roles before, she will again.

Despite their high confidence levels and, in a few cases, serious academic preparation undertaken to facilitate their advancement, these women all rose through the ranks in fairly traditional manners. They all had substantial higher education experience, three of them within community colleges. One rose through the ranks of her own institution: from faculty member, to division head, to dean, to president. One came from another community college within the same system; she had been the academic dean there, and previously had been a department chair and a faculty member for a number of years at other colleges. The third had come from a community college outside the state, where she had served as a faculty member, assistant to the president, and a vice president. Only Joan had come from another segment of higher education. After rising through

the ranks to the presidency of a Catholic college, she accepted a "lesser" position--a vice presidency--to enter the public higher education arena. She then moved from that four-year state college to assume the community college presidency she now holds.

If we see any connection to the Feminine Leadership literature in these women's discussions of their years before their presidencies, it is in the way in which three of the four told these stories. For June, Rachael, and Joan, the stories were personal ones. The literature emphasizes the personal ways that women relate to their work and their co-workers. It tells us that women notice and prioritize relationships. Indeed, June, Joan, and Rachael did spend a great deal of time talking about their connections with people and the impact of those connections on them. Joan talked a lot about her life as a nun, her decision to leave the Order, and the impact of that decision on her thinking about the future. She already was a college president. She could have stayed on, in or out of the Order. Her decision to move on was based upon a serious consideration of what it would have meant to the religious community to have a lay president. She feared that the resentment of traditional Catholics would eventually erode her ability to lead effectively, and decided "it would be

better for the college for me to leave." Like the other women, she did not just relate a chronological narrative of her early years; it was filled with rich description, particularly of the priests with whom she worked, and with much humor and good-natured sarcasm.

Both June and Rachael related their "pre-presidential" stories in very personal terms as well. June began hers with her painful lay-off notice. She described the bailor at the door and the feeling that accompanied that very formal and impersonal termination. "...that experience has never left me," she said. "And, as an administrator, it really has influenced the way I deal with people in difficult situations." She talked about becoming "demoralized" with teaching when she never knew, from year to year, whether she'd be rehired, and then talked about the frustrations that, as an academic dean, led to her desire to be a president. The kinds of changes she wanted centered around child care, student financial aid, and how student appeals were handled. It was the "people" concerns that she was most focused on.

While Rachael's concerns were very different from June's, her story was equally, if not more, personal. She told lengthy stories about the early days, and she too related a personal incident that left a strong imprint on

her. Her story was about having been left out by a college that only made certain information available to a selected few. She, and many others, were not told of the opportunity to participate in the new University of Massachusetts field-based community college doctoral program. Only one person was offered the opportunity. She said she was "furious." "I'll never forget that," she continued. "I thought it was unconscionable....But that was the thinking. It was very restricted thinking in those days. Maybe in some ways that's what helped me move...you know,...you found ways around things more than anything else." Her reflections on early incidents, like June's, flow throughout her stories of early years. So too do her feelings about the sense of camaraderie and pulling together that characterized her initial years at Jessup. Rachael spent over an hour talking about early years at the college and the relationships that were important to her. As she moved into the years she spent as dean of administration, she emphasized the mentoring relationship with the new president that was so important to her on that job as well as in preparing for the presidency.

What we see in these discussions of early years are four women with considerable confidence in themselves who prepared in serious ways to move up the administrative

ladder. But, aside from their fairly traditional career paths, their ways of going about it were as individual as they are. The themes and areas in which they were most interested at the outset of their careers have served, in many cases, as foreshadowing for the people they are and the values they continue to hold as college presidents.

Becoming President: Setting New Directions

Taking Over

Each of these women had strong reactions to the legacies left by the presidents that preceded them. Three of them might have been reading from the same script, so similar were their comments:

> The position here before I arrived was that people should only have information if they absolutely needed to know. (June)

> Other people, particularly faculty, were totally left out, not only of the decision-making process, but also of an understanding of how and why decisions were made. (June)

> The president here had been the founding president....He was a father image, and he operated like that. (Maria)

> When I came in we had a dean of administration who had been an army officer. He ran the place like it was the Third Infantry Division of the Second World War. (Joan)

Rachael's portrait of her predecessor stood out in contrast to the others. Where they described controlling, paternalistic, authoritarian leaders, she spoke of charisma, creativity, and political genius. Of particular note is the fact that George, whom Rachael followed into the presidency, was the college's second, not first, president. He chose her as dean of administration early in his presidency and mentored her throughout his tenure at the college. And clearly their goals and aspirations were more congruent than were any of the other "pairs." While the other women presidents talked about the need to change the directions of the past, Rachael described herself as "walking in George's footsteps." She did, however, make a point of distinguishing her personal style from his, commenting that people found it easier to talk with her than with him. She called herself "less threatening" and better able to "partner."

What these women seem to be expressing throughout is more collaborative, affiliative style than their predecessors. Remembering that none had been asked directly about her style--simply what it was like to come into the presidency of their particular colleges--it seems important that each made a point of distinguishing her style from that

of the previous administration. And, consistent with what
we are told about female leaders, each clearly saw herself
as more participatory and less autocratic.

New Directions

Building Communities

As these women talked about new directions for their
colleges, the word "community" came up over and over again.
But it meant different things at different times. Three of
the four talked very specifically, although differently,
about internal community-building, and all four raised
issues about linkages with the colleges' external
communities.

June focused clearly and emphatically on her dedication
to building a stronger internal community. She stressed her
use of the long-range planning process as a way for the
college community to rethink together what the college stood
for and where it was going. She intentionally mixed
faculty, administrators, support staff, board members, and
the business community in the process. And she utilized a
combination of small working committees and large all-
college forums for discussion and debate. In the end, the
college voted the new directions and goal statements for the

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institution. "It [the process] worked well," she said, "in creating...a kind of bonding between me and the institution."

June described similar processes for dealing with the budget crisis (discussed more fully later) and for reaching decisions or imparting information on any issue that she felt would concern the wider college community. She talked about her propensity to use all-college meetings as something that works well for her, allowing for face-to-face communication, direct interaction, and a "coming together."

Her restructuring of her "executive council" was a way of gaining more and broader input at the senior management level. While the council was once composed of a handful of senior deans, she restructured it to include leaders of the college's several academic divisions and departments. She wanted, she contended, broader involvement, particularly from those who spoke for the areas that provided direct service to students. She also wanted to link those areas together for better communication with and on behalf of students.

Joan too talked about breaking down old "inner circles" that had controlled information and access to resources. As she described her formation and implementation of a budget committee process, she emphasized the all-college

involvement she was seeking. She saw the broad
participation as accomplishing several key things. First
and foremost, it was a way of opening up information and
communication channels and providing faculty with a direct
voice in the budget-making process. Second, she saw it as a
process through which she could dispel myths and rumors,
while educating the whole college community about real and
non-negotiable costs. And third, it provides her with
direct and early access to the thinking of faculty and
others fairly far down the organizational ladder. Like
June, she commented on the reaction of the "older" guard:
those who had previously been privileged with information
and input, and who had decided themselves how to pass along
that information. Both presidents seemed to feel that it
was worth ruffling feathers of the once-privileged to
establish more direct communication channels with others in
the organization.

