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Split vision: **Psychological dimensions of authority for women**

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SPLIT VISION:

Psychological Dimensions of Authority

for Women

Ellen M. Snee

**A Thesis Presented to the Faculty
of the Graduate School of Education of Harvard University
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Education**

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*I dedicate this thesis to my parents,
Anne M. Snee and Jerome J. Snee,
whom I have come to cherish
not only as parents, but as friends*

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ABSTRACT:

This thesis explores the psychological dimensions of the exercise of authority for professional and managerial women, and considers how different research methods contribute to understanding this experience. The study incorporates both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and data analysis in a two-part sequential design. Sixteen open-ended interviews were conducted with a sample of women drawn from a mid-career program in public administration. A confirmatory quantitative questionnaire (n=44), based on the findings of the interview study, explored both generalizability and patterns of association between dimensions of authority and psychological risk.

For the analysis of the interview data, I used voice-centered methods. In particular, I found that verbal cues identified in research with adolescent girls (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), provided the key markers to a psychological subtext in the interview transcripts. Analysis of the moments when women *struggled to voice* their experience revealed important psychological dynamics for women in positions of authority. Among these were issues of boundaries, unspoken expectations of women, and internal experiences of splitting, dissociation and depression.

Statistical analysis of the questionnaire data determined that the findings of the interview study were generalizable to a larger, more diverse sample of women. Through the quantitative study, I was also able to document two forms of psychological risk. First, marked differences in how women described their *experience, expectations*, and *desires* regarding relationships with other women at work proved to be statistically significant. Second, there was a pattern of association between women's responses to particular substantive questions about authority, and their scores on the Silencing the Self Scale (Jack & Dill, 1992), a measure that is highly correlated with the Beck Depression Inventory.

This research suggests that while women may make enormous contributions to organizations and institutions in which they manage others, they frequently pay a high personal price. The individual cost can occur in the form of internal splitting between thoughts and emotions, dissociation from one's own knowledge and desires, or feelings of depression that can accompany a gap between what one wants and what one experiences in workplace relationships.

Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

<u>Coming to the Questions</u>

A decade ago, during the summer of 1983, I read <u>In a Different Voice</u> by Carol

Gilligan for the first time. At the time, I was the national vocation director for an

international order of Catholic nuns; my work involved career counseling with young adult

women. As I listened to women reflect on the vocational choices before them I heard them

name issues and struggles that were absent in the literature of psychology and human

development. I observed a tremendous gap between what I was hearing, seeing, and

experiencing in my work with women, and how human growth and development were

described in the journals, conferences and writings of my field.

Perhaps if I had known then what I know now, namely that the canonical literature

of psychology had been written almost exclusively by men, and the vast majority of studies

of human development were conducted with all-male samples, I might not have been so

confused. I would not have been surprised to find such a dissonance between what

psychological literature said about growth and development and what women reported

when they spoke about their lives. While I was already an outspoken advocate of equal

opportunity for women and the use of non-sexist language, in 1983 I had not yet

discovered that a more insidious form of exclusion existed at the very foundation of

psychology — the identification of male experience, and the stress on individuation and

autonomy, as human experience.

A decade later, in the spring of 1994, I have completed a thesis that has its roots

and wellspring in the psychological theory on women's development found in <u>In a</u>

<u>Different Voice</u> (Gilligan, 1982). In writing this dissertation I have tried to respond to the

research agenda that Gilligan proposes in the conclusion to her groundbreaking and

ground-laying book:

Among the most pressing items on the agenda for research on adult development is the need to delineate *in women's own terms* the experience of their adult life. (p.173)

In my thesis I respond to Gilligan's research agenda by exploring a particular dimension of women's experience — what it is like to hold positions of authority while working with other women. The questions I have chosen are real questions for me, and have their own origin in my own extensive experience of authority relationships between and among women during my 18 years as a member of a community of religious women.

My hope in undertaking this research was to bridge theory and praxis by bringing women's psychological theory to bear on concrete dilemmas that I, and, I believe, other women face in the world of work and relationships.

Separate Perspectives of Women

The desire to bridge theory and praxis was mirrored in other attempts to bring disparate perspectives together in order to better understand women's experience—to overcome different forms of "split vision." The first challenge to integrate different views of women in authority is discussed in Chapter Two: *Research Context*. There I show how the study of women's experience in management has received considerable attention in management literature but usually without any reference to the research on women's development in the field of psychology. Thus, to create a more integrated theoretical framework for this study it was necessary to bridge several research literatures.

Research Questions and Questions about Research

In addition to specific substantive questions about psychological dimensions of authority for women, I undertook this thesis to address methodological questions about research on women's lives. From a substantive perspective, the thesis asks: what is it like for women to hold positions of authority in relation to other women and what are the psychological challenges they face in this situation? From a methodological perspective,

this study asks how different methods of data collection and analysis may help or hinder an understanding of women's experience.

In Chapter Three: Methods, I explain how these two sets of questions led me to design a study with both a qualitative and a quantitative phase. My goal was to determine how an integration of methods might allow for both depth and breadth in understanding women in authority. This thesis then is a study in two parts: first: open-ended interviews and qualitative methods of data analysis, and second: a closed-ended questionnaire instrument which was analyzed using statistical methods of data analysis.

Psychological Dimensions of Authority for Women

In Chapters Four, Five and Six, I have presented the major substantive findings that emerged in the analysis of the interview data. I have organized this presentation in terms of three levels of women's experience: first, her relationship to the broader context (in this case the world of work), second, her relationships with other women at work (in particular the women whom she supervises), and third, the individual's relationship to herself. Chapter Four, *Split Vision*, discusses how the nature and structure of the different work environment present different challenges to women in authority positions Chapter Five, *Unspoken Expectations*, considers how the relationships between women at work can offer support or create a greater sense of isolation for women managers. Chapter Six, *Loss of Knowledge* discusses how particular responds to the environmental and interpersonal dimensions of their work experience can present psychological risks to women in positions of authority.

Disconfirming Evidence or Psychological Resistance?

While my main concern in this section of the thesis is women's vulnerability to dissociation, depression and other forms of psychological resistance, this is not the whole story. Women can and do exercise authority without psychological distress. In chapter Seven, I present several examples of what could be considered "disconfirming" evidence,

but what I call "voices of resistance." These accounts are quite different from those in chapters four through six and may offer some suggestions as to perspectives and behaviors that might be protective of the psychological health of women in authority.

Measuring Psychological Risk

In Chapter Eight I discuss the statistical analysis of the questionnaire data. In addition to the questions about generalizability of the interview findings, the questionnaire was used to explore the extent to which particular dimensions of exercising authority identified in the interview data, did in fact pose psychological risks to women. This chapter discusses the relationship between women's responses to questions drawn from the qualitative data, and their scores on a measure of risk for depression — the Silencing the Self Scale (Jack and Dill, 1992).

Toward a Unified Vision

In the last chapter I return to the original research questions and questions about research in order to discuss the *relationship* between the methods employed in this thesis and the substantive findings that emerged. Using the three themes presented in the qualitative analysis, I summarize how the quantitative analysis corroborates what the voice-centered methods had discovered were key dimensions and potential psychological risks in women's experience of authority.

Chapter Two

RESEARCH CONTEXT

To create a theoretical framework for the study of women's experience of the exercise of authority I have drawn on research and theory from four diverse bodies of literature: psychology of women, the group dynamics school of organizational behavior, management literature on women in authority, and linguistic studies of women's use of language. Each field of study offers a partial but important perspective on the experience of women in authority. The literature on women's psychological development focuses on the intra-personal, inter-personal, and political dimensions of women's experience. The group dynamics literature on the other hand, offers a framework for addressing the structural factors of the institution or organization in which a woman works. Management literature which has focused specifically on women managers provides an historical perspective on how women in authority have been studied and discussed in the last two decades. Finally, literature on women and language places this study with its voice centered methods in the context of a larger conversation about the nature and significance of women's patterns of speech.

Since I have incorporated the research literature of each of these four fields into the thesis in different ways, a brief explanation is in order. First, the literature on women's psychological development appears throughout the thesis, including the chapters on methods, data analysis, findings and conclusion. Furthermore, I draw upon specific works to illustrate and explain key findings, questions and methodological issues. In this chapter, therefore, I provide a brief *overview* of how the research and literature on women's psychological development has contributed to the theoretical foundation of this thesis.

Second, while this thesis is fundamentally a psychological study of women's experience, it is nonetheless critical to understand how roles of authority are understood in the workplace. Therefore, I have turned to the literature of organizational behavior, and

in particular the group dynamics school, for particular definitions, distinctions and organizational schemas that facilitate understanding the structural and institutional dimensions of women's experience in positions of authority. In choosing this framework for explicating the organizational structure in which women work I realized I have left myself open to the critique that this allows norms and patterns established by and for male managers to define the work experience of women managers. The reader may ask "What about organizational settings where there is an emphasis is on collaboration and mutuality?" While the latter is something the women in this study have desired, it is not what characterized the *modus operandi* of the institutions in which most of the women have worked. I have chosen to use the literature on organizational behavior to provide an understanding of how and why organizations function as they do today, in order to focus on women's experience in what remains the dominant type of work environment today.

Third, I provide a brief review of research and literature that specifically has addressed women in positions of authority. My purpose in discussing this literature is to highlight the dramatic shifts that appear in how women managers have been viewed within management literature of the last two decades. Since this overview is intended to serve as a backdrop for the rest of the thesis, I present it in its entirety in this chapter, following the discussion of the group dynamics literature.

Finally, the methods of data analysis employed in this thesis are built on the premise that listening to women speak about their experience, tracing the language patterns they use, and paying attention to verbal cues used by girls and women alike provide access to the "logic of the psyche" (Gilligan, 1990) and offer insight into psychological processes that are occurring. The fourth and last section of this chapter, therefore, provides a discussion of current research and theory about women's language drawn from psychology, sociology and linguistics. I chose to present this discussion here

in this research context chapter as a way of documenting the theoretical grounds for the methods described in the following chapter.

Women's Psychological Development

The last decade has been a watershed for psychological research on women's lives and experience. Developmental studies of women and girls (Gilligan, 1977, 1982; Brown and Gilligan, 1992) clinical reconceptualizations (Miller, 1976, 1986; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver and Surrey, 1991) psychoanalytic reformulations (Chodorow, 1974, 1978, 1989) research on women's ways of knowing (Belenky, Clinch, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986) and philosophical work on women's ways of thinking (Ruddick, 1989), are among the works that have laid a new foundation for understanding women's experience.

Across these diverse psychological and philosophical approaches, there is agreement on at least three key points. First, women's lives are fundamentally defined by relationships at the intra-personal, inter-personal and societal levels of life. Second, disconnection, isolation, and separation pose dangers to women's psychological development. Third, women's experience historically has been interpreted in light of norms and guidelines derived from research conducted on all male samples (Gilligan, 1982; Brown and Gilligan, 1992; Jack, 1991; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver and Surrey, 1991; Belenky, Clinch, Goldberger and Tarule, 1986; Chodorow, 1974, 1978,1989; Ruddick, 1989). Beginning with this common ground, I will discuss briefly further specific contributions of individual theorists to this thesis.

Carol Gilligan and The Harvard Project

The work of Carol Gilligan and her colleagues at the Harvard Project on Women's psychology and Girls' Development has been central to the theoretical foundation of this thesis. Beginning with In a Different Voice (1982) Gilligan has grounded her research in the importance of listening to women. The research that ultimately led to In a Different Voice involved both listening to adolescent girls and boys speak about real life moral

dilemmas, and open-ended interviews with women who were considering whether to continue or terminate a pregnancy (Gilligan and Belenky, 1980). In these studies, Gilligan began to hear a difference in how women spoke about themselves and their experience. Women spoke of themselves as living in connection and described how they would silence themselves and their own needs and desires for the sake of these relationships. This pattern of giving up voice for the sake of being in relationships was found again in the interviews with adult women in a later study of couples in crisis (Gilligan and Zimlicki, 1989).

It was ultimately developmental research with adolescent girls that led to an explanation of what was at stake for girls and women. In 1981 Gilligan began her work on adolescent girls' development with a study conducted at Emma Willard School, an all girls' private school in upstate New York. This collaborative effort focused on girls' development and girls' education—something the 1980 Handbook of Adolescent Psychology wryly observed had "simply not been much studied." (Gilligan, Lyons, and Hanmer, 1989, p.1) This initial inquiry into the relational world of adolescent girls expanded over the following decade to include research involving members of the Harvard Project in longitudinal studies at two private girls schools, an urban public high school, and studies at Boys' and Girls' Clubs in three Boston neighborhoods.

In Meeting at the Crossroads (1992), Brown and Gilligan explain that it was through this process of "following women's psychological development back through girls' adolescence and then further back into girls' childhood that we came to witness a relational crisis in women's psychology" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p.2). For as the researchers listened to pre-adolescent girls, they heard voices that were strong, clear and showed evidence of resistance to loss of voice or relationship. This discovery led to the realization that adolescence is the time of relational crisis for girls—a time of disconnection and sometimes dissociation or repression. The process of struggling to hold

on their own knowledge as the girls entered adolescence was evident in the course of the interviews conducted over a three year period. Brown and Gilligan describe how these psychological dynamics were embodied in the speech patterns heard and observed in the interviews.

> As the phrase "I don't know" enters our interviews with girls at this developmental juncture, we observe girls struggling over speaking and not speaking, knowing and not knowing, feeling and not feeling, and we see the makings of an inner division as girls come to a place where they feel they cannot say or feel or know what they have experienced—what they have felt and known. Witnessing this active process of not knowing swirl into confusion in the back and forth of our interview conversations between girls and women, we began to listen in the moment and to trace in the transcriptions of our interview sessions how girls struggle to stay in connection with themselves and with others, to voice their feelings and thoughts and experiences in relationships... And we saw this struggle affect their feelings about themselves, their relationships with others, and their ability to act in the world.(Brown & Gilligan, 1992, p.4)

I found similar patterns of speech and evidence of the struggle that accompanies this type of language in the interview transcripts of the Gilligan and Zimlicki (1991) study of women who were considering divorce (Snee, 1991).

Jean Baker Miller and the Stone Center

In addition to the work of Carol Gilligan and the members of the Harvard Project, the theoretical framework of this thesis has been influenced by the work of Jean Baker Miller, and her colleagues Judy Jordan, Alexandra Kaplan, Irene Stiver and Janet Surrey. Working from a clinical perspective (Miller is a psychiatrist and the others are all psychologists), and often in a medical context (as medical school faculty and administrators) these women have articulated a perspective on women's psychological development that highlights the centrality of "relational growth" in women's lives.

At first their collaboration was begun as an attempt to examine their own growing discomfort as women professionals in observing the ways in which women were measured in terms of male standards of development, i.e., autonomy and independence, and

consequently were viewed as deficient. Their initial work led them to conclude that existing theory led to women becoming silenced, shamed and pathologized. At the same time they observed in their clinical practice that for their women clients creativity and a zest for life grew out of relationships. The desire they saw in women to grow in relationships, as well as to expand and enhance relationships led them to the conceptualization of women's psychological development initially in terms of self-in-relationship and later as "growth in relationships." (Surrey, 1984; Jordan, Kaplan, Miller, Stiver, Surrey, 1991)

Miller and her colleagues have traced how women's psychological journey occurs in a culture that is grounded in the values of separation and individuation. They have documented in their Stone Center Colloquia how the norm for human behavior has been identified with male behavior and the consequences of this norming for women. They have reported how when women receive the message that their way of being in the world is not good, they conclude that there is something wrong with them. When women experience their reality to be at odds with the dominant reality, it becomes impossible for them to articulate their own reality or their needs. This ultimately leads women to move into a position of not knowing their own experience because if they knew their reality, and were aware of their needs, they would feel too much at odds with the dominant culture.

This process of separation from self knowledge observed and recorded in clinical work with women is quite similar to the process of losing touch with what is known that Gilligan and her colleagues found in their research with adolescent girls. For Miller, Jordan, Kaplan, Stiver and Surrey, however, the connection to psychological risks and costs for women was even more apparent given that their work was frequently with women who were experiencing and describing the psychological distress that accompanies disconnection in their lives.

In addition to the ways in which I have drawn on the work of the Stone Center in developing a theoretical perspective for this thesis, Jean Baker Miller in <u>Toward a Psychology of Women</u> (1976,1986) offers an analysis of relationships characterized by a power differential that has particular salience to this study of women in positions of authority. Miller begins by recalling that within most cultures those who occupy the position of dominance determine what is considered normal or normative. The subordinates, on the other hand, must learn to behave according to these norms in order to survive. Over time, as the subordinates learn to anticipate the reactions of the dominants, they gain more knowledge of those in authority than those in the dominant positions gain of them.

In light of this analysis, a woman in authority over other women is simultaneously in the role of a subordinate in relationship to the dominant culture, and in a position of dominance over someone with whom she shares a position of subordination. The knowledge which she and the other women share of each other, and their awareness of the power associated with roles of authority within the system, further confound the experience of the woman in authority. The simultaneity of potentially conflicting roles can lead to heightened expectations that women report having of each other. As Miller points out,

> In the present time of transition, women sometimes expect more from other women than they would from a man and then feel more disappointment and anger when these expectations are not fulfilled. (1986, p.134).

I will draw on this analysis later in the thesis in exploring expectations women have of each other when one holds a position of authority.

Nancy Chodorow

In <u>The Reproduction of Mothering</u> (1978), Nancy Chodorow drew attention to the fact that across cultures it is women who mother and hence the earliest relationship for boys and girls alike is with a woman. Furthermore, she focused on how this fundamental

difference affected girls' earliest psychological development. In contrast to Freud's stress on the Oedipal stage as the keystone to understanding early child development, Chodorow suggests that the pre-Oedipal stage is the more significant phase of development for the female child. Exploring the significance of women's mothering for girls, Chodorow points out that mothers and women tend to identify more with their daughters, providing them with less help in the process of differentiation. This results in a "a tendency in women toward boundary confusion and a lack of sense of separation from the world" (Chodorow, 1978, p.110).

This early stage of female development results in "girls having a stronger basis for experiencing another's needs or feelings as their own and emerg(ing) from this period with a basis for 'empathy' built into their primary definition of self" (1978, p. 167). The basic feminine sense of self is as connected to the world (1978, p.169). Due to the retention of pre-oedipal attachments to their mother, growing girls come to define and experience themselves as continuous with others, their experience of self containing more flexible or permeable ego boundaries.

Chodorow's description of how girls and women may experience more fluid boundaries with others will inform the discussion of how women experience holding positions of authority over other women in systems that have more rigid or less defined boundaries. For instance, the boundary confusion, which Chodorow describes, may be exacerbated by organizations where there is insufficient clarity about roles and responsibilities. On the other hand, institutions with unbending boundaries may present a conflict to women who wish to be more connected to those with whom they work. These differences will become clearer in light of Clayton Alderfer's schema for organizations discussed in the following section.

Group Dynamics Literature

The group dynamics school of organizational behavior is born of the marriage of open systems theory and psychoanalytic theory (Gillette & McCollom, 1990). Theorists in this school address both the functions of authority within a system and the relational dimensions of the context.

As mentioned above, I turned to this body of literature in order to establish key definitions and distinction, in particular, a definition of the term "authority" that captures how authority is understood within organizations in general. In this thesis "Authority" will be understood as "the power associated with a position in an organization," (Katz & Kahn, 1978, p.323) thereby assuming patterns of relationships which are hierarchical, authoritative and asymmetrical. This definition arises from mainstream organizational behavior theory and has its earliest roots in the works of Max Weber, the influential German sociologist. Weber provided the classic analysis of the administrative structures of social organizations at the beginning of the twentieth century (Scott, 1987). His model of the modern bureaucracy, with its stress on technical expertise, and authority as located in hierarchically structured positions, continues to function as a backdrop for much of contemporary organizational and management practice.

Weber described authority for a modern bureaucracy as "rational/legal" where authority "rests on a belief in the `legality' of patterns of normative rules and the rights of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands" (Weber, 1947, p. 328, (cited in Scott, 1987, p.40)). As Richard Scott (1987) points out, Weber's conception of authority came in response to the problems that Weber saw in both traditional and charismatic forms of authority. Traditional authority, Weber argued, was essentially a patrimonial system which could be visualized as a "household writ large" (Scott, p.40). At the other extreme, the ability of a charismatic authority to inspire fanatical devotion, particularly at times of crisis or instability, was in Weber's opinion a threat to society.

Only rational/legal authority was stable enough for bureaucratic organizations to survive. Weber's definition of authority in bureaucratic structures placed the emphasis on rules and regulations accompanying a position or a role, rather than on the individual who held the position.

The second conceptual contribution to the present study of women's experience in positions of authority is the distinction that Ronald Heifetz (1988) makes between the function of authority and the exercise of leadership within a group. Heifetz provides a clear comparison between the two concepts. Authority is seen as related to role and position, while leadership is described as a function that any individual in a system can exercise. By developing a theoretical understanding of the role of authority as distinct from that of leadership Heifetz in turn provides a clear articulation of both the purpose and tasks involved in the exercise of authority. This distinction is useful in clarifying how the role of authority within hierarchical structures is understood and experienced by women.

The third conceptual guidepost I draw from the group dynamics literature is a schema developed by Clayton Alderfer for understanding important differences in how groups relate to their larger environment. Alderfer interprets an organization or system as "a set of units with interdependent relationships among them" (Alderfer, 1980, p. 269). By focusing on the transactions which occur between and among units, whether those units are individuals or groups, Alderfer draws attention to the space or boundaries which exist between them (Alderfer, 1980).

In particular, Alderfer classifies organizations according to the relationship which exists between members of a group and the persons, systems or forces in its immediate context or environment. "Overbounded" systems are characterized by insufficient boundary permeability and face the danger of becoming closed off to the environment and becoming incapable of adapting to change. "Underbounded" systems on the other hand, are known for their lack of boundary definitions. Excessive permeability between the

members of the group and the surrounding environment leaves its members vulnerable to environmental turbulence and to the loss of a consistent sense of their own identity and coherence. Alderfer's schema suggests that the different relationships which exist between these two systems and their organizational environments demand distinct responses from the person in the position of designated authority.

I will return to these definitions and distinctions in the course of the discussion of women's experience of exercising authority. Taken together, Katz and Kahn's definition of authority in hierarchical organizations, Heifetz's distinctions, and Alderfer's typology offer valuable tools for addressing and understanding the contextual dimensions of holding a position of authority as a woman.

Women in Authority: An Historical Overview

Equally important in appreciating women's current experience in management positions is understanding the historical evolution that has occurred for women in the workplace over the last two decades. Not only has the landscape of the workplace changed dramatically; so too have the expectations of women in authority. The challenges, expectations, needs and desires that women managers and supervisors women face today *must be* understood in light of this historical development. Otherwise, it is to easy to arrive at overly simplistic and a historical interpretations and explanations.

In a review of the literature (Snee, 1991b), I found that the study of women in positions of authority has proceeded through several phases in the past two decades. The earliest research began with the assumption that male experience was normative. Women were considered lacking in the requisite personality traits. Women were believed to be passive and dependent (Bardwick & Douvain, 1972), and temperamentally unfit for management (Bowman, Worthy & Greyser, 1965). Furthermore, women as well as men were reported to perceive women to be undesirable as leaders (Schein, 1973, 1975).

When similar behavior or leadership "styles" was evaluated in men and women, Nieva and Gutek (1981) found that "initiating" behavior was assessed positively in men and "considerate" behavior was valued in women. At the same time, initiating behavior was more closely identified with effective leadership. Studies that focused on leadership "style" such as the differences between "initiating" and "considerate" styles of leadership intensified the difference in standards of evaluation for men and women.

In a second phase of literature on women in authority, the stress shifted to issues of women's socialization. A plethora of works appeared in the late 1970's and early 1980's arguing that women's disadvantage in the workplace were due to their learned behavioral strategies (Harragan, 1978; Hennig & Jardim, 1978; Kennedy, 1980). These "bureaucratic success manuals" as Kathy Ferguson (1984) calls them in The Feminist Case Against Bureaucracy coached women on how to conform to the managerial styles of their male colleagues.

A third phase of research on women managers focused primarily on the reaction of others to women in authority. Nonetheless, a close examination of this literature shows that rarely was attention given to the experience of the woman *in* authority. This research has focused, chronologically, on the responses of others to women in authority in both mixed-gender groups (Bayes & Newton, 1978; Mayes, 1979) and all-female groups (Hagan, 1983; Taylor et al., 1979), on the phenomenon of women stepping back from positions of authority (Jacobson, 1985; Gallese, 1985; McBroom, 1986; Bools & Swan, 1989), and finally on the contributions women make to organizational life (Counts, 1987; Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990).

Looking more closely at this literature, I observed two major shifts. The first was a move from focusing on how others viewed women in authority to noticing a new phenomenon—that women were choosing to step down from authority positions. The second shift was the move away from the struggles women were facing as managers to a

sudden adulation of the advantages of female management. This second movement from a concern with what management positions were costing women to a widespread interest in the advantages of their leadership for organizations was confusing and unsettling to me.

The research in the mid-1980's (Baruch, Barnett & Rivers, 1983; Jacobson, 1985; Gallese, 1985; McBroom, 1986; Bools & Swan, 1989) had examined why women choose to step back from anticipated or achieved positions of authority. These studies delineated more clearly than previous work the tensions women face in balancing issues of work and lifestyle. The choice to "step down" was viewed alternately as a sign of health: "a reluctance to forfeit their entire selves for the sake of their careers," (Gallese, 1985, p. 315), and, on the other hand, as an indication of women's ambivalence toward pursuing, or even accepting, positions of authority (Bools & Swan, 1989). Throughout these studies there are conjectures that psychological factors may be operative in women's assessment of administrative positions. The personal and psychological issues raised in this research, however, appear to be dropped or silenced by the emerging emphasis on the advantages of women's ways of leading (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990). I wondered why it was that the important questions about women's experience of exercising authority that were being raised in the 1980's seem to be glossed over with the praises of women leaders emerging in the 1990's.

As I reviewed the literature further, I was even more perplexed by an apparent blindness to the research on the psychological development of women of the last fifteen years (Gilligan, 1982, 1989, 1990b; Miller, J., 1976, 1982, 1986; Chodorow, 1974, 1978, 1989; Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger & Tarule, 1986). This body of research and theory could have offered important insights into the phenomenon of women stepping down from management that was documented in the mid-1980's. A dialogue between psychological theory of female development and the studies of women in positions of authority who choose to leave management seemed critical. Otherwise, the recent recognition of

women's contributions to organizations may inadvertently lead to failure to consider what is at stake for the individual women who are making these contributions. The questions and concerns about why women step down from authority positions, if not answered, could ultimately hurt the women and their organizations.

Women's Language

Early studies on women's patterns of speech were marked by comparisons to the language of the dominant group—men. Studies showed that linguistic forms had excluded women. The primacy which vocabulary and syntax gave to men's experience, in turn made women appear deviant (see Thorne and Henley, 1975; Lakoff 1975; Miller and Swift 1977; Spender [1980]1985); Thorne, Kramarae, and Henley 1983).

Within this context, Robin Lakoff (1975) drew attention to the patterns of speech women used, which she described as more hesitant and tentative than men's. Lakoff describes how cultural expectations that women talk "like a lady" lead to women's use of qualifiers, questioning intonation, intensifiers, tag questions and hedges in their speech. While Lakoff was able to identify particular linguistic patterns in women's speech, her interpretation of these modes of speech reflects her particular interest, which was to illustrate how language reflects the gendered structure of a culture.

Lakoff's conclusion that women's speech was weaker than men's was a logical outcome in a context where women's experience was repeatedly assessed in terms of men's patterns of behavior. Today however, I believe it is important to consider women's language on its own terms and to explore the psychological significance of patterns of speech that have previously been studied in terms of cultural or social patterns. Researchers responding to the work of Lakoff have already argued that tag questions and "you know" were found to serve positive functions in women's speech, such as fostering interpersonal exchange, (Fishman, 1983; Baumann, 1976; Holmes, 1984, 1986). This work also suggested that linguistic variables must be more thoroughly analyzed in terms of

context and function before generalizing about women's language. In this thesis, a great deal of attention is given to the context and function of the expressions "you know" and "I don't know."

The next wave of studies of women and language paralleled the studies of women in management during the 1970's and 1980's with its focus on gender comparisons. This research drew attention to women's patterns of speech in mixed-sex dyads and groups. Researchers found that women are listened to less than men and are less likely to be credited for the things that they way in groups; they are interrupted more often than men; the topics they introduce into conversations are less often taken up by others; and they do more work than men to keep conversations going.

More recently, however, women researchers have begun examining the methods of data collection and analysis they have inherited in their respective fields or disciplines, and to question how they need to be revised or changed in order to better understand women's experience. In particular, researchers have begun to consider how verbal patterns found in women's speech may provide greater access to both the meaning of the experience and the psychological processes that may underlie it.

Dale Spender ([1980]1985), a linguist, explores how women's speech is limited and shaped by men's greater social power and control, exercised both individually and institutionally. Spender argues that distinctive features of women's speech should not be seen as deficiencies in linguistic skill, but as adaptive responses to these constraints on their speech. Spender also views language as a potential source of power for women, particularly woman-to-woman. Since this talk is quite different from talk in mixed groups—because women speakers are more likely to listen seriously to each other—it thereby affords opportunities for women to speak more fully about their experiences.

Marjorie DeVault (1990), a sociologist, examines the significance of feminist approaches to research methods and concludes that one of the promises of feminist

ethnography is to elicit and describe experiences and thought patterns that are part of

female consciousness but "left out of dominant interpretive frames shaped around male

concerns" (p. 100). DeVault describes how she came to realize that many expressions

such as "you know" which might typically be discarded from data analysis, are actually

> "hints toward concerns and activities that are generally unacknowledged. Often, I
> believe this halting, hesitant tentative talk signals the realm of not-quite-articulated
> experience, where standard vocabulary is inadequate, and where a respondent tries
> to speak from experience and finds language wanting."(p. 103)

In a similar fashion, Carol Gilligan and her and her colleagues at the Harvard

Project have drawn attention to how particular patterns of speech, or verbal cues in

women's speech are important, only in this case signalling the "logic of the psyche," and

providing access to psychological processes that may accompany women's description of

their experience.

In this thesis I draw heavily on the methodological approach developed by Gilligan

and the members of the Harvard Project to examine how the language patterns that

women use in describing their experiences facilitate understanding what it is like for

women to hold positions of authority. While I will discuss this method of data analysis

more fully in the methods chapter, it is important here to describe the research on

adolescent girls that has laid the foundation for this way of working.

