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BOY SCOUTS AND GIRL SCOUTS: AN ORGANIZATIONAL AND HISTORICAL

APPROACH TO UNDERSTANDING SOCIALIZATION AND GENDERED LEADERSHIP

STYLES

by

NATALIE STEWART

Under the Direction of Wendy Simonds

ABSTRACT

In this research, I examine the concept of leadership as it is constructed in the youth-based organizations of Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts. How boys and girls are taught to lead as children in these single-sex, youth-based organizations has clear connections to prominent "masculine" and "feminine" styles of leadership, and I argue that these organizations assist in perpetuating gender inequality in the workplace in this way. Using historical content analysis and a modified grounded theory approach, I evaluate Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks printed over the past 100 years. I argue that through the process of "doing" leadership, the emotion work involved in becoming a boy or girl leader, and through promoting a sense of belonging, these organizations strategically strive to develop boys and girls with leadership styles that are gendered in nature.

INDEX WORDS: Gender, Leadership, Girl Scouts, Boy Scouts, Content analysis, Emotion work, Belonging, Inequality

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NATALIE STEWART

Committee Chair: Wendy Simonds

Committee: Wendy Simonds

Griff Tester

Adia Harvey Wingfield

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis research to some wonderful folks at Girl Scouts of Greater Atlanta – Shirley Anne Cruz, Beth Messer, Diana Champ Davis, Margaret Paschal, and Mary Ellen Waiting. Thank you for being interested in my area of research and providing the impetus for this study. Thank you for supporting me and providing me with ample resources to gather content for this project. I hope that the information presented sheds light on the historical progress of Girl Scouting as a movement. I wish nothing but continued success for Girl Scouts of Greater Atlanta in the future.

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1   INTRODUCTION

In this research, I examine the concept of leadership as it is constructed in the youth-based organizations of Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts. Having interacted in an office setting for the past six years I have witnessed gendered behavior in peer-to-peer as well as manager-employee interactions on numerous occasions. I have also personally experienced gender inequality in the workplace – from being paid less than a male coworker in the same position to losing out on promotions to less qualified, male candidates. Not only did I have to quickly learn desired leadership qualities, but also had to learn how those qualities differed for a woman looking to advance in her career versus a man. What really began to interest me as I began "moving up the corporate ladder" were the leadership styles that were acceptable, even preferable, in the workplace and how that varied by gender.

Four years ago I transitioned into a role as an IT Consultant for the Girl Scouts of Greater Atlanta and other councils across the nation. As I became more familiar with the Girl Scout movement and its mission, I also became more knowledgeable about its program offerings, outcomes assessment, and "success criteria" for its girl members. I also became acutely aware of the constant comparisons made between the Girl Scout and Boy Scout organizations. Following a local ceremony where troops representing each organization attended, a coworker described the differences in the troop members' appearances to me. She commented that the Boy Scout members' attire was crisp, ironed, and they all adorned crew cut hair styles – giving them an air of authority and cohesion. The Girl Scout members on the other hand wore uniforms, which technically followed the uniform code, but were more casual in nature and were accessorized with various colors unique to each member's program level. Per the coworker's interpretation, the latter group did not project the same authoritative presence that the former group did, and

therefore were not viewed as a group to be taken seriously. This anecdote, while indicative of only one person's opinion, represented one instance in which the learned behavior of the Boy Scout members varied greatly from that of the Girl Scout members. I began to wonder about a possible correlation between the types of behaviors and activities that are valued in single-sex organizations, like Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts, and how it might relate to gender inequality in the workplace.

1.1   Purpose of the Study

In this thesis, I pose the following questions: what are the differences between how boys and girls are socialized with regard to leadership development within Boy Scouts versus Girl Scouts? How is the concept of leadership uniquely shaped in these two organizations, and how has it changed over time?

1.2   Expected Results

In addressing the first question, how this socialization takes place, I argue that through the process of "doing" leadership, the emotion work involved in becoming a boy or girl leader, and through promoting a sense of belonging among members, these organizations strategically strive to develop boys and girls with leadership styles that are gendered in nature. Secondly, to address the specific concepts of leadership that were found in the organizational materials reviewed, I focus on perceived "feminine" and "masculine" styles of leadership and how Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts may or may not incorporate these into their program delivery. I use commonly referenced dichotomies of leadership in academia, including relationship-oriented versus task-oriented (Kerr & Jermier, 1978), democratic/participative versus autocratic/directive (Eagly &

Johnson, 1990), and transformational versus transactional (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996), to explain and position leadership presentation in each organization. Interestingly enough, I find the two styles of leadership present in both sets of handbooks. Yet, as I show, the focus in Girl Scout materials primarily follows those more "feminine" styles.

Lastly, I draw connections between the gendered leadership styles that are promoted in each organization and gender inequality in the workplace. I discuss this shift from internalizing leadership styles and gendered behavior to outwardly managing these ways of being and doing in a professional setting, which contributes to Hochschild's work on emotion work and emotional labor. I argue that Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts set their members up to become certain types of leaders, which perpetuates gender inequality that exists in the workplace today.

2   BACKGROUND AND SIGNIFICANCE

Why Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts? I argue that youth-based organizations, with their continued popularity in the United States and globally, contribute to the social ideology of gender inequality in the workplace. Collectively, the organizations that belong to the National Collaboration for Youth, "a coalition of the National Assembly member organizations" that includes popular clubs such as Boy Scouts, Girl Scouts, Boys and Girls Clubs, YWCA, YMCA, 4-H, United Way, and Girls Inc., "serve more than 40 million young people" nationally (Collab4Youth, 2012). Boy Scouts had more than 2.7 million youth members participate in service projects across the United States in 2011 (Boy Scouts of America, 2011), while Girl Scouts (through their association with WAGGGS – World Association of Girls Guides and Girl Scouts) currently serve 10 million girl members in 145 countries across the globe (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2012). Additionally, Girl Scouts claims that "80 percent of women executives and business owners are former Girl Scouts, as are two-thirds of women currently serving in Congress" (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2012). These statistics would indicate that these organizations positively influence the success outcomes for its youth members in leadership roles.

Using content analysis, I have examined Boy Scout Handbooks (nine editions from 1911-1998) as well as Girl Scout "Handbooks" throughout the last one hundred years (nine editions from 1913-2001). Girl Scout handbooks have not always held the title of "handbook." Whereas *The Boy Scout Handbook: The Official Handbook for Boys* has always held this general title since the first publication in 1911, Girl Scout handbook titles have ranged from *How Girls Can Help Their Country* (1913) to the more recently published *The Girl's Guide to Girl Scouting* (2011) (Degenhardt & Kirsch, 2005). This variation in handbook title made searching and

finding the Girl Scout materials more difficult than those of the Boy Scout organization. A benefit to working at Girl Scouts of Greater Atlanta was that I was able to use the on-site public archives, and volunteers working there, as resources to ensure I obtained the correct versions and editions. Each organization regards handbooks as the quintessential text that members should have to guide them in their behaviors and activities. The information provided in these handbooks reinforces the behavior that each organization seeks to encourage in their young members, and therefore they are an appropriate resource to analyze that behavior.

I employ literature and theoretical approaches that speak to the concept of leadership, its interpretation, and its performance in youth-based organizations, as well as its connection to the workplace. There is an abundance of literature available about gender in the workplace and how socialization affects leadership cultivation differently in men and women. Missing from this existing body of literature is a historical approach focused on well-known, youth-based organizations, such as Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and how those organizations specifically contribute to the leadership styles that men and women develop over time. With the Girl Scouts of the USA serving 3.2 million girl members (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2012) and the Boy Scouts of America serving 2.7 million boy members nationally (Boy Scouts of America, 2011), their teachings on leadership reach a large number of America's youth[1].

Socialization begins in the early stages of human interaction. Analyzing leadership behavior encouraged among young boys and girls contributes to the existing body of research on gender inequality among adults. This study is designed to shed light on how gendered language and practices are used to develop specific leadership skills in young men and women. Looking closely at the process of "doing gender," (West & Zimmerman, 1987), gendered organizations

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[1] According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in 2012 there were approximately 74 million children in the United States ages 0-17. Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts are offered to boys and girls ages 5-17. Membership in these organizations accounts for approximately 14% of America's youth (Bureau, 2012).

(Acker, 1990), the concept of "emotion work" (Hoschschild, 1983), and the process of

developing a sense of "belonging" (Marshall, 2002), I aim to underscore how these organizations

strategically sponsor the growth and development of leadership qualities in a gendered fashion.

3   LITERATURE REVIEW

Volumes of text regarding gender differences in leadership style have emerged both in social science and popular literature for managers and other business people. Most of the academic literature concerns the empirical research on the role of gender in management and leadership. There are clear debates in the academic world about whether or not gender impacts leadership success, and whether or not women and men lead differently. A meta-analysis of 162 studies pertaining to gender-related differences in leadership style by Alice Eagly and Blair Johnson (1990), found that "women tend to adopt a more democratic or participative style and a less autocratic or directive style than …men" (p. 239). Many other scholars over the past few decades have echoed Eagly and Johnson's work, finding similar differences between men's and women's leadership styles, i.e., that "women adopt democratic and participative leadership styles in the corporate world and in education" (Trinidad & Normore, 2005, p. 574).

Conversely, other scholars (Anderson & Hansson, 2011; Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003) have contradicted Eagly's and Johnson's and their followers' findings, claiming that there are actually few or no differences in men's and women's execution of various styles of leadership in the workplace – one even noting "more similarities than differences" (Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003, p. 288). Anderson and Hansson (2011) even go so far as to state that "studies of gender differences in managerial leadership" should be stopped because clearly "we have now come to the end of this road" (p. 438). Their claim is that when we discuss "gendered leadership" we assume that certain leadership styles are gendered. They argue that leadership styles are not gendered, and therefore there are no gender differences in leadership in the workplace. However, this perspective does not take into account organizations as being gendered, or the fact that leadership performance is also gendered.

Acker defines a gendered organization to be one in which "advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine" (Acker, 1990, p. 146). In other words, the dynamics and personal interaction between coworkers (male-male, female-male, and female-female) in a corporate setting are heavily influenced by the social institution of gender[2]. We can only begin to understand the complexity of such interaction by taking a gendered theoretical approach. Therefore, my research is based on a model that aligns more closely with Eagly's and Johnson's contributions to this area.

There is an entire body of popular self-help literature dedicated to teaching women how to be "better leaders" and work in a "man's world." The practice of implementing gendered management and leadership styles occurs in companies of varying levels, including Fortune 500 companies. The literature here implies that there is an essential gender difference in the mode of management employed by men versus women. As one article notes, "sex role stereotypes suggest that men, being masculine, will be higher [ranked] in task-oriented behavior and women, being feminine, will be higher [ranked] in people-oriented behavior" (Powell, 1990, p. 70). Popular books for managers and company leaders such as *Good to Great: Why Some Companies Make the Leap…and Others Don't* (2001), *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (2000), and *How to Win Friends and Influence People* (1936) promote an ideology centered on influencing coworkers, and ultimately stress the importance and critical nature of discipline, power, and/or control in all business matters (Collins, 2001), characteristics typically regarded as masculine in western society. For example, on the topic of influencing people, author Dale Carnegie notes that "a leader's job often includes changing your people's

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[2] In this study I refer to gender as an institution, as social institutions are enduring (persisting over time), while also "continuously changing" (p. 1257). This perspective allows us to look at the institution of gender as permeating organizations and agents simultaneously. (Martin, 2004)

attitudes and behaviors" (Carnegie, 1936, p. 236). This "influential" component of leadership behavior is a theme echoed throughout this self-help literature. Other popular management materials are directed explicitly toward women and include such books as *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth About How Women Become Leaders* (2007), *GenderTalk Works: 7 Steps for Cracking the Gender Code at Work* (2007), and *The Little Black Book of Success: Laws of Leadership for Black Women* (2010). With a strong emphasis on power dynamics and how to overcome gender inequality in the workplace, these books are widely popular in business and contribute to popular discourse about why women require a different approach to achieving leadership and success in the workplace. So while some academics (Anderson & Hansson, 2011) may have "clearly" squashed the issues on gender in the workplace, other scholars as well as the popular discourse found in self-help literature in this area would suggest otherwise.