Maria's discussion of the internal college community
was slightly different in flavor from the others. Rather
than talking about community-building, she focused on the
need for the entire college community to participate in
redefining the college's mission and deciding how to
operationalize it. There was no talk of community for the
sake of community, but rather the responsibility of the

community in moving the college toward its goals. Her reorganization was more closely related to getting the job done efficiently and effectively than to empowering particular groups or flattening the organizational hierarchy. Like June, she too paid particular attention to linking discrete areas in order to speak with one coherent voice to students and others. Both women seemed intent on breaking down separate "fiefdoms" and creating stronger internal connections. And Rachael, who did not talk specifically about community did, on several occasions, emphasize interpersonal relationships among college staff, telling stories that demonstrated how negative relationships could, and did, undermine the success of important initiatives. "Personalities" and "the dynamics of the group" were key factors, she suggested, that would make or break a project.

All of the women talked about the importance of creating stronger linkages to the community outside the college. In fact, their emphasis on serving the community in more collaborative, connected ways was one of the major themes that ran through these interviews. Consistent with the changing mission of the community college, more fully discussed in Chapter One, these presidents could not envision a community college that did not define itself in

terms of its surrounding business, social, socio-economic,
and cultural communities. Joan described her college's
relationship with the community as symbiotic; Maria spoke
proudly of the college staff marching in the annual city
parade and reaching out to the area's public schools; June
described the strong involvement of community members in
planning for the college as well as working with the college
to lobby for more funding; and Rachael emphasized
connections with the local business community and with new
immigrant populations that were coming to her institution in
increasing numbers.

In addition, three of them discussed in detail new
foundations, composed of local business leaders, that had
become increasingly important to their colleges' futures.
While clearly cognizant of the fact that college foundations
were a previously untapped route to additional revenue
sources, each of the women spoke of something else the
foundations provided: a link with business leaders in their
communities. In the old days, education was education, and
business was business. The lines between are now blurring
in interesting ways. Not only are these college leaders
looking to the corporate world for money; they are looking
as well for partnerships that provide direction for the
colleges and a greater level of service to the business and

social service communities. Although none of the women used the term "economic development," some of their specific examples reflected that particular aspect of their new visions. Both June and Maria talked about partnerships with hospitals, with Maria speaking in passionate terms about the obligation that her college had to expand an already expensive nursing program. She saw it as a clear mandate: The community needed more nurses and the college had the capacity to train them. June spoke with regret about a day care center her institution had established--and then had to close--in the downtown area of the college's largest community. She was hopeful that additional funds down the line would allow them to reopen, as the center provided much-needed service to the community. Both spoke about involving community leaders in the colleges' planning processes in order to make sure that their institutions were, and would continue to, respond to the needs of the local communities.

Establishing New Curriculum Priorities

In addition to speaking about their institutions as organizations, each of these women spent some time talking about their colleges as academic institutions. Their priorities were different, however. It was impossible to

determine whether the issues they raised were more

reflective of their own priorities as individuals or whether

they represent, by anyone else's standard, the most pressing

needs of the institutions they lead. Wherever the

priorities come from, it was interesting to note the ways in

which they described the approaches to effecting the changes

they sought.

Joan discussed technology and international education.

Her college, she felt, was in the dark ages with regard to

its use of up-to-date technology. Offices were not

automated, and faculty were slow to embrace technology in

the delivery of instruction. She spoke of introducing

technology not across the board, but in areas where the need

and interest seemed greatest. In speaking of faculty

participation, she used words and phrases such as

"encouragement," "incentives," and "...we've left it to

faculty to pick up on these things as they see themselves

fitting this technology." The other curriculum initiative

that she discussed, international education, did not appear

to be an easy sell either. She hired an outside person whom

she hoped would influence the faculty to internationalize

their curriculum. He was regarded as authoritarian, and

faculty resisted him. A second individual was more

successful; he worked <u>with</u> the faculty to develop programs

about which they eventually became enthusiastic. Joan
conveyed an overall sense that change had to be managed
carefully. When she talked early on about change coming
"with a certain deliberateness," she foreshadowed what we
later heard in her remarks about the changes that had
occurred. She conveyed her sense that motivation had to
come from within staff members themselves. Seeds could be
planted "deliberately," as she put it, but they might take a
long time, and a fair amount of watering, to take root. And
she was clearly willing to wait out the process.

Rachael had less to say about academics at her college
than did the others. Her comments reflected on the need for
the college faculty to adapt to a changing student body.
The opening of the college's new urban campus had presented
dramatic changes. Faculty who had once taught blue collar
white students were confronted with Asians and Hispanics,
both in and out of the classrooms. She saw greater exposure
to other cultures through international exchanges as a way
to broaden horizons for faculty and make them more receptive
to and comfortable with a more diverse student body. She
too emphasized that change would take time, and added that
for some, change was unlikely.

Both June and Maria had a great deal to say about their
colleges as teaching and learning institutions. In fact,

both women addressed academic issues first in describing themselves as presidents. In many ways, June never left the topic. She began her "story" by describing herself as a teacher, defined herself as a president in terms of the college's academic goals, and tied her thoughts about reorganization and budget priorities to the needs of students. She emphasized academic quality and the need to provide for integrated services for students throughout her comments about her presidency.

Maria voiced clear and strong opinions about the academic directions of her college. She spoke in favor of assessment of all students and mandatory placement into remedial courses. She talked about the needs of both students and teachers in the classroom. More than others, she conveyed a feeling for what goes on in the classroom, what barriers students and faculty--and indeed the college-- face, and how she is working to provide for better student success. She spoke about curriculum revision, instructional technology and student advisement. There was no mistaking what she was president of.

The continuum, however, was apparent. College leadership, at least for these women, has many faces. The traditional "master scholar" image of a college president seems not to serve as a prototype for them. Wherever their

models come from, they clearly are as varied as the
individual women who now hold these presidencies.

Reflections of Feminine Leadership

The literature on Feminine Leadership focuses on the
ways that women leaders deal with people. They consult
broadly, they create task forces outside of traditional
hierarchies, they seek active participation, and they
themselves collaborate rather than dictate. Remembering
again that none of these women was asked to describe her
leadership style, it is interesting to note the emphasis
that Joan and June--and to a lesser extent, Maria--placed on
changing the campus culture to one that depends heavily on
widespread involvement and collaborative goal-setting and
decision-making. For Joan and June, new processes for
reaching budget decisions and the restructuring of
traditional "inner circles" seemed particularly important.
These processes seem to define what's new and important
about them as leaders. Maria wants to involve everybody
because she views widespread participation as essential to
making things work. Their application of these principles
are not always uncomplicated, however. Joan's description
of her relationship with the budget committee tells us that
it is not always easy to manage a collaborative process when

you, as president, have definite predilections and preferences. She finds ways to influence the committee at the outset of the process, during it, and at the end, when she, in fact, can decide against the committee's recommendations. She also has struggled with a way to respond to the traditional hierarchy--the deans--while empowering faculty. We see her _trying_ to share power--or at least, trying to convey a strong impression that she is sharing it--while retaining her traditional authority as the final decision-maker. The balancing act that she performs is underscored in her separate comments about wanting college staff members who usually make their own decisions about which grants to write, to write a particular one that she wanted. "I try to make it plain when...I say, 'I think your group will really want to work on this.' I guess I try to signal if I really feel strongly...." We hear the same leadership dilemma voiced as Joan talks about curriculum initiatives: how to move things in particular directions without mandating. Choosing staff who work well with faculty, encouraging particular directions, planting "seeds" are all strategies that Joan employs to build support for her visions. One gets the strong impression that collaborative leadership is difficult when the leader really

does have strong feelings and is searching for ways to make them important agenda items for the group.

