

GENDER and
WOMEN'S

Leadership

A REFERENCE HANDBOOK



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Karen O'Connor

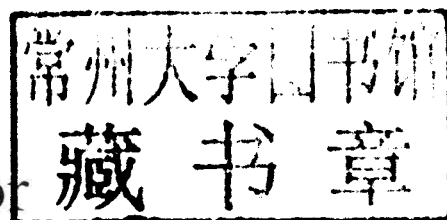
EDITOR

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Karen O'Connor
American University
EDITOR



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FOREWORD

When the editors at SAGE Publications approached me nearly 4 years ago to describe a new leadership handbook series they hoped to develop and to ask if I might be interested in serving as a series consulting editor, I was intrigued. From the viewpoint of a librarian who has worked with the Jepson School of Leadership Studies at the University of Richmond, I was familiar firsthand with the needs of both faculty researchers and undergraduate students and topics of interest and relevance. From this perspective, I collaborated with SAGE to develop a list that, over the intervening years, has evolved into a series of two-volume reference handbooks on political and civic leadership, gender and women's leadership, leadership in nonprofit organizations, leadership in science and technology, and environmental leadership.

It is my hope that students, faculty, researchers, and reference librarians will benefit from this series by discovering the many varied ways that leadership permeates a wide variety of disciplines and interdisciplinary topics. SAGE's *Encyclopedia of Leadership* (2004) has been an outstanding reference tool in recent years to assist students with understanding some of the major theories and developments within leadership studies. As one of the newest interdisciplinary fields in academia in the past 20 years, leadership studies has drawn on many established resources in the social sciences, humanities, and organizational management. However, academic resources that are wholly dedicated and developed to focus on leadership as an academic study have been few and far between. The *SAGE Reference Series on Leadership* will provide an excellent starting place for the student who wants a thorough understanding of primary leadership topics within a particular discipline. The chapters in each of the handbooks will introduce them to key concepts, controversies, history, and so forth, as well as helping them become familiar with the best-known scholars and authors in this emerging field of study. Not only will the handbooks be helpful in leadership studies

schools and programs, they will also assist students in numerous disciplines and other interdisciplinary studies programs. The sources will also be useful for leaders and researchers in nonprofit and business organizations.

I would like to acknowledge Jim Brace-Thompson, senior editor, and Rolf Janke, vice president and publisher at SAGE Reference for their guidance, superb organization, and enthusiasm throughout the handbook creation process. I admire both of them for their intellectual curiosity and their willingness to create new reference tools for leadership studies. I would also like to acknowledge the faculty, staff, and students of the Jepson School of Leadership Studies for the many contributions they have made to the establishment of leadership studies as an academic field. Founded in 1992, the Jepson School of Leadership Studies is the only institution of its kind in the world, with a full-time, multidisciplinary faculty dedicated to pursuing new insights into the complexities and challenges of leadership and to teaching the subject to undergraduates. When I was assigned to serve as the liaison librarian to the new school in 1992, I had no idea of how much I would learn about leadership studies. Over the past 18 years, I have audited courses in the school, attended numerous Jepson Forums and speaker series, taught library and information research skills to Jepson students, assisted faculty and staff with various research questions, and engaged in enlightening conversations with both faculty and students. Through these many experiences, my knowledge and understanding of the field has grown tremendously, and it is has been a unique experience to observe the development of a new field of study in a very brief time. I thank my Jepson colleagues for including me on the journey.

Lucretia McCulley, Consulting Editor
Director, Outreach Services
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INTRODUCTION

When I first was approached by SAGE about my willingness to undertake this project, my initial thought was “What a great idea!” I recently had contributed to George Goethals, Georgia Sorenson, and James Burns’s four-volume *Encyclopedia of Leadership*. I believed that the time was right to develop such a resource exclusively on women’s leadership. With a background in political science as well as the law, I envisioned that this would be a fun and fairly easy enterprise. Was I ever wrong. Although I had edited the journal *Women & Politics* for 4 years and hosted two leadership conferences at the Women & Politics Institute at American University, the breadth of work being done on women’s leadership and leadership studies more generally was astonishing.