For the past decade Gilligan and her colleagues have listened to young girls' voices

over time and across a diversity of settings. This research has included longitudinal

studies at two private girls' schools, an independent coeducational high school, an urban

public school, and Boys' and Girls' Clubs in three Boston neighborhoods.

Listening to the voices of girls, these researchers found that girls possess a detailed

knowledge of the landscape of relationships: "Like naturalists, girls observe carefully and

collect their observations, thus composing, piecing together the logic of the human

psyche" (Brown and Gilligan, 1990, p.4). They also found that the ability of girls to speak

about what they see and know shifts dramatically at adolescence. In interviews with adolescent girls, they found that as girls traversed the dangerous tides of adolescence, they "went underground" — they lost a certain sense of self confidence and began to express doubt about what they knew. In particular the phrases "I don't know" and "you know" appear in their conversations with increasing frequency over these years.

In Meeting at the Crossroads, (1992) Brown and Gilligan describe how girls will frequently say "you know" to the interviewer or other speaker when they are trying to assess if what they are saying is safe—will the hearer understand and stay in relationship in the face of what they feel is dangerous to put forth. The phrase "I don't know" enters the conversation when the girl is touching on topics, issues, observations or feelings that she has come to interpret as dangerous to relationship—that to speak what she is about to say is to risk losing the relationship with the person to whom she is speaking.

I found similar patterns of speech in the interview transcripts of a study of women who were considering divorce (Snee, 1991a). Listening to how these women described their lives and relationships, as well as how they thought about the decision to divorce or remain with their partner, I saw how the phrases "you know," and "I don't know" served as markers for the ebb and flow of their own knowledge. By paying close attention to these verbal cues I could trace when women resisted facing the reality of their situations out of fear. These women were painfully aware that the reality of their lives at the moment of the interviews included the possible loss of a primary relationship—their marriage. At the same time, the choice to resist or forsake this knowledge in order to maintain a connection to their spouse created equally painful psychological distress. I began to appreciate that listening to women and paying attention to the patterns of their speech as well as what they said provided access to their knowledge about their relationships as well as how they at times experienced dissociation from their knowledge.

The poignant tension at the heart of this drama could be seen in its sharpest contrast by tracing the markers of "you know" and "I don't know."

In this thesis, I have chosen to pay close attention to the appearance of the phrases "You know" and "I don't know" for several reasons. My work on the divorce study had raised the possibility that women speak about their journey to knowledge and the loss of knowledge much more explicitly than previously realized. The careful attention to the words of adolescent girls had led to psychological theory that offers a new perspective on how voice reveals the powerful intersection of culture, relationship and psychological health. Listening proved to be an important intervention in the psychological lives of girls and women. In this case, I hoped that my listening to these language patterns as they appear in the stories of women in the position of authority—positions involving power—could lead to a deeper psychological appreciation of how a woman experiences her relationship to the culture, others and herself while in a position of authority.

In later chapters I present several examples of data analysis of speech patterns, and in particular the use of the phrases "I don't know" and "You know." I illustrate how this exegesis can lead the reader to the heart of the research participant's stories about working with other women while holding a position of authority. Given the psychological nature of this study, my analysis will focus on the relationship of the women to themselves. This will provide an important and useful foundation for the subsequent analyses of how women speak about their relationships with other women at work, and how this interfaces with their relationship to broader institutional and cultural forces.

In presenting the findings, I chose to begin with an individual participant—to provide a glimpse of our interview and relationship and how, with her help, I gained a new understanding of a key element of the experience of women in authority. Following the in-depth study of one woman's experience I offer examples of data drawn from other interviews that corroborate, expand or correct the presentation. Frequently this includes

illustrations of how the verbal cues and psychological process of adolescent girls can increase an understanding of women's experience.

Using methods of data collection and analysis grounded in methodolgical approaches developed by Carol Gilligan, Lyn Mikel Brown and their colleagues at the Harvard Project(Gilligan, 1992; Brown, et.al, 1988), I will draw out what women have said about their experiences in positions of authority, in light of identified markers of psychological risk in adolescent girls (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). This analysis is not a claim to know what they don't know. Rather it is a claim to know what they know and then to theorize about the significance of what is known by these women. While this type of analysis may be relatively new, the issues, concerns and insights that it helps to illumine will undoubtedly be familiar to other women who have held positions of authority.

Chapter Three

METHODS

This thesis was designed to speak to three research questions that had emerged

from prior pilot studies (Snee, 1989, 1990) and a review of the literature (Snee, 1991b):

1. What is women's experience of exercising authority in relationship to other
   women?

2. What are the specific rewards and challenges, as well as psychological
   strengths and risks that are associated with this experience?

3. How does women's experience differ according to the percent of women in the
   work group or organization, i.e., does the experience differ for women in
   predominantly female settings and mixed-gender settings?

These three questions arise from two different kinds of theories in organizational research,

namely process and variance theories (Maxwell, 1994). The first two questions, examples

of process theory, are concerned with the events and processes that influence women's

experience in positions of authority. The third question, in contrast, asks about the

differences that might exist in women's experiences and what role the variable "work

group gender-composition" plays.

Maxwell sees the distinction between process theory and variance theory as

underlying the different approaches employed in qualitative and quantitative research. In

this thesis I have chosen to use both qualitative and quantitative methods of data

collection and analysis to address research questions that are fundamentally concerned

with events, processes and differences.

The core of the thesis is a qualitative study based on open-ended interviews.

Given the dearth of research on this topic, this study by necessity was exploratory in

nature. Given that the purpose of this research was to gain a greater understanding of

women's experience, the methods employed focused on listening to women speak about

their experience in the interviews and the use of data analytic methods that facilitated the study of women's lives *on their own terms* (Gilligan, 1982).

Initially my intent was to compare women's experiences based on the gender-composition of the work environment. The problems in this analysis will be discussed later but it is important to point out that ultimately the gender-composition of the organization and of the work culture were such serious confounds that the original comparison was not possible to assess.

Instead of the original variance question, I chose at the conclusion of the qualitative discussion to conduct a quantitative analysis using a questionnaire designed to explore the generalizability of the qualitative findings. This survey instrument was developed using statements drawn from interview data and variations on verb stems to consider possible differences between women's experience and their desires and/or expectations. In addition Dana Jack's, *The Silencing the Self Scale* (1992) was included as a proxy for vulnerability to psychological risk and/or resistance.

In this chapter I report on the choices which I have made regarding the basic design questions of who, what, when, where, and how, i.e., the choice of research participants, interview design, and methods of data analysis. Furthermore, I describe the processes—sometimes quite lengthy—that were involved in these choices. The decisions that were made have had important consequences for what I have learned about women's experience of authority, and it is important for the reader to understand how these decisions were made.

Sample

Choosing a sample was a painstaking process of balancing three questions that were embedded in my research agenda. First, I had to determine what positions of authority I was concerned with, e.g., senior officers or middle managers. Second, I wanted to choose a sample where I could compare women's experience by the gender

composition of the work force that the woman in authority managed. Third, I wanted to choose a sample that was responsive to the challenges raised by feminist scholars of the past two decades. Their research and literature has taught us that any attempt to speak about "women's experience" must attend to differences among women such as race, ethnicity, age, class, sexual orientation, marital and/or parental status and physical ability. I wanted to choose a sample that acknowledged the diversity among women while making it possible to discover what (if anything) may be common to their experience.

Each of these questions posed its own challenges, and the solution to one often had serious implications for the other two. Grappling with these questions led to a series of purposeful decisions about my sample.

The first question "In what roles or positions of authority?" raised questions of diversity but this time in terms of organizational structure and work-setting climate. Here the variables included occupational field, size of organization, geographic locations, and the historical presence of women in work force. My response to this question went through several stages.

First, I considered choosing a single occupational field—secondary school administration. Since I was particularly interested in comparing women's experience by the gender composition of the work place, I felt confident that I could find female high school principals who held relatively similar positions of authority in both coed and all-girl schools. After much deliberation, however, I chose not to focus on high school principals because I was concerned that my research would be viewed as a study of school administrators and would miss the emphasis on women's psychological development that was its driving force. While I believe that what could be found in such a study would most likely have implications for women in authority positions in diverse settings, I wanted to be sure that the focus of the research—the psychological dimensions of women's experience—was not compromised by the choice of a single occupational setting.

In the second round of considerations I became interested in choosing a single "site"—this time in the field of public policy. I explored the possibility of studying women in a major non-profit organization run almost exclusively by women. The comparison would be with women working in a similar non-profit with many male administrators. While entry issues ultimately led to the demise of this project, I came to realize that a case study of a single organization was not the methodological approach most appropriate and useful to address my research questions. A sample that included women managers in diverse occupational settings would make it easier to consider a broad range of factors that may contribute to women's experience of exercising authority. For example, the gendered history of an organization, the organizational size, the percent of women in middle and top management could all play a role in creating psychological strengths and challenges for women in authority. A single case study would not capture this diversity and complexity.

The second question, "What was the gender composition of the work force in which the woman in authority functioned?" was part of an overall attempt to frame this study as a comparison between women rather than between women and men. I wanted to compare women's experience by the gender composition of the group in response to earlier research claims that the relationships between and among women are affected by the presence of men. For instance, literature on women in positions of authority has often suggested that women draw their authority from identification with a man (Lipman-Blumen & Leavitt, 1976), and/or compete among themselves for the attention of one or men in a system (Miner & Longino, 1987). By comparing how women exercise authority in mixed-gender settings to the experience of women exercising authority in situations where men are not present, I hoped to see how the presence of men at work is perceived to influence the relationships between women by women who hold positions of authority.

Research has also shown that the proportion of women in positions of authority within an organization has an effect on the experience of the women who are in subordinate positions within the system. Robin Ely (1989) has documented how relationships with, and the perceptions of, the women in authority by the women in the subordinate positions improves as the proportion of women in authority increases. The present study offers the opportunity to consider how the gender composition of the work group affects the women who hold the positions of authority.

I am not claiming that the experience, feelings, ideas or behaviors described by the women in this study are unique to women. This departs from the recent trend in literature on women managers that presents women's management style as an advantage (Helgesen, 1990; Rosener, 1990). Rather, I believe that a design which pays particular attention to how women describe and understand their experience provides a different lens through which to appreciate human experience.

I believe that an emphasis on similarities and/or differences between men and women in their exercise of authority has obfuscated the study of the psychological dimensions of the exercise of authority for women. My concern is to consider women's experience of exercising authority; it is not to demonstrate how women's experience is different from that of men.

The research participants

Ultimately, I chose a sample of women who had worked in diverse occupations and in situations that varied in the gender composition of the employees. I decided to allow for diversity on most demographic variables, keeping constant two factors that are at the heart of the study. First, I wanted to interview women who were in middle management positions. Second, I wanted to have an equal number of women from predominantly female work settings and women from mixed gender settings.

The choice to focus on women in middle management was made in light of the findings of an earlier literature review (Snee 1991b). First, I decided that I would not be interviewing women who held top executive positions for three reasons. From my review of the literature, I was convinced that the experience of these women was marked by the historical circumstances in which they had entered positions of authority, especially the fact that in most cases they were among the first women entering management positions. Second, my review of the literature on women in authority indicated that these were the women most often studied. Third, many experts predict that women will enter the ranks of top management in record numbers in the next decade and many of the women are already in mid-management positions in every field. Therefore, I believe it is critical to gain a better understanding of how women who are mid-career, and probably 35-50 years old, experience exercising authority in relationship to other women and men.

I selected my sample from women who are enrolled in the mid-career program in public administration at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. This sample provided diversity along most variables: geography, economic status, marital and parental status, public and private work settings, race, ethnicity, age, etc. Furthermore, the women were still close enough to their management experiences to recount with feeling and detail their experience while also having the luxury of time and space to reflect on their cumulative work story with distance and curiosity.

In addition to providing diversity, this sample provides access to women who have chosen to step down from their positions of authority for a year. In an earlier review of the literature (Snee, 1991b), I had noted with alarm the number of women who deal with the challenges of being in authority by withdrawing, stepping down, or choosing another career where the challenges to balance relationships and roles are not as great. While a return to graduate school is always an acceptable way to leave a position of authority, it is also likely that these women are planning to return to management positions—that they

are not likely to be stepping down permanently from positions of authority. This sample affords the opportunity to speak with women who have withdrawn from their positions of authority but are in the process of reflecting on their experience and evaluating what future directions they will take. Their insights might be of great help to other women in similar situations who do not have the resources to pursue graduate education. In the end, the choice of a sample of women from the Kennedy School seemed well suited to the goals of this research endeavor. The limitations will be discussed later in the thesis.

Selection process

The interviews with the women at the Kennedy School were conducted in two cohorts. In the Spring and Summer of 1992, I interviewed six women enrolled in the mid-career program in public administration. These women were all volunteers from a class entitled "Women and Leadership." These interviews were conducted as a first wave of data collection to determine if this sample would afford both the diversity and experience that I was seeking in my sample. The data confirmed that this was true. While these interviews were initially intended as pilot studies, the interview transcripts were so rich that they were included in the data analyis for the thesis.

A second cohort of research participants for this study was chosen from the 1992-1993 mid-career program in public administration. In selecting these participants I wanted to use a more random approach in order to avoid bias in my selection of the women for my sample. I did not do this to address issues of generalizability since the size of my sample precludes that in any event. Using a random numbers table, I re-ordered the official alphabetical list of the women students from the United States and obtained from the director of the mid-career program the mailing addresses for the first twelve women. (Shortly thereafer one of these women was in a serious accident and was dropped from the list). I contacted the remaining eleven women and asked them to complete a brief

information card which asked about their experience in positions of authority and whether the work environment had been predominantly all women or more mixed-gender.

Of the eleven women contacted, eight women agree to participate in the study. Since one of the research questions was the comparison of women's experience in mixed-gender and predominantly female settings, I chose to interview an equal number of women from each type of setting. This selection criteria led to the choice to interview six women: three who had worked in mixed-gender settings and three who had worked in predominantly female settings. These interviews were conducted in the Fall of 1992.

In addition to these twelve interviews, I was able to conduct a second interview with four of the women. These interviews made it possible to explore in greater depth dimensions of the experience of authority . These follow-up interviews also provided an opportunity to explore similarities and differences in women's experience across individual and/or institutional variation. The second interview also provided the participant with a chance to reflect on how she had described her experience and what she had learned from doing so.

In summary, twelve women were interviewed in two waves of data collection. The first cohort of six were volunteers from a class on women and leadership. The second cohort of six were chosen using a stratified random selection process designed to assure an equal representation of women from work settings of different gender compositions. In addition to these twelve individual interviews, four follow-up interviews were conducted leading to a total of sixteen interviews as the basis for the data analysis.

Sample description

The only demographic information I asked for in the beginning of the interview was composition of the experiences they described. Their occupational histories included work in Fortune 500 companies, a small privately held firms, work in state and Federal

government, political office, hospital and mental health settings, and national non-profit organizations and associations.

about their work history—the type of management positions they had held, and the gender

In the course of the interviews, I learned that four of the women were mothers, five were presently married, two women were single and one was divorced. In addition, in describing their experiences, several women made reference to their racial, ethnic and religious identities. One women identified herself as African-American, one as Haitian, one as Jewish and one as Roman Catholic. Based on their accounts, and in some cases, their own reference to age, I believe the ages of the women in the interview sample ranged from early 30's to late 40's.

The interview

I conducted two semi-structured, open-ended interviews with four of the women in the sample, and a single interview with the other eight women. Originally I had hoped to conduct two interviews with each participant but time constraints on the part of the participants including part-time status, family and work commitments made it impossible to do so.

The interviews were conducted in a study room either at the Kennedy School of Government or the Gutman library at the Harvard Graduate School of Education. Each interview began with several minutes of conversation about classes, the study, current events, the weather. At times this seemed to ease us into the interview; other times, it made it difficult to end the conversation and begin the interview. During this introductory time, I also reviewed issues of confidentiality and explained that I would provide copies of the transcripts to them. The interviews lasted from 45 minutes to almost two hours. They were audio taped and later transcribed.

In the interviews with the first six women, I had followed a set of interview questions (see appendix) that I thought would provide a useful structure to the process. After preliminary analysis of this data with my advisor several things came to light.

First, I had interjected into the interviews my own hypotheses about roles and relationships and had failed to let the women speak in an open-ended fashion about their experience as women in authority over other women. Second, I needed to pay closer attention to issues and concerns that are important to female development --to listen for mention of connection and/or separation, comments on anger, or descriptions of powerlessness. It was important to follow up on these remarks. Third, I was encouraged to keep my focus on the relationships—to keep in mind that this is a psychological study of women's experience in relationship to themselves, to others and to the world. While issues of institutional power and/or structural issues are important, they are of interest to this study only in so far as they affect the woman, and her relationships, her work, her authority. This is not a study of institutions or organizations. Finally, much could be learned by paying attention to women's language patterns and by clarifying the use of jargon when it appeared.

This correction led to a sharper focus on the purpose of the study and how in-depth interviews could uncover the meaning that these women made of their experience in positions of authority (Seidman, 1991). In the second and third sets of interviews during the 1992-1993 academic year, I was less verbose, choosing instead to invite the women to talk about their experience of being in a position of authority in relationship to other women, and pursuing the conversation where it led. I used more open ended questions such as "what was that like for you ...could you say more?" "How do you think about that?" ..."How do you make sense of that"..."Could you tell me more about that--either an example or a story?"

While the course of the interview was determined largely by the women's responses to the open-ended questions, I also had a list of key issues that had come either from the literature or from my earlier pilot study. These include topics of friendship at work, competition among women, sexuality in the workplace. As the interview progressed I paid attention to the mention of these topics by the research participant. If and when this occurred, I would return to this comment and ask her to speak more about the issue -- for example, "A while ago you spoke about a woman at work who was a friend. Could you talk with me about friendship at work?" If, on the other hand, after mid-way in the interview, these topics had not emerged, I would raise them in the form of a request: "Could you speak with me about friendship?"... or "I'm not quite sure how to approach this subject, but I am very interested in women's experience of friendship in the context of being a woman in authority -- could you speak to this subject?"

As the interview drew to a close I would frequently pose the question "What would you say to someone who was new to a position of authority over other women?" This served as a summary device, allowing the woman to capture her ideas in light of insights that had emerged in the course of the interview. The final question was always "Is there something else that I should be asking you?" In subsequent interviews with other women I would refer to the issues raised in response to this question to see they should be incorporated into the body of the interview.

The second interview

A transcript of the first interview was sent to each of the women selected for a second interview several weeks after the first meeting. At that point a second meeting time was scheduled. The second interview was conducted in the same location and generally was one to two hours in length. It was audio recorded and the transcript later send to the participant.

I began the second interview by asking what reflections, observations or additional insights had emerged for the research participant since the first interview as well as what her reactions were to the transcript she had received. Frequently the first response was to comment on how she had sounded in the interview—i.e., comments about rambling speech, sounding incoherent, wondering how this could possibly be useful. This usually led to a brief discussion of the nature of interview transcripts and my assurance that both the content and form of the interviews were extremely helpful to my research project. From there I focused the second interview on the woman's observations, comments and reflections, and later on questions that I had about the meaning of particular sections of the first interview.

Initially I had intended to pursue different substantive issues in the first and second interviews, but after the first few interviews, I realized that issues of relationship to self, other women and the institution were so closely related that it was difficult and perhaps artificial for the women to be asked to address them in separate conversations. Instead, the second interview provided an opportunity to explore how the experience of speaking about her experience of authority in the context of the first interview had led to new insights or questions for the woman. Furthermore, a second interview provided the opportunity to explore with the woman my own questions, reflections and initial interpretations based on the first interview. In particular, it afforded me the chance to explore the meaning of stories, comments and descriptions that she had related in our earlier meeting.

Thus, the second interview mirrored the first in style and format, i.e., location, time and the use of open ended questions. It differed in that the questions arose from reflecting on the first interview, and in particular questions that I brought based on direct quotes from the earlier interview. The strength of this second interview was that it made it possible to gain further depth of understanding of issues that were especially salient to

individuals, while at the same time affording the opportunity to check interpretations of the first interview with the research participant.

Data Analysis

The process of data analysis was ongoing and iterative and occurred over a period of 15 months. Looking back over the process I can now see that there were three distinct phases to the process, each leading to different contributions to the thesis. I now recognize and appreciate the importance of each stage of the journey in coming to understand, interpret and write about what I have learned in this research. While immersed in the data, however, I often was unable to appreciate the nature of the process, the time, energy and pacing that would be involved or the patience required to allow the process to unfold.

In this section, I will discuss the three phases that characterized my journey from the first interview through the writing of the thesis. I will address specific methodological issues in greater detail in the chapters that follow, where I can draw upon concrete examples in the data. My purpose in integrating my discussion of methods into the presentation of what I learned is two-fold: first, to illustrate concretely how methods and findings were intimately related throughout this project, and second, to draw the reader into the process of inquiry and discovery as it unfolded for me.

The three stages of "living with my data" (as I came to think about data analysis) can be described as first, working with the text, second, responding as a reader, and third, telling the story of what I heard and learned.

Working with the text

As mentioned earlier, the interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. Using the computer program "Ethnograph" I formatted the transcripts so that the text appeared on the left half of each page and the lines were numbered. I then placed the transcripts from each research participant in a three-ring binder which became the primary data for my

analysis. I used the space to the right of the text to mark my comments, observations, and questions, as well as to trace the themes and story lines that ran through the interview. I frequently wrote notes to myself and sketched out memos on the back of the previous page. Furthermore, the numbering of every line made it easier to keep accurate track of excerpts and stories in the course of the writing process.

As I worked with individual transcripts, I was guided by standard methods of content coding (Miles & Huberman, 1984). Working my way across the interviews of different research participants, I began to hear topics that were sometimes addressed in similar ways, and at other times spoken of in dramatically different ways. I began to note important themes and concerns that were emerging from the data and to create large conceptually clustered matrices (Miles & Huberman, 1984) which served to track who spoke about what.

At this point in the process the most exasperating question became "how would I ever organize all the data?" While this question remained present throughout the writing process, it had a particular urgency at this stage—something I hope to remember at a similar point in future research. The use of matrices afforded a helpful tool for organizing and viewing the issues at stake in my research project. At the same time it led me to become fixated on whether to organize my data in terms of themes or individuals. This led to a slip into an "either/or" mindset even as I knew that I had to reach a point where I could do "both/and". While I could understand that my study called for a combination of "theme" and "case study," it was extremely difficult to envision how I could make that happen. I realize now that this painful dilemma was one of many transitional crises that occurred repeatedly in the early stages of work.

Following these first readings of the interviews, I returned to the texts a second time and used the <u>Reading Guide</u> (Brown, L. et al., 1988), a method of data analysis

developed by the members of the Harvard Project on the Psychology of Women and the Development of Girls to read the texts.

The Reading Guide (1988) calls for multiple readings of interviews in which the reader's attention is drawn to different characteristics of the text. In this way the reader is guided in the organization of a trail of evidence upon which is built an interpretation of the text. In the first reading, the focus is on the narrative and the reader's own responses, questions and interpretations. In the second reading, attention is shifted to the interviewee as narrator, tracing how she or he presents the story. In this reading, I examined the times when a research participant made explicit reference to herself, for example, those places were she used pronouns such as "I" and "me," and those instances where her reference to self was more subtle, such as a shift from first to third person — for ex., from "I" to "a woman." The standard third and fourth readings are for relational voices specified in the Reading Guide as care and justice. Instead of these readings, I chose to read for the appearance of verbal cues that have been identified as markers of psychological risk for adolescent girls, namely the phrases "I don't know" and "you know" (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). Using the system of sequential color-coding of text to mark the different readings, I highlighted the use of "I don't know" in yellow and the appearance of "you know" in pink.

As I entered the lives and experiences of these women through the process of living with their interview transcripts, I realized that I did so as both a woman who had shared this experience and as a developmental psychologist steeped in women's psychological development. Poring over the transcripts, reading and pondering them with colleagues, I began to see a picture emerging that included stories of female relationships, and reports of institutional struggles. Furthermore, the picture had a fascinating subplot about the woman's relationship to herself—a fascinating pattern of language shifts, references to knowledge lost, and patterns of testing what was and was not safe to say to me as the interviewer and another woman. By tracing how the woman spoke of herself:

"I", "a woman", "you" "we", it was possible to see how she stood in relationship to the story she was telling. Moreover, her frequent use of verbal cues found in adolescent female speech ("I don't know" and "you know") suggested a movement back and forth between what was conscious, safe knowledge, and the emergence of less familiar knowledge in the course of the interview. This map of the woman's relationship to herself and her own knowledge became an essential tool in understanding her descriptions of relationships to other women and to the larger work culture.

Responding to the text

The second phase of living with the data involved drawing on my own knowledge as data. This process had both an individual and collegial component. The first was a process of free writing which I did for fifteen minutes at the beginning of each day's work. The format varied from day to day. Often it would be a way of clearing the decks — of writing out all the things that were on my mind and might otherwise become blocks to my writing. Frequently I would focus on my research and ask myself questions such as "What do I now know about the topic I am working on?" "What don't I know?" Other times I would frame the questions as "How does this work connect to my own experience?" "How does it connect to the world?"

These "freewrites" as I called them became important sources of data throughout the writing of the thesis. These writing exercises became my own adaptation of the use of analytic memos, a central tool to ethnographic research (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). In addition to the benefits of writing in response to specific data, the use of "freewrites" became a critical component to my own creative process by allowing my psyche to have an uninterrupted time to respond to the research process itself.

The second dimension to the process of naming and claiming my own responses to my textual data was the collaborative work which took place with my two dissertation colleagues, Anna Romer and Beverly Slade. Over the past five years we have created an

interpretive community for our work in which we are able to discuss our work, read and respond to works in progress, and receive alternative responses to data analysis. We began our work together during our second year of doctoral studies, to offer encouragement, companionship and critical readers to each other. Along the way our weekly meetings have become an essential context for thinking through our research questions, discovering alternative readings of the interview transcripts, and developing a way to write about our research that is attuned to not only the voices of the research participants, but our own voices as well.

Telling the story

The third and last phase of bringing this work to completion was the actual writing of the thesis. This became the most creative, often pleasurable, frequently overwhelming part of the process. The metaphor which guided my writing was the encouragement of my advisor to imagine that I had gone on a great journey to a foreign land, had returned with wonderful gems and treasures, and now was writing about my experience — where I had gone, what I had done, what I had learned, and what others might expect if they had the chance to take the same trip.

This metaphor enabled me to remember that the thesis was my account of the research I had done. It was my choice as to how many stories and which ones would be included. The important thing was to make it clear to the reader the choices I had made and what had guided these choices. In the chapters that follow I have tried to be very explicit in mapping out my journey, in pointing out what I have seen along the way, in sharing with the reader my own responses, questions and musings, and finally in presenting what I believe is important about this study. First, however, I will explain the process by which I determined which topics and what data I would present in this thesis.

Inclusion Criteria

In choosing the evidence to present in this thesis I returned first to my original research questions: what is women's experience of holding a position of authority in relation to other women, and what are the psychological dimensions to this experience. In choosing the stories, topics and data that I would include I was guided by the following criteria.

First, I sought to present themes that had appeared repeatedly in the interview data. This included issues that had appeared in similar form, for example, women's expectations of other women, and topics that were discussed with considerable variation, i.e., friendship with women at work. Second, I chose to include evidence of possible psychological and developmental risks and vulnerabilities that women face in positions of authority. Here I was particularly attentive to evidence of how women's language patterns might suggest vulnerability to psychological processes such as dissociation. From a developmental perspective I wanted to examine how the experiences of women in positions of authority may be related to earlier developmental challenges faced by girls at adolescence.

Third, in composing this thesis I have chosen to include data that is illustrative and exploratory rather than to make any attempts to be exhaustive. The small size of my sample precluded any attempt to generalize. Nonetheless, the explicit exploratory nature of the study made it possible to examine and discuss issues that were interesting and informative, even if not necessarily universal. The companion confirmatory quantitative study will discuss variation and generalizability in greater detail.

Exclusion Criteria

Using the organizing frame described above, I also made purposeful choices to omit particular themes and stories. In particular, there were two categories of data that I

chose to not included in this thesis: issues that had insufficient corroborating data and topics that were discussed specifically in terms of male/female comparisons.

An example of the first criterion, i.e., insufficient data to support the argument, occurred with regard to an intriguing connection I perceived between how women discussed the need to create a distance between themselves and other women at work and references that they made to a fear of betrayal. Several women spoke of their own fears of being betrayed by another woman, or more frequently their fear that in the course of their work as a manager they would have to take action that would leave the other woman feeling betrayed. Often these comments were made in a broader context of discussing the need for distance between women at work. As fascinating as this association was to me, in the end I felt I would be unable to make a convincing argument for this connection and that it would be better to wait for a further iteration of this study where I could I adequately explore this connection. My decision to omit this from the discussion of the data arises from my conviction that this connection could be quite significant and understanding it would be compromised by an inadequate or premature discussion.

The second criteria for omission involved specific comparisons of women to men. From the start of this research, I have been determined to study women's experience on their own terms and in comparison to each other. I have vigorously avoided comparing women's experience to that of their male counterparts. Thus, topics that had emerged in the review of the literature that were addressed by the respondents *only in terms of* comparisons to men were eliminated.

Presentation of Results

In the next four chapters I present a discussion of three topics that I believe are among the most salient dimensions of women's experience when holding positions of authority in relation to other women. These include *Split Vision, Unspoken Expectations, Loss of Knowledge.* In each chapter I begin my presentation of the particular issue by

providing a glimpse into part of an individual interview with one of the research participants. My purpose in beginning with the interview context is to provide the reader with a view of how the interview relationship itself was an important part of how I came to understand the topics that I present. Following an in-depth analysis of one woman's account, I then draw on data from other interviews to corroborate, expand or correct the earlier presentation.

Second, as mentioned earlier in this chapter, I have tried to incorporate into the chapters that follow a discussion of methodological issues. Specifically, I present illustrations of how tracing verbal cues in women's language can increase an understanding of women's experience. I have also employed reader-response methods to document my process of speculation about the risks of psychological dynamics such as dissociation for women in positions of authority.

Finally, my presentation of the data has a developmental orientation. Throughout these chapters I repeatedly try to draw connections between what I have come to learn about women in positions of authority, and current research on girls at adolescence. My purpose is to contribute to efforts in developmental psychology to that are attempting to take seriously the experience of girls and women and to create a developmental continuum for understanding their lives.