June conveys less ambivalence about sharing power in goal-setting and resource allocation at her college. But she has kept these two processes separate. She involved the entire college community, including trustees and students, in setting new college priorities. For budget decisions, she has retained an executive council model, but has expanded the group to be more inclusive. It therefore seems less complicated for her to juggle her own priorities, those of her deans, and faculty and staff priorities. They interact together, in a representative forum, to hash our budget issues. Her regular practice of calling all-college meetings seems to set a tone that the president is available for and open to discussion of any issue or topic. The forum serves her well during times of controversy, particularly since it is not something put in place just for that purpose.

Although Maria talks about a level of participation that is far greater than what used to exist, she conveys much more of a sense of getting faculty "on board" than of establishing mechanisms through which they actually shape directions and budget decisions. She does, however, feel strongly about having broad involvement in the planning of

new initiatives; she is keenly aware that the college must be moving as a coherent unit rather than as fragmented pieces with different goals and directions. Political consciousness--always close to the surface with Maria--is reflected in her references to "union faculty," even as she talks about the formation of a group for academic planning.

Building stronger linkages with external communities is not a hallmark of Feminine Leadership, per se. As we have seen in the general literature on leadership for the future, corporate and educational entities will need to create and sustain new partnerships to survive in a more competitive market. It is seen as good business now to share resources and avoid unnecessary duplication of services. These women are presidents of community colleges. It has always been the mission of these colleges to serve the external community. I found it interesting to note, however, the specific words and examples they used to convey their dedication to this part of their mission. Joan did not just say her college was dedicated to serving the local community; she described the relationship as "symbiotic." To her, the college and the community are deeply entwined and interdependent. Maria gave examples of sustaining and even expanding an expensive nursing program because the community needs such care-givers; she also illustrated the

college's relationship with the community by citing the
school's recent involvement in the local parade. "We were
not a part of this community," she said of the past. "The
pride of the people...is rewarding....It's their college."
Once again, we hear the desire not just to serve the
community, but to become part of it. Rachael's desire to
give her faculty greater intercultural exposure so that they
can better understand and feel what new immigrant
populations on campus are experiencing is similar. These
women are expressing a closer and more emotional tie to the
community than simple community service. They are seeing
that service as relational and personal.

At least three of these women seem to be struggling
with models of leadership that call for broad involvement,
input and collaboration. They begin their discussions of
the previous "regimes" by describing autocratic hierarchies
in which information was held close and communication
restricted. Their attempts to change direction are clearly
intentional. They want to collaborate and "partner" both
within the college and without. But, as we have seen, their
applications of these principles, particularly in the realm
of decision-making, are uneven and convey varying levels of
"trust" of a collaborative leadership model.

Collaborative Leadership in the Face of Fiscal Crisis

Each of the women had distinctively different ways of
talking about the state budget crisis that had reduced each
college's state allocation by 40% over the previous four
years. There were, however, some common themes and patterns
that emerged in their discussions. Given Joan and June's
commitment to participatory decision-making processes, it
was particularly interesting to note the ways that these two
presidents dealt with difficult budget reduction decisions.

Both women had emphasized participatory management
earlier on. Joan had stressed the role of her budget
committee in establishing how money would be allocated each
year, and June had looked to the college community to
establish new institutional goals and priorities. Both
women later talked about the ways that they had made lay-off
decisions. Joan talked about having been "caught short."
$400,000 had to come from somewhere--and quickly. She
acknowledged that her decision to cut positions in the fall
of 1989 was a political one. Her Board, she felt, would
only raise student fees if the college would also do its
part by eliminating staff positions. It was a cost-sharing
approach, one that would be more palatable to the citizenry
than if funds were raised exclusively by charging students
more money. Clearly, the Board of Trustees, which had not

figured into her discussions of any other issues, played an
important role in this one. For the first time, she
conveyed the reality that she worked for them, and was bound
to implement a fiscal approach that they, in the end,
determined. When I asked about the role of the budget
committee, she indicated that they played no role in
deciding how and where cuts would be made. And, in fact,
faculty members, as union members, she said, would not
participate in discussions of lay-offs (it is unclear from
her discussion whether they were asked). Instead, Joan
sought advice from the deans, and with the Board's approval,
cut ten positions from the college's Women's Center, an
outreach and support program for women students.

June's discussion of lay-offs was more lengthy, but
also featured the role of the college trustees. It was
they, she said, who advised her before Christmas to develop
a clear statement of principles that would subsequently
serve as guidelines for lay-offs if they became necessary.
The "principles" were developed, with input from the college
community, and were approved by the Board in February. The
lay-off policy articulated in the document prioritized the
preservation of "academic quality" and "academic integrity."
By the following spring, when lay-offs actually did occur,
they were consistent with the principles that had been

previously articulated. The academic areas were kept whole,
and cuts came in administrative positions that related to
student services and athletics. June's presentation of the
lay-offs to the college staff and the press came
simultaneously and followed the Board of Trustees' approvals
of the lay-offs. Her presentation was accompanied by
prepared written statements, distributed to the college
staff and to members of the press.

   Neither woman utilized the open process that each had
earlier described with regard to budgeting and fiscal
decision-making. The stark realities of terminations seemed
to cause them to invoke different protocols. Now the
significant partnerships were with the colleges' trustees,
who were, in the end, responsible for directing and managing
the institutions. It appears, at least in June's case, that
lay-off decisions were a *fait accompli* by the time they were
announced, simultaneously, to college insiders and
outsiders. Who her primary advisors and confidants were is
a bit unclear, but they were surely not the broad-based
groups that had been constituted for routine input and
decision-making. Apparently, the ranks closed more tightly
for the design of the college restructuring that resulted in
lay-offs of several highly placed people.

This finding is not surprising. It is hard to imagine open discussions of possible lay-offs that include those whose terminations are under discussion. But it does call into question an unqualified commitment to participatory leadership. It particularly raises questions about a "changed" relationship between leaders and followers when loss of jobs is at issue. What seems clear is that what seems to work well for these women and is consistent with the ways they want to lead cannot work for them all the time. Neither woman said, "I really want to lead collaboratively, but I can't do it when things get really tough." But I heard it in their stories of what happened when the going did get tough. The doors closed around a much more private process. The major partners were college trustees, not college faculty and staff.