A handbook on women’s leadership, in theory, should begin with a definition of leadership. To find one definition that could satisfy all the authors in this handbook would be impossible. Everyone from the popular press to academics seem to have turned their attention to issues of, and questions surrounding, leadership. Many definitions are coached in actions leaders take or how they take them. Many other works are stories of leaders with lessons to be drawn from the performance of certain people in certain situations. Moreover, certain disciplines, as well as the development of leadership as a field of study itself, as a freestanding department or center for the study or action, further complicate the development of grand theory in this area.

Each section in this handbook, in fact, begins with an overview of leadership questions that have been or are still being tackled in every field where the study of women, as women, is important. And, interestingly, as it turned out, this handbook has largely become a handbook written by women. Of the 101 full entries included here, upward of 90% were written by women. In that, this may be the first such comprehensive undertaking to identify the debates within various disciplines, capture factors believed key to leadership, and locate where women leaders have been or are now found from a woman’s perspective. Thus, national surveys of leaders, surveys to identify leaders, and analyses of leadership styles must always be analyzed with an eye to the chances for women’s leadership to be underappreciated

or ignored altogether. The depth of work in this handbook proves that complaints that “there is no literature on,” or no reason to examine, women’s leadership can no longer be sustained. Stories of great women that have been lost over time are found in many of these chapters.

Within these chapters, written by experts across fields all over the globe, leadership is approached from myriad perspectives. None is “right” or “wrong.” All offer useful insights from experts within areas and often come to different conclusions about leadership. In the context of the key role leaders play in all facets of human activity, moreover, those who are labeled as leaders can play an extraordinarily important role in constructing views of leadership.

In 2009 *U.S. News & World Report* published its annual list of leaders compiled in conjunction with the Harvard University School of Business. Of those experts on “leaders” or “leadership” consulted, 27 of 37 (73%) had direct or indirect associations with Harvard. Only 30% of the evaluators were women. Thus, from the beginning, “who” were identified as leaders sang, in the notable words of political scientist E. E. Schattschneider, not only with “an upperclass bias” but with a male one too. The selection team also produced a list of leaders in which one often had to mine deep down into the trenches of local or community leadership to “find” a woman leader. Surprisingly, at least to me, these experts failed to recognize logical leaders such as the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Honorable Nancy Pelosi, or Associate Justice Sandra Day O’Connor. One, in fact, could argue that as the swing justice on the Supreme Court of the United States for many years, O’Connor not only set national policy but decided the presidency of the United States in 2000. No doubt my background and training bring those two notable absences to mind much the way Brad Pitt fans get upset when *People* magazine fails to name him “Sexiest Man of the Year,” but honestly, how do you look at leadership and not include the leader of the U.S. House of Representatives?

Although I was not aware of it at the time, after reading thousands of pages on women, women leaders, and characteristics of women leaders, several themes became apparent quickly and appeared in most of the entries.

Whether in a part overview, individual chapter, or a Spotlight on an individual woman, one of at least four factors emerged in each entry:

1. *Most of history is still HIStory.* Achievements of women simply were not recorded or deemed important by chroniclers of events. I have never learned more in a 2-year period than I did in editing and writing for this handbook. Finding out about women still takes extra digging into primary source materials or careful collection of data from multiple sources. I am grateful to all of the contributors who took their tasks so seriously to provide us with important new insights on women's leadership and for hundreds of suggestions for future research to continue to put women's accomplishments in a more thoughtful light.

2. *A woman's voice does not a chorus make.* Simply having one woman in a position of leadership does not mean that women will be welcome into leadership positions in a company, as an administrator or as a president. Margaret Thatcher was an effective leader but did little to foster women into positions of leadership. In sharp contrast, Speaker Pelosi has gone out of her way to position women as committee chairs, subcommittee chairs, and in leadership positions. Moreover, for women to have an impact on leadership, usually some critical mass must be met.