There is a certain level of prestige and privilege associated with participation in the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations. Early members of the Girl Scout organization were "predominantly white and middle class" and "overwhelmingly Protestant [and] well-educated" (Rothschild, 1981, p. 116). Membership statistics for Girl Scout members today still reflect a majority white population – 63% as of 2011 (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2011)[3]. Similarly, the Boy Scouts is targeted toward mostly affluent, white males, boasting alumni such as Neil Armstrong and Bill Gates (Boy Scouts of America, 2008), as well as several current and former U.S. Presidents including Barack Obama, George W. Bush (Jr. and Sr.), Bill Clinton, and Ronald Reagan (Boy Scouts of America, 2012). This demographic distinction can also clearly be seen in both Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks, with the majority of images including white boys and girls, as well as men and women (although other images of more racial diverse groups do emerge

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[3] While The Boy Scouts of America provides some demographic information on its members, such as school grade, it does not provide racial demographic statistics on its website or in its Annual Report (The Boy Scouts of America, 2011).

in later editions of both sets of handbooks). Both organizations allege that their alumni go on to experience significant career achievements, placing them in positions of privilege and power. For example, Boy Scouts claim that "206 members of the 112th Congress participated in Scouting as a youth and/or adult leader [and] 29 are Eagle Scouts" (Boy Scouts of America, 2011), while Girl Scouts claim that 59% of women in the United States Senate and 60% of women in the House of Representatives are former Girl Scouts (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2012). A clear connection can be drawn between these organizations and their effects on men and women in leadership. An inherent weakness however is that this research is really only looking at effects of class-specific organizations on a class-specific group of adults. Both organizations engage in formal outreach to the Hispanic community and underprivileged youth and a future evaluation of those efforts and their effects would also be beneficial in expanding the work presented here.

While there have been previous studies on the history of both organizations, such as Mary Rothschild's "To Scout or to Guide: The Girl Scout-Boy Scout Controversy, 1912-1941," (1986) there has not yet been an empirical analysis of the publications of these two organizations and their contribution to gender inequality and the social ideology around leadership styles in the workplace. Therefore, I compare the conceptualization, operationalization, and implementation of "leadership" in both sets of handbooks over time. "There are notions of leadership that are assumed either implicitly or explicitly in the literature on female leadership in the general and educational management fields" (Pounder & Coleman, 2002, p. 123). Likewise, I argue that the notions of leadership in both Girl Scouts' and Boy Scouts' materials implicitly and explicitly contribute to, and are simultaneously shaped by, prevalent notions in society about how men and women come to achieve leadership.

West and Zimmerman (1987) are credited with the coining the term "doing gender" and providing a new perspective to studies in gender performance, building on Goffman's theory of gender as a display. Gender from this perspective is understood as a "routine, methodical, and recurring accomplishment" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). This performance or "display" of gender is "constituted through interaction" and is one manner in which young boys and girls learn how to "be" a boy or a girl (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 129). I suggest that Boy Scout and Girl Scout members "do" leadership in this same sense, and also in a gendered fashion. So while they achieve leadership, they do so through the confines of socially accepted gender ideology. The category ("family") of "Appropriate/Desired behavior/action/attributes" was the most prevalent theme present during analysis, constituting approximately 20% of identified codes. Additionally, the category of "Merit Badges/Skills" constituted about 16% of all codes. This makes sense as the content reviewed is instructional in nature, therefore doing and performing are the focus. What is evident here is that, for example, as a boy achieves merit badges within the organization and moves up in rank, he does so through the confines of socially accepted and prominent gender ideology. I argue that the concepts of "doing" gender, as well as "doing" leadership, are represented through various actions and behaviors described as appropriate for the ideal scout. Achieving gender and leadership too, through activities such as earning merit badges, is also taking place. "Doing" leadership is also accomplished in terms of belonging to a larger group – be that a troop, patrol, or one's community.

"Belonging is a step beyond membership. Group memberships arise via some combination of chance and choice, but in every case they are an external fact, a status that one may not be committed to or desirous of. Human social interdependence necessitates that at least some of these memberships become solidified into something potent and secure-in short, belonging"

(Marshall, 2002, p. 360). I argue that rituals, practices, and ceremonies, and a value placed on appearance, drive the desire for and accomplishment of belonging throughout Boy Scout and Girl Scout material. For example, in the sixth edition of *The Official Handbook for Boys* the topic of merit badges and uniforms are addressed, "On your uniform, you wear the badges that show that you belong, that you are a member of a certain patrol in a certain troop in the Boy Scouts of America" (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 23). In Girl Scouting too, the uniform is essential to showing that you belong to the organization – "A uniform is a source of pride to every Girl Scout. It helps to create unity, friendliness, and a good appearance in a troop" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 18).

The original ideologies behind the creation of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts (both in Great Britain in the early 1900's and in the United States 10-15 years later) have shaped not only how the organization operates but how its members have been socialized to conduct themselves. Boy Scouts began in Great Britain as Boy's Brigade in 1884 and "in 1910 the Woodcraft Indians, the Boy Pioneers, and various independent Scout troops and patrols formed the Boy Scouts of America" (Foster, 2004). The Girl Guide movement, also established in Great Britain, came to the United States as Girl "Scouting" in Savannah, Georgia in 1912, founded by Juliette Gordon Low. Leaders of both organizations sought to direct attention to the youth of America in guiding them to become leaders; however, the motivation behind each movement was very different.

The establishment of Boy Scouts revolved around a sense of nationalism, civic duty, and survival – a very serious endeavor. When Lord Robert Baden-Powell first founded the Boys Brigade in Great Britain at the turn of the 20th century, he did so as a national call for the development of survival skills that the next generation would need (Rosenthal, 1986). Boy Scouts promoted an "ideology [that] was conservative and defensive, seeking to find in

patriotism and imperialism the cure for an apparently disintegrating society" (MacDonald, 1993, p. 23). This "disintegration" was closely tied to the emerging cultural view that men, mostly urban white men, were becoming too "soft" and exhibiting "feminine-like" qualities that, in the event of a World War, would be disadvantageous to England. Though we see some evidence of similar nationalistic traits associated with Girl Scouts, such as civic duty and survival techniques, the tone is quite different.

"The idea of the nation and the history of nationalism are intertwined with the idea of manhood and the history of manliness ….Nationalist scripts are written primarily by men, for men, and about men" (Nagel, 2003, p. 159). There is an inherently sexualized and gendered nature within nationalism and patriotism. Through storytelling, The Boy Scout handbooks include narratives of "great men" and "great leaders" – Abraham Lincoln, George Washington, and in later years Martin Luther King, Jr. A prime example of this can be found in the first edition *Official Handbook for Boys* in the section on patriotism and citizenship: "He [Abraham Lincoln] was called 'Honest Abe' by those who knew him because always, even in little things, he wanted to see perfect justice done; and thus it was, when he came to things of large importance, that the man was only a boy grown tall, not only in stature but in the things that make for righteousness in a nation" (1911, p. 338). These "great" men proved their manhood by displaying through appearance and action bravery, pride, honor, and protective behavior (over women and the weak – which are not mutually exclusive). These desirable attributes for Boy Scouts tie directly into conceptualizations of nationalism. Joane Nagel argues that "the culture of nationalism is constructed to emphasize and resonate with masculine cultural themes. Terms such as *honor, patriotism, cowardice, bravery*, and *duty* are hard to distinguish as either nationalistic or masculinist since they seem so thoroughly tied both to the nation and to

manhood" (Nagel, 2003, p. 160). These terms, among others such as loyalty and obedience, are consistent across handbook sections where manhood, citizenship, and nationalism are the focus. In discussing nationalism and masculinity as salient themes in Boy Scout materials it is also important to clarify what I mean by the term "masculine."

It is clear that the Boy Scout organization sought to instill hegemonically masculine traits in their members, and have fought since the beginning to keep their methods intact. Hegemonic masculinity, while not necessarily "normal …is certainly normative"; meaning it represents the "most honored way of being a man" and "require[s] all other men to position themselves in relation to it" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). A Boy Scout member will be socialized to the organization's interpretation of the right way to be a man, which is influenced by the dominant masculine traits in society at any given time. There is a hegemonically masculine ideology within the Boy Scouts organization, i.e., to be white, upper class, and heterosexual. This is an ideology that the organization has fought historically to preserve.

During the early years of the Girl Scouts' existence in The United States, the Chief Boy Scout Executive claimed that the use of the word "scout" in the Girl Scout organization should be removed as he "firmly believed that scouting was only for men and boys, and that, at best, a woman's place was to guide" (Rothschild, 1981, p. 118). He led a heated and public crusade, which lasted for nearly 25 years against the Girl Scouts, eventually leading to a lawsuit in 1924[4]. This man dedicated his life to ensuring the masculinization of this leadership term and fought for that social recognition as well. How leadership is conceptualized and operationalized drives behavior in these organizations, and is essential to understanding the effect of each organization on its members' socialization. Mimi Schippers argues that there is "an ascendancy of hegemonic

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[4] Though the Chief Boy Scout Executive, James E. West, had his attorneys prepare a lawsuit against the Girl Scouts the case never actually went to court. The suit "alleged patent violations concerning their use of the word 'scout' on various camping articles" (Rothschild, 1981, p. 118).

femininity over other femininities to serve the interests of the gender order and male domination"

(2007, p. 94). We see in images throughout Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials depictions of

hegemonically feminine and masculine ideals.

Figure 1 below, from the ninth edition *Official Boy Scout Handbook* provides imagery to

suggest an appropriate division of labor in the home for men and women. Additionally,

members are presented with ideal physical appearances of men and women – white, thin, and

physically fit. Likewise, Figure 2 below from the fifth edition *Girl Scout Handbook* reiterates

women's roles in the home and community as well as physical appearance standards for women

and girls. Imagery is used throughout both sets of handbooks to help conceptualize "the ideal

scout" for all members. For example, a severe lack of racial diversity is evident in Boy Scout

handbooks until the ninth edition *Official Boy Scout Handbook*. Not only are all boys found to

embody a particular physique, but they are almost always white. The images below suggest that

a certain type of femininity is desirable and appropriate for girls, and provides a standard by

which all Girl Scout members can measure themselves. The ways in which Girl Scouts

participate in the organization, and in society, is heavily influenced by hegemonically feminine

ideals.

Figure 1

Figure 2

Joan Acker notes that "the term 'gendered institutions' means that gender is present in the processes, practices, images and ideologies, and distributions of power in the various sectors of social life" (1992, p. 567). Not only is each scouting organization socializing its members to achieve leadership, but is also simultaneously socialized itself by social institutions. The social institution of gender shapes and defines the structure of a social organization, like Girl Scouts or Boy Scouts. Acker's research on social institutions and the gendering of organizations is central to the interpretation of Girl Scouts' and Boy Scouts' influences on its youth members. "Doing" gender (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126) within a gendered organization, which creates and is

influenced by the actors' performances, is the lens through which I have examined Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts behavior.

Socialization also involves putting in the emotional work that creates a "properly trained" young boy or girl leader. Arlie Russell Hochschild defines "emotion work" as "the act of trying to change in degree or quality an emotion or feeling" (Hochschild, 1979, p. 561). Here I refer to "emotion work" as opposed to "emotional labor" as "labor" denotes a level of economic gain that can come from the "laborer." Since I am referring to children, and not paid workers, as exhibiting emotion work, this term is more suitable for discussing boy and girl members of Scouting. A great deal of emotion work, also referred to as "emotion management," goes into becoming a male leader versus a female leader (Hoschschild, 1983, p. 7). West and Zimmerman (1987) refer to Hochschild's concept of emotion work when presenting the theory of "doing" gender. During the act of gender display, there is an assumed "essential nature" that individuals possess (p. 129). During interaction, one must "produce enactments of [this] essential femininity [and masculinity]" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 144). This performance ("doing") is coupled with actively managing one's emotions ("emotion work") in order to reconcile one's actions with one's emotions. The "essentialness" of gender is highly reinforced in single-sex youth organizations, like Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, and is critical to the sustainability of these organizations. Keeping in mind the gendered nature of performances, I address how the handbooks from both organizations encourage emotion work, either explicitly or implicitly, and influence the performance and achievement of leadership. I also suggest that this emotion work performed through the process of socialization acts as a guide when transitioning to a working adult, where emotional labor is employed routinely. These theoretical perspectives provide the

basis for understanding how such performances are influenced by and managed within social organizations, which are themselves gendered.

