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Women and Leadership in
Contemporary American Society

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Women and Leadership in Contemporary American Society: A Focus on the Impact of Gender on Leadership in the Political World

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Introduction

The Jepson School of Leadership Studies is founded on the principle of providing education for and about leadership, with the hope that students will gain the skills necessary to serve society effectively in leadership roles. The internship experience provides the opportunity to integrate classroom learning with practical experience, insuring that prior to completing undergraduate education each student will have the opportunity to actively exercise leadership. In order to most effectively apply knowledge to a practical situation, whether in an internship or post-graduation, each leader must have a comprehensive understanding of the context in which he or she is operating. One who envisions the possibility of exercising leadership in the political realm in the future, for example, should attempt to understand the necessary elements for successful leadership in this context as fully as possible. Thus, when personal questions arose concerning the validity of conclusions from the Jepson internship study of "Women and Leadership in Contemporary Society," the need to answer these questions and gain greater understanding of the impact of gender on my future political possibilities emerged as well.

The conclusions of the independent study cited that the interactive approach modeled by top-level female government officials would soon be perpetuated throughout all levels of government and through society as a whole. Observations and experiences at the state level, particularly in the Virginia General Assembly, ran counter to these positive findings. As a result, the independent study conclusions were analyzed through the perspective of structured interaction analysis, personal observations, and interviews of participants in government at the state level. The findings of recent gender studies were also reviewed in order to bring the independent study conclusions up to
date. By reviewing the findings of the independent study, applying these conclusions to political contexts at the state level, and researching further on the perceptions of women in political leadership roles, a deeper analysis of the impact of gender on leadership styles and effectiveness emerged.

**Women and Leadership in American Society**

Historically, American society has created distinct roles for men and women based on gender. These roles, based on socialization and perceived differences between the leadership traits of men and women, have created enormous disadvantages for women seeking leadership positions. Society is slowly becoming enlightened to issues of gender and equality for the sexes, but the effect of the "glass ceiling", which prevents women from receiving fair representation in organizations, damages not only women as a group but society as a whole. Women as people, regardless of characteristics which emerge as a result of their gender, deserve to have equal opportunities presented to them. By closing doors to female leaders men not only rob women of power but neglect themselves as well, for the contributions which women have to offer society are multi-faceted and valuable.

A glass ceiling is defined as "women as a group who are kept from advancing higher because they are women." ¹ An example of this effect is that in many cases throughout society women are still paid less than men, and as a general rule women do not hold the top positions in organizations. A special report by the *Wall Street Journal* in March of 1986 showed that although women were increasing their numbers in the workforce as a whole, they had made very few advances into the top levels of corporations. ² In the political world "Between 1776 and 1976, men outnumbered women 1,715 to 11 in the U.S. Senate. There were 9,591 men and only 87
women in the House of Representatives during the same period. And until Sandra Day O'Connor was appointed in 1981, no woman had served on the U.S. Supreme Court.  

White males in particular hold an unrepresentative amount of power, for while they "make up just 39.2 percent of the population they account for 82.5 percent of the Forbes 400, 77 percent of Congress, 92 percent of state governors... They dominate just about everything but NOW and the NAACP..." Taking the historical perspective into consideration, women must be aware that "attitudes change slowly, and women will be subjected to sex stereotypes for a long time to come." As Congresswoman Jolene Unsoeld of Washington states, "Women have to prove themselves all the time." Women and men must work together to break through the barriers which divide the sexes in order to most effectively meet the needs of modern society. These stereotypes are particularly stringent in the world of politics, because the traditional view lives on that "politics is man's business, (and) women are simply not capable of understanding it."  

Part of the basis for the perseverance of these attitudes is rooted in socialization. Past studies demonstrate that "a knowledge differential (of politics) between the sexes is one of the earliest and most consistently found differences in childhood socialization studies." The early socialization and social pressures which establish the differences between genders in our society cause young males to view winning and competition as necessary elements of interaction. On the other hand, women are raised to value relationships and "automatically conclude that showing aggression will cost them a critical loving connection to their family and friends."  