Questionnaire Design

A closed-ended questionnaire was developed to address three major themes that had emerged in the analysis of the interview data. The first was the role that expectations played in relationships between women—both expectations that women in authority reported having with regard to the women they worked with and expectations that they felt others had of them. The second topic was how friendship with women at work was viewed by women in authority and the corollary of how they thought and felt about knowing personal details about the lives of their colleagues. The third issue that was

explored in the questionnaire was how work related decisions, i.e., decisions that flowed from the role or position of authority affected the relationship a woman in authority had with the women with whom she worked.

In designing the questionnaire I organized the wording and format of the questions to make it possible to explore psychological dimensions of these experiences. I wanted to determine if there were differences between how women viewed their experience and what they had expected or wanted in relation to the same concerns. I also wanted to see if women found particular dimensions of exercising authority difficult.

Finally, I hoped to explore my original hypothesis that women in positions of authority face challenges that call for political resistance or result in psychological resistance in the form of depression and other manifestations of losing touch with their own knowledge and desires. To that end, I incorporated the Silencing the Self Scale (Jack, 1992) as a proxy for psychological risk. I chose this instrument because it is highly correlated with the Beck Depression Scale, while focusing on how women can lose touch with their own expression and sense of self—fundamental themes in this thesis.

Questionnaire Sample and Distribution

The questionnaire was distributed to the women in the 1993-1994 class of the mid-career program in public administration at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. The questionnaires were mailed to the home addresses obtained from the student directory. Dillman's Total Design Method (1978) was used throughout with only minor adaptations. The questionnaires were sent with a cover letter, a letter of endorsement from the Director of the mid-career program and a self-addressed stamped envelope the first week of February. A follow-up postcard was sent a week later. Two weeks later phone calls were made to the non-respondents and during the first week of March a second mailing with a copy of the questionnaire was sent.

Given that there are many international students enrolled in the Kennedy School mid-career program, I received questionnaires from women from countries around the world as well as the United States. For this thesis I used only the responses from U. S. women. These were identified as women who either were United States citizens or had been in a managerial position in the United States. The reason for this was that the diversity of experience across cultures and countries is beyond the parameters of this study. The response rate for the U.S. women was 76% with a total return of 44 questionnaires from a possible return of 58. The international data will be analyzed at a later date. Analysis of the U.S. data appears in Chapter Eight.

Chapter Four

SPLIT VISION

I was hoping in the decisions, always trying to make decisions that were right, but also hoping that it wouldn't have negative consequences on the relationships. In making the decisions and executing them, I would have an eye towards sustaining and repairing and maintaining the relationship.—Rachel

It was my fourth or fifth reading of Rachel's transcript and I was focusing on the descriptions and discussions of her relationships with the women at work. For the first time I was struck by the fact that she described the vision of only one eye. "Where is the other eye?" I asked myself. What is it looking at? What is it seeing? Is it something different? Are the two views seen simultaneously, alternately? Are their views blurred or blinded when one eye is in focus and the other is not — the way a zoom lens clears and blurs the foreground? Does this split vision cause fatigue, headaches, dizziness the way repeated and quick changes of focus do?

Flooded with images of shifting foregrounds and horizons, my mind raced on with questions. I could picture friends and strangers I have met over the years whose eyes didn't hold the same focus—I could feel my embarrassment and awkwardness when I didn't know which eye to look in to—how to respond to the gaze of both eyes. How often I would look away, fearful of what the person with the split vision was seeing in me—in *my* eye—as I tried to search for connection, confused, disarmed, not knowing how to respond to this different way of seeing.

I wondered—was there a connection? While Rachel was describing an experience that may have been blinding and blurring for her, I began to wonder if this divided vision may in fact have had uncomfortable consequence for those seeking her gaze. What was the effect on her relationships at work of her limited glance. Believing in the power of metaphors, I decided to gain a greater understanding of the physical, emotional and

psychological dimensions of this experience. I began by speaking with women who had had the physical condition of a lazy eye.

What I learned about the condition commonly known as a "lazy eye" is that if not corrected the person with the condition eventually will lose sight in one eye. While initially it is possible to see out of both eyes, the brain and body compensate for the split vision and focus attention on what is seen out of one eye. Eventually the other eye goes blind.

I believe that this experience of split vision offers a helpful metaphor for the types of divisions that are described by the women in this study. For just as with the visual condition of "lazy eye", the women report divisions between personal and professional identities, speak of boundaries between role and relationships, and most seriously describe internal splits between what they think and what they feel—between what they know and how they believe they have to act. It seems to me that over time women eventually can go blind in one eye—by forsaking relationships for role or losing sight of the tasks and responsibilities accompanying their role in order to sustain relationships. Or they can live in the dizzying reality that occurs when vision is not clear, and the focus of one eye is imposed over the vision of the other eye.

While the metaphor of *split* vision provides the clearest analogy for the current study, exploring the physics of sight provides a range of images and realities that have helped other writers explain the complex realities of life in this culture. For instance, William E. B. DuBois speaks of "second-sight" and "double-consciousness" (1969, p.45) as characterizing the experience of African-Americans in the United States. Carol Gilligan in *Women's Psychological Development* (1991) describes the following dream that led her to re-vision women's psychological development in light of her research on adolescent girls.

In my dream, I am wearing my glasses over my contact lenses. I am literally seeing double, although I do not realize this in the dream. I sit with a woman and remorsefully realize that I have wanted too much in the relationship—that I cannot possibly have what I want. She says,"I cannot offer you myself," and the logic of her statement feels overwhelming. And then—still in the dream—I take off my glasses and suddenly say,"No," because I suddenly know that this is not it—this remorseful wanting of what cannot be given. "No," I say, and then go on to speak the truth of my experience in the relationship. With this, my head suddenly swivel, like an owl's head turning 180 degrees around, and I feel—in the dream—a strong jolt, like a shock, and overwhelmingly dizzy, as if I am seeing double. Only after I wake up do I realize that when I felt dizzy was when I was seeing straight, and that in the dream when I felt I was seeing clearly, I was literally seeing double—wearing two sets of lenses which made it impossible to see straight.

The metaphor of split vision (and images of the blurring that accompanies double vision) began a process of reflection and data analysis that ultimately led me to organize this chapter around the theme of boundaries. The process of moving from the metaphor of split vision to the theme of boundaries with its psychoanalytic overtones separation and autonomy calls for explanation. There were three reasons for choosing to organize this chapter around the theme of boundaries.

First, as Lakoff and Johnson explain, metaphors "allow us to understand one domain of experience in terms of another."(1980, p.117) Drawing on what is known about experiences of dizziness, double-vision, and losing sight or the domain of sight, I was able to gain a new appreciation of what I had heard in women's accounts of holding positions of authority. The metaphor of split-vision enabled me to move beyond my initial research hypothesis which had been that women experience a tension between roles and relationships when in positions of authority over other women to a more diverse and complex interpretation of the data. I found that in fact, the women with whom I spoke described their experience neither solely in terms of an authority role nor exclusively in terms of the relationships they had with others at work. Nor did they speak specifically of a tension between the two. Rather their accounts consisted of stories of overlap, of shifting horizons, and of the dizzying feelings that can accompany the blurring of vision.

I wanted to capture this overlap and interfacing of role and relationship in the stories women told. While the metaphor of split-vision provided a way to conceptualize the challenges women in authority face (i.e., not simply learning to be a responsible authority nor how to establish relationships, but how to do both concurrently) it became difficult to explore the psychological dimensions of the experience in terms of vision language.

Therefore, I chose to use the metaphor as a framework but to turn to women's language as my primary guide in listening to and discussing their accounts. When I explored how women spoke about the experience of holding positions of authority I found important indicators that this could be psychologically dangerous to women. For instance, I discovered that as women spoke of dealing with both roles and relationships in their experience, their language included repeated references to boundaries, barriers, lines and other markers of separation and autonomy. Given the fundamental role of relationship and connection in women's psychological development, I read these references to boundaries as an indication that the experience of boundaries and separation may be counter to healthy psychologically development for women and therefore dangerous. Language related to boundaries became a verbal marker indicating an experience that potentially put women at risk. This reading was reinforced by the repeated appearance of the terms "I don't know," "you know," and other forms of tentative language throughout the transcripts of these stories. Recall that these verbal cues have been associated with a process of dissociation in adolescent girls (Brown & Gilligan, 1992).

Boundary as a theme

My choice to speak about boundaries in women's experience was also the outcome of a long and multi-directional process of data analysis. This theme is neither an "emic" (i.e., arising from the accounts of the research participants) nor an "etic" (i.e., a category brought by the researcher to the data) category. Rather it is a third type of category that

can be called "etic but inductive" (Maxwell, 1994). In this case, I had not set out to study boundaries, nor did this theme arise as an organizing principle for the research participants. Rather, it became a useful category for me as the researcher for understanding a psychological dynamic that was present in various accounts throughout the interviews.

The process of data analysis that led ultimately to the discussion contained in this chapter originally had begun with a systematic study of two other related themes: first, women's comments about friendships and relationships with other women at work and second, how they described the internal divisions that they experienced as they balanced authority roles with interpersonal relationships. This approach ultimately failed because it was unable to capture the relationship that exists between these two dimensions of women's experience. Analyzing women's relationships to other women divorced from their relationship to themselves severed issues and concerns that appear to be linked for these women.

In trying to find a way to focus on the interfacing between roles and relationships, personal and professional identities, emotions and intellect, I came to see the women in this study frequently described learning about boundaries, lines, and other forms of separation that existed either in the workplace, in their relationships or were experienced internally. I discovered too that there was considerable variability within this small sample of eight women in how they spoke about these divisions and barriers. A few of the women reported that they learned that boundaries are necessary at work. Others reported choosing to create distance between themselves and the women who worked for them. One woman described experiencing internalized divisions between her emotional and intellectual life. Several others spoke of compartmentalizing their personal and professional lives. I wanted to present both the differences that were present in the women's accounts while at the same time capturing the continuum that they represented.

Organizational differences

In order to capture the similarities and differences in women's stories, I have chosen to present and discuss the appearance and absence of boundaries in the language of the research participants within a theoretical framework drawn from the organizational theory of Clayton Alderfer (1980). In particular, I have found his characterization of groups as over-bounded or under-bounded particularly useful in discussing the differences between the experience of women who have worked in hierarchically structured jobs and that of women who have worked in less-structured and often predominantly female environments.

Women's experience in over-bounded systems

Laura has held senior management positions in organizations and corporations with long histories of male management. The environment in which she worked was highly influenced by a more traditional hierarchical model of authority where differences in rank have dramatic consequences for both roles and relationships. Furthermore, since Laura was one of the only women managers in her work group, she was in fact what Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1977) calls "tokens", i.e. the few of another type in a group where there is a preponderance of one type over the other (p.208). The stories that Laura tells illustrate how a traditional hierarchical work setting engages in what I call institutional instruction—where the work culture itself teaches women about the existence of boundaries and lines.

Discovering boundaries in hierarchical settings

Laura offers the clearest articulation of the process of institutional instruction about boundaries. Throughout her interviews, Laura spoke frequently of her own ambivalence regarding authority as it is presently understood and exercised in hierarchically structured organizations. Laura described that early in her career she had a strong sense of identification with her coworkers and an initial discomfort over becoming

a manager. She wanted to "be one of the people that I had come from. I was from their ranks. I was an equal, or inferior in terms of seniority."

As the first interview continued, Laura described how she had struggled to gain greater clarity about herself as the person in authority, a process that initially led to a greater focus on the tasks involved in her authority role. Five or six years into her management career, Laura reports, she came to believe: "if there were going to be people in authority, maybe I could do a better job of it." Having accepted the fact that an authority figure was necessary, Laura relates that she came to understand "that I had a different role and I couldn't do my job by being one of them."

In addition to her account of how her feelings toward being a manager evolved, Laura described a second lesson that she learned over time. With each successive promotion, Laura began to learn that her preferred approach to management, with its strong emphasis on relationships and connection, was deemed inappropriate by her own supervisor. Furthermore, her increasing authority leads to changes in her relationship with a female employee, Linda, following a major promotion.

> I then became in authority over what, who the person who became her boss, so I sort of went two steps all at once...and I noticed that it changed the relationship.... I had a very hard time responding directly to her, and I felt a lot of anguish about that.

Following her promotion, Laura reports feeling much less freedom and ability to have a close relationship with Linda or to help her resolve problems.

> I learned that I couldn't be as open. I couldn't be as supportive and as open with people that I was in authority over, as I would have been before. I couldn't share with them everything that I knew and I couldn't, in a way I couldn't know everything that they knew. I couldn't hear. I couldn't officially hear everything they had to say because I didn't know how to deal with it. *Do you know what I mean?*...It was really awkward. I didn't encourage them perhaps to say everything that they might have wanted, Linda, in this case, that she really wanted to say because I didn't think I should somehow know it from her. It felt like betraying or going around the person above her, who I was supervising. It felt like, it felt

somehow inappropriate. It felt like there were all these boundaries. It felt that there were lines. It was difficult."

There are three important things to notice in this excerpt. First, Laura begins the account of discovering that there were boundaries with the phrase "I learned." In this case there is no specific person acting as instructor but rather a set of norms, experiences, and assumptions that collectively create a work culture which is itself the instructor. Laura's work environment teaches her that certain boundaries and lines exist, and what she as the woman in authority can—or more accurately—can *not* do about them. Her references later in this passage to "I couldn't officially hear everything" and "it felt somehow inappropriate" reinforce the sense of a process of instruction that was institutionally based and constricting for Laura. Furthermore, the lessons that Laura learned were as limiting as the process she went through to learn these organizational norms and strictures.

Returning to the passage above, following her opening comment about *learning*, Laura continues with a series of statements about *what* she has learned. She uses the verb "could not" 7 times: "I couldn't be as open," "I couldn't be as supportive," "I couldn't share with them," "I couldn't in a way," "I couldn't know everything," "I couldn't hear," "I couldn't officially hear." As the listener I am perplexed as to how Laura has become so restricted.

As Laura concludes this alarming litany of disempowerment, she eventually explains why she could not know and could not hear what Linda wanted to tell her" "because I didn't know how to deal with it." I was stunned. I had expected an explanation based on institutional norms, or her understanding of hierarchical authority structures. Instead Laura has said that the reason is ultimately her own inability to "deal with it." Laura's use of the third person neuter pronoun "it," makes me wonder if this provides a way of distancing or dissociating from feelings that otherwise would be too painful or difficult to acknowledge. As I continued to reflect on Laura's response I was amazed at how her answer resembles other responses I have heard in the interviews.

Frequently when women have found that their usual way of responding to situations no longer works for them, they tend to turn the blame or responsibility on themselves. This process of internalizing responsibility for a situation that is inherently problematic will be discussed later in this thesis.

The potential psychological dangers that may accompany this process of internalization are evident in the last section of Laura's excerpt. Following her statement that "I didn't know how to deal with it," a new pattern emerges. Laura's language changes again as she shifts to speaking of her experience as "it": "It was really awkward"...."It felt like betraying" "It felt like", "It felt somehow inappropriate" "It felt like there were all these boundaries" "It felt like there were lines" "It was difficult." As I examine her language patterns and cues, I am concerned by the fact that Laura is now describing her experience and her feelings about her dilemma as an "it". Laura appears to be distancing herself from her feelings about her experience. This process of creating distance between what she sees going on and how she feels about it, however, is dramatically different from the way Laura has spoken about her experience, her feelings and her relationship to herself and others elsewhere in the interviews.

I believe Laura's account illustrates how women can be taught that in order to negotiate roles and relationships in the workplace, they must forsake their own understanding of management: i.e., "I learned I couldn't be as open, ...as supportive...I couldn't share...I couldn't know" It is also a poignant story about the discomforts and disconnections that can occur for women that they may not be able to name or even recognize. Here Laura describes how her own earlier approaches — to offer support, listen, share, — now feel inappropriate and like betraying another colleague. But more disturbing to me is her reference to her own feelings about this experience in the third person neuter language of "it." I wonder if this signals that a process of psychological dissociation is occurring for Laura in the face of difficult and confusing external conflicts.

Laura's process of learning to forsake her own knowledge and desires for the sake of what is deemed appropriate management behavior by her supervisor and hierarchical institution appears to me to be a process of going blind. Laura, like girls at adolescence is narrating an experience of dissociation where she is abandoning her relationship to herself and her knowledge for the sake of relationships—in this case relationships with her supervisors.

Finally, Laura's account illustrates the challenges that women in authority over other women face when they work within an over-bounded system. As the person in authority, Laura knew that she was responsible for managing the boundaries of her system, in Alderfer's terms, preventing her organization from being cut off from the larger environment or losing its capacity to respond to change. As the person in authority, her tasks had to be directed quite clearly to the working of the group as a whole.

At the same time, within an over-bounded system, where authority relations run the risk of becoming monolithic and highly centralized, Laura faces the danger that the delineation of her role of authority can lead to boundaries that in turn disconnect her from others. As described earlier, research on female development has found that the threat of disconnection in relationships poses a psychological crisis for girls and women. The threat of disconnection can elicit a form of psychological resistance, in this case, dissociation, where the woman ceases to see and know what she had formerly seen and known: that as a woman in authority she has a relationship with other women, even those who are in positions where they are accountable to her authority.

Women's experience in Under-bounded Systems

In contrast to the challenges of working in a system that is over-bounded, other women described experiences which appear to correspond to what Alderfer describes as "under-bounded." Since "under-bounded" systems have not received as much research

attention as "over-bounded" settings have, Alderfer acknowledges that much less is known about the psychological costs associated with this kind of management.

I believe the challenges of this type of work environment might be particularly serious for women in light of Nancy Chodorow's psychoanalytic explication of early female development (1978). Chodorow claims that mothers' tendency to identify more with their daughters leads to women's experience of "boundary confusion and a lack of sense of separation from the world" (Chodorow, 1978, p.110). In an "under-bounded system where "there may be a lack of explicit expectations from others or a great diversity of conflicting demands from multiple uncoordinated sources" (Alderfer, 1980, p.272), women may be increasingly vulnerable to the fragmentation and conflict that Alderfer views as the outcome for managers of this type of system.

Rachel

Rachel, a mental health worker who is married and the mother of two young children, has worked in predominantly female settings. She has been in supervisory roles since her earliest work experience, often supervising women much older than herself. Rachel describes the tension between attending to relationships and focusing on the task at hand:

> people would bring their personal lives into work a lot...and there were times when it really got in the way, because everybody wanted to be sensitive and the people really wanted to listen but on the other hand it was really sometimes completely overwhelming and really inappropriate to being in a workplace, I thought and you know, women want to respond. For me that was the biggest problem, in shutting that down, but you know being empathic enough to have the person felt listened to and get attended to. And shutting it down enough actually to get some work done.

First, Rachel describes the desire for connection on the part of the workers: "people would bring their personal lives into work a lot", "everybody wanted to be sensitive", "the people really wanted to listen." In the same sentence, however, she points out that "on the other hand *it* was really sometimes completely inappropriate." The cultural mandate that

personal matters are inappropriate at work is present here just as it was in mixed-gender work settings. Here, however, Rachel reports an equally strong recognition that "women want to respond."

Rachel's account captures women's conflicting desires "to be sensitive...to listen...to respond...being empathic enough to have the person felt listened to and attended to" while at the same time wanting to shut down the pressure to attend to the relationships "enough to actually get some work done." Throughout her interview, Rachel refers to this challenge of keeping sufficient clarity on the task while acknowledging that one eye at least is always on the relationship.

> I was hoping in the decisions, always trying to make decisions that were right, but also hoping that it wouldn't have negative consequences on the relationships. In making the decisions and executing them, I would have an eye towards sustaining and repairing and maintaining the relationship.

For her, and for other women in all-female settings, the challenge is how to find some type of beneficial boundary between the personal and professional dimensions of work. Rachel illustrates how this tension can affect women in authority in a second story she tells about a disagreement with a female worker over the handling of a clinical case.

> I think I can't forget it. I sort of don't separate it from who she is as a person, you know, .. that I'm angry about her clinical judgment so objectively I should say, well, that's a clinical judgment, I have another one, we should just go on. But it seems to sort of infiltrate every context in which I see her. I can't forget it really....I can't separate her professional self from her personal self, really, I keep saying 'if she was so hard-headed in this decision, there's something about her I don't like.' It wasn't just this cut off, objective piece of clinical judgment. There was something about her...

Rachel introduces her remarks with tentative explanations: "I think I can't forget it" as well as tentative expressions "I *sort of* don't separate it from who she is as a person, *you know.*" What is particularly striking about Rachel's use of the phrase "you know" at this point is that immediately after this verbal cue, Rachel speaks about her anger, a difficult, if not taboo, subject for women: "that I'm angry about her clinical judgment." Following this

remark about her feelings of anger, Rachel describes what she feels she *should* do about it —how she feels she is expected to behave in the face of anger. "I'm angry about her clinical judgment, so objectively I *should say*, well that's a clinical judgment, I have another one, we *should just* go on." Despite the pressures of felt expectations to act *objectively*, (i.e., ignore her feelings) Rachel is able to stay with what she experiences "but it seems to sort of infiltrate every context in which I see her. I can't forget it really."

Rachel continues to speak in the first person singular as she acknowledges her own resistance to separate professional self from personal self: "I can't separate her professional self from her personal self." Rachel uses the same language seen in other accounts: "professional self and personal self" to describe the personal and professional dimensions of life, but for Rachel these are not easily separated. Rachel struggles to deal with the difference between a professional reaction and a personal dislike, as she seeks to prevent the identification of an individual with her action(s) from being carried to an extreme. Rachel admits that she is unable to separate her reaction toward the decision of the other woman from her response to her as a woman.

In settings like the one Rachel describes, where the personal becomes inextricably tied to the professional, women in authority face a different set of challenges and psychological dangers that are different from those faced by women who work in more hierarchically ordered settings. In work environments composed predominantly of women, having "an eye (is) always on the relationships," and feelings of identification as women can become distractions and difficulties in accomplishing the institutional or organizational tasks. A work setting where a woman in authority is anxious to respond to personal matters, and has a strong sense of identification with her female associates can also reinforce the boundary confusion that Chodorow suggests characterizes early female development.

The boundary confusion that women experience in these settings can have consequences for how they experience exercising the authority that accompanies their role. For instance, Rachel describes her concern that her use of authority will have consequences for the relationships she has with her female supervisees.

> while it wasn't completely my, you know, idiosyncratic authority coming down on their heads, but nonetheless, I felt that they wouldn't like me, and that would have been hard.

Rachel seems to feel that other women may also be unable to separate unfavorable decisions from the woman who has made them and that "they wouldn't like me."

Rachel's ambivalence toward her own authority in the face of relational consequences raises a question not often addressed in the literature on women in authority and their relationships to other women. The question is why are women so reluctant to use the power that accompanies their role of authority? Rather, women often attempt to ignore the presence of power within a relationship where one person has institutional authority in relation to the other. This dynamic is quite palpable in settings where women work with and for other women, but has received little or no attention in discussions of women and power. It is striking to me that in my interviews power was rarely raised by the participants nor did I introduce it as a category of analysis.

When I ask myself why is this so, I have two unrelated responses. First, women's exercise of authority and power has for too long been discussed in terms of comparisons to male exercise of authority (Hennig & Jardim, 1978; Harragan, 1977; Maineiro, 1986). Occasionally this has been expanded to include the affect of power on relationships between women when men are present in the work force (Miner & Longino, 1987). It is my belief using frames of reference imported from earlier research comparing men and women do not adequately address these issues—and in some cases may in fact be obscuring some of the greatest challenges women face.

I am particularly concerned that this silence toward issues of power and the fear of misuse or abuse of power has obscured a different danger for women working with women. When power is ignored or denied, there can be an abuse of power by neglect. When women neglect, ignore or discount the power in their relationships where one has authority over the other, we may leave ourselves vulnerable to a different type of psychological and political vulnerability—one not yet identified because it does not emerge in gender comparison studies. Only future research on power relationships between women in all female settings will begin to uncover the difficulties and dangers of ignoring power as a response to former hierarchical and patriarchal forms of abuse.

Chapter Five

UNSPOKEN EXPECTATIONS

I guess there's an expectation that women I guess are supposed to be more sisterly and help each other and be there for each other,...and then when that doesn't pan out then I guess there's a sense of a void, something's not right and what did I do wrong? — Sharon

Reading the interview transcript of my meeting with Sharon brings me back to the small library study room where we met in early December. It was a cold and raw winter day, and Sharon had arrived for the interview in a calf-length fur coat and high leather boots. She was at the same time very relaxed and extremely energetic — a woman whose equilibrium came from the demands and delights of balancing family and work. A state congresswoman who commuted three days a week to graduate school half way across the country, Sharon was also a mother who corrected her children's homework via FAX. Her laughter in telling of her husband's new appreciation of the life of the "at home" parent — a role he was assuming in her absence— was warm and full of affection for her loved ones at home.

Sharon was the first woman of color in my study. In trying to arrange our meeting she laughed and said "I'm Black and 6'2" - you can't miss me." In my introduction to the interview, I expressed to her my interest in hearing about how race was a factor in her experience. Nonetheless, in her conversations with me, a White woman, Sharon rarely addressed issues of race.

Sharon spoke with great confidence, something she associated with her 6'2" stature. There was also a warmth and ease about her — she seemed to be someone at peace with herself and interested in life in all its dimensions. Thus it was quite startling when in the middle of the interview, I became aware of a marked change in her physical demeanor. She suddenly began to fidget, change position, and pull on her boots — behaviors which were in stark contrast to her relaxed and composed posture before and

after. In my notes following the interview I reminded myself to pay close attention to the discussion that had occurred during those few minutes.

Locating this section of the interview, (the excerpt which follows below), I was amazed to find the phrase "I don't know" appeared 9 times in 200 words. The staccato rhythm of the "I don't know"s seemed to call attention to an underlying psychological drama in much the same way that her non-verbal signals had. The narrative at the point signaled by the non-verbal cues begins with Sharon's reflections on her ability to confront male members of the state congress regarding their treatment of her legislation. She has just completed a story of her negotiating skills — of how she resolves conflict with these male colleagues — a counter point to an earlier report of difficulties she encountered at the hands of two congress*women*. When I ask her "How do you make sense of the difference?" her speech slows down and she fidgets with her boots before the spill of "I don't know"s begins.

> **I don't know**, because I could very easily have gone up to the women and done the same thing. **I don't know**. Really, **I don't know**. I never really thought about it until right now. And as I said, I'm very comfortable in confronting men, very comfortable. I don't lose a night's sleep — [Interviewer: RIGHT] ... Whereas if that happened to me with a woman, I think about it a long time, and I mean I don't take it home with me, but then sometimes I do. And **I don't know**, I guess there's an expectation that women I guess are supposed to be more sisterly and help each other and be there for each other, and then when that doesn't pan out, then I guess there's a sense of a void, something's not right and what did I do wrong. Whereas with a man, I mean I just expect that **you know**, I'm going to get this straightened out. I'd go up to major chairmen of a major committee and say let my damn bill out. ...[interviewer: RIGHT]... I have absolutely no problems with that, but with a woman, **I don't know**. Maybe it's from those bad days of women in authority, **I don't know**.

Examining this portion of the transcript more closely, I found the phrase "I don't know" weaves in and out of Sharon's description of how she handles conflict with men, and how she thinks about conflict with women. Furthermore, her pattern of speech is marked by dramatic and frequent shifts back and forth between first and third person and indicative

and subjunctive moods. A new picture emerges — one of oscillation between what is familiar and sanctioned knowledge and a realm of experience not yet fully understood.

I am intrigued by this passage both as a reader and as a psychologist. First, why is this reflection accompanied by signs of physical discomfort? What is going on here for this articulate, competent, relaxed and engaging woman?

Using the phrase "I don't know" as a verbal cue, I began to trace what Carol Gilligan refers to as the "logic of the psyche," following Sharon as she moves from what she knows and can say without concern to me, another woman, and what she knows to be dangerous knowledge about women's relationships in the workplace. In a fashion similar to adolescent girls, Sharon is slow to acknowledge the most disturbing dimensions of working with other women in the context of hierarchically structured institutions. I can only speculate that this is exacerbated by the fact that she is exploring these issues with another woman and a woman who is White. While Sharon may feel uncomfortable in speaking about the riskier side of relationships between women, she may also wonder whether what she identifies will be acknowledged by this female researcher.

In the analysis that follows I offer a brief exegesis of this portion of Sharon's text. This analysis illustrates how paying attention to Sharon's speech patterns and her use of the phrase "I don't know" led me, the reader, to a core plot of her story. By following Sharon as she oscillates back and forth between what she can say safely about her experience and what is emerging as previously not known, I was able to gain insight into both the multi-layered knowledge that women have about relationships with other women, and how this knowledge, whether attended to or not, can have dramatic effects on a woman's relationship to herself.

Unacknowledged Expectations

The context for this passage is Sharon's description of her ease in speaking clearly and directly with her male colleagues — something Sharon is clear that she *does know* -

that was very comfortable going up to him and doing that ... I had no problems whatsoever, going over and confronting him and I've gone and confronted other men on something.

As Sharon tries to envision taking the same line of action with women, however, a pattern of oscillation begins between what she thinks she could do and what she knows from experience to be true. For instance, as she continues her line of reflection, Sharon's claim that she "could very easily have gone up to the women and done the same thing" appears in the past tense and subjunctive mood and is accompanied by two "I don't know"s:

I, **I don't know**, because I could very easily have gone up to the women and done the same thing. **I don't know.** Really, **I don't know.** I never really thought about it until right now.

Suddenly she shifts back to the present tense and indicative mood to speak of what she *does* know:

And as I said, I'm very comfortable in confronting men, very comfortable. I don't lose a night's sleep.

Immediately, however, Sharon switches back to speculation on how she would deal with this type of situation if it involved a female colleague. Using passive voice again, Sharon says: *"whereas if that happened to me with a woman,"* and then shifting yet again to present active voice as she speaks of what she knows from her experience: "I think about it a long time."

What follows then is a rapid shift to qualifying or diminishing language "I mean I don't take it home with me" as if she wants to assure me that what she reports is not problematic. Yet in the next sentence she acknowledges "but sometimes I do." This contrast between what she has speculated could be true in dealing with women and what she has identified as knowledge based on experience leads to yet another "I don't know" and a shift to a series of dramatic hypotheses voiced in the first person but referring to

third person "women." The logic and progression in her statements can be seen more clearly by breaking her reflection into individual ideas:

- I guess there's an expectation that women...
- I guess are supposed to be more sisterly and help each other and be there for each other,...
- and then when that doesn't pan out,...
- then I guess there's a sense of a void...
- something's not right and ...
- what did I do wrong?