Relationships With the Faculty, In and Out of Fiscal Crisis

Given the nature of higher education institutions, faculty are accorded a special "place" in the organizational structure. Whereas reporting structures imply that they are close to the bottom of the organizational hierarchy, their role in college governance and, oftentimes, in establishing academic standards and policies, gives them a central role

in the institution. And at all of these community colleges, the faculty are unionized under a statewide collective bargaining agreement. While the potential for adversarial relationships between administration and faculty is a given on college campuses, unionization clearly heightens that potential by introducing a model through which is it assumed that "management" and "labor" deal with one another as adversaries.

Dealing successfully with the faculty is clearly an issue for each of these women. All of them desire positive relationships with the faculty, but much as each woman has already shown herself to be a unique individual in many other ways, each has a different expectation in her head about good faculty relations and how to achieve them.

For Rachael, whose propensity for business-like dealings and quick action are important characteristics, dealing with the faculty presents particular challenges. She wants them to be "on board," she wants them to be supportive of the directions she is taking, and her frustration--and even anger--are clear when they are not. Throughout her interview, one can almost hear her talking to herself about what she wants, what she can expect, and what she will get from faculty. She was clearly angry that the faculty were considering job actions in response to the

governor's mandatory furlough program at the very time when she was currying governmental support for a new campus. Her struggle is clear: She recognizes that at that point in time, what they want is more important to them, but she has great difficulty accepting that fact. In her efforts to enlighten them about the importance of the campus project and how their actions might jeopardize it, she makes matters worse.

In talking about lessons she has learned, Rachael acknowledges that they won't always be "with" her, but that her job is to keep the institution "whole" and "moving." Who defines "whole" and "moving" are important questions in looking at Rachael's struggles with the faculty. While she articulates that "people will deal with issues that are immediate...and real...to them," she indirectly acknowledges that some of her directions and priorities might not be supported because they do not, at the moment, "belong" to the faculty (their primary concerns center around lost income and reduced earning power). Good faculty relations for Rachael seem synonymous with support for her goals and initiatives. Fiscal crisis presents a particularly difficult context in which to make this model work. A very new president, she appears to have underestimated some of

the tensions and potential for polarization during tight fiscal times.

One gets the sense that Joan's relationship with the faculty is carefully managed. As discussed earlier, she talks a lot about encouragement and consultation. Her budget committee serves as an important communications vehicle; it puts her into regular contact with faculty leaders, and provides her with a structured opportunity to publicly support their ideas and priorities. Although there was no indication of a particular closeness, there wasn't a sense of great distance or disengagement either.

Like Rachael, Joan spoke of faculty reactions to their own loss of pay in fairly negative terms. Much as she sympathized with the plight of the faculty, she was clearly irritated by the manner in which some had introduced discussions about their loss of pay into the classroom, while others brought their classes to rallies. Now, for Joan, the faculty had become "union," presenting more difficult challenges. Faculty, as union members, were shirking their responsibilities as professional educators, and she felt the need to intervene. Her way of going about it was to "influence" behavior by suggesting alternatives in terms that might accomplish her goals as well as theirs. She suggested, for example, that such discussion that drew

away from instructional time might alienate rather than
persuade students. Her proposed alternative was a few
comments, if they felt the need for them, at the beginning
of the class. Although she described the situation as
stressful, and herself as "uneasy" at times, she was clearly
trying to be careful and deliberate about her role vis a vis
the faculty. They were, she pointed out, "professional
people who must be responsible for themselves." She could
not tell them how to behave. She could, as she saw it,
simply make suggestions about their professional
responsibilities. Social functions, she felt, could take
the edge off. Therefore, it was vital to maintain them
during the most difficult of times. "They [help]," she
said, "to create a more positive climate."

According to June, relationships with her faculty did
not deteriorate during the fiscal crisis. If anything, they
grew stronger. Community-building had been her initial
agenda. Feeling a new sense of unity and collaboration, she
feared an erosion of "good will" at the news of layoffs.
What she described was a "sense of camaraderie and pulling
together during difficult times." She talked of the faculty
being "disappointed" and "frustrated," but never mentioned
anger, confrontation, or behaviors with which she disagreed.
If there was an enemy, he or she was outside the

institution, and she talked about the institution, in its
entirety, pulling together to deal with the enemy. They
(she actually said "we") did mailings, spoke at rallies,
held press conferences, and lobbied hard for funding and
more attention to higher education. Her description of her
own public and outspoken activism suggests that the college
community viewed her as a leader in their cause. She
advised them on how to get their message out, and put forth
energy and effort to do her part as a president with a
different audience and different set of strategies. Her
internal agendas, she said, had to wait for a while, as
efforts on behalf of the budget had to come first. Clearly,
a sense of alliance comes through. And not just from her
own point of view. She commented that, in the midst of all
of this, the accreditation team from the New England
Association of Schools and Colleges made their site visit.
At their traditional open exit interview with college staff,
the team chair noted that he had never visited a college
where there was as much student involvement and
understanding of the issues that affect the college as the
team had observed at Lakeview. Clearly, information to the
college community meant students as well and was viewed on
this campus as positive rather than negative.

One does not get the sense that June is "handling" the
faculty (even though it is very clear from her interview
that there was much strategizing about how and when to
present lay-off decisions). What comes through as she talks
about this situation is that she has provided leadership in
speaking out against budget cuts for the entire staff.
Their role complements and supports hers rather than working
against it. In contrast to the frustrations we heard from
Rachael, June's faculty perceive her as being on "their
side"--wanting the same things.

The only time that June describes a lack of unity with
faculty revolves around affirmative action hiring. It is
also, interestingly enough, the only time she talks about
herself as a "woman" president. She senses a fear that the
fact of her gender conveys a bias toward the hiring of women
and minorities, without due regard for qualifications.
There was an "undercurrent," she said. People were afraid
she was going to impose a quota system. She didn't, but is
still not satisfied with the college's meager progress
toward multiculturalism. She talks about it as an area in
which she still needs to make "inroads." But she seems
unsure of how to proceed in the face of clear skepticism,
and perhaps, opposition. Her choice of words and the ways
in which she has moved on other issues are indicative of her

style, however. They suggest that she will find a way for the faculty and her to see themselves on the same side in moving toward greater campus diversity. She will want them to want greater diversity; and they may eventually look to her to help them achieve it.

In Maria's somewhat truncated interview, there were several references to faculty relationships, but none had to do with fiscal issues. She emphasized a sort of parent-child relationship, although different from the one her predecessor had had with faculty. While she disparaged him for a kind of paternalism that kept the faculty ignorant and uninvolved, she took on a role in which she seemed to tell the children very clearly what their role should be. Faculty should assume responsibility, she repeats in many ways throughout the interview. But she also conveys that they must be managed: "You have to...know how much you can push them and how much you have to step back." Major directions seem to come from Maria. She looks to faculty to develop creative approaches and initiatives to move toward those directions. She sees her responsibility as creating excitement and theirs as finding ways to translate ideas into programs. Conflict never entered into her discussion of faculty relationships. She came across as the captain of the ship, and they as mostly compliant, and sometimes

creative, crew members. She was clearly enthusiastic about

the course she had set for the college and looked to them

for equal enthusiasm, commitment, and dedication to the

college's development.