I will employ the aforementioned theoretical perspective of "doing" gender to ground this research. The theoretical concepts of "doing" gender and "emotion work" are integrated with the perspective that organizations are influenced by the social institution of gender. The essentialness of gender characteristics is assumed in the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, as exhibited by their titles. Therefore, the "doing" of leadership by its members is also gendered and is the lens through which I examined the organizational handbooks. These processes are framed in terms of belonging to the group, and achieving and demonstrating that sense of belonging is a prominent message in Scouting.

4   METHODS

In this study, I investigate how popular single-sex, youth-based organizations contribute to gendered identity formations. To do so, I performed a content analysis of Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks published between 1911 and 2001. This equates to roughly one handbook per decade over a hundred year period for each organization. Because I sought to understand a social phenomenon involving gendered leadership in the workplace, I chose to review content that reflects the socialization of members in youth-based leadership organizations, which historically claim to contribute to "successful" adult careers. The best approach to understanding this phenomenon, and how the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations and others like it fit into the equation, is to look at the construction of gendered leadership over time within each organization. A content analysis approach is extremely well-suited for studying social and cultural change, as well as analyzing the past in order to explain present social phenomena (Singleton, Jr. & Straits, 2010); both topics that this research directly investigates.

During the process of learning to display gender, individuals will employ resources as "a manual of procedure," (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 135) such as other peoples' opinions or critiques of behavior. The Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations provide literal manuals (i.e., handbooks) that teach young boys and girls how to properly display leadership. Because these are single-sex organizations, they assume that leadership be taught in a gendered fashion. In discussing corporate dress codes, author Kirsten Dellinger notes that organizations often provide formal, written codes to convey the rules about proper attire (2002, p. 5). Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks not only provide guidelines for proper member attire, but also strongly convey through written documentation the organizations' expectations for behavior and appearance.

Descriptive information on proper uniform presentation serves as a guide to assist the member in the socialization process.

There are 112 chartered Girl Scout councils (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2012) and more than 300 Boy Scout council service centers nationwide (Boy Scouts of America, 2012), and the organizations' handbooks are distributed to each location every year[5]. Because the handbooks are published by the national movement headquarters, Girl Scouts of the USA (GSUSA) and Boy Scouts of America (BSA), and are used by every council, they are representative of materials used to socialize each organization's participants nationwide. These materials provide formal rules for socialization into the organizational culture, and are distributed in a widespread and standardized fashion.

My analysis is limited to Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks that I could obtain. A convenience sample was used for both Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials as there was not a supply of all handbooks online or locally available, although Girl Scout materials were much easier to obtain than Boy Scout materials. As previously mentioned, Boy Scout handbooks have retained, generally, the same title since the first publication in 1911. Each edition published was used for several years prior to the next edition's release. For the most part, one handbook edition exists per decade from 1911 to 2012. I ordered all Boy Scout handbooks online or through a collector whom I located through a family member. As I needed to purchase each handbook, and older editions were as costly as $75 per handbook, resource limitations also restricted the total Boy Scout handbooks that were used. However, given the range of printing dates for each

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[5] A "council" refers to an office run by Boy Scout or Girl Scout staff, including local headquarters and remote stores and volunteer centers. A "council service center" includes volunteer service centers (which are also often run by a small group of council staff) as well as local organizations, such as schools and churches, that partner with Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts for the use of their facilities.

edition that was purchased, the sample adequately represents the range of handbook material that has been published by The Boy Scouts of America throughout its lifecycle (see Appendix A).

For Girl Scout handbooks, I was able to access a wide range of materials from the local council in the Metro Atlanta area. Girl Scout handbooks do not follow as standard a publishing timeline as Boy Scouts. Girl Scouts, having changed their handbook title and program dissemination strategy numerous times over the last century, and have anywhere from four to twenty-nine documented editions of each version of their handbook. This equals more than 320 possible editions of handbooks in this subset of the sampling frame. In order to remain consistent with Boy Scout materials used during analysis, the Girl Scout publications used are only those that have been described by the Girl Scouts Collector's Guide (Degenhardt & Kirsch, 2005) as "handbooks," either in the book title or in the description of the publication (see Appendix A). Beginning in 1951, Girl Scouts began printing materials specific to program level. Program levels were developed and content was divided into age-specific groups (i.e., Daisy, Brownie, Cadette, Junior, Senior, and Ambassador). The Junior level Girl Scout program most closely aligns to the Boy Scout age requirements historically. There has been some variation in age requirements throughout the years for both organizations. For example, in the fifth edition *Handbook for Boys* the age requirement is 12 years (Boy Scouts of America, 1948); however, by the eleventh edition *Boy Scout Handbook* the age requirement had shifted to 11 years (Boy Scouts of America, 1998). It was determined that selecting Junior level Girl Scout handbooks in post-1951 editions, where the age range is 9 – 11, would be most appropriate to compare both organizational materials over the one hundred year period in which they were published.

In the selection of Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks, I controlled for time period, as well as political and social changes related to leadership and gender over time, by examining at minimum one handbook from each organization for each decade over the last one hundred years. Since 1913 (when the first Girl Scout handbook was printed) there has been significant progress in women's rights, including women's suffrage in 1920, the Supreme Court decision of Roe V. Wade in 1973, as well as other political and legislative strides toward gender equality. A historical analysis of handbooks over time was employed to uncover evidence of changing social ideology about gender, due to these and other social advances and changes.

There is a large body of research that attempts to categorize and conceptualize leadership styles in a gendered fashion (see Kerr & Jermier 1978; Eagly & Johnson 1990; Powell, 1990; Druskat, 1994; Bass, Avolio & Atwater 1996; Maher, 1997; Pounder & Coleman, 2002; Oshagbemi & Gill, 2003; Anderson & Hansson, 2011), and these were the resources used to define the "masculine" versus "feminine" gendered attributes of leadership. Commonly referenced categories of leadership, such as relationship-oriented versus task-oriented (Kerr & Jermier, 1978), democratic/participative versus autocratic/directive (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), and transformational versus transactional (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996), were used as baseline concepts during the coding process to pinpoint indicators of gendered styles of leadership throughout the content. Using open coding indicator identification (LaRossa, 2005), I identified the key indicators of "leadership" behavior and relate them back to established leadership categories. Using this approach, the researcher "while coding an indicator for a concept …compares that indicator with previous indicators that have been coded in the same way" (LaRossa, 2005, p. 841). This method promotes analytical consistency and a technique for constant comparison throughout the coding process.

Eagly and Johnson use indicators such as empathy, cooperation, and understanding as defining characteristics of a more feminized, or "participative," type of leadership style, while using indicators such as independence and assertiveness to define those leadership characteristics most associated with masculine styles of leadership (Eagly & Johnson, 1990). To analyze the materials, I used a modified grounded theory approach, loosely influenced by established styles of leadership in existing literature, to conceptualize leadership in both organizations and illustrate the gendered nature of the concept (LaRossa, 2005). I looked to these well-documented styles of leadership, found both in academic and non-academic literature, to provide a framework for establishing indicators of gendered leadership. This involved coding the actions and characteristics (indicators) that embody "leadership" for each organization in the handbooks selected and connecting these leadership attributes with the hegemonically masculine and feminine indicators for leadership in the business world. Lastly, during the coding and analysis stages of this project, I was careful to keep an open mind about categories and indicators potentially not represented in the literature reviewed. For example, it became apparently that the concept of "belonging" was integral to framing behaviors associated with leadership development in both organizations. This concept of belonging was used to explain and defend certain behaviors that a scout should exhibit. I allowed themes to emerge by not using a strict set of previously-defined leadership indicators, and instead allowing the content itself to drive the coding process. Confining categorization during coding and analysis to only include those themes already present in existing literature can be limiting. While it was certainly important to use the currently established themes on leadership as a guide during coding, I was able to identify other themes much more easily by not limiting myself.

A total of 1357 codes were identified, with some duplication present. For example, the code "Native American" was used to identify when this term or images and depictions of Native Americans were present. The code "Indians" was used when that language specifically was used to describe behaviors and actions based in "Indian" lore (ex. Indian signs). These codes are extremely similar and in most cases appeared to be interchangeable; therefore they needed to be grouped together. Other instances of duplication present regarding codes related to specific behaviors. For example, "be calm" and "stay calm" are two behaviors identified throughout both Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials and in essence represent the same desired behavior. Identified codes, such as these, were then groups into "families" for analysis. Families here indicate overarching themes that emerged within the reviewed material and are comprised of many codes. Using families I was able to tell which codes were related to one another and which themes were most prevalent throughout the content. A total of 40 families were identified (see Appendix B). For example, in describing how to become a scout a key component is to perform skills or trades, such as beekeeping, homemaking, camping, rowing, business, and first aid. These activities were associated with merit badges or general skill building. Therefore, codes of this nature were grouped into the larger family of "Merit Badges/Skills." Codes can also be associated with more than one family. So while "homemaking" is grouped into the "Merit Badges/Skills" family, it is also grouped under the families "Womanhood/Femininity," "Domesticity," as well as "Roles/Positions." In using families, I was also able to link theoretical concepts, quotes and other notes throughout the coding process.

Similarities and differences between Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials were assessed during analysis. However, this is not as easy as merely looking at identified codes. For example, "decision-making" is a code that was found in both sets of materials. But what kind of

decision-making is taking place? Who is empowered to do the decision-making? For Boy Scouts, in each edition reviewed, the scout himself is empowered with the ability and encouragement to make decisions for himself and his troop. For a Boy Scout, a leader is a person "who [has] ability and reliability enough to carry responsibility in business, in government, in church, everywhere" (Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 392). For Girl Scouts, I found that in later editions where girls are empowered with decision-making abilities and encouragement, making decisions should be done with a focus on participation and input from a larger group. This way of understanding the process of decision-making would relate more directly to the more "feminine" styles of leadership previously mentioned.

Literature suggests that in examining an organizational concept, it is important to understand its current as well as past conceptualizations. Once "organizations achieve pasts of accomplishment, they may use these pasts to make claims in the present" (Maines, Sugrue, & Katovich, 1983, p. 167). Likewise, as Girl Scouts and Boy Scouts develop new initiatives each year, they evaluate their perceived historical successes. I closely examined how the selected sample of handbooks portrays leadership, as well as masculinity and femininity, over time. Connell and Messerschmidt note that the components of hegemonic masculinity are "open to historical change" (2005, p. 7). Social institutions, such as gender, are also "continuously changing" (Martin, 2004). Following this logic, hegemonically feminine concepts, as well as concepts of leadership, also change over time. In reviewing the chosen materials, I looked for the previously defined categories, as well as possible emergent categories, related to gendered leadership styles and attempted to understand the progression of such themes through a historical lens. I anticipated changes in promoted leadership styles in the Girl Scout organizational texts, which would have developed alongside social gender equality progression. I expected the Boy

Scout organization to have a more stagnant message throughout history, as was exhibited by their public resistance to change membership policies related to sexual orientation (Boy Scouts of America, 2012). Both predictions I found to be true throughout the content.

5   RESULTS

The project I have described above is a historical content analysis of Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks, insofar as they relate to leadership and notions of achieving successful adulthood. The essentialness of gender is reinforced in the Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, where "doing" leadership is comprised of how boys and girls perform and achieve goals related to leadership development. Likewise, the process of "emotion work" also takes place in the context of these gendered organizations and is essential as I address single-sex, youth-based organizations' contributions to gender inequality preservation. Belonging too is a salient theme used to frame and explain the reasons behind teaching these ways of doing and feeling. These handbooks serve as the manuals of behavior for participants and provide the best approach to understanding current and past socialization methods of Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts.

My argument here is composed of several parts. First, I argue that the process of "doing" leadership is taking place throughout the content of handbook materials in both organizations. Second, I argue that emotion work is taking place and is strongly promoted in ways of "being" and feeling in Girl Scout materials. In Boy Scout materials, feelings and emotions are couched more implicitly in messages of performance. Third, I argue that the concept of belonging is instrumental in promoting leadership behavior and ways of being through rituals, practices and ceremonies, as well as value in personal appearance in both organizations. Next, I address how desired behavior of scouts, both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, promotes gendered leadership styles. Finally, I connect this behavior to commonly recognized leadership styles in the

corporate self-help literature, and suggest that these behaviors perpetuate gender inequality in the workplace among adults.