As I read this section, I become aware of a queasy feeling in my stomach. I recognize in Sharon's description an experience that I have known and one that I hear repeatedly from female friends and colleagues. Sharon's story also echoes concerns, fears and struggles heard from other women in this study. I realize that Sharon, with cues of her own, has led me through an oscillating, often confusing journey — back and forth between what she knows based on her experience, and her speculations about women— to a central plot in the story of women in authority over other women: namely, that women have unspoken, and even unacknowledged expectations of other women which when not met lead to feelings of emptiness and self questioning.

By following the logic of the psyche as manifested through verbal cues, I have been led to knowledge of an experience that is at once personal and universal. Sharon's expectations of other women and the feelings of emptiness and self doubt that can result are not unique. Throughout the other interviews there are repeated and varied references to unspoken expectations and the feelings that accompany this uncomfortable knowledge. By examining a range or reports heard from the other research participants it is possible to gain a greater appreciation of this dimension of women's experience of holding authority in relation to other women.

Internalized Expectations

Linda is a mid-level manager of a small public relations firm on the West Coast, where she has managed the staff of about 20 men and women for the two partners, a senior businessman who "had put up most of the money" and a female partner Beth, who was more "hands on". In responding to my question to describe a situation where she had to make an important decision — a kind of moral dilemma — where she didn't know what to do, Linda launches into an animated account of the circumstances surrounding the firing of an account executive, Lisa, whose performance was not up to par.

As Linda describes the characters, issues and actions leading up to the event itself, there is a striking resemblance to the concerns about expectations and internalized responsibility identified by Sharon in her discussion of authority relationships between women. Linda begins her account by describing her expectations of another woman, in this case a female account executive, Lisa, who is not performing well at her job:

> .. an account executive who worked on accounts ... a woman who was a really sweet person...very good at very low-level stuff... but, she was just really not getting it ... she was not very quick ... she had been there for a year and she just wasn't getting it..uhm.. she was about 30 but ...she acted like she was right out of college ... she just didn't have the maturity and the capabilities that we wanted and needed for that position.

Linda recounts the repeated and varied efforts that she and Beth took to give Lisa every possible chance:

> we had gone through a lot of different reviews...a lot of different efforts to try to give her special training... different approaches to management to try to give her... the two partners and I...arrived at the very painful decision that we were probably going to have to fire her...we had given her trial periods...the whole routine

And finally Linda describes her own reaction to this process of evaluating and terminating an employee.

> I kept thinking that...maybe she's still not clear about what I want...you know...I, uh, kept making a conscious effort to say everything three times before she left the

office whatever...what to do...I mean it was...it was a very tense situation...and throughout I think that Beth and I felt really responsible for the fact that Lisa wasn't really...she never really pulled it together

The appearance of the phrase "you know" at this point highlights a second parallel between these two stories of women in authority. Linda, like Sharon, uses the verbal cue of "you know" at the point in her interview with me, a woman researcher — a woman in authority in this context — where what she is saying about her management of another woman may feel threatening to our relationship. Recall that girls and women use this phrase to discover what can be talked about and still sustain a connection with other people (Brown & Gilligan, 1992). In this instance, as Linda tells me that she has fired another woman, (a woman who, it turns out, is pregnant), she has no way of knowing how I will respond — whether I will identify and sympathize with Lisa or will understand what this was like for her. While in fact, I *have* experienced the difficult, and often traumatic, responsibility of firing another woman, Linda does not know that. The "you know" appears in the midst of statements intended to assure me — or perhaps to assure herself — that as the manager she did everything possible before arriving at the decision to terminate Lisa.

A subtle but significant transition has occurred in whom Linda holds responsible for Lisa's poor job performance. While initially Linda can report that Lisa was not the right person for the job because of her own behavior and performance, as she and her female boss Beth move toward firing her, they begin to internalize both responsibility and blame for Lisa's failure. The appearance of this dramatic but subtle shift from describing a situation that is not working to reporting feelings of responsibility recalls Sharon's account. In her statement, Sharon explained that when expectations of women don't pan out there is first "a sense of a void" followed by the feeling that "something's not right" and ultimately the question "what did I do wrong?"

I found this pattern of ending a story of a difficult work dilemma with the question "what did I do wrong?" deeply disturbing. It was jarring to me that in both these instances, (and elsewhere in the interviews) the woman asking herself this question had just laid out in very concrete detail the actual reasons for the problematic situation, and the great lengths that she has taken in trying to correct them. This turn to self recrimination as an explanation of failures at work was unexpected and inconsistent. Furthermore, the transformation of problematic work performance by an employee to the self-directed question "what did I do wrong?" seemed to me to be a dangerous psychological process for women.

Political Expectations

As Linda continues her story, she describes how Lisa adds to the conflict and confusion of the situation by announcing that she is pregnant.

> so we had scheduled a meeting with her for the following day at noon or something ...that morning she went into the woman partner's office ...interesting, not the man's...and told her she was pregnant... so then there's the situation of how can you fire this woman right after she's told you that she is pregnant ... there are ethical issues, there are legal issues, there are personal relationship issues, it just was a devastating thing...

The effects of this surprising twist are further illuminated by Linda's discussion of her feelings about Lisa's sudden announcement:

> ... and I think that at some level that operated ...I think that there was ...I just felt if I were pregnant and got fired there would be no other way that I would interpret it but that it was that I was pregnant... and I didn't think that there would be an ability for others to recognize that it was in fact because of what she did ... a failure to work up to expected levels [with feeling]...I felt ...I just got really confused and had sort of a bad stomach for a couple of weeks ...

Lisa's pregnancy suddenly heightens and confounds the expectation that "women will be more sisterly, there for each other." It also illustrates how the experience of identification between women adds greater complexity to management situations where both supervisor and employee are women. For example, since only women become pregnant, pregnancy

can become a lightening rod for issues of identification and differentiation between women. In this case, the sense of identification,— the fear of being a pregnant woman who has been fired— is quite significant to Linda and to Beth, even if it is less salient to the male partner.

Identification with Lisa, however, is not the only issue at stake for Linda and Beth. Concern with how their firm will be seen and how they will be portrayed as managers is also a factor, particularly in light of recent events in the large metropolitan city in which they work.

> (and with more emotion) but I just felt like it would be too horrible to fire her at the time she got pregnant ...it would be interpreted as such uhm...in the city a number of pregnant women had just gotten fired from a law firm and that had made the papers, and it's like every time you get pregnant as a woman they try to get rid of you and it just seemed to be such a personal sort of thing ...

> I felt really torn because I didn't have ultimate hire and fire decision...it became hum the woman partner and me lobbying for Lisa again ...to the male partner ...and he accused us of being way too soft hearted and not thinking of the realities of running a business and it became a real sort of challenge for the woman and I to try to get her(Lisa) to work up to par...

In this passage, Linda describes how she and the female partner labor under an expectation that women will be there for each other—that it is too horrible to fire a woman at the time she got pregnant—(a prospect that does not sway the male partner). While Linda and Beth initially were prepared to fire Lisa, Lisa's well-timed announcement in concert with the larger political climate of the moment — a city reeling from what is perceived as prejudice against pregnant women — devastate Linda and Beth and keep them from moving forward with their plans.

As Linda continues however, she describes how this was not the only time that she had faced this internal conflict — thus implying that pregnancy was not the major factor. When Linda refers to earlier "firing things," there is strong evidence of political resistance turning psychological — changing the conflict with others into a conflict with herself.

...We went through some very painful firing things that had preceded Lisa, and Beth and I had on a number of occasions tried to keep people on at our insistence...kept people on longer than we should have...kept on because we wanted to give them another chance or we perceived that maybe we hadn't managed them correctly...I mean..

...so I think I blamed myself for being perhaps harsher and more patient than was good for that particular individual...taking a while to figure out what wasn't working for her...I also think that there was no way to achieve......

By tracing how Linda and Beth continue to shift responsibility from the workers they manage to their own exercise of authority it is possible to observe some of the risks and costs that are part of women's experience even if they are not always part of discourse about women's experience. If the dissociation associated with the loss of political resistance in adolescent girls is an indicator of greater psychological vulnerability (Gilligan, 1990; Brown & Gilligan, 1992), isn't it likely that a similar shift to psychological resistance observed in these women's accounts is reason for concern?

Helen

Further evidence of women's expectations of each other and their effects on female managers is found in the interviews with Helen, a recently married supervisor who has lived and worked in the Northwest. Helen's career has been within the prison system where she has rapidly risen through the administrative echelons. Similar to Sharon, her interview was marked by dramatic moments of insight — in particular a moment when she realized that what she had previously understood to be her difficulty with *conflict* was, in fact, a difficulty in handling *conflict with women* —that she was quite comfortable and skilled at resolving conflict with men.

..this is a strange thing ... I have been able to, in the past, have open conflict with the men, but I've found it very difficult and I've usually always backed down when it was open conflict with women... no matter if it was my, when I worked for the woman who headed the agency or if it was dealing with the female employees, but I have had some very verbal knock-down drag-out fights with men who were

either my bosses or my peers but I cant think of ...and I can think readily of those cases but I cant think of a, times when I've done that with a woman.
[Interviewer: SO ITS NOT JUST FEAR OF CONFLICT...]
...No. Its fear of conflict with another woman. WOW! Yeah, it is ...it isn't conflict in general because I've just been willing to fight tooth and nail with men I was working with ... with any man about any thing but not with a woman ... (a long pause) ... **I don't know** ..I don't think my problems competing with another woman, my problem is just I feel that if we're women we should somehow be together in this.

The context for these remarks is her reflecting on an experience of having to terminate a female worker in her department and the unfinished business, her unresolved feelings about this event. Helen assumes that the other woman holds a grudge and blames Helen for losing her job. Helen's reflections focus on how hard it is to let it go — she is wondering whether a man could more easily go up to the colleague and say let's just drop it.

> **I don't know**, but a woman, **you know**, a woman will worry about this ...she think well, **I don't know** what she thinks of me ...I hope she's not in a position to influence anybody who is thinking about hiring me ...I've worried this over in my mind ...**I don't know**..

In the interview I became curious about what kept Helen from going to the woman as she would like. When I asked her directly: "What keeps you from doing it?" Helen responded:

> My innate problem of dealing with conflict ...she would probably do it... if I opened it she would probably say "well yes, ...I'm still really mad at you for this this this and this" (tapping the table as she speaks) *and I would just not like to hear that because I don't* ...its hard for me to engage openly in conflict with another person

Recalling that earlier in the interview Helen had told me a story of a rather dramatic confrontation with a male colleague, I asked her if the worker had been a man, would she be able to go to him and talk about it? Helen responds with a resounding YES "I think that I would be able to more easily because I **have**" ...and now she begins to become aware of her own experience in much the same way that we saw Sharon ponder the differences in her dealings with conflict with men and women:

I think that I would be able to more easily because I have.. this is a strange thing ... I have been able to , in the past, have open conflict with the men, but I've found it very difficult and I've usually always backed down when it was open conflict with women ...no matter if it was my, when I worked for the woman who headed the agency or if it was dealing with the female employees, but I have had some very verbal knock-down drag-out fights with men who were either my bosses or my peers but I can't think of ...a, at times when I've done this with a woman

By paying close attention to the presence of "I don't know" and other verbal cues, I was led by Helen to the edge of her knowledge ... to what she did not know or at least had not consciously reflected upon. For example, it is only in the course of the interview that she realizes that conflict with women — not conflict itself — is the "innate problem." Through our exchange following Helen's statement "I don't know," Helen has been led deeper into her own knowledge, and together we have uncovered the fact that her real concern is conflict with women, not conflict in general.

What is most remarkable about this process is that Helen has been able to clarify the exact nature of unspoken expectations that previously have kept her from taking action. By clarifying that her fear of conflict is actually a fear of conflict with women, Helen is now better prepared to examine and address this fear. As long as her fear was misunderstood as a fear simply of conflict it was harder to address. Attention to patterns of language and verbal cues, therefore, can help women in clarifying the nature of their resistance to action as it did in this case where Helen could identify the actual object of her fear.

While Helen's account illustrates both the importance of paying careful attention to women's patterns of speech and the value of recognizing unspoken expectations, her story also raises a point that has emerged for me only in the course of the data analysis and would have to be explored further in a later study. Helen is describing her discomfort over firing another woman. The expectation that managers will put the needs of an organization aheaad of those of individuals when it is necessary to terminate workers seems to create

considerable distress for women. Perhaps Helen's discomfort is not only a recognition that conflict with women is difficult but an indication that as a woman she recognizes that there are relational costs involved in firing someone just as there might be economic costs for the company or organization if the person is not fired.

Summary

Tracing women's use of tentative language, especially phrases such as "I don't know" and "you know" led to a critical finding in this study of women managers—that women frequently have unspoken, unvoiced expectations of other women. The language women use to describe both this dynamic is itself illuminating. The women use the words "expect" "expectation" far more often than words such as "desire" or "want." This is consistent with the fact that when these expectations are not met the women report feeling empty and often asking themselves what did they do wrong. This process of self recrimination that frequently results when expectations are not addressed highlights how important it is that these expectations are identified and addressed. Otherwise, women run the risk of various forms of psychological resistance when their context makes political resistance difficult or impossible.

Chapter Six

LOST KNOWLEDGE

"I think I lost track of the specifics and sort of ended up in the abstract realm, I don't know, ... I think I lost track of the fact that I knew that she wasn't working up to speed —that she wasn't really suited for that kind of work in this sort of firm --Linda

As I listened to the women's stories of their experience in positions of authority, I recognized that there were many accounts of a process where they lost touch with what they had previously known to be true. This loss of knowledge parallels the psychological crisis observed in girls at adolescence, where political resistance is turned into psychological resistance—a movement from being at odds with others to being at odds with oneself (Brown and Gilligan, 1992). Gilligan's account of what occurs for teenage girls provides a fitting description of women caught between the demands of their role as authority and their desires to be in relationship with others, including their female workers.

> If girls know what they know and bring themselves into relationships, they will be in conflict with prevailing authorities. If girls do not know what they know and take themselves out of relationship, they will be in trouble with themselves. The ability of girls to tell it from both sides and to see it both ways is not an illustration of relativism but rather a demonstration of girls' understanding of relationship raised to a cultural level and a provisional solution to a difficult problem of relationship: how to stay connected with themselves and with others, how to keep in touch with themselves and with the world (Gilligan, 1990, p.43)

This movement from political to psychological resistance — from being at odds with others to being at odds with herself— is visible in the conclusion to Linda's story of firing Lisa, a pregnant account representative. Linda describes both feeling "torn" as she tries to make this decision, *and* experiencing a process of disconnection from her own knowledge.

> "I think I lost track of the specifics and sort of ended up in the abstract realm, I **don't know,** [Interviewer: CAN YOU SAY MORE ABOUT THAT] I think I lost track of the fact that I knew that she wasn't working up to speed —that she wasn't really suited for that kind of work in this sort of firm — I knew that but because she was pregnant and the timing worked the way that it did and I was already in

this political framework that all these other women were to be fired because they got pregnant, I was very unwilling to do that to this woman and it became a decision made at some abstract political level instead of individual situation "

Using the analysis employed with Sharon's interview in an earlier chapter, the verbal cue "I don't know" provides the signal to a process of psychological resistance. By tracing her own words, it is possible to observe an abyss emerging between what her knowledge and desire in the concrete situation — that she intended to fire Lisa because she "wasn't working up to speed"— and what she is able to let herself acknowledge given the politically charged atmosphere. In her brief statement, Linda illustrates the ever widening gap between what she knew and how she came to view the situation. She begins with thought— "I think" —a thought which is about a process of loss: "I lost track of the fact that," —of what she knew on some level was happening: "I knew she wasn't working up to speed" and ends up describing making a decision at "an abstract political level". Linda describes her shift of attention from "specifics" to "the abstract realm," a process resembling Sharon's movement from what she knew from her experience to what she wanted to think was true of working with women.

When asked to explain this process further, Linda is able to clearly identify what she *did* know — namely that Lisa was not working up to speed and was not suited for the job. She is also able to admit that she "*lost track of the fact that I knew this.*" As she continues, Linda refers to some of the factors that alter what initially was a political issue—how can you fire a pregnant woman—into a psychological dilemma. She now fears that she might be doing something wrong, becomes confused, and embodies her concern in physical symptoms strikingly similar to those of Lisa.

> ..it became a real sort of challenge for the woman (partner) and I to try to get her to work up to par... and I didn't think that there would be an ability for others to recognize that it was in fact because of what she did — a failure to work up to expected levels [*with feeling*]—I felt —I just got really confused and had sort of a bad stomach for a couple of weeks — is that what you mean by how did you feel?-

The confusion and loss of knowledge that Linda describes closely parallels the process of dissociation observed by Gilligan in girls. It suggests that the psychological vulnerability faced by girls as they enter the world of cultural and social expectations found in schools may be present for women who assume positions of authority. As women enter hierarchically structured work environments and try to balance what they know about relationships with what is expected of them in institutional roles they may indeed be at psychological risk. Linda's interview illustrates one resolution of this tension: to lose touch with your knowledge and develop a way to assess situations in light of "abstract political" considerations.

A different resolution of the tension between institutional expectations and a woman's self knowledge is seen in Kate's story of her experience as a manager for a Fortune 500 telecommunications company in the U.S. and abroad. Kate speaks of her relationship to her knowledge in terms of "split" and "chasm" between what she knew and what she felt. Her story offers another perspective on how management positions can jeopardize a woman's relationship to herself and her own knowledge.

In the course of our two conversations, Kate spoke often of the external barriers and isolation she experienced at work and described internal divisions that resulted. Her use of language, in particular the dramatic shifts of pronouns and verb tenses, as well as several vivid metaphors, point to the powerful feelings that remain from her experiences as a female manager in a predominantly male institution. Her reflections suggest that the interviews have afforded her an opportunity to find new ways of conceptualizing and describing these incidents to herself as well as to me.

Early in the first interview, Kate speaks of an internal split between her thoughts and feeling as she describes the tension between her sense of herself as a manager and the messages she receives from others at work. Kate's self-confidence as a manager is placed

in jeopardy by the constant harangues of her boss. The conflict between them leads to a division within her — a split described with a clarity that I find alarming.

> even though intellectually, I mean, I, I, I often get into this thing, where **I have a real slice down the middle of my intellectual knowledge and my emotional knowledge** ..and I think that's probably true, probably true of many women, I'm not sure about men, but probably very true of many women,

In the second interview, this "slice down the middle" becomes a "*chasm*" as Kate reflects on how her style of management was not "tolerated" but has now been warmly embraced in her male replacement. This change of metaphors from "slice" to "chasm" becomes an important indicator to me of the depth of feeling associated with these events. For I know that Kate has had a chance to review the transcript of the first interview, and has chosen to return to this experience and to "correct" her image by increasing its intensity. This advantage gained from repeated interviews increases my concern over the severity of the disconnections described by women.

This is a good example of the benefits of several interviews with an individual. As the participant has the chance to respond to her own descriptions of events, she is able to add greater depth to the interpretive process by the changes, additions and deletions that are offered in the later conversations.

In the face of the painful situation that has led to this experience of internal conflict, Kate is quick to assume that her experience is not unique. She explains:

> "and I think that's probably true, probably true of many women, I'm not sure about men, but probably very true of many women."

A short time later in the interview, after she has told a story of behavior she describes as "verbal abuse," Kate echoes this feeling that she is not alone in her struggles as a woman in authority in a predominantly male company.

> I don't really think that it is — that that's probably an extreme example — I do think it is an extreme example but I don't think that it is that unusual

Based on the interviews in this study, I would agree with Kate that her experience is not necessarily "unusual" and may well be "true of many women." At the same time, I wonder about Kate's repeated reference to the likelihood that other women have encountered similar situations. Does she find it helpful in some way to believe that other women share her experience? In a situation that is so heavily dominated by male managers, could it be that this offers a sense of connection to other women, a link that feels supportive. If so, this may be very important to Kate's psychological health. On the other hand, this quick move to assume that what she has endured is part of the condition of women managers today may lead to a greater gap between Kate and her knowledge of her experience. While this may make it possible to work in situations that otherwise may become unbearable, it may also be true that it increases the "split", the "chasm" between intellectual and emotional knowledge.

Later in the interview Kate describes how the work environment contributed to the internal divisions that she experienced. As she reflects on the particular factors that contribute to the internal split she has described, her account reflects the gendered expectations that have been documented in management research literature of the past two decades. For instance, Kate reports that she learned from experience that her success as a manager was assessed not only the basis of accomplishments, but the *process* used to do so.

> ...the message that they continually sent me was that, even though my results were great, fabulous, the factual results, that my style was all wrong, that the way I approached things was all wrong

Kate also learned that doing what she knew to be right had led not to praise but to verbal abuse:

> ...and even though I knew that was right for me because it was working, uhm, I lived in an environment where somebody was battering me, I mean, literally it was

verbal abuse by my management and uhm I've never used that word before in —
describing it, but that was exactly what it was, it was verbal abuse-

Furthermore, Kate can see that the approach that was not tolerated in her performance in
fact received praise when exercised by a male colleague:

> I mean the guy who replaced me in the job in London essentially has the same style
> that I have, I mean, essentially,....and he's probably more low keyed, and more
> participatory and they love him! — he's just , he has a great time, he has no
> problem, ... the perception that I have — is that there isn't a lot of stress between
> him and the upper management and that to me says that they tolerate a certain type
> of behavior/management style in a man that they don't tolerate in a woman.

Her account recalls the research begun in the 1950's with the Ohio State studies on
leadership which identified two factors of leadership style" "considerate" and "initiating"
and the tendency to link a socioemotional orientation with women in authority and identify
men as task-oriented. As Nieva and Gutek (1981) and others have shown, initially
considerate behavior was more valued in women than in men while initiating behavior was
assessed more positively in men than in women. In more recent times, however, men who
show a caring or more socioemotional approach are valued while women who
demonstrate abilities to be task oriented do not necessarily receive the same level of
support. This cross-gendered double standard can lead to serious internal as well as
external dilemmas for women. As Kate explains, "it continues to send a message to
women that their style is not okay and it it it deepens that chasm uhm, between the
emotional and intellectual side."

There appeared to be marked differences in this experience, however, for women
who worked in predominantly female work environments. While these women described
experiencing many of the same dynamics — unspoken expectations, and internal divisions,
the way in which they encountered these tensions was often quite different. Unlike in the
mixed-gender settings where it was the divisions and boundaries between the personal and
professional that created confusion and conflict for women, in contexts where the work

force was exclusively female, the dilemma was that the personal dimensions of workers' lives tended to become inextricably tied up in — even overwhelmed the professional or work related dimensions.

Rachel, a mental health worker is one of the women who has worked in predominantly female settings. Throughout her interview Rachel has named the struggles to "actually get some work done" in a work environment where primacy has been given to relationships . Rachel's account documents how increasing responsibility can lead to the internal fear that her external exercise of authority will lead to not being liked by her colleagues: "the sense that if you tell somebody to do something, and they don't like it, they also don't like you." In an atmosphere where connections and relationships are so important this disconnection is all the more problematic.

Rachel's descriptions of her attempts to balance relationships and responsibilities are quite different from those of the women who have worked in mixed-gender environments. What is most striking is how her account of the changes she has experienced over time are marked by a process of loss. Her description for instance, of her approach to decision making is one example of how the demands of the predominantly female work environment have ultimately led to an internal distancing from her own feelings and desires.

> I was hoping in the decisions, always trying to make decisions that were right, but also hoping that it wouldn't have negative consequences on the relationships. In making the decisions and executing them, I would have an eye toward sustaining and repairing and maintaining the relationships.

When asked about the effect of this on her ability to make good decisions Rachel offers a striking contrast between how she recalls her earlier days as a manager and her reflections on the changes that have occurred over time in her approach to authority. First she explains that the focus on relationships may have had an effect early in her career.

Maybe when I was younger. I'm sure it did. I can't exactly remember, but I can't imagine that it didn't, because I don't think I was completely aware of the dynamic WHAT ABOUT NOW?

Now I'm more comfortable. And now I'm busier and so my work life is much more intense; my home life is more intense. And so I don't have as much time and I don't put as much value on the relationships and really focus on the task more. Not that I disregard the relationships, but I don't think — I think the task comes first.

When I asked Rachel to help me understand how this shift occurred for her, she said:

Maybe I'm more facile, actually, at either not destroying the relationships, over an important task or mandate, or I don't care as much. It could be a combination of both. **You know,** I just **might** be better at it. Or **don't notice it. I mean,** it could, **you know** .....well, I think I'm more secure. and so I don't need the adulation or the—**you know,** everybody doesn't have to like me all the time, I just don't need that nay more. It's not important. and I don't miss it. **I don't notice it. I just sort of** get the work done. **I'm over-stating** it some, **I mean,** I still care a great deal, I still do take notice of what people are feeling even while I'm doing the task that we have to do.(*emphasis added*)

By doing a reading for self as well as tentative language, a story of shifting feelings

emerges:
-**maybe** I'm more facile....or I don't care as much
you know
I just **might** be better at it...
or (I) don't notice it
I mean, it could,
you know
well, I think
I'm more secure..
I don't need the adulation
everybody doesn't have to like me all the time
I just don't need that anymore
[It's not important]
I don't miss it
I don't notice it
I just sort of...get the work done
I'm overstating it some
I mean
I still care a great deal
I still do take notice of what people are feeling
even while I'm doing the task

There seem to be four sections to her reflections. Rachel begins with a type of open-ended questioning of what she is exploring:

> **Maybe** I'm more facile, actually, at either not destroying the relationships, over an important task or mandate, or I don't care as much. It could be a combination of both, **you know**

The entrance of the phrase "you know" makes me wonder why she suddenly checks in with me —the other woman in authority —to see if what she has said is safe. When I look at the transcript, I realize the statement that "maybe....I don't care as much" is a very loaded statement for a woman to put forth and the emergence of an "it" signals that she is distancing herself from what she is describing. As she continues "I just might be better at it. Or **don't notice** it. I mean, it could, you know" I see a repeated and parallel construction: "I just might be better at it" repeats the "maybe I'm more facile," the "(I) don't notice it" parallels the "I don't care as much" and the "it could" repeats the original "it could." Rachel concludes with "you know" and I ask again, only now acknowledging that I have heard the first part and want to hear more about the open-ended second half of her statement:

> IT WOULDN'T SURPRISE ME THAT EXPERIENCE HAS LED YOU TO BE BETTER AT IT.THAT'S PROBABLY A BIG PIECE OF IT. BUT LET ME ASK YOU ABOUT WHEN YOU SAY 'MAYBE THEY DON'T MEAN AS MUCH TO ME' CAN YOU COMMENT A LITTLE ON THAT?

Rachel begins this time in a similar way — trying to explain the difference in terms of strengths that are given public value:...well, I think I'm more secure. She then continue by disclaiming her needs of things she reported as very important needs earlier: "and so I don't need the adulation or the—**you know**," and now she carries this idea to an extreme: "everybody doesn't have to like me all the time, I just don't need that any more. It's not important. and I don't miss it. **I don't notice it. I just sort of get the work done.**"

The use of exaggeration, demonstrated by: "everybody", "all the time", "just don't need", "any more," lead to claims that don't sound convincing — sound more like thou dost protest too much — "It's not important," "I don't miss it," "I don't notice it." "I just sort of get the work done." There is a flat feeling — the passion, energy, seem gone— this is the woman who said elsewhere that "there isn't enough energy at work — enough sexuality." The struggle to shut down her desires seems to have been achieved. Yet before I can comment she hears herself and acknowledges that "I'm overstating it some" — and adding for emphasis "I mean," suddenly the feelings emerge once again — the truth telling that she still cares a great deal, that "I still do take notice of what people are feeling even while I'm doing the task done that we have to do."

This passage leaves me wondering why Rachel told me earlier that

"I don't have as much time and I don't put as much value on the relationships and really focus on the task more —not that I disregard the relationships, but I don't think — I think the task comes first —

Is she saying less about not caring and more about the fact that the amount of caring about the relationships was so extreme at first that in fact she has reached a place where she is better able to balance caring with getting the task done?   What is curious to me is how she has taken on the language I have heard elsewhere in the interviews -from women who work in environments where they were told not to worry about having people like them. I am left wondering if Rachel—in a setting where others don't explicitly vocalize this message—has internalized this voice and is critical of herself? Perhaps it is too difficult to find a way to speak about holding relationships and the task in balance.

It is imaginable that the appropriate way of speaking about accomplishing the task is to avoid language about the relationships— hence the "I don't care as much, I don't notice it." If so, then Rachel may be accommodating her experience to dominant ways of speaking about management and as a result sound out of synch with herself. Her

statements in this context sound flat and passionless which is in sharp contrast to the normally energetic voice of this woman who reports always having an eye on the relational world. The change in her language—as she struggles to know how to give voice to what she knows about relationships —the challenge to bring into language her insights regarding the relational landscape recall the struggles of adolescent girls. Rachel moves back and forth — mostly a resistor but when needed able to speak with what Audrey Lorde calls the "language of the father's house."

Chapter Seven

VOICES OF RESISTANCE: DISCONFIRMING EVIDENCE:

In the last three chapters I have presented evidence drawn from interview accounts that illustrate how the experience of authority can lead to various forms of psychological resistance in women. Furthermore, I have suggested that the patterns of speech used by women, and the interpersonal dynamics that occur between interviewer and respondent provide important insights into the psychological dimensions of women's experience.

In this chapter, the final chapter devoted to the analysis of the interview data, I present examples of data which illustrates how the opposite can also be true: that women can and do hold positions of authority in relation to other women and seem to be free of psychological resistance. This chapter provides a type of validity check—a presentation of disconfirming evidence. From another perspective, it can be seen as an listening to voices of resistance — ways in which women understand and frame their experience that may actually be protective in the face of the psychological dangers explored in earlier chapters.

I have chosen three examples from the interview narratives that capture the variety of approaches women took in speaking about the roles and relationships involved in holding positions of authority. The three together are striking in their contrast to the accounts presented earlier. For instance, these three women speak of authority in terms of "bringing people *around* a table," or "the circle of work as the circle of relationships," rather than the ladders, levels and hierarchies many of the other women described.

I believe these three accounts offer the clearest examples of how and when women may be able to exercise authority and sustain psychological health. It is not my intent to present these three women as the *only* "resistors" or to imply that they are *free* of psychological challenge or risk in their work. Rather, I hope that these diverse, even disconfirming, descriptions of holding authority in relation to other women will help to identify the elements of resistance as well as risk in the experience of "everywoman."