3. *Woman not only speak in a different voice, but their voices are heard differently.* A significant body of research exists that documents that women not only speak differently than do men, but often lead differently, too. Part of this difference stems from difference in tone and presentation. This, in turn, leads many men to view women as less visionary, which many leadership theorists see as key to explaining why women are perceived as weaker leaders. Thus, who defines the terms and their components can have a significant outcome on any leadership study.

4. *We are far from approaching equality for women as leaders or in leadership positions.* This handbook ends with a discussion of Hillary Rodham Clinton's unsuccessful bid for the U.S. presidency and a discussion of what can be done to "fix" leadership gaps. But, nearly every chapter in this handbook, or at least one within a section, notes the way that women have to go to be recognized as or become leaders. Whether it is politics, the arts, within social movements, or

the professions, women consistently lag behind men in almost all areas except those related to women's caring functions such as education or nursing.

I would never have undertaken this enterprise if I had had any idea of the time it would take. Natalie Greene started working on this project when she was an undergraduate at American University enrolled in its Women, Policy, and Political Leadership Certificate Program. By the time this work is published, she will have nearly completed her master's degree in library science. I could not have finished this project without her assistance. She has been enormously patient with me—only asking me at least 100 times, "Where is Margaret Sanger?" (a reference to the last Spotlight/chapter completed). She has cheerfully searched for, asked, pleaded, and at times even threatened the authors commissioned to write these chapters. The paperwork and tracking involved in this endeavor were daunting, and Natalie took it all on with her usual brilliance and aplomb. She also has been a wonderful colleague who has shared similar moments of panic when we realized that certain topics were not included in this handbook. I will leave it to readers to discern those omissions. Some were in areas for which we simply could not find authors. Others were ones that come out of nowhere, seem obvious, but we just missed the topic.

I would also be remiss if I failed to mention the support of William M. LeoGrande, Dean of the School of Public Affairs at American University, as well as the help of my talented and knowledgeable editorial board (whose names are listed in the credits).

As a control freak, I personally edited each of these entries—some that came in at 9,000 to 12,000 words—way over the SAGE limit of 5,000 to 7,000 words. To all of the authors who may believe they were overedited, I apologize. But, I think that these efforts, combined with Natalie's and those of the editors at SAGE, have allowed us to produce a body of scholarship that can move the field forward much in the way that James MacGregor Burns's *Leadership* did in 1978.

Karen O'Connor, Editor
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ABOUT THE EDITOR

Karen O'Connor is the Jonathan N. Helfat Distinguished Professor of Political Science at American University and holds the only named chair in the School of Public Affairs. She received her J.D. and Ph.D. from the State University of New York at Buffalo.

Prior to teaching at American University, she taught at Emory University, rising from instructor to full professor in 10 years. There, she was the first woman in 150 years to receive the university-wide Emory Williams teaching award. At American University, she received its highest honor, the Scholar/Teacher of the Year award in 2002.

O'Connor founded the Women & Politics Institute at American University and served as editor of the journal *Women & Politics* for two terms. She served as the institute's director for 12 years and now heads its Director's Circle. O'Connor also has served as an advisor to the Speaker of the House on women's issues and has testified before both the House and Senate Judiciary subcommittees dealing with abortion and reproductive rights.

O'Connor is the author or coauthor of more than 100 books, textbooks, and monographs. She is preparing the 11th edition of the number one best-selling American government text, *American Government: Roots and Reform* (with Larry

J. Sabato and Alixandra B. Yanus), as well as the 5th edition of *Women, Politics and American Society* with Nancy E. McGlen (et al.). She is also the author of more than 35 published or forthcoming refereed journal and law review articles, 17 of which have been reprinted in anthologies.

Within the profession, she has been honored for her work in advancing women in politics by numerous organizations, including the Washington, D.C., Women's Bar Association, the National Association of Public Administration (the Joan Fiss Award for outstanding contributions to the field), and the Southern Political Science Association (SPSA), among others. The SPSA honored her with the Erica Fairchild award for mentoring women in the profession in 1988, as well as the Marion Irish award for coauthored Best Paper on Women and Politics on two separate occasions.