5.1   Doing

The process of "doing" is evident throughout Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbook materials. As handbooks are instructional by design, it makes sense that specific ways of performing tasks that relate to becoming a proper Boy Scout or Girl Scout would be the primary focus of the content. Findings show that for both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts story-telling, appearance and perception by others, as well as earning merit and proficiency badges are the key ways in which "doing" gender and "doing" leadership are enforced.

In their work to understand story-telling from a sociological approach, Francesca Poletta et. al. aim to understand "how stories work, what they are good for, and whether they should be trusted" (Polletta, Chen, Gardner, & Motes, 2011, p. 110). These authors use William Labov's definition of narrative (with the terms "narrative" and "story" here being interchangeable): "a narrative is an account of a sequence of events in the order in which they occurred to make a point" (Polletta, et. al., p. 111, quoting Labov). Throughout Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks we consistently see the use of story-telling as a means to teach and encourage leadership behavior, as well as a method used to deter undesirable behavior.

Storytelling is used throughout historical Boy Scout content as a way to teach boys about American history, how America came to be, how the "great leaders" and "great men" of America conducted themselves, and how boys should take after these historical figures. In the first section of the second edition *Official Handbook for Boys*, titled "What Is a Boy Scout?," it is noted that a scout "patterns his life after those of great Americans who have had a high sense of duty and who have served the nation well" (Boy Scouts of America, 1925, p. xii). Stories of

historical figures are used to teach boys how to perform certain tasks and ultimately how to "do" manhood, leadership, and citizenship. For example, present in each handbook is the "Story of a Good Turn." "Do a good turn daily" is the Boy Scout and Girl Scout slogan. To reiterate the meaning of the good turn, and sponsor its following, the story is told of how William D. Boyce, an American businessman, experienced the good turn of a scout who helped him when he was lost while visiting London (Hillcourt, 1986, p. 473). This story is used to help boy members understand the reason behind why a good turn must be done daily through its historical significance. The meaning behind ways of being and doing is essential to these instructional guides and the stories within them during each decade. For example, the story of Annie Adams and her use of the North Star to return to her camp site is important in explaining the meaning and importance of knowing how to use a compass and map (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933). It seems as if Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts cleverly incorporate the meaning and purpose behind activities and ways of being as a preemptive strike to that question that children always seem to ask – "why?"

The Girl Scout approach to teaching behavior is framed similarly in many ways to that of the Boy Scouts, with one distinguishing factor of course – how to be a *girl* scout. In the first Girl Scout edition *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, the story of a woman named Nancy Hart and how she defended herself and her daughter from a group of men who ambushed her home teaches girls "that self-control is very necessary in being prepared in time of danger" (Hoxie, 1913, p. 11). The story of Louisa Alcott, author of the popular turn-of-the-century novel *Little Women*, is used in many earlier editions to explain that while girls can go out and learn skills and trades and become successful in many ways, they are not to forget their place and that their first duty is to the home and family. One handbook states, "Girl Scouts should remember that the woman whose books are so widely known had to drop the pen often for the needle, the dishcloth,

and the broom" (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933, p. 16). Additionally, how a girl conducts herself with the opposite sex is important in explaining what behavior is appropriate for girls and women. In the first Girl Scout edition *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, the message pleads, "Don't let any man make love to you unless he wants to marry you, and you are willing to do so. Don't marry a man unless he is in a position to support you and a family" (Hoxie, 1913, p. 109). In later editions, stories about dating boys and puberty are used to help normalize the feelings that girls have about the opposite sex (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994). Story-telling here is used to socialize girls to participate in appropriate gendered interactions – in the home, in relation to the opposite sex, and in society.

Additionally, in Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks, story-telling is used to deter behaviors deemed unfit for a "real girl" (Hoxie, 1913, p. 12) or a "real scout" (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 214). In a section included in the eighth edition *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* on prejudice and discrimination, a narrative dialogue format is used to provide an example of how stereotypes often occur and explain that this is a problem that should be actively avoided by young boys and girls:

> "*Bernadette (Coordinator)*: Welcome everybody to our first National Forum on Kids and Prejudice. Some of you may feel uncomfortable talking about this subject, so we thought we should all discuss setting some ground rules – and everyone has to agree to them. No exceptions, right?
>
> *Roberto (Male Participant)*: She's tough!
>
> *Bernadette (Coordinator)*: What are you saying – girls can't be tough??? Maybe we have our first stereotype. And we haven't even been here a minute!
>
> *Roberto (Male Participant)*: I was joking, okay?

Lin (Female Participant): That's part of the problem: jokes that make fun of people because of their race or because of anything – age, gender abilities."

(Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 122)

The back and forth discussion between Bernadette, Roberto and Lin here provide Girl Scout members reading the material with a sense of what language might be used in stereotyping a person, which is a behavior addressed as undesirable and unacceptable of a scout. Leaders, in Girl Scouts, are fair and do not judge others. However, this is not restricted to how *girl* scouts "do" leadership. In many Boy Scout Handbook editions, it is made clear that a scout and leader does not engage in behavior that makes fun of those with disabilities or other disadvantages, but is instead a person "who will never take unfair advantage of any one in any way" (Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 207). The idea of fairness however, outside of good sportsmanship, is primarily found in Girl Scout conceptualizations of leadership. A Girl Scout is taught that, "A good patrol leader deals fairly with her patrol. She gives each member a chance to express her opinion and to offer suggestions" (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933, p. 24). Fairness for girls revolves around ways of being a leader, which incorporate a more democratic/participative style than Boy Scouts. To be fair in Boy Scouting is also a desirable attribute in leaders, but is framed by ideologies of citizenship and obedience. "They [great leaders] learned to obey before they learned to lead. That's why real men hold obedience high" (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 90). Concepts of obedience and citizenship are found in Girl Scouting as well, but for a Boy Scouts this directly impacts boys' manhood and development into a "real man."

Boys are taught that as leaders they should avoid showing fear in emergency situations and that they need to remain calm in order to be effective leaders. Using a quote from the founder of the Woodcraft Indians, and also one of the founding fathers of The Boy Scouts of

America, Ernest Thompson Seton, the eleventh edition *Boy Scout Handbook* teaches that, "The worst thing you can do is to get frightened. The truly dangerous enemy is not the cold or the hunger, so much as the fear. It is fear that robs the wanderer of his judgment and of his limb power….Only keep cool and all will be well" (Seton cited in BSA 1998, p. 41). Not only are historically significant figures in Boy Scouting used to enforce proper scout behavior, but the reinforcement of hegemonically masculine ideals is also present. Throughout Boy Scouting, what it means to be a scout and citizen is closely tied to ideas of nationalism and patriotism. Concepts such as *honor* and *bravery* are some of the founding laws in scouting that have remained constant throughout time. As previously noted, such concepts are identifiable to prevalent culture understandings of nationalism and manhood (Nagel, 2003). Story-telling about male leaders is used to help explain the meaning of manhood for Boy Scouts.

These stories reflect ideals present in both organizations about the importance of behaving a particular way in order to exude the essentialness of what it means to be a Boy versus a Girl Scout and leader. Ingrained in these stories as well is a focus on the importance of appearance, which is essential in fostering a convincing gender presentation. The way that appearance and its significance are approached differs greatly between Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials – which will be addressed shortly. But first, it is important to note the similarities between the two. In both sets of handbooks, mostly in early editions, cleanliness of the body and clothing are important components to how one "does" scouting and exudes a sense of leadership and belonging. One of the lasting tenets of the Scout Law in Boy Scouting is number eleven – "A scout is clean: He keeps clean in body and thought, stands for clean speech, clean sport, clean habits, and travels with a clean crowd" (The Boy Scouts of America, 1911, p. 16). In each edition, Boy Scout handbooks provide explicit instructions for how to clean various parts of the

body – including nails, hair, feet, eyes, ears, skin, and hands. Girls too are instructed to keep

their bodies clean, yet there is a significant emphasis as the handbooks progress on a girl's hair

as an indicator of her cleanliness and femininity.   As the saying goes, "cleanliness is next to

godliness." Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts draw close ties to reverence and godliness in handbooks

throughout the century as well. Religious connections to the teaching of Boy Scouting and Girl

Scouting will be addressed more thoroughly in the section on "belonging."

To a Boy Scout, the uniform is important to presenting oneself as a member of the

organization as well as displaying the proper appearance of a dedicated scout, citizen, and leader.

A Boy Scout is taught that, "when you get your uniform wear it with pride. Take good care of it.

Wear it when you go Scouting" (Boy Scouts of America, 1948, p. 51). Additionally, "As a

Scout, you are careful of your clothes at all times – your uniform as well as your civilian wear"

(Boy Scouts of America, 1970, p. 59) Not only is a boy careful to ensure his appearance as a

Scout meets specified standards, but as a citizen he is encouraged to take pride in his appearance

at all times. Pride, appearance, and masculinity here are intertwined. Part of "growing into

manhood" means that while you may "feel like a man, [and] act like one," you must also look

like one (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 410).

Physical strength is a major component to the Boy Scout's understanding of appearance.

This is also true with Girl Scouts to some degree, but the concept of "physical appearance" is

framed differently in each organization. The introduction to the first edition *Official Handbook
for Boys* entices members to join as means "to have all-round, well-developed muscles…those of

a sound body that will not fail you" (The Boy Scouts of America, 1911, p. xi). Figure 3 (Boy

Scouts of America, 1931) below depicts just one example of a scout's physique and sets the bar

for the body that a scout should achieve in Scouting, as well as reinforces cultural standards of masculinity.
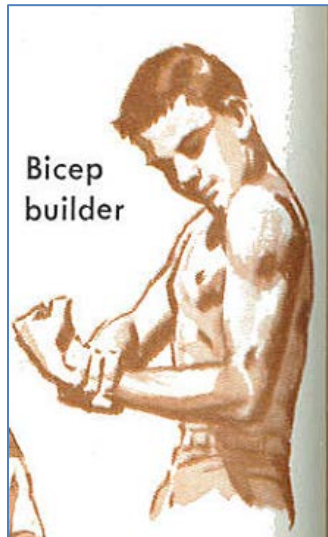
Figure 3

The uniform is a critical piece used to outwardly display one's cleanliness. For Boy Scouts it is noted that, "A Scout gets greater satisfaction when wearing his Uniform as well as much more wear out of it, if he keeps it clean and repaired" (Boy Scouts of America, 1946, p. 45). As mentioned previously, cleanliness is a large part of what it means to be physically strong and have the proper appearance of a scout. Even advertisements in Boy Scout handbooks, for items such as guns, shoes, and hair products, suggest that, "a scout takes pride in neat appearance. Including neat hair, of course" (Boy Scouts of America, 1948, p. 545). A boy's appearance is discussed too as an expression of one's membership, loyalty and dedication to his country. One's appearance is directly tied to his commitment to scouting, citizenship, and his country. The uniform here is used to express that commitment and show one's position as a scout and a citizen. It is an essential component in "doing" Scouting. There are strict guidelines provided in these texts on how the uniform must be worn, when it must be worn, and when it

cannot be worn. Figure 4 (Boy Scouts of America, 1925) below comes from the second edition

Official Handbook for Boys and provides a diagram for boys on how to wear all pieces of the
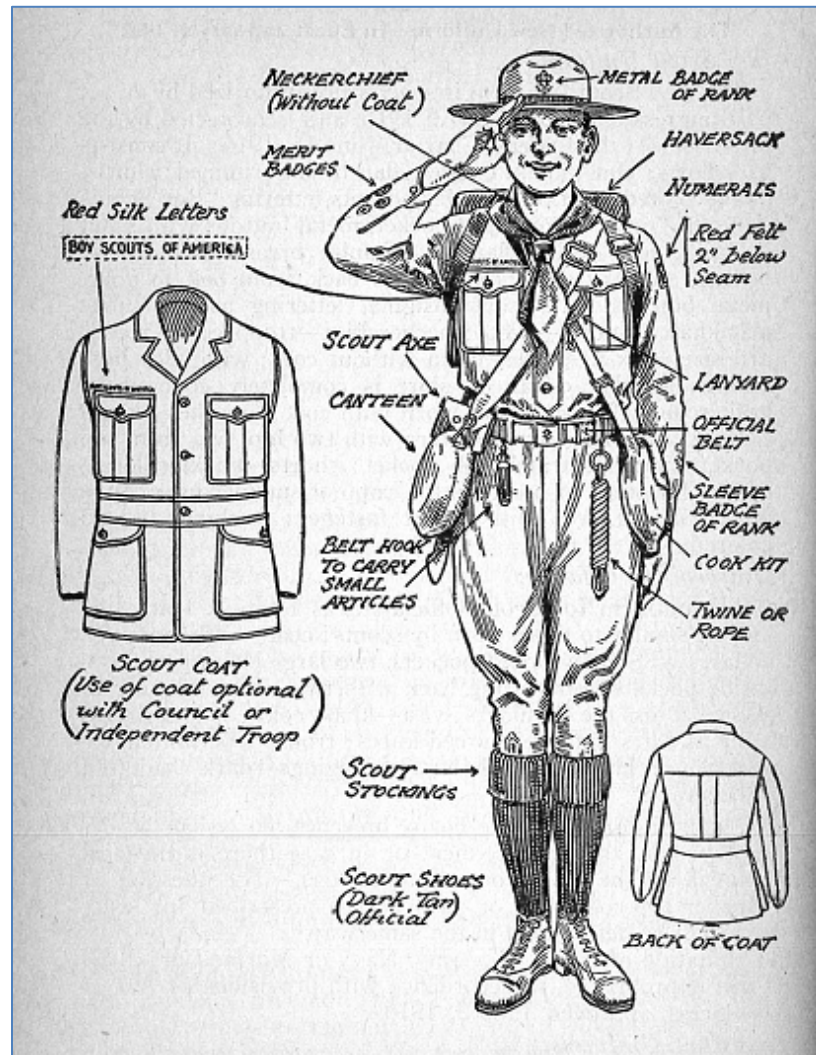
uniform correctly.