According to Sally Helgesen, author of The Female Advantage, male children learn to value winning above all else, while female children learn to value relationships and "have disdain for
authoritarian structures. She feels that these characteristics lead to men's authoritarian leadership style, while women are more prone to seek networking and inclusion as a result of their upbringing. Helgesen coined the term "web of inclusion" to describe the leadership structures that women use. Women leaders establish themselves at the center of their organizations rather than at the top of a hierarchical structure, thus while they maintain power and authority they do not assert their superiority over subordinates. They share information, and receive information from a variety of sources because they do not utilize a dominating, top-down approach to their followers.

Helgesen's study is supported by the research of Judith Rosener, author of "Ways Women Lead." Rosener feels that women bring an interactive and inclusionary approach to leadership positions. The women interviewed in the International Women's Forum Survey in the Spring of 1989 energized their followers by allowing them to participate in decision making and by showing appreciation for good work done by subordinates. Transformational leadership is the term which describes these types of interactions, which raise followers to a higher level of personal production and increase loyalty to the leader and faith in the worth of the organization's goals.

Rosener describes the common leadership style of men as transactional, for men are more likely to rely on structural or positional power and use the instrumental value of subordinates to aid them in achieving results, or "exchange rewards for services." Women are more likely to use charisma and personal contacts as a power base, valuing relationships with others and constantly promoting the follower's sense of self-worth. Various leadership authorities are beginning to conclude that the traditionally female characteristics which Rosener describes are gaining value as the ability to achieve worker satisfaction and measurable results is proven time and time again.
Another highly acclaimed research tool in examining the differences between male and female leadership styles is Sally Helgesen's landmark study *The Female Advantage*. Helgesen initially cites the 1973 work of Henry Mintzberg, *The Nature of Managerial Work*, which used diary studies of successful male managers to record their leadership styles and approaches to their work. Characteristics which emerged from this study include the fact that the men worked at an unrelenting pace throughout the course of the day, and were focused entirely on their work at the expense of all other aspects of their lives. The men found themselves to be intellectually isolated because they identified themselves only with their job and their position, thus had no other outlets to deal with pressure and no time at all for reflection. "Family time was severely curtailed," because the sole focus of the men's lives was success in their jobs as measured by power, position, and money. They had great difficulty sharing information with others because they viewed information as power, and felt that by sharing power they weakened their own positional base. The men viewed others in the organization simply as instruments through which to achieve results, and defined success as "winning; achieving a goal or reaching an objective."

The women in Helgesen's study, on the other hand, made a "deliberate effort to be accessible" to their subordinates, and made time during the day specifically to share information with others. They sought to empower their followers by concentrating on the relationships they had with them, appreciating the work their followers did and encouraging them to explore new avenues and pursuits. Studies by the Center for Values Research in Dallas also support the notion that "top women managers are more likely to... be able to reconcile a concern for bottom-line results with a concern for people." The women in Helgesen's study are concerned with
accomplishing needed tasks effectively, but they emphasize the importance of human emotion and people interaction through their work. The women did not identify themselves entirely with their jobs, for "other aspects of their lives simply took up too much of their time to permit total identification with their careers."¹⁶

The conclusions Sally Helgesen draws from her studies are that the interactive approaches used by women may soon achieve success and become the norm throughout society as a whole. Another theory designed to bring American society to a higher level of understanding of human relations is Dr. Anne Schaef's Women's Reality: An Emerging Female System in a White Male Society. Dr. Schaef presents a theory which identifies a specific White Male System as separate from the Female System, African-American System, Hispanic System, and many others which exist in American society. She blames all of the individuals throughout society for allowing the crimes committed under this system to continue.