Barbara: Report of a Resistor

My first meeting with Barbara took place two weeks after the November 1992 presidential election. Before the interview began, we entered quite spontaneously into a lively exchange over recent coverage of Bill Clinton's victory over George Bush and the post-election she could make a major contribution. While I consider myself a "political junkie," Barbara's professional career has been in the political arena. I was captivated by her knowledge and media speculations about the role of the future First Lady. We shared our own hopes and fears about the future, including our mutual desire to see Hillary Rodman Clinton in a position where she could make a contribution to matters political. It was only with reluctance that I eventually focused our attention on the interview questions.

In describing her work history, Barbara pointed out that while most of her management experience had been in mixed-gender settings, several of her recent jobs have involved an all-female work force. As she began to describe these experiences, I noticed that Barbara alternated between comments about working with other women and an insistence that what she was recounting were dimensions of management of *people —* *who happen to be women.* When I returned to the interview transcripts I noticed that this fluctuation back and forth was frequently punctuated by the phrases "I don't know" and "you know."

Matching Book-ends

Intrigued by her insistence of "people" not "women," as well as by the language patterns in her narratives, I traced the appearances of the verbal cues "I don't know" and "you know" through the interview transcript. In doing this, I discovered what appeared to be a pair of matched bookends. At the conclusion of the interview, in response to *my final* question: "Is there anything more you want to say or raise?" Barbara returns and reframes *my initial* questions "What stands out for you — what was the experience like

for you?" but this time with specific reference to the challenges of managing women: "Do I work effectively with women? Do I find women hard to manage?" Reflecting on her concluding question, I was struck by the fact that Barbara has voiced the very questions I had carefully avoided in the course of the interview. While I believe that being in authority in relation to other women can be difficult, I tried to avoid naming this lest I bias her answer. As I read the transcripts I couldn't help wondering whether I had in fact communicated my research hypothesis implicitly if not explicitly. Why else would she pose this question in the final moments of our exchange?

At the same time, it is possible that by the end of the interview Barbara wanted to return to her earliest statements where she had stressed the management of *people* and now provide some qualification. I wondered whether having heard her own repeated insistence that gender was not the organizing principle in her approach to management, Barbara was now pondering the unspoken and unaddressed questions — is it hard to manage women, can I do it?

By examining the transcript associated with these bookend reports, I believe it is possible to hear what a resistor's account might sound like. The first appearance of "I don't know" occurs in response to the initial interview question: "what stands out for you in your experience as a woman in authority over other women?" Barbara responds "**I don't know**, I think it's just hard to manage people." A short time later, when I rephrase the question and ask what this experience was "like for you?" the phrase reappears: "when you were asking me, the first thing I thought of was rewarding. And I guess **I don't know** why that came to me, but I enjoyed it." Within this same section, Barbara is able to name her experience as *both* "hard" and "rewarding." In fact, as she continues Barbara describes the satisfaction which she drew from the experience, the enjoyment she found in it, and her delight in being able to bring people together around a table: "So **I don't know**, I loved it. I had a great time."

While the sense of reward and pleasure that Barbara experiences in her positions of authority is almost palpable, I am most struck by her choice of images as she describes exercising authority. The image of bringing people together around a table conveys the sense of connection, and horizontal relationships that seem to characterize her approach to management. These stand in marked contrast to the linear and hierarchical images of ladders and lines so frequently heard in other descriptions of management experience.

In the second half of the book-ends, this contrast between Barbara's view of herself in a role of authority and more traditional management models appears again. When Barbara reflects on her ability to manage women, she is certain that management involves connections. In fact, the one thing Barbara is absolutely clear about is that she connects to others. "I don't know if my management style is really different with men or women in the room. I know that I do connect."

In arriving at that summation, Barbara reflects aloud with me about the evolution of her thinking on women and management.

> "I guess part of it, my trouble with this is that I haven't really thought about it and I think until about, this is going to sound funny, but until about maybe two years ago, I hadn't looked at things in a framework of women, and maybe consciously or unconsciously, I really resist doing it. Some people tell me, my friends tell me that it's about time. So **I don't know**, I mean I guess that's what I was saying when I said at the beginning that I haven't really thought about it, because I haven't thought about it in terms of women, and even as I talk about it now, I 'm thinking about it in terms of individual people who happen to be women and I guess part of me feels strongly about that, but it's really in the end individual people, some of whom happen to be women,...

In this first section, Barbara begins her remarks with hesitant language: "I guess part of it", suggesting that perhaps this is a topic where language and experience do not match neatly. Barbara continues: "my trouble with this is.... that I haven't really thought about it." She explains that she knows that "this is going to sound funny." As I read the transcript I realize how much Barbara has learned about me in and through the interview — that personally and professionally as a researcher of women's experience I will be

surprised to hear her say "that I hadn't really thought about it... until about maybe two years ago, I hadn't looked at things in a framework of women."

In considering how my views as the interviewer have led Barbara to preface her remarks in this way, I recalled Carol Gilligan's (1982) discussion of the relationship between the assumptions behind an interview question and the logic of an interview response. In *In a Different Voice*, Gilligan demonstrates how when 11-year old Amy is asked "Should Heinz *steal* the drug?" she in fact considers not *whether* Heinz should act but *what form the action should take*. Thus, Amy's response is the answer to a different question from the one the interviewer thought had been posed and is consequently misunderstood. Gilligan explains that:

> In the interviewer's failure to imagine a response not dreamt of in Kohlberg's moral philosophy lies the failure to hear Amy's question and to see the logic in her response, to discern that what appears, from one perspective, to be an evasion of the dilemma signifies in other terms a recognition of the problem and a search for a more adequate solution . (1982, p.31)

It is only much later that I realize that perhaps Barbara was offering me a perspective that might actually lead to a more adequate understanding of women in authority than my own questions about what was difficult for women in this position. Barbara's resistance to framing her experience of managing people in terms of gender might not be the "evasion of the dilemma" that I thought it was at first. As I continued to listen to the logic in her response, I became more aware of linguistic evidence of psychological and political resistance. Only then did I move from my initial disbelief and dismissal of her insistence on framing management in terms of people, not women, to viewing her story as one of resistance.

In the next excerpt (which follows immediately after the previous passage), the pattern of resistance becomes more apparent if the text is divided into lines. A pattern of fluctuation is observed once again, as it was in other interviews. Only here the pattern can

be called one of resistance. Barbara describes the oscillation between desire and/or knowledge and the external judgments or interpretations of her behavior. In contrast to other interview transcripts, Barbara however, repeatedly returns to what she knows and wants. Barbara does not internalize the expectations or interpretations that she can readily imagine may exist. Her ability to stay with what she knows and to be able to voice this clearly and repeatedly suggests that her framework has enabled her to sustain a political resistance and to avoid the personal costs of a resistance turned inward, i.e., a psychological resistance.

And I think,
I <u>want</u> to think that it's people
Maybe I'm deluding myself,
whatever the word is.
Maybe I am disillusioned,
whatever that D word is.
What is the right word?
Kidding myself.
But the thing that <u>I do consciously</u>
with women who I work, who work for me, or who work underneath me
is <u>I consciously try to find women</u>
<u>and move them forward,</u>
<u>I feel a sense of responsibility</u> for that
and <u>I'm very aware</u> and <u>I'm very aware</u>
but if they're not good,
but <u>I try to find women</u> who are good
and <u>I try to open up doors</u> for them
because <u>I think that no one else,</u>
You know,
So <u>I know</u>
<u>I do that</u> kind of thing on a general basis.
But *I don't know* if my management style is really different with men or women in the room.
<u>I know</u> that <u>I do</u> connect.

Earlier Barbara had already described her own resistance to this question — (a resistance that is also reflected by the location in the interview where she addresses it) explaining that others have tried to make her look at and address these questions — and

she describes her resistance "even as I talk". She reports a desire to think that "it's people". It is at this point that she raises the question of how and why she could hold this stance. She reaches to the language of psychopathology — for the "D" word — entertaining for the moment the possibility that it is her problem — that she is kidding herself. The humor in her voice and statement indicate that this is an interpretation that she finds amusing but may be a perspective on her experience held by others.

As I reflect back on the interview I wonder if she was naming this perspective because I was an authority figure from the field of psychology. Did she wonder whether her frame of reference would "sound funny" to me but that I might interpret her position in light of the categories of psychopathology. I am also relieved that I did not take on this language — I did not offer terms beginning with "D" even when she asked me "what is the right word?" Somehow I sensed that the question was intended more as a check — more of a proxy for the phrase "you know" than an informational inquiry.

Barbara quickly returns to her own knowledge, her voice gaining energy and force as she names what she does do, " But the thing that I do consciously with women ...is I consciously try to find women and move them forward. She describes a sense of responsibility for — one that is "very aware"(2x)—and her concrete actions on behalf of women. She states boldly:" So I know I do that kind of thing on a general basis. But I don't know if my management style is really different for men and women."

Barbara's account raises many questions for me. How has she been able to stay in touch with her knowledge — to avoid psychological resistance? At first reading it had seemed to me that she was blinding herself to the gender inequities — that her self-defined resistance to using a framework of women was a way to avoid seeing what was going on. However, by listening to her — by tracing her relationship to herself as seen in the readings for self, her use of the phrases "I don't know" and "you know", I have come to see that Barbara has not lost touch with what she knows, nor has she limited this

knowledge to a single frame. By keeping a larger perspective she has been able to develop a management style that is strong on connection, but not just connecting others to herself but connecting other people with each other. There is also strong evidence that because she is not identified with a specific frame, she is able to speak in a way that is possibly more effective.

Claudi

From the biographical profiles in the student directory I knew that Claudi was Haitian and had a long history in nursing administration. I was thrilled to have the chance to speak with a second woman of color as well as to interview a woman in authority within the predominantly female profession of nursing. Claudi responded affirmatively to my written request and I attempted to contact her by phone. At first, I had difficulty contacting her and attributed it to the fact that she was staying in Cambridge during the week and at her home on weekends and I was simply missing her. As the months passed I began to recognize that my failure to contact her was due to my own resistance. From the start of this study, I have experienced considerable discomfort over questions of the racial composition of my sample. I have struggled with the question of how could I, as a White woman adequately represent and interpret the story of a Black woman? At the same time, I asked, how could I as a White researcher conduct a study on women's experience and continue the pattern of studying only middle-class White women? I realized that the choice of a random numbers table to select my sample was an attempt to let randomness answer these questions and to avoid bias.

I interviewed Claudi at the end of the semester, between the conclusion of her exams and her return to her position as Director of Nursing. This proved to be a very interesting and profitable moment to speak with her since her imminent return to her former employment made issues of authority very real while providing an opportunity to reflect on how her perspective had changed over her year of study.

At the beginning of the interview, I expressed to Claudi my interest in hearing how being a woman of color affected her experience of being a woman in authority. When Claudi addressed this request, it was to point out that as a Haitian woman she represented another country and culture as much as the experience of a woman of color. Repeatedly throughout the interview, Claudi referred to herself as someone with a different cultural heritage:

> I think based on that I found myself always trying to come up with what would fit my style as someone from a different culture, someone from a minority background ...

> I didn't maintain enough eye contact with her. So she automatically thought that there must be something mentally wrong. And I explained to her that that's part of my culture.

In our conversation, Claudi described her relationships with the women she worked with, particularly two women assistants. There was evidence that these relationships provided an important source of feedback and support. For instance, she could turn to them to assure herself that she was not the reason for conflicts that occurred within the hospital system. This small but supportive network of other women allowed Claudi to stay connected to her own experience and knowledge.

In the interview, I was struck by the fact that she did not refer to these women as friends. After a while, I asked her about this:

"I'VE NOTICED THAT YOU HAVEN'T USED THE WORD FRIENDSHIP. YOU'VE TALKED ABOUT YOUR TWO WOMEN ASSISTANT AS BEING VERY CLOSE AND WORKING WELL. I'VE BEEN LISTENING AS YOU'VE BEEN TALKING ABOUT YOUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THESE WOMEN AND I WANT TO SAY COULD YOU TALK WITH ME ABOUT HOW YOU THINK OF THIS RELATIONSHIP?

Without hesitating, Claudi goes right to my concern:

> I don't see it as friendship. I see it as a working relationship. These are people that I am concerned about, as far as what's going on in their daily life outside of work, it's not something that we get much into, **you know**..if someone in the family is

sick, we share about that...that kind of thing, And we provide support to each other around anything that is happening personally in their life, within the context of supervision or our daily chat, that kind of thing but it's not, I mean I don't look at them as friends, like the other friends that I have outside of work.

Claudi is very clear that she does not see her working relationships as friendships: "I don't see it as friendship. I see it as a working relationship." Explaining that while she cares about these women: "These are people that I am concerned about," Claudi is equally adamant that there is a barrier between what she considers appropriate to a work place relationship "as far as what's going on in their daily life outside of work, it's not something that we get much into, you know."

Claudi's use of the phrase "you know" at this point makes me wonder if she has sensed my difficulty in believing that things can be this cut and dried. As if reading my question, Claudi continues with an example of how personal issues are treated at work: "if someone in the family is sick, we share about that. That kind of thing, And we provide support to each other around anything that is happening personally in their life." Nonetheless, Claudi explains again that there is a containing context within which all of this occurs: "within the context of supervision or our daily chat, that kind of thing." There appears to be a boundary within which the personal can be handled. Her clarity regarding this boundary is apparent as she continues: "I mean, I don't look at them (the assistants) as friends, like the other friends that I have outside of work."

Claudi offers an equally clear and strong definition of what she *does* consider a friendship: "A friend is someone that you might choose to socialize with outside of the confines of work." Continuing, she contrasts that to her relationship with the women at work:

> my relationship with these women, it's mostly around the work setting. We go to conferences together,... And we care for each other, we remember each other's birthday, we share cards, because we've worked so long together, that these things have become habit. We share nurse's days together, we give each other gifts, those kinds of things, but I see it pretty much within the context of work.

While her distinction between friendship and work relationships is helpful and informative, I am most intrigued by Claudi's spontaneous reflection *why* she differentiates so clearly between the two.

> And I'm not sure whether it's because of my role as director of nurses, but I think it's more something that has to do with my personality, the way I function with people that I work with, because I see it as, it's a job to do. It's part of your profession that you're growing into. However, when you leave this job, you move to a different site, you meet different people and it's a different circle. So for me the circle of work, it's a circle of relationships, but I don't look at it as friendship.

Her reflections are introduced with the phrase "I'm not sure" -- a tentative phrase which often functions in the place of "I don't know" -- and then Claudi addresses the question of why she makes such a strong distinction between friendship and work relationships.

Claudi begins with the question "whether it's because of my role as Director of Nurses" but before she can pursue this idea, Claudi quickly shifts to an alternate explanation: "but I think it's more something that has to do with my personality." Claudi appears to avoid considering the possibility that her choice to compartmentalize friendships and work relationships may be related to her *role* as the person in authority -- the Director of Nurses. Unable or uninterested in pursuing this line of thought, Claudi instead explains her choice in terms of her internal psychic makeup -- "I think it's more something that has to do with my personality."

At first this seemed to resemble the pattern of internalizing responsibility that was discussed earlier. Returning to the text, however, I could see that Claudi does not use language of self recrimination nor is this account peppered with the verbal cues of "I don't know" and "you know". (While it is possible that these expressions would be less present in the speech of a woman for whom English is not her native tongue, she does use these terms elsewhere in her interview). I wondered if perhaps Claudi's perspective on the relationships at work is related to her experience of being bi-cultural, and that this "double vision" is protective in some way.

Claudi's transcripts recall the research of Ella Bell on the bicultural life structures and stress among Black women. Bell describes how Black professional women shape their careers in the white world, but maintain their personal lives in the Black community (Bell, 1987). Claudi's descriptions of relationships in the work world and her friendships outside of work appeared to closely mirror this phenomenon.

In her study of black professional women, Bell found that "compartmentalization" is the strategy women use to organize the variety of contexts in their lives. Bell reports that many of the women in her study "depicted sharp boundaries or divisions between their work world and personal world." This strategy helped to maintain two distinct cultural spheres, preventing the collision of the two cultures and keeping the dynamics of one from spilling over into the other. While this served as a useful strategy, Bell suggests that it often could lead to greater psychological strain. As I re-read Claudi's transcripts, I wonder whether this phenomenon is actually a helpful and health-ful strategy, or does it have its own strains that I have not been able to identify?

To me, her way of describing her relationships "the way I *function* with people that I work with," and later "because I see *it as a job* to do" sound somewhat jarring. Yet as Claudi continues, she shifts out of first person pronouns and into second or third person for the first time in this section of the interview:

> *It's* part of *your* profession, that *you're* growing into. However, when *you* leave this job, *you* move to a different site, *you* meet different people and *it's* a different circle. So for me the circle of work, it's a circle of relationships, but I don't look at it as friendship.

I found it striking that Claudi's insistence on function and job is voiced with the degree of distance which second person voice affords. I kept wondering about how and why Claudi understands the distinction she makes between friendship and relationships at work. as associated with her role as the authority. As I traced her reference to self — the

the appearance of first person pronouns "I" and "me" — I am surprised by her next image of relationships at work.

As Claudi describes meeting new people at a new site, she explains: "it's a different circle." As she continues she shifts to first person and describes what this is like for her: "so for me the circle of work, it's a circle of relationships." Her image is so different from the traditional pyramids, and ladders associated with a more functional approach to organizational structure. Instead, Claudi speaks of a "different circle," "a circle of relationships."

Her use of circle to describe her relationship with her new associates is reminiscent of the image of "web" that Gilligan found described women's relational patterns. The importance of this metaphor for Claudi is highlighted by her return to first person and the verbal cue "so for *me*" which introduces her definitive distinction concerning friendship and the women at work: "the circle of work, it's a circle of relationships, but I don't look at it as friendship."

Claudi's "circle of relationships" appears to provide a welcome change from a traditional boxed flow-chart approach to understanding authority relationships of accountability. Yet I continue to wonder about the adequacy of this new image of circle of relationships in addressing how women balance roles and relationships in new ways. I wonder how this image of management can account for the fact that frequently one person in that circle also holds authority over the others. While this image of circle of relationships provides a way of capturing the connection and relational dimensions of women's approach to management, while making clear distinctions about what is and is not friendship, it nonetheless fails to adequately address the inescapable reality that unequal power in relationships between women also need to be accounted for and addressed.

Ginny

My interview with Ginny was unique from the start. Her response card had been completed with enthusiasm and our initial phone conversation to set up the interview became quite lengthy as we discussed mutual interests surrounding this research. After the interviews were completed, she was the only participant who asked for a separate meeting to discuss her own research interests.

The day of the interview we were to meet in the Forum, an open gathering place that served as the cafeteria at the Kennedy School. Not knowing each other, we had agreed to meet at the information booth. Ginny was delayed due to an earlier class, but I, not knowing exactly what had gone awry became quite anxious. When she finally arrived I was so relieved that I readily entered into conversation about her course work and in particular one of her courses which I had taken a few years ago. Our prolonged discussion meant that the interview was further delayed and got off to a somewhat distracted start. As a result the first interview was much shorter and felt more pressured than I would have hoped.

Ginny's work experience was also not typical of the women in this small sample. At 49, she was among the oldest of the women interviewed and consequently had more experience than some of her younger colleagues both personally and professionally. As the mother of grown children, however, her history of work outside the home had followed a markedly different course than most of the other research participants. Ginny's professional career had been primarily in the non-profit sector. Ginny had worked in a volunteer capacity for many years within several national organizations of women and it was in this context that she had held positions of authority in relation to other women.

Ginny's career path, however, was not the only factor that contributed to the differences that I found in the interview transcript. Any interview is co-constructed by respondent and interviewer, and I too played a large role in the differences in these two

interviews— a larger role than I wish. With hindsight I can see that I had not anticipated the differences that were to emerge in how Ginny spoke about her experience. The interview transcripts illustrate my inability to follow the logic of her account and my growing frustration with the fact that she often appeared to be straying far afield from the topics I was most interested in. For instance, early in the interview as Ginny is telling a long narrative about the contributions and transitions of several leaders of her organization, including herself, I say *"can I ask you to stop that story for a moment, and talk to me about what it was like to be a woman in authority over other women during those years?"* Later in the interview Ginny is talking about why she believes that crying is a detractor in terms of leadership. She is explaining that "It is something that I have found, I mean it's embarrassing and I feel ashamed of it and I really would like to get over that piece." I become impatient with her account of her feelings toward crying and try to force her back to the topic of women in authority: *"How has it been a part of being, can you think of an instance, or tell me how it has been a part of your experience when you're in authority over other women?"* Her response suggests that she has picked up on my feelings since she now reverses her approach and says "well, actually when I think of it, it has been in a very positive way...."

Above all, I look with regret on the length and wordiness of my comments and questions. They reveal quite clearly that I was often not in tune with her or even in touch with my own curiosity. My interview with Ginny was a valuable and painful lesson in how important it is to establish a context for an open exploration of another person's experience, how initial events can help or hinder the establishment of a favorable relationship, and ultimately how a successful interview requires that the two creators are working in synch with each other.

Many months after my initial dismay over the mistakes I had made in the interview process and the limits this had appeared to place on what I might learn from Ginny's

interviews, I returned to Ginny's transcripts. This time I had the advantage of many

months of data analysis and a broader, more expansive appreciation of the landscape of

women's experiences of holding authority. This time I was able to hear Ginny's accounts

of her work in positions of authority in relation to other women as a story of disconfirming

evidence — as an account that was not heard in such explicit terms in the other interviews.

One of the most striking dimension to Ginny's two interviews is that she spoke of

issues and concerns that had been voiced by other women but she addressed them with a

different perspective. For example, Ginny is able to be absolutely clear about her desire to

be liked by others.

> I realized that number one, I was a leader, and number two, that maybe it wasn't
> the power piece that I wanted, but that it was definitely the *recognition* and that
> that was a real important drive. And that I, probably my biggest thing to
> overcome in terms of assuming leadership is this desire to have everybody like me
> all the time. And it's very very strong with me. I want to be well-loved.

There is no tentative language when she speaks about wanting to be "well-loved."

There is evidence that she thinks this is something that may impede her ability to assume

leadership, namely her statement that "probably my biggest thing to overcome in terms of

assuming leadership is this desire to have everybody like me all the time" but overall Ginny

is quite clear and confident about her desire to be liked and loved and its primacy in her

life. In light of the evidence of internal or interpersonal difficulties that other women

described when they felt that desire but could integrate it into their own work as an

authority, it is quite possible that Ginny's clarity and conviction about her own needs and

desires is a protection against the patterns of dissociation, internal division, and lost

knowledge that were seen in other interviews.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Dimensions Of Authority And Psychological Risk: A Quantitative Exploration

In the Methods chapter, I described how a quantitative, confirmatory study was designed to address questions of generalizability *and* to explore further whether particular dimensions of authority did in fact pose psychological risks to women. The specific questions this part of the study was designed to address include:

1. Did other women from a similar population report expectations of themselves and other women, describe desires for personal and/or social relationships with the women with whom they worked, or express concern over particular dimensions of exercising authority in relation to other women?

2. Was there a difference in women's answers to the same question stem when they were asked about their *expectations*, their *desires*, or the nature of their *experience*?

3. Is there an association between particular dimensions of the experience of authority and psychological risk as measured by the Silencing the Self Scale?

In this chapter I describe the design and components of the questionnaire and report on the results of statistical analyses of the responses to the survey. The analyses are based on the responses of women from the United States (N=44). An analysis of the international responses (N=10) will be presented at a later date. To appreciate the responses of the women from other countries would require a discussion of cultural, employment, organizational and historical differences that is beyond the scope of this thesis.

Questionnaire Design

The questionnaire (See Appendix B) was designed to investigate first, the generalizability of the interview data, second, whether particular dimensions of authority pose psychological risks to women, and third, was there variation in women's experience according to key demographic and organizational characteristics? To address these different types of questions, four distinct sections were included in the questionnaire.

The first part, section A, addressed the organizational structure of the company or institution in which the respondent held a position of authority. These questions were placed first because they seemed to be the least threatening and easiest to answer, while also providing the context for the later questions about the women's experience in positions of authority. In asking about the types of organization, Census categories were used. While this will make it possible to compare this study to other research that has used these categories, it actually reduced the variation that the questionnaire was able to capture within this particular sample. This was due to the fact that most of the respondents chose one of the professional categories as descriptive of their occupation. There was more variety in the types of professional and managerial setting in which these women worked, but it was not captured using these categories. Another time I would add another question that asks about the respondent's specific occupational identity.

Two questions asked about the size of the organization and the size of the group or division that the respondent managed. Two different scales were used because a difference was anticipated in the numbers of persons that women in positions of authority managed and the actual size of their organizations and companies. In addition to the questions about overall and divisional size, this section of the questionnaire focused on the percent of women at different levels of the organization. Questions about the representation of women in top management, middle management, in the overall organization, and in the group that the respondent manages were intended to provide an overview of the status of women in management and to make it possible to compare other variables by these percentages.

The second section, Part B, included the questions that were developed directly from the interview data. The first purpose of these questions was to investigate possible variation across a larger sample of women. By asking about issues and themes that appeared in the interview transcripts it was possible to determine how strongly other

women agreed (or did not agree) with the findings from the interview study. In this way it was possible to address questions concerning generalizability of the qualitative findings.

The questions based on the interview data were was also designed to explore whether dimensions of authority pose psychological risk to women. In this part of the questionnaire psychological risk was conceptualized as being associated with a marked difference between the reports of expectations, desires, and actual experience with regard to the key dimensions of authority positions. To assess whether there *was* such an important gap between how women described what they had "experienced," "expected" or "wanted" of other women when they were in positions of authority, the questions were worded so that the same topic was repeated with different verb stem (e.g., "felt" "expected" "wanted"). In this way it was possible to assess the degree of individual level differences on each of the dimensions of authority under consideration.

Furthermore, the questionnaire was also designed to assess psychological risk through the use of an existing measure of risk for depression, namely the Silencing the Self Scale (Jack and Dill, 1992). The inclusion of such a measure made it possible to compare the responses to particular questions with the scores received on an already validated instrument. This would make it possible to confirm (or disconfirm) what the interview data had already suggested, namely that positions of authority may place women at risk for psychological conditions such as depression, internal splitting and losing touch with what was previously known.

The Silencing the Self Scale (Jack and Dill, 1992) was derived from a longitudinal study of clinically depressed women and was developed to investigate gender-specific schemas hypothesized to be associated with depression with women. There are 31 questions that can be answered on a five-point Likert scale ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, for a total possible score of 31-155. The scale consists of four subscales:

1. externalized self-perception (judging the self by external standards)
2. care as self-sacrifice (securing attachments by putting the needs of others before self)
3. silencing the self (inhibiting one's self-expression and action to avoid conflict and possible loss of relationship)
4. divided self (the experience of presenting an outer compliant self to live up to feminine role imperatives while the inner self grows angry and hostile)

I chose to incorporate the Silencing the Self Scale (Jack and Dill, 1992) into the questionnaire after a lengthy process of evaluating various psychological measures. I believe that the Silencing the Self Scale (henceforth referred to as STSS) was the appropriate measure for several reasons. First, many of the clinical measures I examined had a more pathological orientation than seemed appropriate to this study. I was interested in a measure that would assess psychological *risk* as it is appears in a non-clinical population. Second, many of the measures that have been repeatedly used to explore women's experience were seriously outdated in language and failed to correspond to women's current experience. Above all, however, The Silencing the Self Scale is a measure of psychological vulnerability based on women's psychological development and rooted in the theoretical framework of feminist psychologists such as Gilligan, Miller and Chodorow. Finally, the STSS has been tested for reliability and validity (see Appendix C), and has been compared to the Beck Depression scale, a standard clinical measure of depression, with three different populations of women: undergraduate females (n=63), a racially and economically diverse sample of women in 3 battered women's shelters in the Northwest (n=140) and 270 Caucasian women who were part of a study of pregnant women who voluntarily self-reported cocaine use. The correlations between the two scales are found in Table 1. The differences across groups were in the expected direction and were found to be statistically significant using analysis of variance. (Jack and Dill, 1992).

Table 1
Correlations between Beck Depression Inventory and
Silencing The Self Scale scores

	BDI scores		STSS scores		correlation	
	M	SD	M	SD	r	p
Women in Authority	(not available)		72.8	19.7		
College students	7	5	78	15	.52	<.0001
P&HSII group	12	8	82	19	.51	<.0001
Battered women's group	21	11	100	26	.50	<.0001

It is worth noting that while the Silencing the Self Scale appeared to be a useful measure for this study, the presence of a measure with a very different set of questions may have been confusing and/or jarring to the respondents. The questions in the STSS were designed to focus on intimate relationships which was a departure from the questions in the earlier sections of the Women in Authority study where the instructions asked that the respondent answer based on her last job.

The last part of the questionnaire, Part D, asks for information regarding key demographic variables such as age, educational level, marital and parental status, race and income. These questions were developed to correspond as closely as possible to Census data. In some instances, however, it was necessary to expand the scales in order to get variation in the responses. Individual and household income are two examples where this was necessary. Demographic data was included in order to determine if any of these variables would account for the variation that might be found in the outcome variable, the STSS scores.

Profile of Questionnaire respondents

Forty-four women from the US completed the questionnaire. Table 2 illustrates the occupational and organizational contexts of these women. Half of these women (23) reported working as managers or administrators, more than a third (16) described their occupation as professional and 5 reported other occupations such as government official, accountant, or consultant. These women worked in organizations of varying sizes. More than a third (17) worked in large organizations, i.e., more than 1000 employees, while

more than a quarter (12) worked in institutions with fewer than 50 employees. A third

worked in organizations of 50-1000 employees.

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics on Respondents Management Context

Variable	Number	Percent
Occupations of Respondents according to Census categories (N=44)		
Manager, Administrator (eg., office manager, school administrator)	23	52
Professional II (e.g., physician, lawyer, college teacher, scientist)	13	30
Other	5	11
Professional I (e.g., artist, registered nurse, social worker)	3	7
Military (e.g., career officer or enlisted woman in the Armed Forces)	0	0
Proprietor Or Owner (e.g., restaurant owner, small business owner)	0	0

The women were asked about the percent of women in both top and middle

management as well as the percent of women in the total work force and the work group

that the woman supervised. Table 3 below illustrates the range and variation of women's

representation in management.

Table 3
Representation of Women as Managers and as Employees

Percent of Women in	Mean	Standard Deviation	Median	Range	Number of respondents
Top Management	29.6	33.3	10	0-100	42
Mid Management	43.3	28.9	40	0-100	40
Among all employees	54.8	20.3	50	10-100	41
Among employees supervised by respondent	62.3	33.4	70	5-100	43

The similariites and differences between and among these percentages can best be

seen in a schematic plot.