Figure 4

There does not seem to be any flexibility on the topic of how the uniform should be worn

by Boy Scout members, which aligns with a military-like approach to standard dress codes and

appearance[6]. Directions for proper attire and conduct are present in many sections of this set of handbooks and remain constant throughout time. The Scout Law is described as "the code of strong, clean American Citizenship" (Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 33). The hegemonically masculine ideal of what a Boy Scout, and a man, are and do is an overt message throughout all Boy Scout content, especially with regard to discussions of the uniform, physique, and general appearance. West and Zimmerman note that "little boys appropriate the gender ideal of 'efficaciousness,' that is, being able to affect the physical and social environment through the exercise of physical strength or appropriate skills" (1987, p. 141). This concept could not be more evident in Boy Scout handbooks, which underscore that skills such as swimming – an activity identified as key to building personal health and strength in every Boy Scout Handbook – help to build muscles and sculpt a healthy body. Manhood and physical appearances for the young Boy Scout go hand-in-hand.

More leeway is provided in Girl Scouting with regard to the presentation of the uniform and its importance in presenting oneself as a Girl Scout. This is not to say that the meaning of the uniform is not a strong message in Girl Scouting, but rather the strict code for adorning the uniform is not present as it is in Boy Scouting. The military component that so strongly drives the Boy Scout dress code is removed from Girl Scout handbooks. Instead, using the uniform to express one's unique identity comes to the forefront, with "different pieces that you can mix or match" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 17). Physical appearance outside of the uniform is also essential, such as styling one's hair in various ways to "give you a new look" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 88). Expressing one's identity through physical appearance is a way of achieving gender for Girl Scouts. The third edition *Girl Scout Handbook* clearly expresses the

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[6] Skills such as learning Morse code are referenced throughout early scout handbooks, which has been historically used in military service and training. Many components of Boy Scouting have military foundations.

importance of appearance for young girls in society: "Carefully selected, well-kept clothing is of importance, for it is by her personal appearance that the world at large judges a girl" (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933, p. 379). Among theories of gender socialization, it is widely accepted that "by about age five it [gender] is certainly fixed, unvarying, and static – much like sex" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 126). Girl Scouting begins at age five, at the Brownie level, and a guide for socializing girls can be found in Girl Scout handbooks historically. Explicit instructions for how a girl should dress, talk, and act can be found throughout this content. What a Girl Scout does is strategically reinforced by describing proper behaviors and appearances of a scout. After all, "every girl wants to be good-looking" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 199). "Little girls learn to value 'appearance,' that is, managing themselves as ornamental objects ….Both classes of children [boys and girls] learn that the recognition and use of sex categorization in interaction are not optional, but mandatory" (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 141).

West and Zimmerman speak about "doing" gender as the process of achieving gender through culturally significant behaviors (West & Zimmerman, 1987, p. 140). In both organizations, earning merit or proficiency badges and developing abilities in various skills and trades are used to develop confidence and leadership in young members. From cooking to building, dramatics to mathematics, badges represent an important avenue to showcase your achievements in Scouting. Specific instructions for how to achieve each badge are outlined in both Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks. Activities and documentation are used to prove that you have indeed achieved a particular skillset in order to receive a badge. Both Boy Scout and Girl Scout badges include what might be thought of as traditionally masculine and feminine skill sets. Cooking and gardening, for example, are skills that both boy and girl members are provided the opportunity to learn. In early editions of the Girl Scout handbooks, a woman's

place is in the home primarily, although we can see that she is increasingly provided more opportunities outside this environment (see Appendix C). These historical changes can be attributed to the progression of women's rights in The United States over time. How a girl leads, what she is capable of, and the opportunities available to her expand as the decades progress. After women received the right to vote in The United State in 1920, girls' abilities to lead as opposed to just guide or support other people become a salient theme. By the eighth edition *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* a girl can earn a leadership badge by performing 5 out of 8 available activities, including interviewing someone she considers a leader, making a list of leaders, or taking on a leadership role in her troop, school or community (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994). After completing each activity the girl must provide some proof, in the form of a presentation or some amount of document, that she has completed the tasks at hand. This demonstration to prove achievement of skills is the common format found in both Boy Scout and Girl Scout instructions for earning badges.

Doing gender and leadership is reinforced by story-telling, taking care of one's appearance at all times, and by earning merit and proficiency badges as a way of proving achievement of a particular skill. Similarities and differences in the approach to the process of "doing" are evident in both organizations, and it is clear that the differences are driven by an emphasis on the inherent "essentialness" of gender.

5.2 Emotion Work

Emotion work refers to a private process whereby the individual manages his/her emotions in order to adhere to social norms found in every day social life (Hochschild, 1979). Hochschild notes that, "rules seem to govern how people try or try not to feel in ways

'appropriate to the situation.' Such a notion suggests how profoundly the individual is 'social,' and 'socialized' to try to pay tribute to official definitions of situations, with no less than their feelings" (1979, p. 552). These rules for how to manage one's emotions in various social situations are clarified and reinforced for scouts via instructional guides such as handbooks. I argue that in Girl Scout handbooks, emotion work is strongly encouraged and feelings are explicitly used to drive appropriately gendered behavior in both membership audiences. For Boy Scouts, although some emotions such as sympathy and fear are addressed, we do not see the same focus on intentional emotion management as we do in Girl Scout material. The closest Boy Scouts comes to promoting actual emotion work is situated within ideas of nationalism, patriotism and citizenship. *Feeling* a sense of pride in and loyalty to one's country are the hallmarks of a good citizen and scout. How a boy feels about his country, community and family are all taught via Boy Scout handbooks in various ways.

> "Real citizens build the warm elements of patriotism,
> intense love of Country, loyalty to her, readiness to die for
> her or to live one's best for her" (Boy Scouts of America,
> 1931, p. 534).

In this quote from the third edition *Revised Handbook for Boys*, there are certainly emotional components to displaying one's citizenship, comradeship, and dedication to one's country – "love" for example. Yet, how to understand that emotion and internally manage it is not explicitly described for boys. Friendliness too is a large part of being a Boy Scout. One way that this "feeling of friendliness" can be expressed is through wearing the uniform: "The Scout Uniform should be an outward expression of the Scout's inward feeling of friendliness to every other Scout" (Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 77). So while this feeling is mentioned, boys are taught not necessarily to emote, but to allow the uniform to do this for them. Among other Boy

Scouts, it is important to display the proper feeling for any given situation. This is not only true for how a boy handles his feelings about his country, but also about other people. Feelings such as sympathy and happiness are promoted as ways to approach other people. Also showing kindness to women and elderly people is an attribute valued greatly among scouts. For each situation, from camping to family life, boys are given a guide for how to act in ways that demonstrate those feelings. Boys are taught more explicitly how to act, instead of how to feel, as is evident by a quote from the sixth edition *Official Handbook for Boys*, "A real Scout is a fellow who CAN and IS and DOES" (Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 214).

In later Boy Scout editions, how to manage interactions with others becomes more explicit. By the eleventh edition, there is an entire section dedicated to this art, titled accordingly "Getting Along With Others" (Boy Scouts of America, 1998, pp. 367-381). This section walks a boy through actions such as how to meet other people, listen to others, be a friend to someone, and even addresses sexual relationships with the opposite sex. How a boy feels about himself is also an important component that informs how he interacts with others; however, guidelines for managing emotions again are not explicitly defined. Concepts such as independence and self-reliance instill confidence in boys so that they may develop comfort when faced with any social situation. "Scouting teaches independence. By knowing what to do, you develop trust in your own abilities, and you have the quiet confidence that you can always do your best no matter what happens" (Boy Scouts of America, 1998, p. 363). Implicit in this message is developing a feeling of security. This may be the closest that Boy Scouts comes to promoting true emotion work. Learning how to feel about yourself is correlated with how you are able to perform various activities and manage social situations. Managing social situations is also essential in managing feelings associated with being a man versus a woman.

In Boy Scouting, as I have mentioned, there are close ties to displays of manhood and one's feelings about country and community. "A Scout is loyal to his Country. As a Scout, you show respect for your Country's Flag, for its laws and its government and institution. You prove your loyalty by helping in your community" (Boy Scouts of America, 1948, p. 30). Pride, loyalty, and bravery are feelings that young boys must demonstrate in order to prove that they live up to The Scout Law and are becoming the appropriate type of boy, scout, and citizen. The "proof" of these feelings is important to note as well. Reciting the pledge of allegiance, learning the Star-Spangled Banner and memorizing The Scout Promise/Oath are all ways in which a boy proves to himself, his troop leader, and his peers that he feels strongly about his country. It is through these mechanisms that the Boy Scout becomes a scout, and a man.

Not showing fear and staying calm is a large component of being a scout and a man as well. The handbooks discuss that while fear is a normal way to feel, this feeling should be suppressed in order to safely and effectively manage any situation or incident. The Scout Motto is to "be prepared." In order to be prepared and ensure safety of oneself and others around you, a boy must try his best not to display fear. For example, when discussing the activity of swimming, "it requires a little courage and enough strength not to lose your head" (The Boy Scouts of America, 1911, p. 155). This process of "staying calm," "keeping one's wits about him," "be[ing] prepared," and ultimately not showing fear when danger is upon you are common messages throughout Boy Scout handbooks. Additionally, bravery is signified by overcoming one's fears – a concept which we have already identified as an important component of masculinity, nationalism, and patriotism. Managing the outward display of fear is part of the work involved in becoming a proper Boy Scout. Yet, explicit emotion work is not present.

For Girl Scouts, the handbook content clearly tackles feelings and emotions. Feelings such as empathy and happiness are also present in these handbooks. "Happiness" in particular is an emotion framed as the responsibility of a Girl Scout. In earlier editions (1st – 5th), much of the focus of a Girl Scout has to do with responsibilities in the home, not surprisingly. Clearly, a woman's primary function is caring for the family and the home, although the handbooks also encourage outdoor and group activities. An important part of scouting is exuding a pleasant and charming demeanor, and emotions must be constantly managed in order to maintain this display. The content does not encourage girls during this time to let all of their emotions show. One section even notes that, "It has been scientifically proved that if you deliberately *make* your voice and face cheerful and bright you immediately begin to feel that way" (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1920, p. 9). So despite how a girl might actually feel, she is encouraged to manage those emotions internally and only project the proper feelings associated with what it means to be a Girl Scout. This focus on suppressing one's emotions changes throughout the years however.