She has also served as the president of the SPSA, the National Capital Area Political Science Association, the Women's Caucus for Political Science, the Southern Women's Caucus of Political Science, and the American Political Science Association Organized Research Sections on Law and Courts and Women and Politics. She has also served on the Commissions of the Status of Women of the American, Midwest, and Political Science Associations.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

Morra Aarons-Mele is the founder of Women Online, a consulting firm for nonprofit organizations, companies, and political campaigns seeking to mobilize women online. She is a blogger and former political consultant. Aarons-Mele's Internet experience spans politics and the private sector. During the 2004 presidential election, Aarons-Mele was the director of Internet marketing for the Democratic National Committee. After the 2004 election she founded Edelman's digital public affairs team. Before going to Washington, D.C., Aarons-Mele worked in various roles at leading online companies, including iVillage.com and iVillage UK. Aarons-Mele has degrees from Harvard University and Brown University. She is active in local politics and represented Washington, D.C.'s Advisory Neighborhood Commission for Ward 2B. She lives near Boston with her husband, toddler, and menagerie.

Allison Adams-Alwine is a business development associate at the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW), a leading international institution on gender and development. Prior to joining ICRW, she worked as a Legislative Fellow in the office of Congresswoman Carolyn Maloney (D-NY), focusing on a wide range of women's issues, including global women's health and human rights, sexual assault in the military, and paid parental leave. She is a member of Women in International Security and helped to conduct research for and edit the *Women in United Nations Peace Operations* report in 2008. Adams-Alwine received an M.A. in conflict resolution from Georgetown University in May 2009. Her undergraduate degree in political science and sociology is from Vanderbilt University.

Daniel Alef is a novelist and syndicated columnist who has written more than 300 biographical profiles of the great American titans of industry, law, politics, finance, philanthropy, and transportation. He is also the author of many legal articles, one tax law book, one historical anthology (*Centennial Stories*), and the award-winning historical novel *Pale Truth*. *Pale Truth* was named Book of the Year for general fiction by *ForeWord Magazine* in 2001. Alef is a former lawyer, CEO of a small public company, and rancher. He earned a B.S. and J.D. from University of California, Los Angeles and an LL.M. from the London

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Laura Ardito first began working on human trafficking issues in 2001 while she was volunteering with AmeriCorps as a family services manager at a transitional housing program. Shortly afterward, Ardito joined the nongovernmental organization (NGO) Vital Voices Global Partnership where she helped initiate the antitrafficking program. She managed

an antitrafficking public awareness campaign, edited the Vital Voices *Trafficking Alert* newsletter, and worked with government and NGO representatives from around the world. Ardito was also a Legal Fellow at the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, where she researched foreign laws on human trafficking. Currently, Ardito is an attorney at an international law firm based in Washington, D.C., where she is a member of the International Department and Business and Human Rights practice group. She has represented political asylees and immigrant victims of crime and has been involved in proceedings at the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights. Ardito was awarded her B.A. by Cornell University and her J.D., summa cum laude, by American University Washington College of Law.

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Keri Vacanti Brondo is an assistant professor of anthropology at the University of Memphis. Brondo is an applied anthropologist engaged in teaching and research in the areas of gender, development and social justice, tourism, natural resource management, consumerism and environmental sustainability, and applied participatory action research and assessment. She received a Ph.D. from Michigan State University in 2006, served as chair (2006–2007) of the Committee on the Status of Women in Anthropology of the American Anthropological Association, and has worked on two work climate surveys that explored the gendered dimensions of work as academics and practicing anthropologists. In Central America, Brondo has explored the organizational mobilization of female Mayan domestic workers in Guatemala, identity politics and indigenous mobilization, tourism development, and the gendered impacts of neoliberal agrarian reform in Honduras. In the Memphis area her work focuses on (a) women, work, and economic justice, and (b) tourism, natural resource management, environmental justice, and sustainable communities.

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