Figure 1
Schematic Plot of Percents of Women in Levels of Organization :
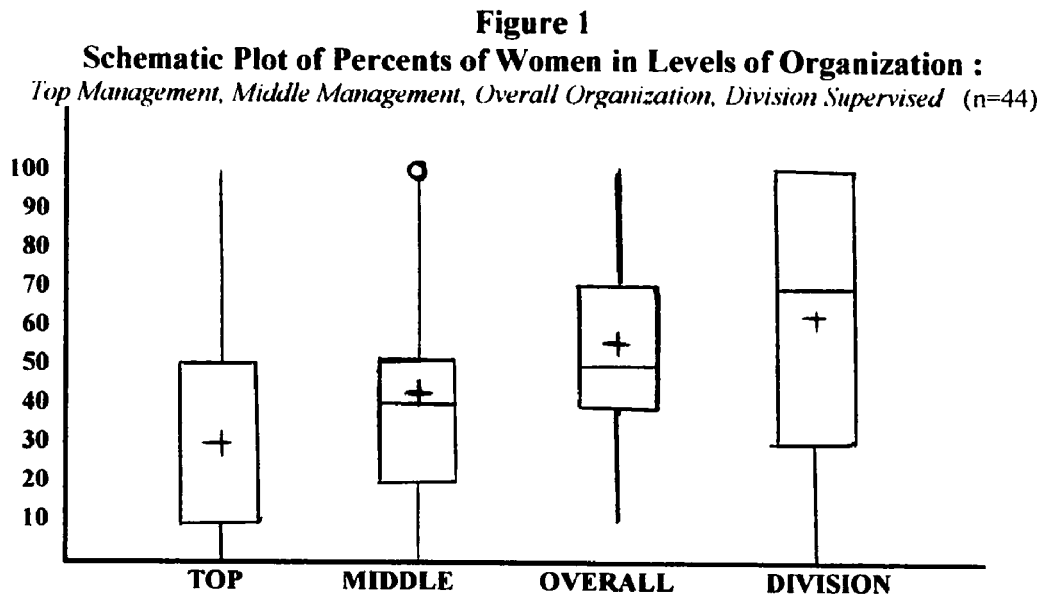*Top Management, Middle Management, Overall Organization, Division Supervised* (n=44)

Figure 1 presents a picture of the percent of women in different levels of management and organizational life within the companies and institutions represented by the respondents. The percent of women in top management ranged from zero percent to 100 percent. While the average for this sample was 30% , the standard deviation was high (33.3) and the median was 10. The high average is due to 7 reports of 80-100% women in top management. Thus, with the exception of seven women, the companies and organizations in which these women worked, on average, had only marginal representation of women in <u>senior</u> management.

The picture concerning the percent of women in <u>middle</u> management was quite different. The mean was higher (43.3) with a smaller standard deviation (28.9), and a higher median (40). Here as with the distribution for the percent of women in top management there were 8 women in organizations with a very high (80-100) percentage of women in middle management. Thus, the majority of the women in this sample reported that the companies in which they worked had considerably more women in mid-management, and that for more than half, the percent of women in middle management was quite close to that of men.

The distribution of the responses to the question asking about the percent of women employees in the overall organizations was symmetrically distributed around a mean of 55 (s.d.= 20.3) and a median of 50. For this sample, the representation of women in the workforce on average, approximated women's representation in the population. The presence of women as workers therefore, is quite different than the presence of women in senior or middle management.

While the percent of women in top and middle management in these organizations is small relative to the percent of women in the overall workforce, the percent of women that these women supervised is dramatically higher. This sample suggests that women manage women with considerable frequency: half of the women reported managing a work division that was 70% women and more than a quarter of the women (12) managed *only* women.

Summary

Analysis of the summary statistics for the questions asking about the representation of women in the different levels of organizational life in the companies and institutions where these women worked reveals two patterns. First, the overall pattern for women in positions of authority reflects the present representation of women in management. Women account for close to half of those in mid-management but have only marginal representation in the ranks of senior executives and managers.

Second, the women in this study were frequently responsible for divisions and work groups comprised largely of women. Half of the women reported managing groups that were 70% or more women, and more than a quarter of this sample had managed *only* women. While the sample in many ways was not representative, this finding raises many questions that have not been adequately addressed in management research literature. First, is this pattern of women managing mostly other women widespread? If so, what are the factors that might explain this phenomenon? Second, if this pattern is widespread,

then the unique dimensions and dynamics that occur between women managers and their staff call for far greater attention than they have received.

Sample demographics

The women ranged in age from 31 to 56 with a mean and median age of 41. Only three women were older than 50 or younger than 35. Close to a quarter of the women held masters degrees and one in seven (6) held doctorates. The remaining two-thirds (28) of the women held only a college degree prior to their current program. More than a third were married (17), another third were single (17) and less than a fifth were divorced (10). These statistics may be misleading since while the question asked about partnered status the categories did not represent this as a response. Only about a third of the women were parents (16), and generally of one or two children. The sample was pre-dominantly white women (37) with only two Black women, three Hispanic women, and two Asian women. The individual incomesof the women before coming to graduate school ranged from less than $25,000 to almost $200,000 with an average income of $46,000. Their household income were slightly higher, ranging from under $25,000 to more than $200,000 with an average household income of $58,000.

Data Analysis

The first goal of the confirmatory quantitative study was to determine whether the women in a larger sample drawn from a similar population would describe their experience of working in positions of authority in ways that were similar to what I had heard in the interview study. That is, I was interested in seeing if they reported having expectations of other women or their relationships with the women at work, how they described their desires for personal or social relationships with the women with whom they worked, and to what extent they expressed concern over how particular dimensions of exercising authority. To determine whether there were similar patterns, and therefore some

indication of generalizability, I examined the descriptive statistics for the questions in the

survey that had been developed from the interview data.

Table 4
Comparison of Mean Responses to Questions B1 -B3
In your last position of authority, you wanted/expected/felt that the women who worked for you ....

(Response options ranged from Strongly disagree(1), mildly disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (5), mildly agree (7), strongly agree (9).)

N=44 except for united front

	Respected you		Helped each other		Presented a united front as women		Liked you	
	Mean	(s.e)	Mean	(s.e.)	Mean	(s.e.)	Mean	(s.e.)
Wanted	8.7	(0.6)	8.4	(1.0)	6.2	(2.1)	7.6	(1.6)
Expected	8.2	(1.1)	7.6	(1.4)	5.8	(2.1)	7.2	(1.5)
Felt	8.2	(1.0)	6.6	(2.3)	5.1	(2.3)	7.7	(1.3)
F-statistic	5.696** [2,42]		15.55*** [2,41]		3.297* [2,40]		3.047 [2,42]	

*** p<.001
** p<.01
* p<.05
~ p<.10

As seen in Table 4, the women in this sample, on average, expressed strong

agreement with the question stems that asked how strongly they agreed that the women

who worked for them *respected you, helped each other, presented a united front as*

women and *liked you.* This was true to different degrees when the question was asked

about what they had "wanted", "expected" or "felt". The mean responses varied from

only slightly above neutral (5.1) for how they felt about women *presenting a united front*

to almost "strongly agree" (8.7) when answering the question about *wanting women to*

respect you. The standard deviations also show that for the questions that evoked a

strong response there was less variation and when the answers were less strong there was

considerably more variation. This may be, however, a ceiling effect. Since the highest

score on the scale was 9, there would be less room for variation when the answers

centered around "strongly agree."

Figure 2
Mean Responses to Questions B1-B3

In your last position of authority, you felt expected wanted the women who worked for you to....
respect you, like you, help each other, present a united front as women

(Response options ranged from Strongly disagree(1), mildly disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (5), mildly agree (7), strongly agree (9).)
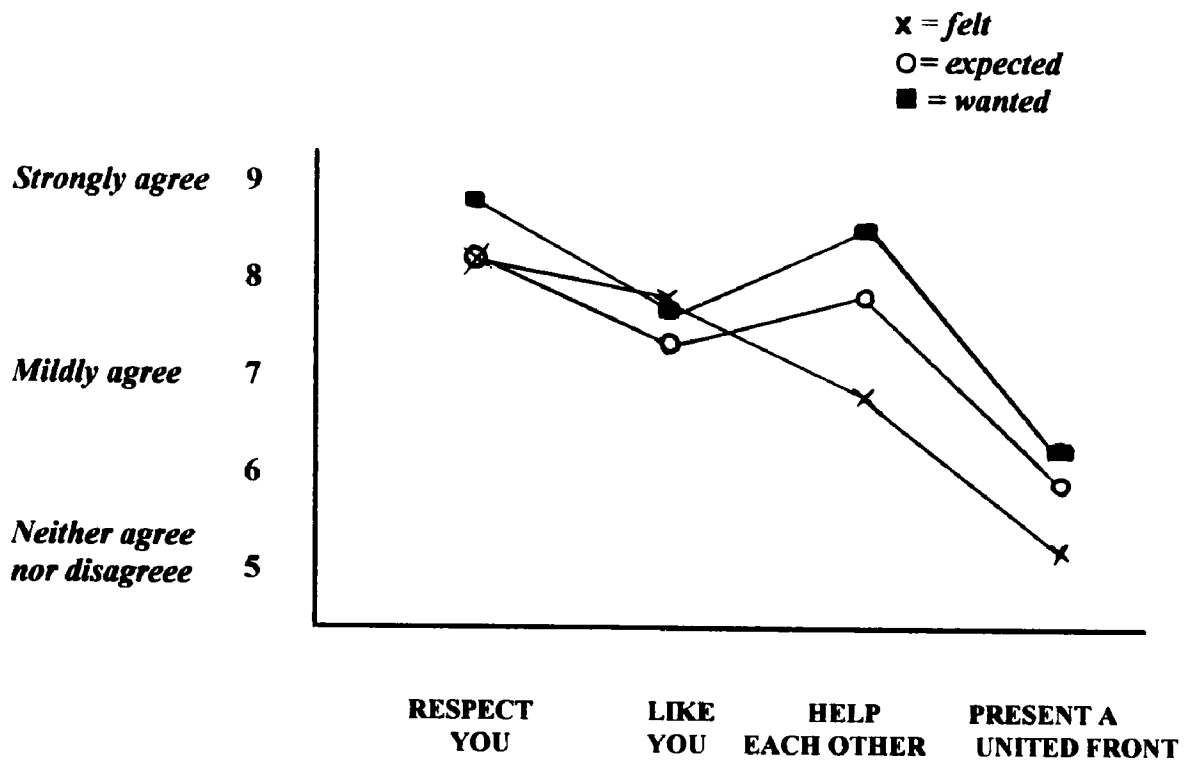
x = *felt*
O = *expected*
■ = *wanted*

Strongly agree 9

8

Mildly agree 7

6

Neither agree
nor disagreee 5

RESPECT   LIKE   HELP   PRESENT A
YOU   YOU   EACH OTHER   UNITED FRONT

Figure 2 illustrates how in the responses to the questions about *respect, women helping each other,* and *presenting a united front,* there is a marked decline in the degree of agreement from how strongly the women wanted these realities to how much they described them as part of their actual felt experience. The question about other women *"liked you"* however, has a markedly different pattern. In this case, there is agreement across the three sentence stems but less difference between women's accounts of how they experienced women liking them, and what they wanted and/or expected in this regard.

Thus, on average, there was general agreement with the findings of the qualitative study that women both wanted and had expectations of other women to *present a united front, help each other* and *provide mutual respect.*

Particularly salient to this study is the **difference** seen between the responses to questions about what the women *wanted, expected and felt.* In addition to the research question about generalizability, I had also wanted to examine whether there were differences in how women responded when asked about what they *wanted, expected* or *felt* about their experience. Listening to women in the interviews describe their experience in authority had raised concerns that for many women there seemed to be a gap between what they *wanted* and what they had *experienced.* There also was evidence to suggest that women's *expectations* might be at odds with either their *felt* experience, what they really *wanted* or both. The questionnaire was designed to make it possible to explore whether women would respond differently to the same question when asked about how they *felt,* what they had *expected,* and what they had *wanted.* From Table 4 it is apparent that, on average, there *were* differences in how women responded to questions about these three dimensions of their experience. Figure 3 on the next page captures the differences quite clearly.

Figure 3
Mean Responses to Questions B1-B3

*In your last position of authority, you felt/expected/wanted the women who worked for you to....
respect you, like you, help each other, present a united front as women*

*(Response options ranged from Strongly disagree(1), mildly disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (5),
mildly agree (7), strongly agree (9).)*

X = *respect you*
O= *like you*
■ = *help each other*
★ = *present a united front*

Strongly agree 9

8

Mildly agree 7

6

**Neither agree
nor disagreee** 5

FELT   EXPECT   WANT
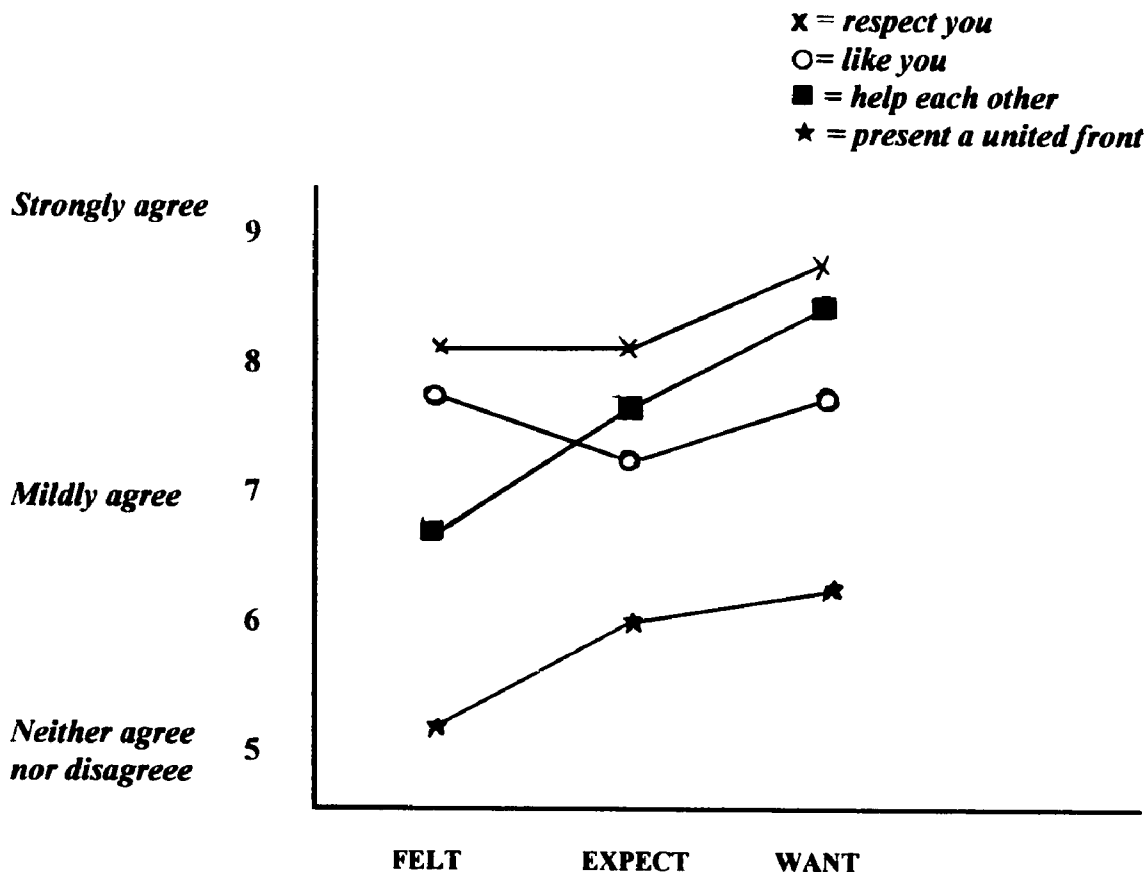
To determine if this differences seen in Figure 3 were "statistically significant" or could have been due to sampling variation, I conducted repeated-measures analysis of variance. Repeated measures analysis of variance is particularly suited to research questions such as this one which is concerned with possible differences within the responses of each subject. Since I wanted to see if there was a significant difference in how each individual answered questions about what she *wanted, expected* and *felt*, this appeared to be the appropriate approach to employ. I conducted two separate but related

tests. First, I determined if the differences for each individual respondent between and among the answers to these three questions were significant. Based on the F-statistic for the overall analysis of variance (see Table 4), it is possible to see that the *differences* between and among the mean responses that women gave to questions beginning with the words "felt", "expect" and "wanted" were statistically significant. This was true for three of the four issues that were drawn from the interview data: did the women who worked for you *respect you, you, help each other,* and *present a united front.*

This statistically significant difference provides an answer to the second research question behind this questionnaire. Women's accounts of what they "wanted" and "expected" and "felt" about the women with whom they worked were dramatically different from one another. This suggests that while the women in the sample, on average, expressed agreement with statements asking if the women who worked for them "respected" and "liked" them, or "helped each other" and "presented a united front", they experienced marked differences between how they felt about their situation and what they expected or wanted it to be.

To determine which stems produced responses that were most different from which other stems (i.e. where these overall differences among the three stems came from), I evaluated each pairwise contrast. Table 5 below contains the results of this analysis.

Table 5
Repeated measures analysis of variance
contrasts between mean responses to questions about *felt, expect* and *want*

You *felt/expected/wanted* the women ... to	want—felt	want—expect	expect—felt
respect you	.5**	.5**	0
like you	.1	.4	.5*
help each other (N=43)	1.8***	.8***	1.0*
present a united front (N=42)	1.1*	.4~	.7

*** p<.001
** p<.01
* p<.05
~ p<.10

Table 5 shows that almost 2/3 of the differences in mean responses were statistically significant. Each pairwise contrast was statistically significant for at leasst two of the issues addressed (i.e., respect, like, help each other, united front). The most dramatic and statistically significant contrasts were between what women reported *"wanting"* and what they *"felt"* characterized their experience. The contrast between what the women reported *"wanting"* and what they *"expected"* were almost as significant.

This suggests that what women *want* from their interactions with other women in the workplace is markedly different from both what they have come to *expect* and what they have actually *experienced*. The women in this sample reported significant differences between what they want or desire in relationships with women at work and what they have come to know and encounter. This significant difference may be associated with the accounts heard in the interviews of an "internal split" and/or a sense of void when expectations of other women are not met.

Part Two: Questions about Friendship

The questionnaire was also designed to explore a second set of questions focused on more personal dimensions of relationships between a woman in authority and the women who work for her. In the interview data there had been considerable diversity of opinion about the possibility and advisability of being friends with one's supervisees. In this section of the confirmatory analysis, I was interested in exploring three topics that women had spoken about in their interviews: knowing details of the personal lives of their workers, cultivating friendships with them, and socializing together outside of work.

Table 6

Comparison of Mean Responses to Questions 4 - 6

*In your last position of authority, you wanted/expected/were able to....*N=44

	Cultivate Friendship		Socialize Outside of Work		Know Details of Personal Lives	
	Mean	(s.e.)	Mean	(s.e.)	Mean	(s.e.)
Able/(Felt)	6.5	(2.0)	5.6	(2.3)	7.3	(1.6)
Wanted	5.0	(2.1)	4.4	(2.1)	4.2	(2.0)
Expected	4.9	(2.1)	4.3	(2.1)	4.5	(2.0)
F-statistic	8.182***		5.734**		45.487***	
	[2,42]		[2,42]		[2,42]	

*** p<.001
** p<.01
* p<.05
~ p<.10

Table 6 illustrates that a very different pattern from that of the responses to the first set of questions appeared in the answers to these questions about personal relationships with women at work. When women were asked about their actual experience, (this time in terms of what they were *able* to do), on average, they said that they *did* agree that they were able to develop friendships, socialize outside of work, or know personal details of the lives of the women who worked for them (see row 1). In contrast, when asked whether they had *wanted to, or expected to* do so, the women, on average, appeared to *disagree* although the level of disagreement with the questions overall was quite small (see rows 2 and 3). This discussion becomes clearer when the mean responses are graphed as they are in Figure 4 on the next page.

Figure 4
Mean Responses to Questions B4-B6

In your last position of authority in relation to other women, you were able expected wanted to....
know details of their personal lives, cultivate friendships, socialize together outside of work
(Response options ranged from Strongly disagree(1), mildly disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (5),
mildly agree (7), strongly agree (9).)

x = *able*
O= *expected*
■ = *wanted*

| | KNOW DETAILS OF PERSONAL LIVES | CULTIVATE FRIENDSHIP | SOCIALIZE OUTSIDE OF WORK |
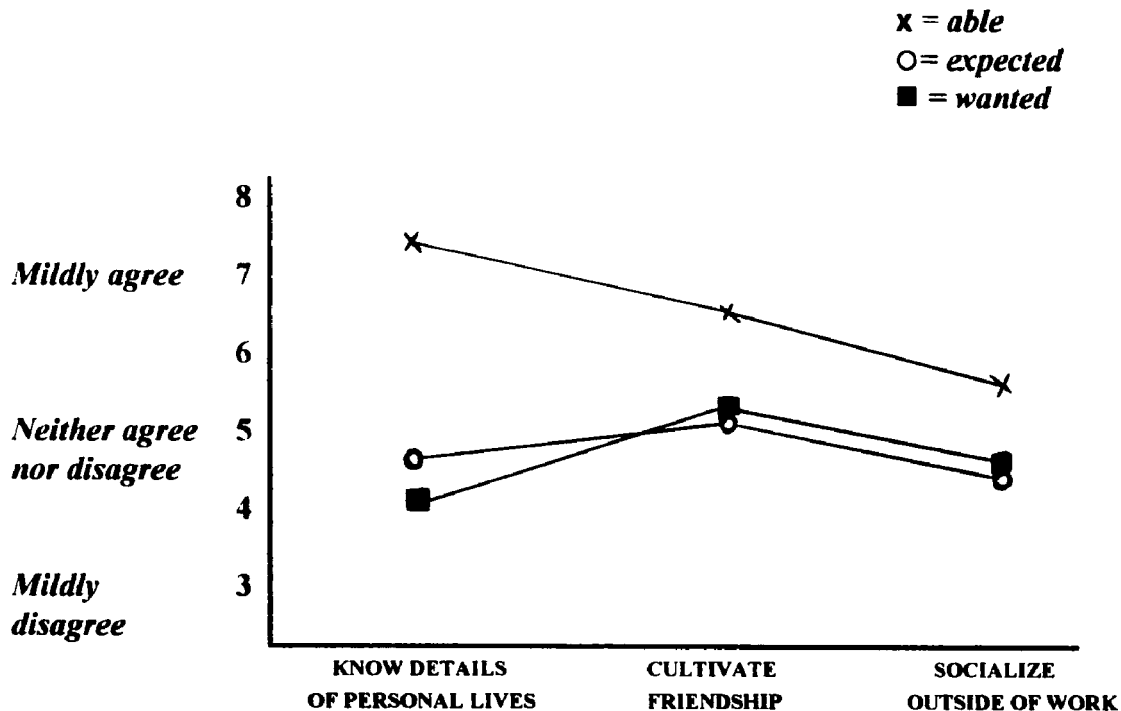
It is important to note however, that for these questions about the more personal dimensions of relationships at work, the differences between what women were *able* to do and what they *wanted* or *expected* were much bigger than the corresponding differences found in the responses to the previous set of questions about whether women *respect, like, help each other* or *present a united front.*

The most important pattern in the overall responses, however, is the marked gap between what these women report as their experience, i.e. what they were *able* to do and what they described as what they had *expected* and *wanted.* The differences here appear considerable for the three questions about cultivating friendships, socializing outside of

work, and knowing details about the personal lives of the women with whom they worked. These can be seen in Figure 5 below.

Figure 5
Mean Responses to Questions B4-B6

In your last position of authority in relation to other women, you were able/expected/wanted to....
know details of their personal lives, cultivate friendships, socialize together outside of work
(Response options ranged from Strongly disagree(1), mildly disagree (3) neither agree nor disagree (5),
mildly agree (7), strongly agree (9).)

O = *know details of personal lives*
■ = *cultivate friendships*
x = *socialize together outside of work*
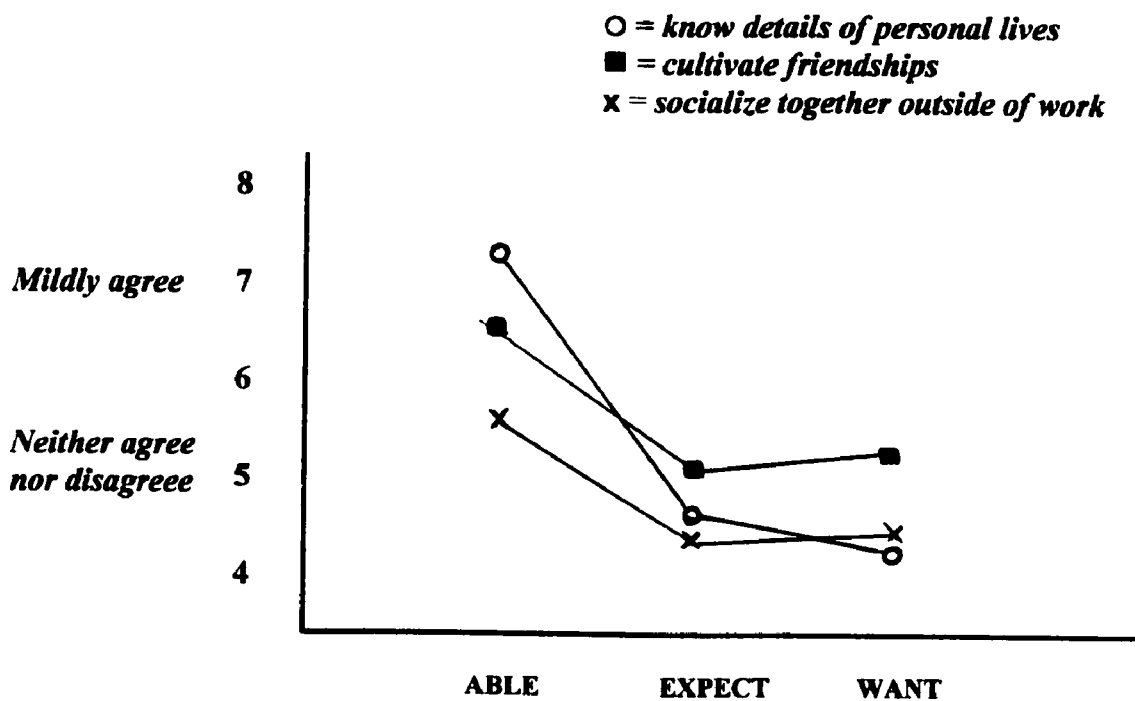
In order to determine if this was an important distinction or could have been due to sampling variation, I once again conducted repeated-measures analysis of variance. As in the previous analysis, I conducted two separate but related tests. First, I determined if the differences for individuals between the answers to these three questions were statistically significant. Second, I evaluated each of the pairwise contrasts to determine which specific contrasts were the most significant.

In Table 6, the F-statistics confirm that the overall difference in women's responses to all three topics, when asked about what they were *able* to do, what they *wanted* to do, and what they *expected* to do were, in fact, statistically significant. This means that, on average, the differences in how women reported what they *experienced, expected* and *wanted* in relation to the more personal and social dimensions of relationships with women at work, were large enough to merit attention and perhaps, to be of real concern. Next, I conducted a repeated measures analysis of variance using a contrast option to determine which contrasts were the strongest and most highly significant. Table 7 below contains the results of these analyses.

Table 7
Repeated measures analysis of variance
Contrasts between mean responses to *able, expect* and *want*

You were *able/expected/wanted* to	want—able	expect—able	want—expect
know details of their personal lives	3.1^{***}	2.8^{***}	$.3^{\sim}$
cultivate friendships with them	1.5^{***}	1.6^{***}	$.1$
socialize together outside of work	1.2^{**}	1.3^{**}	$.1$

*** $p<.001$
** $p<.01$
* $p<.05$
~ $p<.10$

Table 7 illustrates how the greatest differences for the questions about friendship were between what women reported being *able* to do and what they *wanted* and again between what they reported being *able* to do and what they *expected* to do. In contrast, the mean difference between what they said they *expected* and what women reported *wanting* to do (column 3) was quite minimal and not statistically significant. All of this suggests that women experience the greatest gap between what they *want* or *expect* of relationships with women at work and what they feel *able* to achieve.

It is also worth noting that each pairwise contrast for the question about *knowing details of their personal lives* is considerably higher than the pairwise contrasts for the

other two questions. In fact, the mean difference between *want to* and *able to know*

personal details and *able to know personal details* (3.1) is <u>more than twice</u> the mean

difference between *want to* and *able to cultivate friendships* (1.5). The mean difference

for the contrast between *want* and *able to know personal details* (3.1) is also <u>almost three</u>

<u>times</u> the mean difference for the contrast between *want* and *able to socialize together*

(1.2). Similarly the mean difference between *expect to* and *able to know personal details*

(2.8) is more than <u>one and one-half times</u> the corresponding mean difference for *cultivate*

friendships (1.6) and <u>more than twice</u> the mean difference for *socialize together* (1.3).

This suggests that the most dramatic difference for women in authority between what they

are *able* to experience at work and what they *want or expect* to have happen, has to do

with the issue of *knowing details of the personal lives.*

The questionnaire also asked about whether particular dimensions of the

experience of being in authority in relation to other women was difficult for the woman in

authority. The analysis of these last two questions is not directly connected to the themes

presented in this thesis and consequently this data will be analyzed at a later date.

Summary

In summary there are three conclusions that can be drawn from these analyses of

the responses to questions about relationships with women at work. First, the responses

of the women to the questions in the questionnaire seem, on average, to support the

findings of the interview data. When asked about relationships between themselves and

the women who worked for them, the women reported both expectations and desires that

they themselves would be respected and liked, and that the women who worked for them

would help each other and present a united front in the workplace. Women also reported

that dimensions that they desired and expected did characterize their experience, although

these responses were not as strong.

A markedly different pattern of response emerged when women were asked about personal dimensions of their relationships with the women who worked with them, knowing details of their personal lives, cultivating friendships, or socializing outside of work. There was far greater variation in the responses to these questions, and the response on average, were not as strongly favorable as those expressed earlier. Unlike the questions in the first section, the responses to the questions about friendships and relationships outside of work were far more neutral. While on average, the responses were on the disagree side of the scale, they were not strong responses when answering question stems about what they had wanted or expected with regard to knowing details of their workers personal lives, cultivate friendships with them or socialize together outside of work. The fact that the overall mean responses are so close to the neutral position of x=5 is not surprising in light of the interview data which revealed dramatically diffferent, often conflicting opinions on these topics among the women.