What are we to make of these presidents' relationships

with their faculty in light of what the Feminine Leadership

literature tells us? We are told that women are better able

than their male counterparts to generate cooperation and

personal commitment to the institution's goals. They build

consensus in moving toward a collective vision. They are

said to gain power themselves through empowering and

encouraging others. I looked closely at the relationship

between the presidents and their faculty primarily because

they spent so much time talking about those relationships.

For the most part, though, discussions about faculty

relations came up as they started talking about the impact

of the fiscal crisis. One of the most obvious things we see

is leaders "handling" the faculty. In three of the four

interviews, whether the budget situation was mentioned or

not, the president seemed to see herself setting the

institutional direction and striving for faculty

"followship" and cooperation. Only June talked as if her

goals were the same as theirs and specifically mentioned

commitment and cooperation. Unlike Joan and Rachael, she

was not critical of the political activities in which the
faculty engaged. In fact, she seemed to be leading the
charge. There seemed to be little separation between their
interests and hers; her perspective came across as
collegial. As difficult as it may be to make judgments
about leadership based on interviews with the leaders
themselves, it is not difficult to note what they say and
what they don't say. The fiscal situation clearly brought
out a schism between Joan and her faculty and Rachael and
hers. They saw the faculty as reflecting the institutions--
and them--in ways they disapproved of and thought might
bring negative repercussions. Maria didn't comment about
the faculty's response to the budget situation, but she
clearly expects her faculty to fall into line behind her
goals and priorities. At one point, she mentioned that
there was talk of filing grievances against her because she
was expecting too much involvement. Based on these
interviews, one would be hard-pressed to conclude that
female presidents, as a group, are distinctively adept at
generating high levels of cooperation and commitment. With
the exception of June, we see little evidence of the caring,
empowering, and encouraging behaviors that are said to
foster such commitment. And we have heard little from the
other three to indicate that unusually high levels of

consensus, cooperation or commitment exist at their
colleges.   213

A New Role for the President

Each of the women interviewed for this study spent some
time reflecting on her role, as it had come to be, and the
future of her college. There is no doubt that, for all of
them, the role of president is different from what they had
once thought it to be. Two major variables seemed to have
influenced actual changes in the job: a rapidly changing
external community and a significant fiscal crisis facing
Massachusetts colleges. How they expressed these changes
and their feelings about them said as much about them as
individuals as it did about the role of a community college
president in Massachusetts.

Both June and Joan expressed some disappointment about
the ways that events reshaped their roles. For June, the
necessary attention to budget issues was drawing away from
an internal focus on innovation and change. All the way
through her interview, I could feel her dedication to the
academic enterprise. She was a teacher still, who wanted to
return to curriculum issues and better ways to reconfigure
the college to serve students in a more integrated way. She
said the budget battles were "exhausting," and when one

looks at how she was approaching them, her words take on
even more meaning. She was totally immersed in the fight
for more funds for higher education. She held press
conferences, lobbied, wrote newspaper articles, participated
in college forums, and--like the others--refigured how she
would manage the college every time a new budget reduction
was announced. Cutting positions and reallocating dollars
takes time. And for all of these presidents, it was time
that had been used for other purposes before.

     Joan talked about the stresses that had been imposed by
budget reductions, particularly about dealing with
"disappointed and angry people" and "staff who are either
paying more or not getting enough salary." As president,
she feels a particular responsibility to present an
optimistic outlook--to generate feelings of possibility.
She was clear about her view that that is what leaders must
do at times like this.

     She thinks that she has an added responsibility to
influence the public in positive ways toward higher
education in Massachusetts. The "public relations" function
that was never a large part of her job has become much more
important. She spends time "planting" stories in order to
draw more attention to the contributions of the college.
And, like June, she feels worn down by "calling reps" and

participating in "one political campaign after another."
Unlike June, however, she clearly feels additional stress
from the level of faculty activism on her own campus, which
is not, for her, consistent with appropriate behavior for
teaching faculty.

She also worries about the immediate future because of
the selfishness that seems to characterize people now.
Public colleges provide public service, and if the man or
woman on the street is not interested in giving a "leg up"
to those who require public support, such services will be
reduced. Her immediate views about her college are
consistent with this sense of pessimism. Her budgeting, she
said, had become "bare bones" budgeting. She had not been
able to fund new initiatives for the past few years. Even
when they were included in the budget committee's
recommendations, she had felt the need to "drop them from
the table."

Rachael's perspective was very different. Given the
"people" challenges the budget situation has presented for
Rachael, it is interesting to note that she does not worry
at all about the college's future. She doesn't lament the
lack of funds in general; nor does she seem to worry about
where money will come from to accomplish those things that
are important to her. She is enthusiastic about

international exchanges and has committed substantial sums of money to professional development for faculty and staff. She did not talk about one single cut she was planning to make. What she did discuss at length were her fiscal options. She had figured out strategies to allow the college to retain larger sums of money, she had raised student fees to generate money, and she had established a college foundation to gain more external support. While acknowledging the need to keep her eye on priorities for the institution, she expressed no doubts about her ability to fund those priorities. Her clear confidence in her ability to keep her college "whole," despite severe budget cuts, presents an interesting contrast to the more pessimistic outlooks of Joan and June.

It's not clear that Maria saw major changes in the role of the college president. She had come to the job with a great deal of political experience. Her strengths, as she described them from the beginning, included her political "savvy"--her ability to lobby for what her college needed. She saw the role as part of the terrain. At the very outset of the interview, she described the "inside" and "outside" aspects of the presidency. Like Rachael, she sees her institution in a growth mode. Partnerships with the external community are the future. New enterprises will be

developed collaboratively, and funding will be more
available through such partnerships. She is particularly
excited about telecommunications and more collaboration with
"lower" education. She expresses an attitude of "dream your
dreams first, and the money will come." She depends heavily
on a political model, which has worked well for her in the
past. It seems that those political aspects of the job that
are seen by the more traditional academic leaders as
somewhat repugnant add-ons are, for Maria, familiar and
enjoyable. She and Rachael seem to share a sense of
excitement about the fiscal challenges ahead, while June and
Joan voice disappointment that leading their institutions in
the heavily politicized climate that the budget crisis has
spawned has distracted them from what they consider more
important aspects of college leadership.

     All of these women see themselves turning much more
toward outside sources of funding. Their institutions
cannot survive on the state allocations they have been
provided. So they must eliminate huge components of their
institutions or discover ways to raise money. This
situation has driven them closer to the Boards of Trustees
in interesting ways. Where once the Boards were somewhat
removed from the operational aspects of the colleges, three
of four presidents talked about involving Board members in

fiscal planning. There seems to be more of a need now for the presidents, who may have more academic than business expertise, to learn from members of their Boards, many of whom are business people.

Three of the presidents talked about a college foundation as well. Although many public and private universities have long had foundations that supported their activities, community colleges have not. Maria and June talked about the significant level of support that was coming from their foundations. Rachael spent a good deal of time talking about the selection of influential business people to serve on what is, for her college, a brand new foundation board. It is clear that community colleges in Massachusetts must look to other-than-state sources of funding if they are to survive and thrive. Their presidents, therefore, must enter new arenas. None of the three women who discussed their foundations did so with any sense of apprehension or fear of unknown territory. All of them viewed their Boards as integral and important mechanisms for future support and fundraising. Joan, the most senior of the four women--and, in my view, the most conservative--made no reference to a foundation during our time together. I don't know whether or not her college has established one. But I found it particularly interesting

that, of the four, she was the only one to declare her institution unable to fund new initiatives that had been put on the table for the last few years.