"The first myth is the White Male System (in which the power and influence are held by white males) is the only thing that exists. Because of this, the beliefs and perceptions of the other systems - especially the Female System - are seen as sick, bad, crazy, stupid, and incompetent."¹⁷ The only way to break through these systems is for everyone involved to identify the situation and be willing to move beyond the limitations involved in its definition. Dr. Schaef states further that women would like to have "the birthright of superiority, the power and influence which one inherits by being born male..."¹⁸

Women's Reality explores the ramifications of the White Male System on definitions of power, communication, and leadership roles within society. She echoes Helgesen's accusation of male reliance on hierarchical structures, and feels that men communicate in organizational systems only to "confuse, win, and stay one-up"¹⁹ over co-workers and subordinates. The male perception of power, in
Schaef's view, is that power must be hoarded because men feel that by releasing power to others they decrease the amount of influence available to themselves. Women, on the other hand, view power, "in much the same way as love... limitless." Women are willing to exchange ideas and reach out for new challenges because they feel that when power is shared it "regenerates and expands." 20

The glass ceiling effect caused by women's existence in the White Male System creates many external obstacles for women seeking leadership positions. The external obstacles describe only one aspect of the glass ceiling, however. Internal boundaries are created as well by three levels of pressure in women's lives; the job itself, the woman's pioneering role in the field, and the continuing strains of family obligations. 21 As a result of American society's focus on the woman as child-bearer and thus child-raiser, women who pursue careers often find themselves forced to meet impossible standards of success in the arenas of both career and family. Men in general do not feel the same strain because they simply are not perceived to be as responsible for their own children.

Societal norms and historical traditions thus create expectations for women to bear the burden of raising children in a family. In order to have the benefits of women in leadership positions society must change drastically and allow for true equality between the sexes. Society must grow to view men as equally responsible for their own children. Possibilities to benefit both sexes and even out family strains between mother and father include having employers provide day care, parental leave, and the use of modern technology such as computers and telephones to allow flexible home time for all. By adjusting in this manner employers, whether government or otherwise, will meet the needs of leaders who can make great contributions to the system.

The effects of motherhood on women pursuing a career are manifold. Leaders exist throughout society, indeed, "Becoming a
leader can mean many things: we can be a leader of ourselves by practicing ongoing self-definition, a leader of our families, a leader of causes, or a leader of others. However, women must grant themselves the ability to choose their leadership role rather than being forced into a position because of societal expectations. The authors of *Women in Power* chose to focus on elected women officials because the political world is expected to set the example for society as a whole to follow. The theory of successful women sequencing their DreamTracks and raising families before pursuing careers worked out well for the women leaders in this psychological study, but may not be an effective approach for future generations. By subverting personal dreams to the realities of raising children, a woman with potential for leadership puts herself at a severe disadvantage.

The different perspectives which women in public office are bringing to light may indeed herald a new age in the workings of society as a whole. The women's use of interactive leadership has its roots in socialization, and the women... firmly believe that it benefits their organizations... They now have formal authority and control over vast resources, but still see sharing power and information as an asset rather than a liability. Many reports indicate that individuals want to feel that what they do as a career makes concrete contributions to society, and the interpersonal skills which women have been credited with for so long are reaching startling new levels of importance in today's society.

However, an additional finding of many studies is that women must excel in these successful qualities, for "an average woman is not tolerated. You have to be exceptional." Women must advance in the leadership hierarchy not just for their own benefit, but for the well-being of society as a whole. The "powers that be" in society limit their own competitiveness and reduces the level of effective leadership by ignoring women. On the moral and ethical
level the political world must reflect the society which it represents, thus issues of cultural, class, and sexual diversity must be addressed simply because human beings have the right to be treated with respect and to have true equality.

A Case Study of Ms. Kathleen McGinty, Director of the White House Office on Environmental Policy

Ms. Kathleen "Katie" McGinty carries herself in a confident and self-assured manner, which immediately conveys her strong sense of self to others. My first impression of Ms. McGinty occurred when I was answering the phone outside her office on my first morning as a Public Service Intern. She emerged from her office enroute to meeting important visitors, but before acknowledging their presence she stopped, shook my hand, and said, "Hi, you must be Amy. My name's Katie McGinty, welcome to the office." First impressions do make a difference, and the fact that Katie welcomed me to the White House inspired me from the start.

Throughout my internship I was most impressed by Katie's boundless energy. She has the rare ability to deal with intense pressures and demands, focus on the task at hand, and yet still take the time to let coworkers and subordinates know that they are important to her. She always keeps the feelings of others in mind, no matter what pressures or demands are placed upon her. She is a real, genuine person, and her charisma coupled with her approach to other people and to life will always draw people to her.