How to feel and understanding one's own emotion management is a consistent message in Girl Scouting, but the normalization of one's emotions becomes more explicit as time goes on. In later editions, sections are dedicated to specifically address why feelings occur, how to deal with emotions, and how to relate to boys. Girls are taught not to hide their feelings, and instead to let them show as a way to help them "feel better" and make it "easier to get along" with others (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 45). Emotions are connected to the changes that a girl's body goes through as she ages. Puberty (developing breasts, getting one's period, and feelings about the opposite sex) is explained and scientific information is used to help normalize these changes that a girl experiences. Hormones make girls "feel happy one minute and sad the next" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 36). Understanding that it is not their fault that they have

fluctuating feelings helps girls become comfortable with the concept of emotions and the process of emotion management. Puberty is also discussed in Boy Scout handbook content, but only in terms of what physical changes a boy can expect during these formidable years. Sexual feelings, about women only, are also mentioned. Here, the focus is on self-control as a means to respect women and avoid undesirable situations, such as teenage pregnancy or contradicting STDs (Boy Scouts of America, 1998, p. 376). This is an important difference to note between the two organizations – girls must be aware of and learn to actively manage a range of emotions during puberty, while puberty does not affect boys' emotions.

Boys and girls are taught to feel differently in each organization, yet emotion work is clearly happening in Girl Scouts handbooks. It is apparent that concepts of appropriate feelings and how to manage them directly relate to how men and women act and react in various social situations. It is important to keep in mind that not only is managing one's emotions critical in beginning to feel like a scout, but demonstrating emotions publicly is also required. For Boy Scouts, explicit emotion management is less visible, nearly non-existent. Feelings such as sympathy and fear can be found in the Boy Scout handbook content. Yet how to internally manage those feelings is not the main focus. How to outwardly display feelings using specific actions and behaviors is emphasized.

5.3   Belonging

The most salient theme connected to becoming a scout, boy or girl, is a sense of belonging to the group. This is accomplished through a series of rituals, practices, and ceremonies, and value placed upon appearance to show membership to the organization. Marshall explains that "ritual practices transform knowledge into belief and membership into

belonging" (Marshall, 2002, p. 361). First it should be noted that in both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, the Scout Sign, Scout Motto, Scout Handshake (or Hand Clasp), Scout Slogan, Scout Salute, Scout Law, and Scout Promise must all be memorized and either recited or practiced as often as possible and in public settings. In fact, in order to advance beyond the Tenderfoot Class – the lowest level class of scouting for girls and boys – each member must demonstrate to his or her leader that s/he not only has committed these to memory but that s/he can tell you the meaning behind each one in his or her own words. This is the first way in which scouts are initiated and socialized into the group. A brief description of these most important rituals is provided below:

> The **Scout Sign** is a way for leaders to get the attention of scouts as everyone must repeat this action and "come to silent attention."

> The **Scout Motto** is "Be Prepared," and is a phrase used throughout the handbook text to drive actions that encourage awareness and safety. It is based on the "knight's code" from Great Britain.

> The **Scout Handshake** (or Hand Clasp), is "a token of friendship."

> The **Scout Slogan** is to "do a good turn daily [or every day]. It means looking for chances to help throughout each day [and] doing them should be an automatic, normal part of your life."

> The **Scout Salute** is used as a sign of respect and is the way in which scouts greet other higher ranking Scout Officials.

> The **Scout Law** "is the foundation on which the whole Scouting movement is built. In the Scout Law is expressed the conduct which a Scout tries to live up to." [7]

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[7] The Boy Scout Law has held the same twelve principles since its first publication of the handbook, to be: trustworthy, loyal, helpful, friendly, courteous, kind, obedient, cheerful, thrifty, brave, clean, and reverent. The Girl Scout Law includes ten tenets that change throughout time, originally closely following The Boy Scout Law, but transform to include concepts such as "purity," "fairness," and being respectful of oneself, others and authority.

> The **Scout Promise/Oath** is slightly different between Girl
> Scouts and Boy Scouts, but always begins with "on my
> honor, I will try" and includes promises do one's "duty to
> God and my country …other people …and to obey the
> Scout Laws."
>
> (The Official Boy Scout Handbook: Ninth Edition, 1986)

For each component of Scouting above, the meaning and purpose behind participating in such rituals is incorporated into advancement in Scouting and gaining knowledge. Rituals are used as important elements of various ceremonies that honor your commitment and achievements in Scouting. As one advances from a Tenderfoot to Second Class to First Class Scout, one participates in an investiture ceremony where the Scout Promise/Oath is recited in front of your troop and its leaders as well as that scout's family. It is this public ceremony that solidifies the scout's pledge to model him/herself in the image of a scout as it is presented in the handbooks. In Girl Scouting, this class model is present only until the fifth edition, when the structure of program delivery changed and program levels were introduced. No longer were Girl Scouts to become Tenderfoots, Second Class, or First Class scouts. Instead, bridging ceremonies are used to recognize a girl's advancement in program level, which are divided by school grade and loosely by age. For example, when a girl reaches grade four, and is around nine years old, she will "bridge" from Brownie to Junior.

"Ritual participation …orders attention via the *structured activity* that proper observance requires" (Marshall, 2002, p. 363). Rituals like the bridging ceremony, or flag ceremony used in both Boy Scouting and Girl Scouting, have strict agendas that include rites of passage (ex. Reciting the Scout Promise/Oath), receiving a token of membership (ex. A membership pin), and often include singing songs. Marshall, drawing on Durkheim's work, claims that "the most characteristic and universal feature of positive rites is their incorporation of *rhythmic movement*"

(Marshall, 2002, p. 364). Singing is a common practice in both organizations. Some ceremonies may require songs, and singing while hiking or camping is also presented as a group act that promotes togetherness and comradeship. "Singing along the trail helps to pull a group together," (Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 530) notes the third edition *Revised Handbook for Boys*. Songs are employed to promote a sense of belonging and likeness between members. Marshall's theory of ritual practice (Marshall, 2002) follows closely Durkheim's seminal theory of ritual presented in *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (Durkheim, [1912] 1995). Ritual practices, such as singing, in both models incorporate the importance of "focusing of attention," which works toward the "channeling of belonging and belief" (Marshall, 2002, p. 363). Durkheim's work speaks specifically to religious ceremonies, ritual practices and rites while Marshall attempts to apply this concept in a broader context. I argue that Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts use ritual practices, such as bridging ceremonies, flag ceremonies, and recitation of organizational tenets, as a means to develop and create a sense of belonging to the organization. Scouting becomes something the scout "believes" in. The concepts of reverence and "duty to God" are consistent messages in Scouting that work to establish the meaning and importance behind participating in Scouting rituals. This is evident in a quote from the second edition *Official Handbook for Boys* that explains the meaning of a Scout's Promise to do one's "Duty to God. [It is] that greatest of all things, which keeps a boy faithful to his principles and true to his friends and comrades; that gives him a belief in things that are high and noble, and which make him prove his belief by doing his good turn to someone every day" (Boy Scouts of America, 1925, p. 351). Likewise, Girl Scouts are taught to "honor God in the finest way you know …. [and] be faithful to your own religion …. [and] that every day you make the ten Girl Scout Laws a part of your life" (Girl Scouts of the United States of America, 1963, p. 10). It is this sense of belonging

and belief that encourages boys and girls to behave in ways that are in accordance with what it means to be a Scout.

Lastly, the importance of appearance is a valuable concept and is a salient message where topics of membership and belonging are discussed. The uniform is a major indicator of belonging to the Scouting movement. Originally, Boy Scouts claimed that it was not necessary to own a uniform to be a Boy Scout member, however in later years owning the uniform is essential to one's membership in the organization:

> "Only Boy Scouts in good standing – boys who are
> registered with the Boy Scouts of America – have the right
> to wear the official Boy Scout uniform"
> (Boy Scouts of America, 1970, p. 58).

I have already addressed some differences in the level of strictness when instructing how a Boy Scout versus a Girl Scout may wear the uniform. However, existing in both organizations is the powerful connection between the uniform and belonging to the organization. Below are several excerpts from both Girl Scout and Boy Scout Handbooks to demonstrate how this connection is drawn.

> "Just like wearing your Girl Scout membership pin,
> wearing the uniform is another way of showing that you
> belong to an organization."
> (Girl Scouts of the USA, 2001, p. 16)

> "A scout knows that people expect more of him than they
> do of other boys and he governs his conduct so that no
> word of reproach can truthfully be brought against the great
> brotherhood to which he has pledged his loyalty. He seeks
> always to make the word 'Scout' worthy of respect of
> people whose opinions have value. He wears his uniform
> worthily."
> (Boy Scouts of America, 1925, p. xii)

> "The Boy Scouts of America is the largest uniformed body
> of volunteers in the world. This very moment, more than

five million boys and leaders belong to the Boy Scout
movement in the United States and wear the Scout uniform
with pride."

(Boy Scouts of America, 1962, p. 20)

"Most girls wish to have a uniform, and it helps to create
unity and friendliness in a troop. It encourages
comradeship and loyalty, and a sense of pride in the
appearance of the troop."

(Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933, p. 77)

"Remember, the uniform you wear cries aloud, 'I am a
Scout.'"

(Boy Scouts of America, 1931, p. 644)

"A uniform is a privilege of membership enjoyed by Girl
Scouts and Girl Guides around the world."

(Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 1986, p. 12)

"The uniform intensifies good comradeship, encourages
loyalty to the group, and stimulates a feeling of self-respect
which results in the group presenting a much smarter
appearance than it otherwise would."

(Boy Scouts of America, 1925, p. 80)

These examples clearly establish the foundation for the meaning of the uniform to scouts

and create a connection to the boy or girl member between one's appearance, wearing the

uniform, and belonging to the Scout movement. Desired behaviors are then framed around

loyalty to the group and respecting the organization by behaving as a scout should, especially

when wearing the uniform.

Not only does a scout belong to the scouting movement, but s/he is also encouraged to

"become a welcome member of any group" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 4). Belonging stretches

beyond one's troop or the scout organization at large, and learning how to belong is taught

through managing social interactions and how to behave in ways that make you a desirable group

member. By adhering to ritual practices incorporated in Scouting, a boy or girl member actively

comes to belong to the organization and repetitively proves this belonging throughout his or her time as a scout.

5.4   Gendered Leadership in Scouting

I have established that the process of "doing," the process of "emotion work," and the development of a sense of belonging are present throughout Boy Scout and Girl Scout content. And now it is necessary to address how these concepts explain the socialization of gendered leadership styles in each organization. To recap, Eagly and Johnson have focused on addressing the "extent to which leaders (a) behave democratically and allow subordinates to participate in decision making, or (b) behave autocratically and discourage subordinates from participating in decision-making" (Eagly & Johnson, 1990, p. 236). In a similar study, Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, and van Engen also using a meta-analysis approach, "found that female leaders were more transformational than male leaders and also engaged in more of the contingent reward behaviors that are a component of transactional leadership. Male leaders were generally more likely to manifest the other aspects of transactional leadership (active and passive management by exception) and laissez-faire leadership" (2003, p. 569). I argue that evidence of those more "feminine" styles of leadership are found in both Boy Scout and Girl Scout organizations, with Girl Scouts historically containing a stronger focus on "feminine" styles, such as democratic/participative, transformational and relationship-oriented, and evidence of this is more prominent than in Boy Scouts.

"The democratic-autocratic dimension [of leadership] …relates to gender stereotypes, because one component of the agentic or instrumental aspect of these stereotypes is that men are relatively dominant and controlling (i.e., more autocratic and directive than women)" (Eagly &

Johnson, 1990, p. 236). As a gendered organization, Boy Scouts is far more rigid, inflexible, and formalized, especially in earlier versions, which follows Kerr's and Jermier's conceptualization of where one might find more task-oriented leadership (1978). As I have discussed previously, the uniform requirements are a prime example of this rigidity and inflexibility in standards for Boy Scouts. Dana Britton describes the importance of historical foundations that drive gendered organizational structure in the United States' prison system (2003). Likewise, the gendered organizational foundations in Scouting influence both organizations' gendered structures and practices throughout time and help us to understand the gendered nature of Scouting.