Once again, as in the beginning of the interviews, we see leaders who are confident in their ability to lead their institutions, although in somewhat different ways. With regard to what they all see as an uncertain fiscal future, each is taking steps to keep her college solvent and whole. In Rachael and Maria's cases, one is left wondering if their institutions had, in fact, been cut by the same 40% as the other state colleges! The "roll up your sleeves" attitude that comes through these interviews is not something that is highlighted within the literature on Feminine Leadership. The Feminine Leadership perspective is one that emphasizes a personal and relational orientation. Women get things done through relational skills; they level hierarchies and build consensus. Within the general leadership literature, however, we see quite a lot of discussion of risk-taking and entrepreneurial behavior, particularly during times of crisis and change. Creating partnerships with other agencies and creating college foundations are not necessarily indications of collaborative behavior that is tied to a feminine form of leadership. These women, it seems to me, are joining their male and female presidential

colleagues throughout the country in seeking out and piloting new models for financing community colleges. Some of the initiatives with which they are experimenting mirror practices that have, for years, been used to finance private higher education as well as many university programs. Those presidents who do not move forward in this way run the risk of limiting their institutions as well as their own leadership potential. The Feminine Leadership literature suggests that women's propensity toward collaboration and affiliation makes them ideally suited for a future in which these qualities will be increasingly valued. It is difficult to judge that conclusion. Except in the language they used to express their institutions' connections with other agencies, I found little that is distinctively "feminine" about their perspectives and plans for the future of their colleges. Their emphasis seemed most often to be on pragmatic considerations. Their plans, some of which involved cooperative ventures, were ones that they hoped would ensure the survival of their institutions.

What we have learned about these women as college presidents is multidimensional. This chapter has explored the major themes and patterns that emerged through an analysis of the discussions I had with them. That analysis has revealed that there were times and situations in which

the Feminine Leadership literature seemed extremely relevant
to their concerns, values, and courses of action as leaders.
But that was not always true. And, as we have seen, it was
not always consistent across topics and issues with
individual women presidents.

The following chapter sets forth conclusions regarding
both the Feminine Leadership literature as a body of
literature and its relevance for this selected group of
women leaders. In addition, it poses questions for further
study.

CHAPTER VI
CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER QUESTIONS

The question for the 21st century is whether or
not women can bring a different voice to the table
than men.
Martina Horner, President of
Radcliffe College, at a 1989
political conference
(Faludi, 1991)

In coining the term "Feminine Leadership," Marilyn

Loden (1985) provided a name for what others have referred

to as "women's ways of leading" (Helgeson, 1990; Rosener,

1990; Mercer, 1990), or "relational management" (Counts,

1987). This dissertation has posed questions about Feminine

Leadership. It has explored the extent to which the

theoretical concept is consistent with the actual concerns,

values, and behaviors of women leaders in higher education.

It has also looked at the significant challenges that face

higher education to explore the potential of Feminine

Leadership to provide a leadership model that is

particularly effective in responding to crisis.

It is time now to reflect on what has been learned.

Exploration of the literature set forth in Chapter Two

provides us with some useful insights about Feminine

Leadership as a concept, while in-depth interviews with

women college presidents set forth in Chapter Four have

served to deepen our understanding of these particular women and their leadership.

The Literature

As we have seen, the Feminine Leadership literature is derivative. It takes its lead almost completely from the new scholarship on the development and psychology of women that emerged during the late 1970s and 1980s. That literature characterizes women's "difference"; it describes them as caring and nurturing. It represents women as seeing the world in relational terms: being particularly aware of and sensitive to interpersonal dynamics, focusing on the responses of others, being responsive to others, and expressing themselves and their view of the world in voices that encourage collaboration and interpersonal connection. The literature on Feminine Leadership says all of the very same things about women leaders. They are sensitive and responsive to the concerns of others, they level hierarchies and encourage widespread participation and collaboration, they are particularly effective at achieving "followship" through inclusion and involvement at all levels, decisions are based on wide consensus, and power is shared. Women are women, it tells us. There is no real difference between

what is said about women, in general, and what we can say about women as leaders.

What we have also seen, however, is a fair amount of congruence between the recent leadership literature, which draws a clear distinction between leadership and management, and some strongly voiced criticism of the claim that women alone--or even primarily--evidence a particular set of leadership behaviors. The newer leadership literature talks about the interplay between leaders and followers and stresses the interpersonal skills that are necessary to bring about motivation and productivity toward a shared vision. There is a new emphasis on partnerships, both within the organization and with other organizations. Reading the leadership literature and the Feminine Leadership literature side by side blurs distinctions between the two.

All of this leads one to ask what is really different about women leaders--and if there is something, can that something contribute in important ways to our models of leading in an increasingly complex and difficult environment. To explore the question further, we turn to the four women college presidents who have shared their stories about leading their institutions during particularly difficult times.

The Interviews

> ...two strangers, sitting together, speaking
> together....One initiating the conversation by
> asking questions, the other responding, separated
> always by the quiet murmuring of the tape whirring
> and running its course. There is something
> strange and fascinating in the way these
> separations can fade into intense conversation
> over the course of an hour or more....The
> interview, to be sure, is a conversation of a
> different sort from the conversations we are used
> to in everyday life: it is both private and
> public, informal and formal, lived in the present
> but preserved for the future. (Brown and
> Gilligan, 1992, p. 25)

As the women spoke, they revealed not what their

leadership models were or what they wanted them to be, but

what they think and feel and do as they go about the job of

leading their institutions.

For the most part, this research has found these four

women to be far more different as leaders than they are

similar. Additionally, most of the similarities that have

been found do not appear to be closely tied to the gender-

related characteristics that the Feminine Leadership

literature articulates.

A notable exception that we saw in Chapter Five,

however, has to do with their use of language and the ways

in which they relate their stories. In very consistent

ways, the women use a language of inclusion, collaboration,

and affiliation. With an apparent reluctance to draw
attention to themselves or to their exclusive role, they
speak more often than not in terms of "we" rather than "I."
"We" sometimes suggests that a group of people acted, when
in fact, it might have been the president herself. Other
times, "we" seems synonymous with the college itself, which
obviously <u>cannot</u> act on its own. Oftentimes, I found myself
asking, "Who did it?" or "What part did you play in that?"
In a similar vein, the stories they told me about their
colleges were very often stories about collective
activities, task forces, forums: groups that seemed to have
been empowered to accomplish or decide on things rather than
individuals. I heard myself questioning them about whether
they had been a part of the group or whether they had made
decisions based on others' advice. It was often unclear
from a first telling what the actual decision-making process
had been. It did not appear that they were intentionally
obfuscating their own role; rather it seemed a habit of
speech to talk in terms of "we" and to downplay their actual
authority in given situations.