There are simply not enough hours in the day for Katie to spend
time with all of the people who would like to have the chance to push their agendas and interests on her, for she is a woman with a high position of power in the White House. She has ultimate control over the office which serves as the "eyes and ears" for the President and Vice President on environmental affairs, thus has tremendous power and influence in the environmental realm. The level of energy in the Office on Environmental Policy is created in part by the enormity of the tasks which are set forth by the President, but the energy is channelled constructively through the example which Katie sets for her staff. In the words of Pam McElwee, Special Assistant for Legislative Affairs for the OEP, "Katie leads by example because she puts in the hours herself," thus her followers are driven to go above and beyond the call of duty as well. Ms. McElwee also feels that women as leaders are "more apt to seek consensus." Katie fulfills this role by presenting her ideas to her followers and then seeking their input and developing a path to the goal together, rather than approaching her subordinates with an agenda and the idea that "we'll do things my way." She is a young woman with a vast amount of power at a very young age, and in light of the pressures she is handling herself and the demands of a new White House office very effectively.

Katie McGinty has energy and enthusiasm for all that she does. The only moderately negative comment I heard about her in my time in Washington, which I did hear often, is that "she can't possibly keep up this pace." She arrives at work before 8 a.m. every day, and often stays in the office until after 10 p.m. at night. Throughout the day
she keeps up a hectic pace of running from meeting to meeting, and her energy filters down to everyone else in the office. I am not sure that I would choose Ms. McGinty's lifestyle myself, but I cannot help but admire her dedication and motivation. As Director, Ms. McGinty influences the office by achieving the difficult balance of granting autonomy to the staff while holding them responsible for their activities, insights, and output. She feels great responsibility at being THE voice of the Administration on environmental issues. The OEP has only a staff of fifteen, and functions by having each staff member work on separate issues and projects, and then pull together for national events such as the Forest Conference and the Earth Day Address. Cathy Zoi, Chief of Staff, hopes to eventually move the office away from "fire drills", or moving from crisis to crisis, to a more effective problem-solving and decision-making approach to the environmental issues which the office must address.

The positive attributes of Katie's style include enthusiasm, confidence, and above all, the ability to achieve highly effective results from coworkers and subordinates while maintaining a positive and encouraging approach. "Katie uses more humor in her leadership style than many men or other leaders," and her demeanor causes followers "to want to work for her." My observations of Katie on a day-to-day basis, during weekly OEP staff meetings, and during the time I "shadowed" her, certainly support this view of Katie's style. She maintains the authority of her position without asserting the inferiority of others in any way. She treats everyone with respect, from the President to the drivers of the White House.
An example of Katie's encouraging leadership style occurred during a weekly OEP staff meeting on May 3. The morning began in Katie's office, with all of the Junior and Senior staff attending. Katie was on the phone with someone important, then hung up and sharply emphasized to Marc Chupka that amendments to the energy tax were "breaking on the Hill" without substantive feedback from the White House, and we needed to be "kept up to speed" on the issues breaking in Congress. Katie was very task-oriented at first, she seemed angry because she had received information from outside the office before Marc briefed her on the upcoming issues. After the energy tax issue was resolved Katie apologized to Cathy for taking over the meeting, to which Cathy replied, "Hey, when you're here the meeting belongs to you..." ceding power to our Director.

Katie changed her approach after resolving the issue with Chupka, asking the group laughingly, "Well, that was no way to start a meeting.... So, how was your weekend?" and continuing to say that she had gone camping for a couple of days. I have yet to observe Katie in a meeting or situation in which she did not approach people on a human level, rather than concentrating on the task alone. This accomplishment is a tremendous achievement in light of the pressures of the White House environment, particularly in Katie's position of trying to establish credibility for a brand-new office.