What is interesting in this data is the fact that overall women report being able to do all three of these things. In the earlier set of questions asking about whether other women "respect you" "like you" "help each other" or "present a united front" the responses indicated that on average women "wanted" and "expected" these experiences much more strongly than they had experienced them. In this second set of questions about "knowing details of personal life" "cultivating friendship" and "socializing outside of work" women were more likely to report being "able to" do these things than they were to say that they "wanted" or "expected" them. While in each case, the differences were statistically significant, the nature of the contrast was strikingly different.

These findings raise as many questions as they answer. For instance, it is curious that while women, on average express a desire that their female employees respect and like them, as well as help each other and present a united front, their responses to questions about wanting or expecting to know details about the personal life of their

female workers, to cultivate friendships or socialize outside of work appear more neutral. The mean responses to these questions range between 4.2 and 4.5 suggesting that there may be a greater range of variation in responses, including responses of disagreement as well as agreement.

What does this change in response when the questions shift from a focus on the work relationship to attention to a more personal relationship mean for women's psychological health? Given the centrality of relationship and connection for women's psychological well-being and development, what does it mean that women report not wanting a greater degree of connection through additional information about their personal life or extending the relationships beyond the boundaries of work? In the next stage of data analysis, these questions will be explored in greater detail.

Part II: Exploring evidence of psychological risk

The questionnaire was designed to also explore whether there was an association between individual's responses and being at psychological risk. This possibility was built into the design because evidence of possible psychological vulnerability had appeared in the interview data. One purpose of the quantitative study was to examine whether there were patterns of association between particular dimensions of women's experience and measures of psychological risk. As explained earlier in the Methods chapter, I have used Dana Jack's Silencing the Self Scale as the measure of psychological vulnerability.

The data analysis conducted to address this second research question was undertaken is several steps. First, following the univariate analysis of each variable, attention was focused on the correlation matrix of all the individual items, and the Silencing The Self scores. This was done in order to determine which variables were highly correlated to the STSS scores, and second, which variables might be highly correlated with each other.

Table 8
Table of Correlations between Data Variables

	FELT RESP	FELT LIKE	FELT HELP	FELT UNIT	EXPT RESP	EXPT LIKE	EXPT HELP	EXPT UNIT	WANT RESP	WANT LIKE	WANT HELP	WANT UNIT	ABLE KNOW	ABLE CULT	ABLE SOCI	EXPT KNOW	EXPT CULT	EXPT SOCI	WANT KNOW	WANT CULT	WANT SOCI	STSS
FELTRESP	1.00	.76	.36	.23	.11	.23	-.06	-.01	.04	.21	.15	.01	.03	.21	.22	-.02	-.08	-.04	-.08	-.21	-.07	-.20
FELTLIKE		1.00	.23	.19	.22	.47	.16	.01	.09	.39	.15	-.02	-.13	.17	.23	-.23	-.04	.10	-.13	-.10	.11	-.12
FELTHELP			1.00	.56	.19	.03	.19	.05	.06	.05	.15	-.19	.29	.51	.51	.10	.12	.07	.15	.07	.06	-.15
FELTUNIT				1.00	.11	-.01	.37	.36	.04	-.03	.08	-.11	.30	.40	.40		.17	.36	.25	.17	.29	.29
EXPTRESP					1.00	.42	.29	.15	.12	.09	-.10	.18	-.01	.08	.01	.04	-.02	.11	.17	.08	.06	-.31
EXPTLIKE						1.00	.49	.06	.03	.45	.31	.11	-.25	-.13	-.02	-.20	.15	.17	-.11	.05	.17	-.11
EXPTHELP							1.00	.27	.18	.04	.40	.14	-.21	.17	.15	-.14	.19	-.00	-.02	.13	.10	-.23
EXPTUNIT								1.00	.07	.03	.06	.71	.14	.37	.20	-.00	.38	.36	-.04	.26	.38	.06
WANTRESP									1.00	.12	.39	.05	-.12	-.04	.13	-.26	-.08	-.02	-.06	.06	-.00	-.24
WANTLIKE										1.00	.33	.24	-.20	-.23	-.21	-.19	.13	.11	-.13	.08	.19	.11
WANTHELP											1.00	.12	-.02	-.04	.13	-.27	-.05	-.16	-.34	-.13	-.07	.02
WANTUNIT												1.00	.05	.01	-.04	-.02	.29	.28	-.09	.17	.24	.15
ABLEKNOW													1.00	.52	.38	.33	.07	.15	.30	.15	.21	-.05
ABLECULT														1.00	.63	.04	.26	.16	.03	.20	.17	-.03
ABLESOCI															1.00	.02	.09	.34	.04	.01	.32	.01
EXPTKNOW																1.00	.39	.37	.77	.37	.34	-.06
EXPTCULT																	1.00	.67	.30	.81	.63	.14
EXPTSOCI																		1.00	.27	.61	.84	.22
WANTKNOW																			1.00	.50	.38	-.32
WANTCULT																				1.00	.72	-.02
WANTSOCI																					1.00	.08

Correlation Analyses

From the overall correlation matrix in Table 8, we can see that of all the variables the two that are the most highly correlated with the STSS are PERSRESP(*expect women to respect you*) ($r= -.31$, p<.04)and WANTKNOW (*want to know details of women's personal lives*) ($r= -.32$, p<.03). These are both negative correlations which means that lower responses, i.e., responses of mildly or strongly *disagree*, are associated with higher scores on the STSS scale, i.e., scores associated with higher levels of depression and psychological risk.

In addition to the correlations between individual variables and the STSS scores, the correlation table also indicates that items within each question were highly correlated with each other. In other words, the four question stems accompanying the questions "You **felt** that the women who worked for you....." are correlated with each other, as are the four responses to the question "You **expected** that the women who worked for you would..." and so forth through the six thematic questions.

In some cases there were additional clusters of strong correlations *across* questions. For instance, the answers to question 2 which asked about women's *expectations* of the women who worked for them were correlated with the answers to question three which asked about what they *wanted* with regard to the same topics. So too, the answers to question 5 which asked about women's *expectations* regarding knowledge of their personal lives and/or the development of friendships with their colleagues, were highly correlated with the answers to question 6 about what they *wanted* in this regard.

Before considering which variables were most likely to contribute to a model that might explain the variation that appears in the STSS scores, it was important to address the fact that so many of the variables were correlated with each other. Given the correlations among the variables, I chose to analyze the data further using principal

components analysis, a method of examining the underlying structure of the data to determine if there is a more parsimonious representation of the variation that is present among the variables.

Principal Components Analysis

Principal components analysis is a method of creating composite variables that are uncorrelated with each other, thereby having maximum internal consistency and containing maximum variance, or information. PCA creates composites by a two-step process: first each of the variables that is being composited is standardized to a common mean of zero and a standard deviation of one. Second, the same number of new variables is created from the standardized scores, so that each of the new variables is a weighted linear combination of the original variables. The result of this process is the creation of the one possible set of composite variables that are both uncorrelated and have the maximum variance contained in the first composite, the second maximum variance contained in the second composite and so on.

The resulting coefficients are called "eigenvectors." They represent weights that were computed based on the standardized variables correlation with the standardized sum of the variables. These weights take into account the different "directions" in which the original variables point, and thus produce composites with maximum internal consistency. The variances of the composites are printed out as "eigenvalues," and are listed in descending order of variance. Since the original standardized variables each had a variance of 1, those composites with a variance greater than 1 contain "more information" than the average original variable.

I conducted principal components analysis using the set variables associated with each of the six thematic questions. In the discussion that follows I explain what was discovered as underlying relationships between the variables of each set. At the conclusion of the section, I review the theoretical highlights of this analysis as well as how

the use of composites may or may not contribute to the development of models to

describe the relationship between the dependent variables and the outcome variable of

STSS scores.

Table 9
Eigenvalues And Eigenvectors From Principal Components Analysis
Questions B1a: FELTRESP, B1b: FELTLIKE, B1c: FELTHELP, B1d: FELTUNIT
(N=43)

	Eigenvalue		Eigenvectors	
			FELT1	FELT2
FELT1	2.16376	FELTRESP	0.561964	-.402334
FELT2	1.14576	FELTLIKE	0.520058	-.500506
FELT3	0.44496	FELTHELP	0.484525	.484525
FELT4	0.24552	FELTUNIT	0.424974	0.594018

The composites FELT1 and FELT2 both have eigenvalues greater than 1, which

means that they capture more variance than any average original variable. Furthermore,

by plotting the eigenvector loadings on axes representing these two dimensions, we can

begin to interpret what the two composite variables capture.

Figure 6
Plot of eigenvector loadings on FELT1 and FELT2 (N= 43)
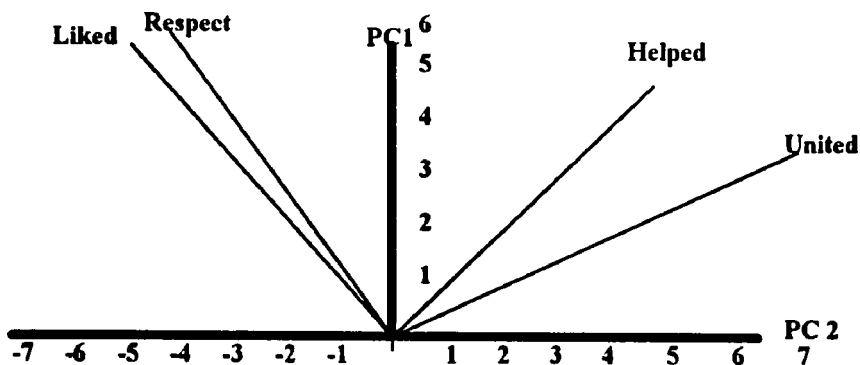
As Figure 6 demonstrates there are two clusters of vectors. Thus, the positive loadings of all variables in FELT1 suggests that it is a measure of the women's overall felt experience of being in authority over other women. To understand what the second eigenvalue represents we look further at the clusters of eigenvectors. The two on the left appear to represent how the woman in authority felt the women who worked for her *responded to her*, and the two on the right capture how she views *their behavior toward other women*. The eigenvectors for FELT2, therefore, captures this contrast between the experience of how other women *respond to them* and how the women *related to each other*.

Thus, the principal components analysis on question 1 suggests compositing the variables FELTRESP, FELTLIKE, FELTHELP, and FELTUNIT into two composite variables. First, I would take the sum of the responses to FELTRESP and FELTLIKE and create a new composite variable called FELTSELF capturing how the women in authority felt their female colleagues responded to them. Second, I would sum the responses to FELTHELP AND FELTUNIT to create a new composite called FELTOTHR, capturing what women in authority felt was the behavior of their female workers toward and with other women.

Next, I turned to the second question which asked about women's *expectations* regarding these four dimensions of their experience. This time the use of PCA to analyze the relationships between and among the variables EXPTRESP, EXPTLIKE, EXPTHELP, and EXPTUNIT, shows that only one composite variable has an eigenvalue of more than 1 (although the second eigenvalue comes very close to 1).

Table 10
Eigenvalues And Eigenvectors From Principal Components Analysis
Questions B2a: EXPTRESP, B2b: EXPTLIKE, B2c: EXPTHELP, B2d: EXPTUNIT
(N=43)

Eigenvalues			Eigenvectors	
			EXPT1	EXPT2
EXPT1	1.89332	EXPTRESP	0.506625	-.210152
EXPT2	0.96659	EXPTLIKE	0.573630	-.375220
EXPT3	0.70861	EXPTHELP	0.570121	0.93784
EXPT4	0.43148	EXPTUNIT	0.298734	0.897915

Figure 7
Plot of eigenvector loadings on EXPECT1 and EXPECT2 (N= 43)
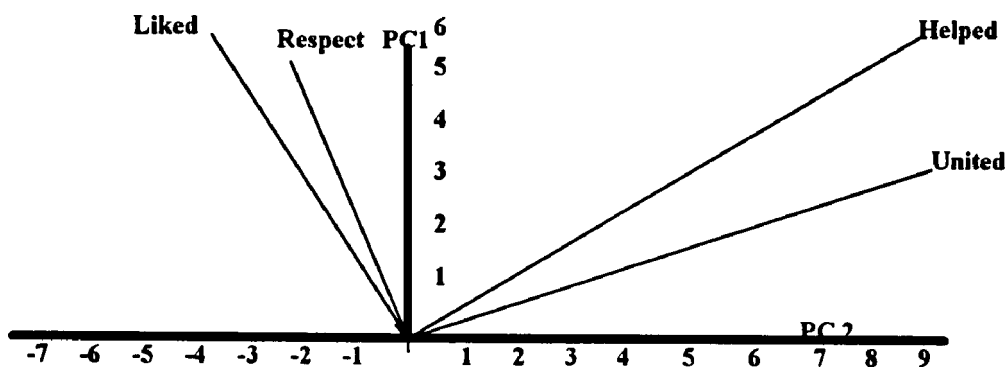
The plot of the eigenvector loadings suggests that the composite is the sum of EXPTLIKE, EXPTRESP, AND EXPTHELP. While the second eigenvalue is very close to 1 (.96659), the fact that it is less than one means that there is not another underlying construct which will explain more of the variance than the average of the original variables. To further confirm this, I checked the relative weights of the eigenvectors. Here the weights on EXPECT1 suggest that no one variable played a dominant role—rather the first three variables contribute equally and the fourth variable (which is not part of this composite) contributes about half that of the others. Finally, looking at the weights for EXPECT2 we see the reverse—in this case the fourth variable EXPUNIT,

does play a dominant role —suggesting that there may actually be a second underlying construct but that it is measured by the variable EXPTUNIT.

The plot of the eigenvectors bears this out. The first three variables are in a cluster on the left and a line drawn down the center of the cluster would be perpendicular to the fourth variable EXPUNIT. This means that if I create a composite of *respect, help* and *like* it will be relatively uncorrelated with *united.* It is also important to note that the plot for EXPECT1 and EXPECT2 is strikingly similar to the one for the FELT responses.

To understand what the construct is that is being captured by the composite variable EXPECT2, I turn first to the three variables that the PCA has clustered together: EXPTRESP *(expected women to respect you)* EXPTLIKE *(expected women to like you)* and EXPHELP *(expected women to help each other).* Considering these questions from the theoretical framework of this study, they represent to me concerns with interpersonal expectations that women identified as having in relation to the women who worked for them. Therefore, I have called this composite EXPTINTP for "interpersonal expectations." This composite variable would be created by summing the variables EXPTRESP, EXPTLIKE and EXPTHELP.

Finally, I used PCA to analyze the relationships between and among the variables WANTRESP, WANTLIKE, WANTHELP and WANTUNIT.

Table 11
Eigenvalues And Eigenvectors From Principal Components Analysis
Questions B3a: WANTRESP, B3b: WANTLIKE, B3c: WANTHELP, B3d: WANTUNIT (N=43)

	Eigenvalues		Eigenvectors	
			WANT1	WANT2
WANT1	1.65147	WANTRESP	0.483675	-.556626
WANT2	1.04455	WANTLIKE	0.522252	.370707
WANT3	0.76763	WANTHELP	0.616532	-.257874
WANT4	0.53635	WANTUNIT	0.336450	0.697313

Here as in the case of FELT, two composites, WANT1 and WANT2 have

eigenvalues greater than 1 meaning that they each capture more variance than any one of

the original variables. Again, by plotting the eigenvector loadings on a two-dimensional

axis, a picture of what the two composite variables might represent begins to emerge.

Figure 8
Plot of eigenvector loadings on WANT1 and WANT2 (N= 43)
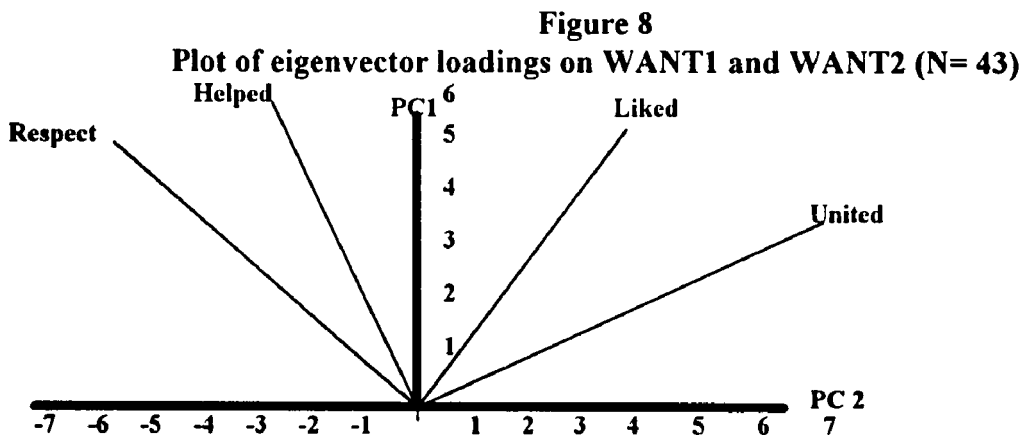
Similar to the plot for FELT, there are two clusters of vectors. *Only this time the*

variables that cluster together are quite different. The variables RESPECT and HELP

cluster together and the variables LIKED and UNITED cluster at a right angle to an

imagined line between RESPECT and HELP indicating that the two new composite

variables are not correlated.

The question then arises: what do these new clusters represent — what is the

underlying construct captured by the second eigenvalue? Why is it that the responses

concerning *wanting women to respect you* and *wanting women to help each other* appear

related and the answers to *wanting women to like you* and *wanting women to present a*

united front appear related and the two clusters are **not** associated with the same

underlying construct. In trying to address this question in light of what was heard in the

interview data, I would suggest the following: the first two, WANTRESP(*wanted women*

to respect) and WANTHELP (*wanted women to help each other*), appear related to

accounts where women spoke of what they learned was important in hierarchically

organized work settings. They seem to correspond to a more horizontal management paradigm. The two variables clustered on the right side of the plot, WANTLIKE and WANTUNIT recall interview stories about wanting to be connected to other women in the work place, to be in a more mutual relationship with the women who were their subordinates. I suggest that this construct corresponds to a more vertical management paradigm. Thus, if I was to create composite variables I would want to combine WANTRESP and WANTHELP to create a new variable called VERTICAL and combine WANTLIKE and WANTUNIT to create a new variable called HORIZON.

Summary

The principal components analysis has helped to clarify that there are several different relationships existing between and among the variables in each question. While the composites suggested in the PCA for the questions about what women *want* , i.e., VERTICAL and HORIZONTAL are the most interesting to me from a theoretical perspective, the fact that these composites are created from different variables than are the composites of the FELT responses or the EXPECT responses means that this method of compositing would neither be valid nor helpful. Thus, a different approach to using PCA to suggest composites was undertaken. In viewing the plots of the eigenvectors for all three questions simultaneously, it is possible to see that the three variables RESPECT, LIKE, and HELP are clustered relatively close to each other for all three questions. Although LIKE and HELP fluctuate quite a bit from question to question, in comparison to UNIT, which remains stable, the other three can be seen to create a composite that is relatively uncorrelated with UNIT. Thus, in the end, I chose to composite the variables by combining RESPECT, HELP AND LIKE into three composite variables similar to the variable "EXPTINTP (for interpersonal relationships) created at the end of the PCA for the EXPECT responses. Next I checked to see if the new composites were more or less correlated with each other than the original variables had been.

Table 12
Correlations between composite variables for questions 1-3

	FELTINTP	EXPTINTP	WANTINTP	FELTUNIT	EXPTUNIT	WANTUNIT	STSS
FELTINTP	1.00	.28	.26	.49	.34	-.13	-.20
EXPTINTP		1.00	.34	.20	.20	.18	-.27
WANTINTP		.	1.00	.02	.06	.22	.02
FELTUNIT				1.00	.36	.26	-.09
EXPTUNIT					1.00	.71	.06
WANTUNIT						1.00	.15

From the correlation table it is possible to see that only one of the composites is highly correlated with any other composite, namely, EXPTUNIT and WANTUNIT (r=.71). While EXPTUNIT and WANTUNIT remain correlated with each other, it would not make sense to composite them since their counterparts EXPTINTP and WANTINTP are not sufficiently correlated to warrant their composiite. Finally, the composite variables are less highly correlated with the STSS scores than the original variables EXPTRESP (r=-.31) and WANTPRKN (r=-.32) were.

Model Building

At this point, I turned to regression analysis to determine if there were models that could be developed using either the composite variables or the original variables that would account for the variation observed in the STSS scores. The research question that guided this analysis was whether there is an association between the answers to questions about experiences, expectations and desires that the respondents identify and their degree of psychological risk as measured by the STSS? Therefore, in this final phase of data analysis, I wanted to determine if there was multiple regression model that would explain the variation in the STSS scores in this sample in terms of the variables respresenting dimensions of women's experience in positions of authority. Before exploring a hierarchical series of regression models, however, it is important to first explore the distribution of the STSS scores in this sample, and then to examine how they are (or are not) correlated with the original and composite variables of interest in this study.

Univariate Analysis of STSS scores

The boxplot display below captures the range and variation that appeared in the

STSS scores for the women in this sample.

Figure 9
Stem & Leaf and Boxplot of STSS scores (N=44)


```
         Stem & Leaf                    Box-Plot

              11 7
              11 00
              10
    more      10 2
    risk      9
              9 00112
              8 599
              8 011244
              7 5579
              7 013
              6 56899
    less      6
    risk      5 7899
              5 12234
              4 7
              4 2
              3 899
```
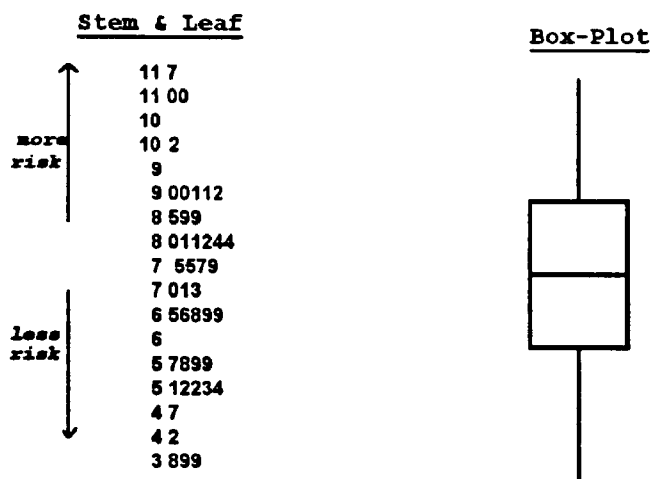
In addition to the range and distribution of the STSS scores for this sample of

women in authority, it is helpful to examine the confidence intervals for the mean STSS

scores for the three samples for which there is corresponding data from the Beck

Depression Inventory, a standard clinical measure of depression. When the distribution of

the STSS scores for the sample of women in authority is compared to the data from these

three other groups a more complete picture emerges.

Table 12
Confidence Intervals for Mean Scores on Silencing the Self Scale

	Mean STSS score	Standard Deviation	Confidence Interval for Mean	Mean BDI score and classification of depression	Number of respondents
Women in Authority	72.8	19.7	(67, 79)	(not available)	44
College students	78	15	(74, 82)	7 = non-depressive	63
P&HSII group	82	19	(80, 84)	12 = mildly	270
Battered women's group	100	26	(96, 104)	21 = moderately	140

The confidence interval for the mean STSS score of the women in this sample corresponded most closely to the confidence interval for the mean in a sample of female college students. Given that the mean BDI score for these undergraduates fell squarely in the non-depressive range for measuring depression, it is likely that, on average, the women in this sample might also score in the non-depressive range as measured by the BDI. Nonetheless, in this sample there were several scores at the higher end of the STSS, scores that correspond to the confidence interval for women who were diagnosed on the BDI as being *moderately depressed* (see Table 2). In fact, in the sample of women in authority, three scores were higher than 104. Furthermore, twelve women in authority (27% of the sample) had scores above the confidence interval (80, 84) for the mean among the women in the pregnancy and health study group,—a group with a mean BDI score corresponding to *mildly depressed.*

This number of high scores on the STSS was much greater than I had anticipated. This suggests that while the women in this sample may not appear to be depressed, and have records of high performance in their work careers many of them in fact had scores that correspond to those of women who *were* at risk for depression.

Correlation Analysis

Very few of the original or composite variables were highly correlated with the Silencing the Self Scores (see Table 8 and Table 12). Among the original variables, EXPTRESP (r=-.31, p=.04)and WANTPRKN (r=-.32, p=.03) were the only two. Among the composite variables only INTPEXPT (r=-.27, 0=.08) was barely significant. This could be due in part to the relatively small sample size (n=44). From here, I began a process of fitting a series of regression models to try to explain the variation observed in the STSS scores.

Table 13
Psychological Risk in Women in Authority :
Results of Fitting a hierarchical series of multiple regression models

Model	EXPTRES P: B2a	WANTKNOW: B6a:	INTPEXPT: (B2a+B2b+b2C)/3	COMPWEFR (B5a+B6a)/2	INTPEXPT	R^2	dfE
1	-5.47^{*}					.097	42
2		-3.19^{*}				.103	42
3			$-5.20^{\sim}$			.07	41
4				-2.14^{NS}		.04	42
5	$-4.63^{\sim}$	$-2.74^{\sim}$				.170	41
6		-3.19^{*}	$-1.73^{\sim}$			.18	40
7	-5.13^{*}			-1.80^{NS}		.13	41
8			$-5.53^{\sim}$	-2.38^{NS}		.12	40
9		-0.21^{NS}	-3.85^{NS}	-0.38^{NS}		.18	39

In constructing a hierarchical series of regression models I chose to begin with these three variables. Thus Models 1-3 are the simple regression models in which I have regressed STSS on each of the variables that were highly correlated with the STSS scores. In addition, I chose to explore the composite variable COMPWEFR which was a combination of WANTKNOW (B6a) and EXPTKNOW (B5a) and had been created because these two original variables appeared highly correlated in earlier analyses. Thuse Model 4 is the simple regression model including the composite variable COMPWEFR.

Of these first four simple regression models, the first two, with individual original variables are significant at the $p<.05$ level and have comparable R^2 s of approximately .10. Model 3 using the composite is significant at the $p<.10$ level and has a slightly smaller R^2. Therefore, Model 2 is the most promising of the first four models.

Models 5-8 represent the multiple regression models built by regressing STSS scores on a combination first, of two original variables (model 5) , a combination of an

original variable and the composition variable including the other original variable (models 6 & 7), and finally a combination of two composite variables (model 8). In models 7 & 8, the composite COMPWEFR remains not significant and so these two models were dropped from further consideration.

To determine whether model 5 or model 6 would be the best choice, several factors were considered. First, from a substantive perspective, the use of the composite variable INTPEXPT makes more sense than the use of the variable EXPTRESP. The single variable EXPTRESP captures only the measure of women's *expectations* that when they are in authority the women who work for them will *respect them*. The composite variable INTPEXPT on the other hand, captures the additional *expectations* voiced by women in authority that they will be *liked* by the women who work for them, and that women will *help each other*.

Second, from a statistical perspective, the statistical significance of the two terms of model 5 is only $p<.10$, while for model 6 one of the terms is significant at $p<.05$. Furthermore, the R^2 for model 6 is slightly higher than it is for model 5 meaning that it explains a bit more of the variation in the STSS scores than the other model does. Finally, I conducted an increment-to-R^2 to determine if the change in R^2 from model 3 to model 6 is a significant difference and found that it was.

Having chosen model 6 as the best multiple regression model to explain the variation in STSS scores, I considered the possibility of an interaction between the two variables WANTKNOW AND INTPEXPT. To this end, I created an interraction term INEXWTKN. Model 9 includes the interaction term and as table 14 indicates, there are no significant terms and the R^2 does not increase. This allows me to conclude that there is not an interaction between WANTKNOW, the desire to know details about women's personal lives and INTPEXPT, the intepersonal expectations to have respect, be liked and have women help each other.
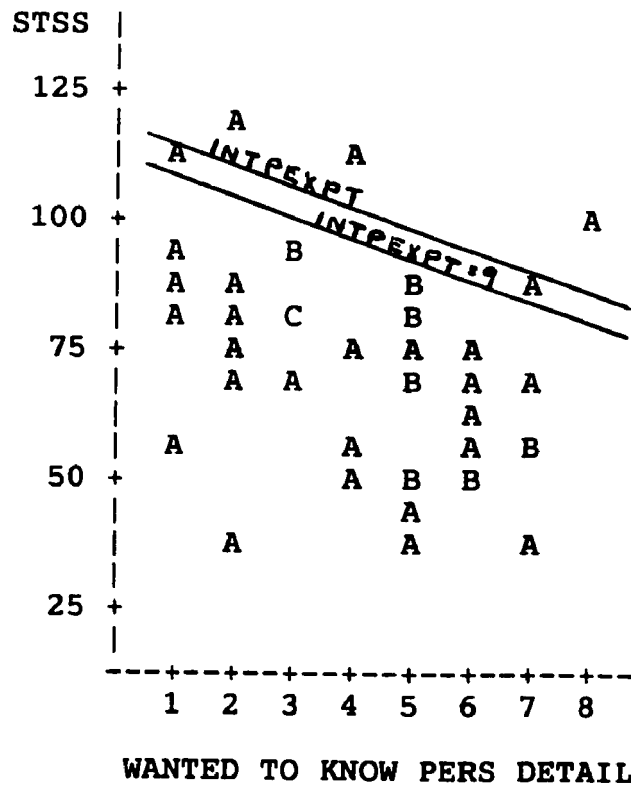
Finally, I tested included covariates for age, marital and parental status, level of education, personal and household income. None of these variables proved to make a difference that was significant in this model.

Conclusion

Thus, the multiple regression model that best explains the variation observed in the STSS is that of model 6: STSS= 126.07 -3.19(WANTKNOW) -1.73(INTPEXPT).

Figure 10

Graph of STSS on WANTKNOW and INTPEXPT

```
STSS |
      |
125  +
      |        A
      |    A~INTPEXPT      A
      |
100  +                                    A
      |  A        B
      |  A  A              B
      |  A  A  C           B
75   +     A        A  A  A
      |     A  A           B  A  A
      |                       A
      |  A           A        A  B
50   +              A  B  B
      |                    A
      |     A           A        A
      |
25   +
      |
     ---+--+--+--+--+--+--+--+--
        1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8

     WANTED TO KNOW PERS DETAIL
```

This model in fact, explains 18% of the actual variation in these scores. This means that higher scores on the Silencing the Self Scale, which indicates greater vulnerability to psychological distress are associated with responses that indicated that the woman did *not want to know* details about the personal lives of the women who worked

for her, *nor did she expect* women to respect or like *her*, or help other women. (The inverse relationship, i.e. high STSS scores associated with low or "disagree" responses is indicated by the negative coefficients). On the other hand, lower scores on the Silencing the Self Scale, which would suggest greater psychological health, are associated with the expressed *want* to know details about the personal lives of women colleages *and* the explicit *expectation* that women will respect and like them as managers, and will help other women at work.