A related pattern was that of denying ego, sometimes in
themselves and sometimes in others that they were reluctant
to characterize in negative ways. The two presidents who
seemed the most competitive, Rachael and Maria, both made

statements such as, "I'm not interested in myself"; "I'm not competitive." Clearly, they saw it as undesirable to be "out for" oneself and made such denials in situations which they themselves had described in such a way as to convey very different impressions.

Their stories tended to be personal and sometimes self-critical, something that Deborah Tannen describes in her recently published best-seller, You Just Don't Understand (1990). She cites the research of Barbara Johnson, who reported in a 1989 paper presented at Georgetown University that women's narratives tend to revolve around community norms or group activities rather than individual efforts more often described by men. She also highlights the extent to which women, in their stories, seek advice from others and tend to portray themselves as suffering when they act alone. She found the reverse for men's narratives (Tannen, 1990, pp. 177-178). Looking back on these interviews, one sees a similar pattern. The women reflect seriously on their actions, tend to be critical of themselves when the outcomes are not desirable, and mention often what they learned through the experience.

Tanner too talks about women's use of relational language of the sort that we have seen throughout these interviews. "The language of conversation," she says, "is

primarily a language of rapport: a way of establishing relationships....From childhood, girls criticize peers who try to stand out or appear better than others" (Tanner, 1990, p. 77). So, she concludes, they emphasize, as these women have, their connections and affiliations with others while verbally downplaying themselves.

We have heard all of these women emphasize their awareness of others' points of view, their perceptions of their colleges as entities that respond to constituents, and themselves as leaders who are responsive as well. In fact, as pointed out earlier, all four made a point of characterizing previous (male) regimes as less personal and more authoritarian than their administrations. Three of the four emphasize new levels and forms of participation and collaboration as hallmarks of their leadership.

That perspective, however, represents only one dimension of what this study found. These four women evidence very different leadership traits and styles. And it seems clear that many other factors besides their gender affect who they are and how they lead their colleges.

Background emerged as an important component of their leadership values. Each woman's self-definition early on in her interview introduced some important themes that emerged and re-emerged throughout later discussions. It is hardly a

coincidence that Rachael, a businesswoman with a background in construction and a love for financial matters, found herself building a new campus and beginning a college foundation at the outset of her presidency. She was also the most self-assured about her ability to create and manipulate funding alternatives to keep her institution "whole" in the years to come. In a similar vein, June's clear dedication to the academic mission of the college is consistent with her early descriptions of herself as an academician. The lessons learned about "peacemaking" and seeking solutions that satisfy various factions through Joan's lengthy religious service are still very much with her. And Maria's early political interests continue to define her style, interests and priorities as president.

Each woman's experience in the job was important as well. An example is the difference, at the time of these interviews, between Joan and Rachael. Joan, by far the most senior of the four presidents, was as angry as Rachael was about faculty responses to the state furlough program. Yet her public response was more measured. And, as she talked about her options and the choices she made, she referred to the lessons learned earlier in her career. Rachael's inexperience made her faculty's actions more problematic. As she analyzed her own actions, she was self-critical and

openly doubtful about the choices she made. As she puzzled through it, she reflected on her own learning about their motivations and her own. She questioned her strategy in dealing with the faculty and wondered whether she might have handled it better. Thirteen years in a job like this count, allowing a leader to choose more wisely and to be more sure-footed about her choices. By taking a "snapshot in time," however, we are not able to know how Rachael will benefit from a similar amount of experience in the job.

This study also heightens our awareness of personal individuality. What comes through loud and clear in the interviews is that these four women are very different people. They look and act different; they speak in very different ways; they laugh at different things; and they convey different overall impressions. Joan conveys a sense of calm and quiet control. Her use of language adds a little "pizzazz," however, to someone who might otherwise seem bland and perhaps maternal. Her sarcastic quips and asides and a propensity to laugh at herself, and sometimes at others, add an important dimension. As she tells stories about her college, there is a clear sense that her interactions are heavily influenced by her own, unique personal style.

June is more serious, more focused on particular goals, and more expressive. It is apparent that she considers and weighs matters seriously and is quite deliberate in her actions. She seems more inclusive than the others--not only because she tries to be, but also, it seems, because she _is_ that way. One envisions her in any setting as a team player. Her basic manner seems closest to both Gilligan's description of feminine traits as well as the models put forth through the Feminine Leadership literature.

We experience Rachael as determined, ambitious, and highly motivated to succeed. She wants others around her who share her drive. Yet her stories about earlier--and less intense--times at her college are funny, gentle, and sentimental. One gets the impression that the public and private domains can reflect very different sides that are, perhaps, less integrated than we have seen in the other presidents. Her complexity in this regard spills over into her presidency. At times, there is great concern for the feelings and inclinations of others; at other times, a sense of purpose that is more single-minded and conveys a sense of responsibility to provide a more singular form of leadership.

Maria conveys energy and control from the very first. She is clear and strong in expressing her ideas and goals,

and her strength and control seem to be reflected in the way she leads. "You are either with me or not with me," her manner suggests; and one gets the sense that her very nature determines far more about the way she leads than does her gender.

The stories that we hear in Chapter Four are important because the presidents, as individuals, emerge. Bringing them together in Chapter Five helps in the exploration of themes and patterns. But it diminishes the impact of each woman, different in so many ways, from the one before or after her.

Arthur Miller, in discussing the complexity of understanding and creating authentic stage characters, says:

> ...society is inside of man and man is inside society, and you cannot even create a truthfully drawn psychological entity on the stage until you understand his social relations and their power to make him what he is and to prevent him from being what he is not. The fish is in the water and the water is in the fish. (1958, p. 39)

Separating the way a leader leads from the way a person _is_ is both futile and, in a way, misses the point. The strong influence of personality on leadership reflected through these interviews is extremely powerful and seems to outweigh any generalization about them as a group.

Feminine Leadership does not incorporate ideas from
situational leadership theories, which suggest that leaders
behave differently in different situations. Yet such a
notion seems extremely relevant to the stories these four
women told.

We heard both Joan and June talk about the very
intentional and far-reaching processes they put in place to
involve individuals from several different levels within
their institutions in decision-making. Both women made
conscious choices to do this, convinced that their more
participatory processes would yield greater commitment to
more unified visions within their colleges. Increased
power-sharing, although complicated in both situations,
seemed to work. At the very least, there was a sense of
involvement that both presidents considered positive. Yet,
changing circumstances compelled them to use other forums
and methods for decision-making. This was particularly true
when budget cuts suggested that staff lay-offs and/or
reassignments were in the offing. Clearly, these seemed to
be situations that called for a different leadership style.

Viewing leadership as multidimensional and situational
provides one way of understanding why these leaders alter
the ways in which they handle these situations. Hickman
(1990) suggests that gaining a deeper understanding of the

differences between leadership and management is helpful in understanding the contributions of both. Such understandings, Hickman asserts, "help you to better determine when, how, and why different doses of management and leadership make sense in different situations" (p. 6).

The Management Style Questionnaire (McBer and Co., 1980) bases its interpretations on a large body of management style research that also supports the notion that leadership must be responsive to a variety of situations. Asserting that there "is no best managerial style for all people in all situations," the instrument and its interpretative guide provide direction as to appropriate styles for different situations. Of particular interest, in light of this study's findings, is McBer's conclusion that both "affiliative" and "democratic" styles are ineffective in complex or in crisis situations (McBer, 1980, pp. 2-3).