The freshly born OEP was thrown into virtual chaos in the weeks leading up to the Forest Conference in Portland, Oregon. The office had only one telephone, the senior staff were just coming cars.
into the office, yet a national event needed to be organized in a very short period of time. Katie helped to reduce the stress load in the office by constantly being upbeat, encouraging, and appreciative of the staffers' hard work. The night before the Forest Conference she ate pizza with the staff because everyone had to stay late, and while we gathered around the conference table in her office she made jokes, kept people laughing, and generally helped to keep the staff spirits up during a challenging time. Ms. McGinty understands that appreciation goes a long way towards inspiring followers' loyalty. Encouragement and reward is also important, and Katie inspired all of the staff at a meeting following the Forest Conference by her excitement in light of the President's reaction to the event. The President was very pleased at the presentation and final results of the conference, and gave Katie a "High 5" for good work in the back of the limousine as they were leaving.

As a follower I bought into the vision which Katie McGinty creates for her Office. She leads by example by keeping informed and knowledgeable about a great variety of issues and by doing all that she can to forward the OEP agenda. Ms. McGinty raises the rest of the staff to a higher level of performance through exemplifying a leadership style which includes constant and unlimited energy. Despite tremendous pressures Ms. McGinty encourages her staff and always greets guests as if they are the first she has met that day. She rewards hard work through simple appreciation.

Another example of follower encouragement occurred on the day following the President's Earth Day Address. On the night before the
Address I had worked at the Old Executive Office Building until all hours of the night helping to put the program together. The first time I saw Katie following that event she caught my eye and said, in front of several other members of the staff, "Thank you, Amy. You really went above and beyond last night, and I really appreciate all of your help." Her words inspired me to continue my hard work and dedication to the Office on Environmental Policy.

During my last week as a Public Service Intern Ms. McGinty allowed me to shadow her to a working group meeting on climate change held by T.J. Glauthier, a prominent D.C. attorney. Ms. McGinty made a point to connect with people that she had met earlier as she was introduced around the table. During her speech she fully utilized her power to support her arguments by citing the President's commitment in his Earth Day Address to reduce greenhouse emissions to 1990 levels by the year 2000. A quality which Katie used in this presentation which has traditionally been termed "feminine" is inclusion; she underlined the President's strategy as involving all of the agencies in the process, seeking "a clarion call to the best and brightest ideas". She concluded by saying to the group "we can join together on climate change", and opening the floor up to a question and answer session. She always looked and listened attentively to the people who presented questions to her, and when we left there was literally a line of people waiting to catch her and gain just a moment of her time.

On the final day of my internship, Katie put a conference call on hold in order to thank me for my hard work in a short speech in front
of other staffers, as well as give me a hand-written note and a signed copy of Al Gore's *Earth in the Balance*. I spoke to Katie about her hectic pace, and she said that she did lose a lot of personal time to her career. She has little time for herself, and has made many personal sacrifices. She is often away from the office for long periods of time, and must rely on the Chief of Staff to control the day-to-day functioning of the office. She cannot possibly be in all of the places where people feel that they need her.

By definition, Katie's position as Deputy Assistant to the President is hierarchical, yet she rises above her established role and makes the effort to connect with her followers. She downplays her positional power in order to help raise subordinates to their highest levels. While other leaders in Washington identify themselves with their titles, and indeed insist that staff address them as "Director", Ms. McGinty rises above simple positional power to establish herself as a true leader. The simple appreciation which Katie took the time to convey to a young intern, coupled with her drive and determination for the Office to succeed, helped me to find my own voice and feel empowered. Katie McGinty is a leader in the truest sense of the word, and her burning desire to establish the success of a new White House office will succeed, I believe, due to her vision and ability to "help others find a voice" through empowerment. In the words of John Gardner, "Leaders who strengthen their people may create a legacy that will last for a very long time." 28