Up to this point, I have discussed the similarities between Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts at great length, noting some key differences where appropriate and necessary. It is now that I will turn to some key differences between the organizations, which relate specifically to the concept of leadership. Most differences between the ways in which boys and girls are taught to be leaders exist in early editions of the handbooks. The similarities that develop in leadership promotion as time goes on can be attributed to the vast changes in women's rights and position in society throughout the last century in The United States. These findings contribute to the already vast body of research on gender and leadership by incorporating single-sex, youth-based organizations as gendered organizations promoting gendered styles of leadership.

"Doing" leadership in Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts varies to some degree. Not only should a Boy Scout become a leader through his involvement with Scouting, but he should also make an "effort to develop and demonstrate leadership ability" (Boy Scouts of America, 1948, p. 425). While the concept of demonstrating and proving one's leadership abilities is evident in both sets of handbooks, in Boy Scouts the message is centered on proving these abilities to other important members of one's community. Conversely, in early Girl Scout handbooks, leadership

abilities are mostly confined to the home. For example, leading in terms of being a gracious hostess and leading the charge in duties around the home are primary goals of a young Girl Scout. Sections that highlight these goals include how to "Be Good Mothers" (Hoxie, 1913, p. 14), how to take on the role of "The Hostess" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 298), and how to earn your "homemaking badge." Being supportive of family members, showing consideration and empathy for others, and having a general "people-centered" style of leadership are all consistent with what have been identified as more "feminine" leadership qualities (Kerr & Jermier 1978; Eagly & Johnson 1990; Bass, Avolio & Atwater 1996).

Boy Scout handbooks address home and family life as well and even caring for young children. However, while still important, these duties are secondary to a Boy Scouts commitment to his country and community. A clear connection to division of labor between genders is present in earlier content. From the very beginning, boys are empowered with the ability to lead. Being assertive, independent, and goal-oriented are key attributes of a Boy Scout, which align closely with task-oriented (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) and autocratic/directive (Eagly & Johnson, 1990) styles of leadership, traditionally masculine styles. A proper Boy Scout should also help others, a guiding principle in Boy Scouting. However, his ability to lead is much more salient and consistent over time than this message in Girl Scouting.

There are some similarities in the language that addresses how girls and boys are socialized to be leaders as well. The term "leader" is used throughout each edition of each set of handbooks consistently. In both organizations, a leader is someone who values the opinion of others and seeks advice in making decisions. In both organizations too, we see clear evidence of transactional leadership through "contingent rewards." A "contingent reward" involves "the leader promis[ing] and/or provid[ing] suitable rewards and recognition if followers achieve the

objectives or execute the tasks as required" (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996, p. 10). For example, earning merit and proficiency badges in Scouting has always been a significant component of proving one's membership to the organization. However, Boy Scouts are attempting to gain knowledge so that they can eventually make decisions on their own – this is the ultimate goal. In the first edition *Official Handbook for Boys*, the importance of having a Patrol Leader and Scoutmaster present when camping is addressed. Young men in these positions have gained the skills necessary to "settle the many questions which must of necessity arise, so that there may be no need of differences or quarrels over disputed points" (The Boy Scouts of America, 1911, p. 153). Leaders are equipped with the knowledge and wisdom to moderate and diffuse disputes among younger boys. This relates specifically to what Bass et. al. refer to as "passive management-by-exception," whereby "only when something goes wrong does the leader intervene to take remedial action" (1996, p. 10). In early Girl Scout Handbook editions, a Patrol Leader's "aim is to make sure that her patrol members have a good time working together, that they cooperate with one another and with the members of other patrols for the honor and good name of the troop ….She sees that the ideas that are accepted [her ideas] are carried out by giving each girl, including herself, a fair share in the work and play." Importantly, "a good leader is never bossy. She leads because other girls respect her ability to do things well, because she is fair-minded, and because her patrol members have a good time working together. Her leadership depends on the example she can set, not on ordering other girls around" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 53). These leadership attributes of consideration and cooperation are consistent with the democratic/participative style of leadership.

Once girls are empowered with the ability and confidence to make decisions in later handbook editions, this process continues to follow the democratic/participative style of

leadership, where making decisions as a group is the primary focus. In a section titled "Group Decision-Making" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 26), girls are taught that in each step of the decision-making process it is important to check in with other members of the group. It is not explicitly expressed that girls *can't* make decisions on their own, but rather that a good leader takes into consideration other people's feelings and how they might be impacted by those decisions, so they *should* make decisions with a group. Again, the democratic/participative style of leadership is the main message in describing to girls the proper way to lead.

Communication is a large component of leadership. Consistent with common ideas about children in the early days of our country, women were to be seen and not heard. A woman's opinion on matters such as politics was neither solicited nor valued for quite some time. Within a troop setting, where only girls are present, they are encouraged to make decisions together regarding what activities they would like to engage in. A girl member is "expected to speak freely and say what she thinks" (Girl Scouts, Inc., 1933, p. 25). However, we see a contradiction in this message when we refer to how a girl conducts herself outside of the troop, mainly in the company of men. In the first Girl Scout edition *How Girls Can Help Their Country*, girls are specifically encouraged to "keep your mouth shut …so as to not say things hastily that you will have to repent later on" (Hoxie, 1913, p. 113). In later editions, this message changes drastically. Not only are girls encouraged to speak up, in any setting, but also communicating in a direct manner is urged. This is true in both organizational handbooks and is done for the sake of clarity, to ensure that one is understood well by others, and that one's opinion is always considered in group decision-making.

Managing how one feels about oneself is important in leading and Scouting. Confidence, self-reliance, and independence are ways that boys are socialized to be and to feel about

themselves as scouts and leaders (Boy Scouts of America, 1998). Being "proud of yourself" and "sure of yourself" are concepts found throughout Girl Scout Handbooks (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 1986; Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 1953). One considerable difference we see between the two is that girls' feelings about themselves are consistently framed in terms of how they make other people feel. An activity on "Appreciating Your Talents" in the seventh edition *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* asks a girl member to write down how she "made [her] friends or family happy" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A., 1986, p. 29). She is asked to describe the pride she felt in bringing happiness to others. Happiness is a message found throughout both Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts handbooks, but historically for Girl Scouts it is their duty to always be conscious, aware, and dedicated to the happiness of others. A good leader in Girl Scouts accomplishes this by "learn[ing] what people need" (Girl Scouts, 1940, p. 24) and "help[ing] others feel good about their work" (Girl Scouts of the U.S.A, 1994, p. 132). Again, this component of empathy aligns with the democratic/participative style of leadership. Additionally, Bass et. al. note that an important indicator of transformational leadership is "individualized consideration," whereby a leader "work[s] with followers, diagnosing their needs and then elevating them to higher levels" (1996, p. 10). Evidence of the value of assisting and helping others is present in both Boy Scouting and Girl Scouting; however this message is stronger in earlier versions of Girl Scout handbooks and is shown to be more prevalent and consistent over time than Boy Scouts.

Belonging to a group is an important part of becoming a scout as we have explored thus far. But establishing yourself as the leader of a group too is an important part of the process of belonging. How girls become leaders and contribute to the group to which they belong certainly changes over time. Belonging to Girl Scouts in earlier years meant that you were to guide and support, as well as prepare for your role as care-taker in times of war. This makes sense given

the timeframe in which the first several handbooks were published. The United States went

through WWI and WWII in the first four decades of the Girl Scout's presence in America. In

later years, we see a clear focus on developing girls into leaders and helping them to understand

what it means to be a leader and a scout. In the eighth edition *Junior Girl Scout Handbook*, girls

are provided with a breakdown of "common leadership styles:"

> *"Director*: Gives very good direction and makes sure
> everyone does her or his job. She will make certain that
> rules are clear and that everyone is expected to follow
> them.
>
> *Coach*: Uses a style that provides both direction and
> supervision but encourages the involvement of everyone!
> She will explain the work that lies ahead, discuss decisions,
> and answer questions.
>
> *Supporter*: Works with other members of a group to set
> goals and list steps to achieve those goals. She encourages
> everyone to make decisions and gives each member the
> help they need.
>
> *Delegator*: Gives everyone a share of the work. She lets
> group members make decisions and take as much
> responsibility as they can handle. She is there to answer
> questions, but she wants them to take as much
> responsibility for their actions as possible."
> (Junior Girl Scout Handbook: Eighth Edition, 1994, p. 133)

Girls are then asked to decide which styles best match their individual skills and abilities.

So instead of being provided a strict guideline for one way to be a leader, which we find in Boy

Scouts material, girls are provided options and asked to assess their individual abilities to adhere

to any one of these styles of leadership. Evidence of masculine and feminine leadership styles

can be seen in this breakdown; however, leadership styles that focus on people-centered

(relationship-oriented) as opposed to job-centered (task-oriented) behavior is the overarching

message for girls (Kerr & Jermier, 1978).

To summarize, Boy Scout and Girl Scout materials both present common "masculine" and "feminine" styles of leadership. It is clear, however, that a focus on those "feminine" styles is both stronger and historically consistent in Girl Scouting. This is likely due to the fact that Boy Scouts have always been taught to lead and have been empowered with this ability, due to men's more privileged socioeconomic status. It was not until significant social and politic changes occurred for women in The United States that more "masculine" leadership styles are presented to Girl Scout members.

5.5   Gender Inequality in the Workplace and Scouting

Finally, I address how Boy Scout and Girl Scout leadership programs perpetuate gender inequality that exists in the workplace today. By creating an organization that requires some level of emotion work to become a proper girl or boy leader, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts establish the basis for their members to participate in emotional labor in adulthood. Each scouting organization is socialized itself by social institutions, such as gender. Hochschild suggests that "because the distribution of power and authority is unequal in some of the relations of private life, the managing acts can also be unequal" (1983, pp. 18-19). In Scouting then, because each organization is influenced by the "distribution of power in various sectors of social life" (Acker, 1992, p. 567), gender inequality inherently drives the messages for how a scout should manage one's emotions in accordance with becoming a leader. For Girl Scouts, the explicit messages for emotion work are in stark contrast to the vague presence of feelings and emotions in Boy Scouts. This would suggest some understanding that Girl Scouts need to be taught how to manage their emotions, while for Boy Scouts this is not necessary for success in adulthood. Hochschild poses the question, "What happens when feeling rules, like rules of

behavioral display, are established not through private negotiation but by company manuals" (1983, p. 19)? Scouting provides manuals on these feeling rules via handbooks, which sets the foundation for Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts to also manage their feelings in accordance with such company manuals as they age and enter the workforce. The process of emotion work then for scouts is critical in developing a mind map for emotional labor later in life; although the emphasis on this process is much greater and more obvious in Girl Scouts than in Boy Scouts. As I've mentioned, Powell notes that "sex role stereotypes suggest that men, being masculine, will be higher [ranked] in task-oriented behavior and women, being feminine, will be higher [ranked] in people-oriented behavior" (Powell, 1990, p. 70). Since Boy Scouting promotes such task-oriented behavior, as I have noted, and Girl Scouts more heavily promotes people-oriented behavior, we can see a clear connection between the socialization of gendered leadership styles in these organizations and their translation into foundations for gender inequality in the workplace.

6 CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

In conclusion, the language and messages used in Scouting contain a great deal of similarities, especially in later editions when Girl Scout content had progressed to empower women to actively pursue leadership roles. Historically, girls are taught to support and guide, while boys are always socialized to lead. Girl Scouts has come a long way and these changes were very apparent in the content that was reviewed. How boys and girls are taught to lead as children in these single-sex, youth-based organizations has clear connections to prominent "masculine" and "feminine" styles of leadership, and I argue that these organizations assist in perpetuating gender inequality in the workplace in this way. A fascinating component of these findings is the large focus on emotion management found in Girl Scout materials, which seems to be all but absent in Boy Scout materials. This speaks largely to common perceptions about femininity and women's superior connection to their emotions. That connection is clearly recognized by Girl Scouts and an explicit attempt to socialize young girls to manage their emotions is evident. Those more "feminine" styles of leadership I have discussed, transformational (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996), democratic/participative (Eagly & Johnson, 1990), and relationship-oriented (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) involve some ability to empathize with others and manage one's subordinates with that consideration in mind. "Masculine" styles of leadership, transactional (Bass, Avolio, & Atwater, 1996), autocratic/directive (Eagly, Johannesen-Schmidt, & van Engen, 2003), and task-oriented (Kerr & Jermier, 1978) in contrast involve the ability to act in spite of emotions. Retaining a "job-centered" as opposed to a "people-centered" approach in management requires a certain level of detachment from one's emotions in the workplace. As the common expression goes – "it's not personal, it's just business."