The whole idea of context is raised through examining leadership in situational terms. In exploring the leadership of these four presidents, it seems a mistake to ignore the context that is represented by the institutions themselves at a particular point in time. Each president talks about a "readiness" for her type of leadership. In June's case, there was a sense of disenfranchisement and mistrust that preceded her. She saw the need to reverse

that dynamic. Joan perceived that information had been tightly held by very few; that even she, as president, was deprived of information when she began. Her initial activities, particularly the formation of a budget committee, were intended to introduce a different way of doing business. Maria saw the need to reverse the paternalism of the past and to place more responsibility in the hands of "front-line" faculty and staff. And Rachael saw herself as keeping the ball rolling in the direction it was going. These women, in a sense, made themselves symbols of a certain kind of leadership that seemed called for within a particular institutional context. It is hard to know whether they sought out leadership opportunities that seemed to "mesh" with their own predilections, styles and talents--or whether the particular leadership traits that were needed in a given context emerged as a result of their conscious choices among alternatives.

At no point referring to their gender, these women's stories suggested that they led their institutions in a way that was needed for those colleges at that time. Were they better able or more inclined to employ participatory strategies because they are women? The Feminine Leadership literature says yes; the situational leadership literature says no; and the newer literature on leadership, in general,

suggests that they are simply employing more enlightened leadership strategies that are unrelated to gender. It is interesting to note that none of the women at any point talked about their decisions or leadership strategies in gender-related terms.

Reconsidering Feminine Leadership

Chapter Five reflects on the relationship between the literature and the interview data. Through it, we see areas in which the women's behaviors seemed consistent with what the Feminine Leadership literature tells us and areas where there was no such congruence. It leads one to ask: If the evidence of a strong relationship is so unclear, why is there such a substantial body of literature attesting to a feminine leadership "difference?"

My answers are conjecture based upon my reading of the literature and the critiques of that literature. First, as we have seen, there is a tendency to apply all of the new research on the development and psychology of women to women's leadership.[1] Second, the newer leadership literature talks about cooperation, collaboration, participation, and personal attention as important leadership behaviors. These traits, although not set forth as gender-related within most leadership studies, mirror the

very same qualities ascribed to women in the psychological literature.[2]

Third, and perhaps most important, there is much within the literature about the relatively small proportion of women appointed or promoted to top level leadership positions. The arguments for more women at the top go beyond the old ones about women being equally qualified and, therefore, equally deserving of such positions. Women's "difference" adds a new dimension. Proponents of Feminine Leadership posit that the special qualities and skills which women possess make them better leaders. They are therefore more qualified for leadership, particularly at a time when leaders are faced with greater and more complex challenges.

In my judgment, several different sets of ideas have been merged into a concept of Feminine Leadership, often used now as a generalization to support the contributions that women can make to leadership.

Susan Faludi asserts that feminist scholars set out to explore gender differences to challenge the notion of male behavior as normal and female behavior as deviant. "They hoped to find in [these differences]," she says, "a more humane model for public life--one that both men and women might adopt" (1991, p. 325).

While my research does point to some common perspectives and use of language, this study does not provide evidence that women leaders lead in a particular way. It suggests that leadership is a combination of many complex variables, including time, place, personality, style, interests and experience. Clearly, we see a continuum in regard to what have been termed "feminine leadership" traits. But each leader brings to her role a blend of behaviors and characteristics too broad, too diverse, and too variable to bear the stamp of "Feminine Leadership."

Understanding the leadership of these four women is probably not best done through the lens of Feminine Leadership. It provides too narrow a view, thereby short-changing the rich array of leadership factors seen through their interviews.

"How can we know the dancer from the dance?", asks Yeats (1962, p. 117, viii). It is difficult indeed to separate the person from the leader and the leader from her context. For it is individual people thinking, feeling, and acting in context that we finally see in this study.

A more complete understanding of the relationship between leaders and their particular contexts would add much to this and other similar studies of leadership. We have

seen women who have utilized participatory styles in periods

of stability and have become more unilateral in the face of

fiscal crisis. Perhaps, as has been suggested, such a

change is necessary and desirable. Perhaps an inclusive

form of leadership is less, rather than more, effective at

such times. It would be interesting to know.

Further exploration into the variable--and sometimes

cyclical--nature of leadership behaviors could add much to

our understanding of its multidimensional nature. Following

particular leaders over time would teach us much. It would

allow for richer insights into the depth and breadth of

their leadership qualities and would reflect changing

circumstances as they happen rather than in retrospect.

Finally, it would be interesting to know how

subordinates and others in these four colleges have

experienced their presidents' leadership. Leadership has

everything to do with followership. To say more about the

effectiveness of each of these leaders would require knowing

more about how they were perceived by their followers.

This study has closed some doors for me and opened

others. I embarked on it fairly well convinced that I would

discover something uniquely "feminine" about the leadership

of women. The fact that I didn't find a clear pattern of

behaviors to support Feminine Leadership as a viable

leadership model was at first frustrating, and later, liberating. For it now seems too confining a box to put around people who have much more to contribute and to understand than what the lens of Feminine Leadership places in view. We are reminded by Susan Faludi and others that exploring women's "difference" was a way of recognizing women and their experiences. This study of women's leadership has led me to draw conclusions and ask further questions about leadership that account for a much fuller and richer repertoire of behaviors and characteristics inherent in the leadership of both male and female leaders.

1. Yet there are studies such as Count's (1987) which suggest that the qualities that Gilligan and others ascribe to women reside to a greater degree in middle managers than they do in top-level administrators.

2. Actually, these traits are characterized by Gilligan as "gender-related" rather than gender-specific. They are more likely to be found in women than in men.

RESEARCH AGREEMENT

To: [Name of Participant]

From: Charmian B. Sperling

This study explores the way in which community college presidents think about and understand their role. Participation involves being interviewed for approximately two hours. The interview consists of several open-ended questions which ask you to discuss your institution, your presidency and the impact of diminishing state resources for higher education.

If you have any questions, now or at any time, please feel free to ask me. If, at any time, you feel unwilling to continue as a participant in this study, you may withdraw your consent and terminate your participation with full assurance that no negative consequences will ensue.

Your confidentiality will be protected in the following ways. Your name, the name of your institution, the location of your institution, and the names of others that you may mention during your interview will be suppressed or disguised in the study itself as well as in any report or presentation which describes the study.

I will be happy to send you a copy of the summary of the results of this study if you would like one.

I HAVE READ AND UNDERSTOOD THE STATEMENTS LISTED ABOVE, AND
I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

_____   _____
Name   Date

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW GUIDE

1. What are some key events or experiences that led to
    this particular woman to her current presidency?

2. How does the president perceive the college she
    "inherited": strengths, weaknesses, areas for growth
    at the time?

3. What has changed since she's been president? What have
    been some of her major challenges and/or
    accomplishments? How have these come about? What have
    been the results?

4. How is the president dealing with the current fiscal
    crisis: How has it affected her institution? What
    actions/responses has she implemented? What have been
    the effects? What does she see for the future? How
    will she try to shape the future?

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