These findings are entirely consistent with the centrality of connection and relationships in psychological theory about women's development and provide a strong confirmation of what was perceived to be operative in the interview data. This model suggests that the women who were able to identify and name their desires and expectations in relationship to the women with whom they worked were actually at much less risk for psychological distress than women who reported disagreeing with these dimensions of relationships between women at work.

In drawing these conclusions it is necessary to acknowledge two issues that arise from the use of the Silencing the Self Scale as the measure of psychological risk in this study. First, the understanding of women's psychological health and development that is at the core of the STSS is a belief in the central importance of relationships and connection for women. This perspective might have led to results than are different than what would have appeared if the measure of psychological risk or well-being had been based on a model of human development that placed primary importance on the principles of autonomy and separation. Second, the Silencing the Self Scale was developed in light of the same theoretical framework that I have used in the analysis of the interview data in this study. In a later replication of this study with a larger sample of women, I might include an additional scale drawn from a different theoretical orientation to further test the

association between women's expectations and desires, and their psychological health that was found in this study.

Chapter Nine

CONCLUSION

I undertook this thesis with two goals: first, to understand what it is like for women to hold positions of authority in relation to other women, and second, to examine how different research methods might inform and contribute to this understanding. From the start my research questions have included questions about research methods. My choice to design a study with both a qualitative and a quantitative phase arose out of my desire to explore how different methods can facilitate our understanding of different aspects of women's lives.

At each step of this research, efforts were made to assure that women's experience would be studied "*on their own terms*" (Gilligan, 1992). In conducting the interviews, I attempted to create what Gilligan calls a "resonating chamber," a place where women's experience could be voiced safely and confidently. During the data analysis, I relied on the collaborative work of an interpretive community of other women to provide alternate readings of interviews and to critique my writing about these women and their experiences. Finally, the quantitative confirmatory study was designed to determine if a larger, more diverse sample of women would corroborate what I had learned from listening to a small sample of women. In designing the questionnaire, I chose to use Dana Jack's Silencing the Self Scale (1992) as a measure of psychological risk because it is a rare example of a psychometric instrument developed from psychological research on *women's* development.

I believe that many of the decisions that I made in designing this study have had major consequences for the data that was collected and the type of analysis that was conducted. Therefore, I have chosen to begin my concluding reflections and observations with methodological issues. In this way I hope to show how the choice of methods played an integral part in learning what I did about women's experience.

Design Decisions

As described earlier in the Methods chapter, this thesis was conducted in two parts that were designed sequentially. One of the most important design decision of this research was to *begin* with a qualitative study using open-ended interviews with a small sample of women. Using clinical interviews that were designed to follow the topics and stories presented by the participant, allowed issues and concerns to be expressed that might well have escaped notice with a more structured research instrument.

If I had begun with a questionnaire instrument developed from themes in the research literature and *then* conducted interviews with women, what I would have learned might have been much more circumscribed. Beginning with open-ended interviews allowed for greater depth and diversity in the stories that women told. In this way, I was able to gain a broad perspective of the landscape of women's experience while developing a sense of the issues that were of most universal concern.

A second key (and related) factor in this study was the use of voice-centered methods of data analysis, including particular attention to patterns of speech, body language, and the relational interactions between the women and myself. These methods made it possible to trace what Gilligan calls the "logic of the psyche" through the interview narratives. In particular, I found that the verbal cues identified in research with adolescent girls (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), provided the key markers to this psychological subtext in the stories women told.

Similar to research with adolescent girls, the cue "I don't know" seemed to mark the moments in the interview when what the woman was saying appeared to jeopardize the relationship which she and I had thus far established. The cue "You know" was also used in a way that was similar to younger girls — namely as a way of connecting to the speaker—of checking that what is being said is being understood. By paying particular attention to these patterns of speech, I was able to locate the key issues, concerns and

dynamics in women's lives. I see now that it was by paying attention to the moments when women *struggled to voice* their experience, that I was able to identify important dynamics for women in positions of authority in relation to other women.

A third design decision that had major implications for this study was the choice to *design* the questionnaire at the *conclusion* of the qualitative data analysis. The timing of the design allowed for closed-ended questions in the questionnaire that were directly related to the findings of the interview data. This made it possible to assess how particular dimensions of women's actual experience were associated with measures of psychological risk.

Conducting the two studies in this sequence also made it possible to determine to what extent the findings of the interview study would actually be supported by a larger sample of women from a similar population. In fact, by using this design, I was able to show that there was considerable agreement on most of the key issues among the larger sample of women drawn from the same population. Thus, the quantitative study corroborated and supported the findings of the voice-centered qualitative analysis.

Another benefit of incorporating the questionnaire into the study was that it provided a way to assess the nature and strength of association between particular dimensions of women's experience and psychological risk. Through the questionnaire I was able to address two questions about psychological dimensions of women's experience of authority. First, it was possible to determine whether there was a gap between women's desires and/or expectations and what they actually encounter in their work situations. By asking the same questions with different sentence stems I could see if women reported a difference between what characterized their experience and what they would have expected or desired.

Second, the questionnaire made it possible to investigate whether particular dimensions of exercising authority that had been identified in the interview data did in

fact pose psychological risks to women. By using questions drawn from the qualitative data it was possible to determine whether the issues mentioned by the research respondents were associated with a measure of risk for depression. This was done by including the Silencing the Self Scale, a psychometric instrument developed to "investigate gender-specific schemas hypothesized to be associated with depression in women" (Jack and Dill, 1992), and examining the relationship between particular data-based questions and measures of depression. (The actual findings will be discussed later in this chapter.)

In summary, strategic design decisions made it possible to incorporate the strengths of both qualitative and quantitative methods of data collection and analysis into this study. In particular the use of research methods and instruments developed in light of psychological theory of women's development strengthened the ability of this study to understand women's experience "on their own terms." Finally, the quantitative study made it possible both to address issues of generalizability *and* to begin to document a pattern of association between dimensions of authority and psychological risk for women.

Design Limitations

There are two limitations to this study which also need to be addressed: the limits associated with this particular sample, and the failure to adequately compare differences in women's experience associated with the gender composition of the work force. While these could be seen as directions of future research, I have chosen to present them in the context of methodological reflections because they are in my mind "design deficiencies".

The choice to draw the samples for this study from the population of women in the mid-career program at Harvard's Kennedy School of Government had many advantages. The women were generally very responsive and willing to participate. The respondents came from very diverse backgrounds, had worked in public, private, and not-

for-profit sectors. They provided a wide range of geographical representation, as well as addressing the experience from the perspective of parents, single and married women.

At the same time, I realize that the choice to conduct this research at Harvard added dimensions to the data that will need to be considered in the design of future studies. First, interviewing women who have taken time to return to school provides a different perspective on their experience than might be found if the interviews were conducted with women who were currently in the workforce. Second, the fact that the women were in a program in public administration may mean that they have a particular orientation toward management that might not be representative of managers in general. Third, the economic resources needed to attend Harvard may have led to less diverse representation of women than might be found elsewhere. From the interviews, however, I believe that these women *do* in fact represent a cross-section of economic origins even while many earn an income today that would place them squarely in the ranks of middle-class.

Finally, while I have tried to be attentive to the ways in which race and gender intersect in the experience of women in authority, I am left wondering how this research might have led to different interviews, data, and analysis if it was conducted by a team of women from different racial, ethnic and cultural backgrounds. What might a woman of color have heard from another woman of color that I did not hear? What might the women of color in my sample have told about their experience to another woman of color? These are important questions for further researchers, myself included, to keep in mind.

The second "design deficiency" is the failure to be able to compare the difference in women's experience according to the gender composition of the work group. My original hypothesis had been that there would be discernible differences between the experiences of women who worked in predominantly female environments and those

who worked in mixed-gender settings. With hindsight, I can see that there were several reasons why this comparison was not viable. First, in selecting respondents for the interview sample, I had used a quota approach, accepting the women in the order that they responded, until I had three women in each group (i.e., predominantly female and mixed-gender).

Another time, I would delineate what constituted membership in one of these cohorts and screen respondents to assure that their experiences were actually comparable on most dimensions but different on this factor. I would also address other factors that confounded and ultimately compromised this comparison. The gender of the woman's current boss, as well as her history of working with women and men as managers and colleagues were all issues that made the gender-composition comparison far more complex than originally envisioned.

Response To The Literature On Women Managers

This research also addresses a question posed in chapter two (Research Context) regarding a curious shift in the literature on women in management. While the literature of the early 1980's reported a pattern of women "stepping down" from positions of authority there was no serious attempt to address this phenomenon in light of emerging theory on women's psychological development. Rather, there was continued discussion of the plight of those identified "superwomen." Suddenly in the early 1990's there was an appeal to the advantages of "women's ways of leading". Rosener (1991) and Helgesen (1991) were the most acclaimed voices of the contributions that women bring to management. In neither case, however, was adequate attention paid to the potential costs to the women of bringing this new approach into a more traditional, vertically organized company or institution.

The findings of this study suggest that there are considerable psychological risks for the very women who bring this "women's way", this "female advantage" into the

workplace. This research suggests that while women may make enormous contributions to the companies, organizations and institutions in which they manage others, they frequently pay a personal price. The individual cost can occur in the form of internal splitting between thoughts and emotions, dissociation from one's own knowledge and desires, or feelings of depression that can accompany the gap between what one wants and what one experiences in the workplace.

These dangers need to be addressed by all who are concerned with the development, promotion or retention of women managers. Otherwise, the pattern of "stepping down" may well lead to a hemorrhaging of talented and experienced personnel who are either unwilling to pay so high a price, or having paid this price for too long are no longer able or willing to continue to do so.

Psychological themes

In this thesis, I have presented the major findings about psychological challenges and risks that women face in positions of authority in three chapters. These were organized to address the challenges women encounter in the work culture itself, in interpersonal relationships with the women at work, and finally, in sustaining her relationship to herself and her own knowledge. In this way I have focused on the environmental, interpersonal and inter-psychic dimensions of women's experience when in authority in relation to other women.

In presenting the three themes of institutional boundaries, interpersonal expectations, and loss of knowledge, I have also suggested that the psychological risks women face are very similar to those that girls face at adolescence. Like girls at adolescence who progress admirably according to traditional measures of development (Brown & Gilligan, 1992), women in authority frequently are perceived to be successful achievers, when assessed according to management norms. At the same time, this study has documented evidence of psychological risk that parallels the vulnerability girls face

at adolescence. These women have spoken of learning over time to "not care as much" (Rachel), and " to lose sight of what they once knew" (Linda). They describe "a real split down the middle of my intellectual knowledge and my emotional knowledge" (Kate) and the "sense of void" (Sharon) experienced when women are not there for each other as expected. The stories heard in this study were often subtle. I would speculate that the women with whom I spoke rarely view themselves or are viewed by others to be at psychological risk. The same is true for teenage girls.

Split Vision

In Chapter Four, I discussed the potential dangers women face when their work context stresses the role of authority and at the same time they wish to sustain relationships with their colleagues. I suggested that the image of "split vision" where one eye is on relationships and one eye is on responsibilities associated with the role of authority is an apt metaphor for the psychological dangers women face. For just as one eye will go blind when split vision is not corrected, so too women risk the loss of a part of their experience.   In the quantitative analysis, I examined how this split is manifest in women's responses to questions about their experience, their desires and their expectations. As reported in Chapter Eight, there were statistically significant   · differences between what women wanted in relation to the women with whom they worked and what they felt characterized their experience. This was true for both the questions regarding the role dimension of authority: "respect you", "helping other women" and "presenting a united front" and the questions that addressed the personal relationship dimension: "know details of their personal lives" "cultivate friendship" and "socialize outside of work."

The quantitative study also showed that the women who were *least* at risk for depression were those who expressed a desire to know details of the personal lives of their workers. Similarly, those women who reported that they *did not want to know* such

personal details were also women who had high scores on the Silencing the Self Scale which suggested greater psychological vulnerability.

Taken together, these findings suggest that on average, the women in this sample live with a split between what they want of relationships at work and what they have experienced in actuality. It appears that some of these women deal with this split by choosing to not want to know about other women with whom they work. This choice however, is associated with other responses that suggest high risk for psychological resistance in the form of depression.

Unspoken Expectations

In chapter Five, the use of voice-centered methods of data analysis led to the discovery that women often have expectations of other women that frequently remain unspoken and unvoiced. With surprising frequency women used the words "expect" and "expectation" to describe how they thought about work relationships with other women. When these expectations were not met, the research participants reported that they were left feeling empty, disappointed, and often wondering what *they* did wrong.

In the questionnaire study, the respondents reported more than mild agreement with statements that asked about expectations that the women who worked with them would *respect them, to like them, or to help other women.* In addition to this evidence of expectations between and among women, differences were found between what the women reporting *expecting* and what they said described their actual experience of these dimensions of authority. For instance, there were statistically significant differences between the respondent's *expectations* that "women help other women at work" and their *felt experience* of this occurring. There were similar differences between *expectations* and *experience* that the women who worked for them would "like them.

The questionnaire was designed to be able to determine if what women *expected* was the same as, or different from, what women *wanted*. The analysis of the responses

shows that the answers to these questions *were* different and these differences were statistically significant. In particular, the differences between how women answered when asked if they *expected* women to help other women, and how they answered when asked if the *wanted* women to help other women were quite dramatic and statistically significant (F-statistic = 15.44 [1,42] p<.001). There were also statistically significant differences between the respondents' *expectations* and *wants* with regard to "other women respecting you" but these were not as large or significant (F-statistic = 7.75 [1,43] p<.01).

The quantitative analysis also showed that the pattern of responses to the questions about interpersonal expectations (i.e., *expecting that* women "respect you" "like you" and "help other women") was negatively correlated with the distribution of scores on the Silencing the Self Scale (the measure of psychological risk for depression). The statistical analysis suggests that the women with the lowest risk for depression (i.e., the women with the lowest scores on the STSS) are the women who reported the strongest agreement that they *expected* the women with whom they work to "respect them" "like them" and "help other women."

When considered together, these findings indicate that the *expectations* that women have of other women are not necessarily in themselves a danger — the women in this sample who clearly and strongly acknowledged holding such expectations were the women who showed the least risk for depression. Rather the analysis of both the interview and questionnaire data suggest that it is the **gap between** what women *expect* and what they *experience*, and/or the discrepancy between what they *want* and what they *expect* that may be the most dangerous to women's psychological well-being. Perhaps then, the challenge in addressing the risks posed by these unspoken expectations is for women to give voice to them and to address expectations *of* women *with* women.

Loss of Knowledge

Attention to the verbal cues "I don't know" and "you know" in the interviews with the research participants helped to identify a shift that women experienced in positions of authority. This shift — from being at odds with others to being at odds with oneself — was first recognized in research with girls at adolescence and involves the change from political to psychological resistance.

In the stories told by women in authority, this shift appears to lead to an experience of confusion, loss of knowledge, or a sense of internal splits and divisions. This psychological dynamic closely parallels the process of dissociation observed in girls at adolescence. It suggests that women who assume positions of authority may encounter conflicts between the desire for relationships and their ability to sustain a relationship with their own knowledge.

In the design of the questionnaire, the selection of the key substantive issues was based largely on the topics that women had addressed in the context of the verbal cues of "I don't know" and "you know." From the analysis of the interview data I was convinced that the "logic of the psyche" could be traced by following the markers of women's speech patterns. By testing these findings for generalizability in the quantitative study, it was possible to show that there was considerable agreement with the topics that had been identified by the verbal cues used by girls at adolescence. The paradox that emerges is that what women mark with the phrases "I don't know" may actually be what they know quite well, perhaps even so well that it is risky to give it voice.

Future Directions

What directions or initiatives might make positions of authority less of a psychological risk for women? First, sustaining connections with other women was a central concern for the women in this study just as it is a central theme in psychological theory about women's development. The women in this study repeatedly expressed,

directly and indirectly, hopes, expectations, desires, and experiences of women being there for them and for other women. The opportunity for relationships with other women can provide a welcome connection in hierarchical work environments where a woman manager may be a minority. The possibility of a shared perspective on issues, concerns, or even humor, provides the recognition that a woman is not necessarily alone in how she views a situation or reality.

At the same time women have experienced a more treacherous side to relationships with other women in situations where there are only a very few women. Tales of competition for the attention of men were heard, supporting research of Miner and Longino (1987). So too, references were made to the Queen Bee type of situation where one woman wants to be the key representative for women. The challenges of being the "token," identified by Rosabeth Moss Kanter almost twenty years ago, continue to be present in many of the stories women tell today.

Second, the stories told by women in authority also suggest that it is critical that the numbers and percentages of women in positions of authority be increased. One effect of having so few women in top management positions is that as women are promoted individually they frequently face a different management paradigm than what they have exercised in lower or middle management positions. In the course of their transition into new responsibility and authority, women can struggle to trust their own approach to management—even if that approach is receiving accolades in the research literature.

In future research it will be important to build on what has been learned from women, but also to acknowledge the diversity that is also present in the experience of women. Future research could and should address differences *among* women such as those of race, ethnicity and class. While these differences were considered in the design of this study, the sample was two small and not sufficiently diverse to adequately address the possible variation in women's experience along these lines. Exploring differences in

women's experience could also be pursued according to the organizational settings in which women hold positions of authority , the percent of women in management, and the overall gender history of these organizations.

This study of women's experience in positions of authority also shows the importance of studying women's experience through the lens of women's psychological development. This approach to analyzing interview texts and questionnaire responses provided an illuminating perspective, one that was absent in earlier research that had focused on comparisons to male managers. While what was learned from this study of women's experience, in fact, may not be unique to women, beginning with women's experience may actually explain dimensions of *human* experience that have been neglected or dismissed when men's experience was considered normative.

Ultimately, the lesson of this study is the importance of studying women's experience *on their own terms*. The move away from gender comparisons allowed the richness and complexity of the landscape of women's experience to be more clearly identified. Listening to women in open-ended interviews, encouraging women to give voice to their experience, and subsequently asking other women how much they agreed, or didn't agree, with the statements drawn from the interview study, uncovered issues and dynamics that might otherwise have gone unnoticed. Thus, this study illustrates that, in the end, we can learn best about women's experience by listening to women.

Appendix A

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Section A - Background

A1.   When you look back over the past year, what stands out for you about your experience as a woman in authority over other women?

B1.   Everyone has had the experience of being in situations where they had to make a decision but weren't sure what was the right thing to do. Could you describe to me a situation where you were the person in authority in relation to other women and you weren't sure what was the right thing to do?

C1.   What was the situation? What was the conflict for you in the situation?

C2.   In thinking about what to do, what did you consider? Why? Were there other things that you thought of in tryng to decide what to do? How did you weigh each alternative?

C3.   What did you decide to do? Why? What happened?

C4.   Looking back on it now, did you make the best choice? Why or why not?

C5.   Thinking back over the whole thing, what did you learn from it?

D1.   What do you thing someone studying women and authority should be trying to understand?

D2.   Any questions you would like to ask other women who are in positions of authority over other women?

What do I want to listen for?

1. What is it like to be a woman in authority over other women?

2. Is there a tension between the desire to be connected to or in relationship with ones employees and the expectations of a person in authority within the institution?

3. What are the expectations that the woman experiences to be nurturing toward her female employees? Does she expect this of herself, does she experience this from her female subordinates, or both?

4. What kinds of nicknames (like mom), metaphors etc. are used to describe her relationship with her employees?

WOMEN IN POSITIONS OF AUTHORITY
IN RELATION TO OTHER WOMEN

Study Conducted by:

Ellen Snee
Harvard Graduate School of Education
Harvard University
Cambridge, MA 02138

PLEASE READ BEFORE STARTING

- Please circle the number answer that best describes your answer.

  Yes . . . . . ①

  No 2

- Results of the study will be made public only in summary, so that individuals who participate cannot be identified.

- All information you give will be kept strictly confidential.

- Please return the completed survey in the envelope provided as soon as possible.

- If you have any questions about this survey, please call:

  Ellen Snee
  Project Director
  19 Everett St. #4
  Cambridge, MA 02138
  617- 864-6992

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*Your participation is vital to the success of this study,
but is voluntary.*

*THANK YOU IN ADVANCE
FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION !*

WOMEN IN POSTIONS OF AUTHORITY

The following questions ask about your experience as a woman in authority over other women. They refer to your **most recent job in which you held a position of authority in relation to other women before coming to KSG.**

A1. Which of the following best describes *the overall size* of your organization or institution?

Fewer than 50 employees.	1
50-250 employees	2
250 -1000 employees.	3
More than 1000 employees.	4

A2. Which of the following best describes **the size of the** *division/group you managed?*

Fewer than 5 employees	1
5-10 employees	2
10-50 employees.	3
More than 50 employees.	4

In the following questions, circle the *percent* corresponding to *the percent of women in:*

A3. *top management in your company*

0 . . . 10% . . 20% . . 30% . . 40% . . 50% . . 60% . . 70% . . 80% . . 90% . . 100%

A4. *middle management in your company*

0 . . . 10% . . 20% . . 30% . . 40% . . 50% . . 60% . . 70% . . 80% . . 90% . . 100%

A5. *all employees in your company*

0 . . 10% . . 20% . . 30% . . 40% . . 50% . . 60% . . 70% . . 80% . . 90% . . 100%

A6. *the employees that you supervised*

0 . . 10% . . 20% . . 30% . . 40% . . 50% . . 60% . . 70% . . 80% . . 90% . . 100%

A7. **Which Census category best describes your occupation?**

PROFESSIONAL I (e.g., artist, registered nurse, social worker)   01

PROFESSIONAL II (e.g., physician, lawyer, college teacher, scientist)   02

MANAGER, ADMINISTRATOR (eg., office manager, school administrator) . .   03

MILITARY (e.g., career officer or enlisted woman in the Armed Forces)   04

PROPRIETOR OR OWNER (e.g., restaurant owner, small business owner)   05

*OTHER:*_____

WOMEN AND WORK

Women in positions of authority over other women describe their experience in a variety of ways. Listed below are actual statements given by women managers and supervisors. For each one, please indicate *first, to what extent you feel that it was true for you* in your experience, *second, to what extent it represents the expectations you had about your experience and third, to what extent it represents the desires you had for your experience.*

Thinking back to the your last position of authority in relation to other women before coming to KSG, please circle the number that best describes how you feel about the following statements:

strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
....1....2	....3....4	....5....6	....7....8	9

B1. *You **felt** that the women who worked for you ....*

		strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	respected you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
b.	liked you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
c.	helped each other	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
d.	presented a united front as women.	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9

B2. *You **expected** that the women who worked for you would....*

		strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	respect you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
b.	like you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
c.	help each other	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
d.	present a united front as women.	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9

B3. *You **wanted** the women who worked for you to....*

		strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	respect you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
b.	like you	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
c.	help each other	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9
d.	present a united front as women.	..1 2	....3 4	....5 6	...7 8	9

Women in Authority Study

WOMEN AND WORK

Listed below are actual statements from women managers and supervisors which describe *their relationships with the women whom they supervise* in a variety of ways.

Thinking back to the your last position of authority in relation to other women before coming to KSG, please circle the number that best describes how you feel about the following statements:

strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
....1	....2.....3	....4 5	....6....7	....8.....9

B4. As a woman in authority in relation to other women I was **able** to ...

	strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	know details of their personal lives	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
b.	cultivate friendships with them	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
c.	socialize together outside of work	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			

B5. As a woman in authority in relation to other women, I **expected** to:

	strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	know details of their personal lives	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
b.	cultivate friendships with them	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
c.	socialize together outside of work	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			

B6. As a woman in authority in relation to other women, I **wanted** to:

	strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a.	know details of their personal lives	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
b.	cultivate friendships with them	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			
c.	socialize together outside of work	..1 ....2 ...3 ....4 ....5 ...6 ...7 ...8 9			

WOMEN AND WORK

Women in positions of authority in relation to other women *report that their positions of authority can affect their relationships with their female subordinates.* Listed below are actual statements given by women managers.

Thinking back to the your last position of authority in relation to other women before coming to KSG, please circle the number that best describes how you feel about the following statements:

strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree

.... 1 .... 2 .... 3 .... 4 .... 5 .... 6 .... 7 .... 8 9

B7.   As a woman in authority in relation to other women.....

	strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a. My role of authority took precedence over my relationships with the women who worked for me	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
b. Exercising my authority as a manager made my subordinates feel betrayed	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
c. Work related decisions that I made as a manager hurt my friendships with women who worked for me	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
d. I had to fire a woman who was a friend	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
e. Friendships with subordinates complicated our work relationships	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9

B8.   As a woman in authority in relation to other women, *I found it difficult when....*

	strongly disagree	mildly disagree	neither agree nor disagree	mildly agree	strongly agree
a. My role of authority took precedence over my relationships with the women who worked for me	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
b. Exercising my authority as a manager made my subordinates feel betrayed	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
c. Work related decisions that I made as a manager hurt my friendships with women who worked for me	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
d. I had to fire a woman who was a friend	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9
e. Friendships with subordinates complicated our work relationships	.1	.2	.3	.4	.5	.6	.7	.8	9

Women in Authority Study

WOMEN AND RELATIONSHIPS

Please circle the number that best describes how you feel about each of the statements listed below

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
C1.	I think it is best to put myself first because no one else will look out for me.	...1	2	3	4	5
C2.	I don't speak my feelings in an intimate relationship when I know they will cause disagreement.	...1	2	3	4	5
C3.	Caring means putting the other person's needs in front of my own.	...1	2	3	4	5
C4.	Considering my needs to be as important as those of the people I love is selfish.	...1	2	3	4	5
C5.	I find it is harder to be myself when I am in a close relationship than when I am on my own.	...1	2	3	4	5
C6.	I tend to judge myself by how I think other people see me.	...1	2	3	4	5
C7.	I feel dissatisfied with myself because I should be able to do all the things people are sup-posed to be able to do these days.	...1	2	3	4	5
C8.	When my partner's needs and feelings conflict with my own, I always state mine clearly.	...1	2	3	4	5
C9.	In a close relationship, my responsibility is to make the other person happy.	...1	2	3	4	5
C10.	Caring means choosing to do what the other person wants, even when I want to do something different.	...1	2	3	4	5

Questions C1- C31 are taken from the Silencing the Self Scale
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WOMEN AND RELATIONSHIPS

Please circle the number that best describes how you feel about each of the statements listed below:

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
C11. In order to feel good about myself, I need to feel independent and self-sufficient.	1	2	3	4	5
C12. One of the worst things I can do is to be selfish.	1	2	3	4	5
C13. I feel I have to act in a certain way to please my partner.	1	2	3	4	5
C14. Instead of risking confrontations in close relationships, I would rather not rock the boat.	1	2	3	4	5
C15. I speak my feelings with my partner, even when it leads to problems or disagreements.	1	2	3	4	5
C16. Often I look happy enough on the outside, but inwardly I feel angry and rebellious.	1	2	3	4	5
C17. In order for my partner to love me, I cannot reveal certain things about myself to him/her.	1	2	3	4	5
C18. When my partner's needs or opinions conflict with mine, rather than asserting my own point of view, I usually end up agreeing with him/her.	1	2	3	4	5
C19. When I am in a close relationship, I lose my sense of who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
C20. When it looks as though certain of my needs can't be met in a relationship, I usually realize that they weren't very important anyway.	1	2	3	4	5

Questions C1-C31 are taken from the Silencing the Self Scale
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WOMEN AND RELATIONSHIPS

Please circle the number that best describes how you feel about each of the statements listed below

		Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree
C21.	My partner loves and appreciate me for who I am.	1	2	3	4	5
C22.	Doing things just for myself is selfish.	1	2	3	4	5
C23.	When I make decisions, other people's thoughts and opinions influence me more than my own thoughts and opinions.	1	2	3	4	5
C24.	I rarely express my anger at those close to me.	1	2	3	4	5
C25.	I feel that my partner does not know my real self.	1	2	3	4	5
C26.	I think it's better to keep my feelings to myself when they do conflict with my partner's.	1	2	3	4	5
C27.	I often feel responsible for other people's feelings.	1	2	3	4	5
C28.	I find it hard to know what I think and feel because I spend a lot of time thinking about how other people are feeling.	1	2	3	4	5
C29.	In a close relationship I don't usually care what we do, as long as the other person is happy.	1	2	3	4	5
C30.	I try to bury my feelings when I think they will cause trouble in my close relationship(s).	1	2	3	4	5
C31.	I never seem to measure up to the standards I set for myself.	1	2	3	4	5

Questions C1- C31 are taken from the Silencing the Self Scale
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Women in Authority Study

PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

D1.   In what year were you born?   19___ ___

D2.   In what year did you graduate from college?   19___ ___

D3.   What is the highest degree you held before coming to KSG?

College degree   1

Masters degree   2

Doctorate   3

D4. What is your current married/partnered status?

Married 1   _____>   **D5.** Is your spouse/partner
                                                      currently employed?

Widowed 2   **Skip to D6.**   Yes . . .1   No . . . 2
Divorced/separated. . . 3
Never married 4

D6. Do you have any children?

No. 1   Yes . . . .   _____>   **D7.** If yes, *how many* . . . _____

2   **D8.** *age of the* <u>oldest</u> . . . . _____

                                                     D9. *age of the* <u>youngest</u> . . _____

D10. With what racial or ethnic group do you identify?

American Indian, Eskimo, Aleut   1
Asian or Pacific Islander   2
Hispanic   3
Black (not Hispanic)   4
White (not Hispanic)   5
Other _____   6
(*please specify*)

D11. What was the total gross income in the last calendar year (1993) (*in U.S. dollars*)?	*for you individually*	*for your household*
Less than $25,000	1	1
$25,000 - $29,999	2	2
$30,000 - $39,999	3	3
$40,000 - $49,999	4	4
$50,000 - $79,999	5	5
$80,000 - $109,999	6	6
$110,000 - $139,999	7	7
$140,000 - $199,999	8	8
$200,000 or greater	9	9

D12. Country of citizenship _____ **13. Country in which you were a manager**_____

D14. If USA, what is your *home* zip code number?   __ __ __ __ __

Is there anything else you would like to say about your experience as a woman in authority in relation to other women? If so, please use the space below to do so.

Any comments you wish to make that may be helpful for future research on women in authority will be appreciated as well.

Thank you again for your time and effort!

Please return your questionnaire in the stamped envelope to:
> Ellen Snee
> 19 Everett St #4
> Cambridge, MA 02138

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