As gendered organizations, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts apply a gendered approach to understanding and teaching leadership to boys and girls. These organizations have been active in The United States for over 100 years. As David Maines et. al. note, "the symbolic reconstruction of the past …involves redefining the meaning of past events in such a way that they have meaning in and utility for the present" (1983, p. 163). Past conceptualizations of gender and leadership influence the present, and future, of the Scouting movement. Girl Scouts has done a superior job at meaningfully redefining its past, and I would argue being critical of it, in order to progress as the "premier leadership organization for girls" (The Girl Scouts of the USA, 2011). How then can Boy Scouts redefine its past in order to move toward a more gender-equal method to socializing its youth members? Storytelling, for Boy Scouts at least, strongly incorporates the past. Even in its most recently published Annual Report from 2011, the Boy Scouts quote President Theodore Roosevelt who states that, "It is essential that its [The Boy Scout movement] leaders be men of strong, wholesome character; of unmistakable devotion to our country, its customs, and ideals" (The Boy Scouts of America, 2011, p. 10). If The Boy Scouts insists on continuously using the past to frame its efforts in the present, I hardly see a viable avenue for progression. Perhaps an effort should be made by this organization to be more critical of its past than what we have seen up to this point.

The religiosity inherent in Scouting is a significant element that deserves more attention in future research. Socializing "wholesome behavior" is a common theme found in Boy Scout and Girl Scout handbooks and religious texts. How does this organizational approach to socialization exclude certain members of the population from participation? How does it promote hegemonic ideals of masculinity and femininity? Would Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts still be able to strongly develop belief in and a sense of belonging to the Scout movement

without using religiously-based approaches? Because religion is such a huge component in the

lives of many Americans, the strategic position of religion within Scouting provides scouts an

existing framework through which they can view their participation in the organization.

As I mentioned in the review of literature, both organizations participate in outreach

programs which target recruitment of Hispanic and underprivileged youth members. However,

future research should address exactly how Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts recruit minority

members. Is the recruitment effort significant enough to continue to racially diversify the

movements respectively? An evaluation of recruitment efforts might help to address the level of

commitment that each organization truly has in expanding their mostly white, affluent

membership base.

The theory I have presented in the previous section regarding emotion work and its conversion

into emotional labor needs to be examined further, and should incorporate information on former

scouts who are currently active in the workforce. Interviews with alumni of the Boy Scout and

Girl Scout organizations should be conducted to understand if and how these concepts of

leadership have been internalized and what behaviors are at play that connect the emotion work

that a child member performs in Scouting to the emotional labor that an adult employs in the

workplace.

Lastly, these findings speak only to the goals of the Boy Scout and Girl Scout

organizations as they are expressed in their handbook content, and not necessarily the outcomes

– though each organization claims successful outcomes for their members on their website and in

other promotional materials. Participant observation, surveys, and in-depth interviews with child

members, adult volunteers, and parents would assist in understanding a) if and how the messages

found in handbook content are actually taught, and b) if and how that information is internalized

by Boy Scout and Girl Scout members.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: BOY SCOUT AND GIRL SCOUT HANDBOOKS

Throughout the past century, there have been several editions of the Boy Scout and Girl Scout Handbooks published.

The title of each Girl Scout handbook has changed over time as the organization continuously updates its approach to applying Girl Scout programs to its membership base. Additionally, there were handbook editions that were published between 1934 and 1962 for girls with targeted interests. From 1934 – 1962 the Mariner Girl Scout Program published materials available for girls interested in the sea, sea lore, and watermanship. From 1944 – 1962 the Wing Scout Program for Senior Girl Scouts published materials available for girls interested in aviation. In an attempt to remain consistent with Boy Scout publications, these interest-specific texts have been removed from the sample. The list below is comprised of Girl Scout publications that have been described by the Girl Scouts Collector's Guide (Degenhardt & Kirsch, 2005) as "handbooks," either in the book title or in the description of the publication.

The lists below identify for this study each edition, the title, and the years that edition was published and distributed to the Boy Scouts of America and Girl Scouts of the USA membership populations.

Boy Scout Handbooks

- 1st Edition *The Official Handbook for Boys* (1911-1914)
- 2nd Edition *The Official Handbook for Boys* (1914–27)
- 3rd Edition *Revised Handbook for Boys* (1927–40)
- 4th Edition *Revised Handbook for Boys* (1940–48)
- 5th Edition *Handbook for Boys* (1948–59)
- 6th Edition *The Official Handbook for Boys* (1959–65)
- 7th Edition *Boy Scout Handbook* (1965–72)
- 9th Edition *Official Boy Scout Handbook* (1979–90)
- 11th Edition *Boy Scout Handbook* (1998-09)

Girl Scout Handbooks

- *How Girls Can Help Their Country* (1913) - editions 1-7 (1913 - 17)
- *Scouting for Girls* (1920) - editions 1-10 (1920 - 27)
- *Girl Scout Handbook* (1933) - editions 1 - 4 (1933 - 38)
- *Girl Scout Handbook* (1940) - editions 1 - 9 (1940 - 46)
- *Girl Scout Handbook* (1953) - editions 1 - 29 (1953 - 62)
- *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (1963) - editions 1 - 13 (1963 - 1975)
- *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (1986) - editions 1 - 13 (1986 - 1994)
- *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (1994) - editions 1 - 13 (1994 - 2000)
- *Junior Girl Scout Handbook* (2001) - editions 1 - 6 (2001 - 03)

Appendix B: FAMILIES

Family Name	# of Codes Associated with Family
Abuse	7
Activities/Events	47
America/Country/Nation	70
Appropriate/Desired Behavior/Action/Attributes	275
Behaviors/actions to avoid	32
Belonging	11
BS Codes	729
Capitalism/Consumerism	17
Citizenship	20
Cleanliness	21
Community	52
Domesticity	87
Emotion/Feelings	20
Family/Brotherhood	24
Friendship/Comradeship	28
Government/Military	20
GS Codes	849
History	29
Ideological Concepts	77

Images/Symbols	12
Indian/Native American references	11
Knowledge/Learning	84
Leadership	59
Loyalty/Allegiance/Service	20
Manhood/Masculinity	40
Meaning	27
Merit Badges/Skills	216
Nature/Wild Life	54
Othering	10
Perseverance	4
Physical appearance/fitness/strength	74
Religion	23
Roles with women	15
Roles/Positions	61
Safety/Health	60
Self/Identity	59
Sexuality/Heterosexism	39
Story-Telling/Narratives	9
Success/Career/Work/Business	83

Tradition/Ritual	47
Womanhood/Femininity	134

Appendix C: BOY SCOUT MERIT BADGES AND GIRL SCOUT PROFICIENCY BADGES

The list below provides a breakdown of Boy Scout merit badges (1st Edition and 11th Edition) and Girl Scout proficiency badges (1st Edition and 5th Edition). A later Girl Scout edition could not be used for this comparison as Junior Girl Scout Proficiency badges were no longer listed in these program-level specific handbooks once program levels were introduced in post-1951 Girl Scouting.

Merit Badges *The Official Handbook for Boys: 1st Edition*	Merit Badges *Boy Scout Handbook: 11th Edition*	Proficiency Badges *How Girls Can Help Their Country: 1st Edition*	Proficiency Badges *Girl Scout Handbook: 5th Edition*
Agriculture	American Business	Attendance, Annual	Active Citizen
Angling	American Cultures	Ambulance	Adventurer
Archery	American Heritage	Artist	Agriculture
Architecture	American Labor	Arts and Crafts	Animal Raiser
Art	Archaeology	Boatswain	Architecture
Astronomy	Archery	Child-Nurse	Arts and Crafts
Athletics	Art	Clerk	Athlete
Automobiling	Astronomy	Cook	Aviation
Aviation	Athletics	Cyclist	Back-yard Camper
Bee Farming	Atomic Energy	Dairy Maid	Basketry

Blacksmithing	Auto Mechanics	Electrician	Beekeeper
Business	Aviation	Farmer	Bibliophile
Camping	Backpacking	Flyer	Bird
Carpentry	Basketry	Health	Boating
Chemistry	Bird Study	Horsemanship	Bookbinding
Civics	Bugling	Hospital Nurse	Campcraft
Conservation	Camping	Interpreter	Canoeing
Cooking	Canoeing	Laundress	Cat and Dog
Craftsmanship	Chemistry	Matron Housekeeper	Child Care
Cycling	Cinematography	Musical	Clerk
Dairying	Citizenship in the Community	Naturalist	Clothing
Eagle Scout	Citizenship in the Nation	Needlewoman	Community Life
Electricity	Citizenship in the World	Pathfinder	Community Safety
Firemanship	Climbing	Pioneer	Conservation
First Aid	Coin Collecting	Rifle-shot	Conversationalist
First Aid to Animals	Collections	Signaling	Cook
Forestry	Communications	Swimmer	Cyclist
Gardening	Computers	Telegraphist	Dabbler

Handicraft	Cooking		Dairying
Horsemanship	Crime Prevention		Dancer
Interpreting	Cycling		Dramatic Appreciation
Invention	Dentistry		Drawing and Painting
Leather Working	Disabilities Awareness		Dressmaker
Life Saving	Dog Care		Explorer
Life Scout	Drafting		Farmer
Machinery	Electricity		First Aid
Marksmanship	Electronics		First Aid to Animals
Masonry	Emergency Preparedness		Folk Dancer
Mining	Energy		Foods
Music	Engineering		Foot Traveler
Ornithology	Entrepreneurship		Fruit Raiser
Painting	Environmental Science		Games
Pathfinding	Family Life		Garden Flower
Personal Health	Farm Mechanics		Glass

Photography	Fingerprinting		Good Grooming
Pioneering	Fire Safety		Group Musician
Plumbing	First Aid		Handywoman
Poultry Farming	Fish and Wildlife Management		Health Aid
Printing	Fishing		Homemaking
Public Health	Forestry		Home Gardener and Truck Gardener
Scholarship	Gardening		Home Health and Safety
Seamanship	Genealogy		Home Nurse
Signaling	Golf		Horsewoman
Stalking	Graphic Arts		Hospitality
Star Scout	Hiking		Housekeeper
Surveying	Home Repairs		Insect
Swimming	Horsemanship		Interior Decorating
Taxidermy	Indian Lore		International Friendship
	Insect Study		Journalist
	Journalism		Landscaper
	Landscape Architecture		Language

	Law		Leather
	Leatherwork		Life Saving
	Lifesaving		Literature
	Mammal Study		Magic Carpet
	Medicine		Mammal
	Metalwork		Metal
	Model Design and Building		Minstrel
	Motorboating		Musician
	Music and Bugling		Music Appreciation
	Nature		My Community
	Oceanography		My Country
	Orienteering		My Government
	Painting		My Troop
	Personal Fitness		Nature
	Personal Management		Needlecraft
	Pets		Nutrition
	Photography		One World
	Pioneering		Outdoor Cook
	Plant Science		Outdoor Safety
	Plumbing		Out-of-Doors

	Pottery		Pen Pal
	Public Health		Personal Health
	Public Speaking		Photography
	Pulp and Paper		Pioneer
	Radio		Play Producer
	Railroading		Player
	Reading		Pottery
	Reptile and Amphibian Study		Poultry Raiser
	Rifle Shooting		Prints
	Rowing		Producer
	Safety		Public Health
	Salesmanship		Puppeteer
	Scholarship		Radio and Television
	Sculpture		Rambler
	Shotgun Shooting		Reader
	Skating		Reptile and Amphibian
	Small-boat Sailing		Rock and Mineral
	Snow Sports		Salt Water
	Soil and Water		Seamstress

	Conservation		
	Space Exploration		Skating
	Sports		Skiing
	Stamp Collecting		Speaker
	Surveying		Sports
	Swimming		Storyteller
	Textile		Swimmer
	Theater		Textile Design
	Traffic Safety		Traveler
	Truck Transportation		Tree
	Veterinary Medicine		Troop Dramatics
	Waterskiing		Weather
	Weather		Weaving
	Whitewater		Western Hemisphere
	Wilderness Survival		Wild Plant
	Wood Carving		Wood
	Woodwork		World Gifts
			World Neighbor
			World Trefoil
			Writer