Women Leaders in the White House

Interviewing prominent women leaders in the White House environment revealed enlightening insights concerning contemporary
female leadership. The common thread which emerged through the interview process was that all of the women were strong female leaders who use their socialization and experiences as women to their advantage within a competitive and stressful environment. Cathy Zoi, the Chief of Staff of the White House Office on Environmental Policy, shares many of the leadership qualities which are defined in *Women in Power*. She sees obstacles as challenges, and indeed lives by the words her father shared with her during her college years, "problems create opportunities" for those who have the energy, motivation, and courage to tackle enormous tasks. Cathy cited her father, a high-level manager who ruled largely by fear, as her model of leadership. Cathy feels that she is "cut of the same cloth" although she also inherited a softer side from her mother. She does not believe that gender or environment are factors in determining leadership, for "leaders would have been leaders regardless...", but she does define true leadership as that which includes "contributing to society." Her definition falls in line with the definition of Woman Power, for "this view of women and power redefines power through feminine eyes. It's not self-serving, instead, it's directed towards advancing an agenda."

Another aspect of Cathy's leadership style which mirrors the traditional definitions of feminine leadership is her emphasis on "investing everyone in the process" in order to achieve the best results. She believes that the end product will be more successful if the project comes from the group rather than from one individual. In her experience Cathy has found that people "want desperately to do well," and the leader's role is to communicate the goal clearly so that all involved have the same results in mind.

Cathy Zoi models an intriguing blend of traditional masculine and feminine traits in her role as Chief of Staff. The importance of being respected far outweighs the need to be liked for Ms. Zoi, which opposes the research done by Carol Gilligan and Deborah Tannen
stating that women are socialized to value relationships at the expense of almost all else. Cathy emphasizes results in her work, and in my time spent as an intern in the OEP I often felt that the task I was performing for Cathy outweighed my insights or value as a person in her eyes. Her demanding style challenges those who work for her to work above and beyond their potential to insure perfection regardless.

In my personal experience I have always felt that you should treat people as an equal regardless, but I have learned that my paradigm of leadership is not necessarily realistic in a developing White House Office when important tasks must be completed effectively and quickly. I have never felt so challenged and driven to do my best as when I was performing a task for Cathy Zoi. Although that motivation was established largely as a result of fear that Cathy would not be satisfied with my work, I cannot deny that her style is effective. Another insight into Cathy's personality was revealed in the interview when she expressed regrets at not having the opportunity to interact with the staff on a personal level before being thrown into the "fire drills" of the Forest Conference and the Earth Day Address. In her former experience at the Environmental Protection Agency her subordinates knew her personally so they understood her demeanor when she sat them around the table and set them to task. I gained even greater respect for Cathy Zoi following this interview, and began to understand "where she was coming from" so that I learned not to take her reactions personally.

An interview with Eileen Claussen, Special Assistant to the President and Senior Director for Global Environmental Affairs on the National Security Council, described the personal style which had helped her to achieve prominence in the White House in much more traditionally feminine ways. She believes that leadership can be effectively described as service to society, and her motivation for leaving work in the private sector for work in the Federal
government came from her strong belief in influencing policy on the
global environmental scene. Her personal leadership style involves
"inclusive attempts to build coalitions and treat people as equals
rather than subordinates." She feels that she leads by example and
motivates others "to offer their best efforts to the service of
society." She energizes her followers by being sure to never treat
people like inferiors, to value the opinions of individuals and treat
them with respect.32

Ms. Claussen believes that the generalizations of gender-based
leadership styles, in which men are primarily directive and women
often inclusive, are basically true. However, she also believes that
all good managers insure that they use inclusive methods of leading,
and that good male managers do exist as well. She has never felt
discriminated against because she is a woman, and in fact through
her upper-level position at EPA she managed to have a staff in which
75% of the managers were women. She did an effective job of
networking from her position of power by "getting women into the
system."33

Ms. Claussen's actions on behalf of other potential women leaders
reflects the call for women to serve as mentors and create networks
in order to aid one another. Ms. Alexis Herman, Assistant to the
President for Public Liaison, strongly emphasized the need for role
models for women, particularly black women, to be able to follow.
She advised the Public Service Interns in a group discussion that in
order to succeed in public service, or to adapt best to any career,
people must seek counsel and support from those who have forged
ahead on career paths. Ms. Herman displayed a great passion for
public service and for the good that the American government can do
for it's people. She stated her personal philosophy as a deep
understanding that "It's important to bloom where you're planted,"34
to live life to the fullest and do the best you can with what you
have right now. Ms. Herman's passion for her work and prominent
leadership position falls in line with the women interviewed and described in *Women in Power*, for she clearly established the voice of her position and desired above all to make a difference and improve American society.

The Future of Women in Leadership

In order to insure the highest levels of effective leadership in American society, individuals must be willing to make adjustments in order to meet the needs of all people. We must be willing to accept on a fundamentally human level the contributions all members of society can make regardless of race, class, gender, or sexual orientation. We must move beyond Dr. Schaef's compartmentalization of human beings as defined in *Women's Reality*, so that we do not become trapped within the limiting shells of our own perspective. Increased and uninhibited communication is the first steps towards creating understanding of differences, and with this understanding will come inner growth and power. This communication is only possible through the traditional feminine leadership qualities as defined by Judy Rosener and Sally Helgesen.

Many of the aspects of an individual's leadership style result from gender and socialization, but no one is limited to the roles which society defines for them. The traditionally feminine characteristics of inclusion, people-orientation, and empowerment can be used by either male or female leaders in order to promote loyalty in subordinates and to create a stronger organization as a whole. Indeed, men must begin to adopt these characteristics in order to keep pace with our rapidly changing world, for followers in modern America expect to be treated with respect and to be appreciated as leaders themselves. As John Gardner wrote in *On Leadership*, "our highest-level leaders will be more effective in every way if the systems over which they preside are made vital by
dispersed leadership we must demand high performance at every level of society.\textsuperscript{35}

Organizations throughout our nation are beginning to grapple with gender and leadership issues by instituting new programs such as day care and parental leave, while reducing the pressure on women by other means. In the past "when women put their careers first, they prepared to lose everything else."\textsuperscript{36} Women are increasingly becoming unhappy with the family/work crunch they have been forced into by society, and are taking actions to alleviate the problems. Our society is changing rapidly, and women must make concerted efforts to make their needs heard so that they will not be victims of the glass ceiling effect.

Women deserve equal representation in all areas of life, and this can only be accomplished by women actively seeking to expand their roles in society. Female leaders must continue to make a concerted effort to control their own destinies rather than simply depending on time to effect change. As John Gardner states, "No doubt male attitudes are changing, and one could argue that if we would only be patient, women will eventually reach a point of fair-minded acceptance. My guess is that this would take us well into the later years of the twenty-first century. The preferable path is unrelenting legal and social pressure on all institutions to speed the pace."\textsuperscript{37} Women must not allow outdated attitudes to exist, but must be willing to make sacrifices and put forth the effort necessary to forge new paths through the glass ceiling for other women to follow.

Attitudes are changing, though slowly, and continued hard work and effective leadership by women will continue to create lines of success for the future. Another effective approach to women in leadership, particularly in the political realm, is defined by Dorothy Cantor and Toni Bernay in *Women in Power: The Secrets of Leadership*. These women stress the idea that effective leadership
can be learned, particularly through following the Leadership Equation. The Leadership Equation for women is defined in three elements, which include, "a Competent Self, which gives them the confidence that they can do as well as, if not better than, other officeholders; Creative Aggression, which enables them to feel comfortable while reaching for and wielding power; and WomanPower, which unites their interest in helping others with the power they need to make a difference."\(^{38}\)

Cantor and Bernay cite the Leadership Equation among other common threads in socialization and spirit which run through the lives of the twenty-five elected women officeholders that they studied. The conclusion of the study yearns for the time when women, with a focus on those running for political office, will truly be treated equally by the media and the public. The authors anticipate the arrival of the day when young girls will be "able to have and hold dreams of greatness as they look to the women leaders around them as models of what they, too, can be."\(^{39}\) This particular statement forced me to realize more fully the rare opportunity I had during my internship in the Office on Environmental Policy. I was able to work with powerful women leaders on a day-to-day basis, learning from modeling their actions and by identifying my reactions in response to their styles. Judging from the high degree of personal empowerment gained through my experience, Cantor and Bernay were right on target with the claim that women must forge paths into leadership positions in organizations in order to inspire generations behind them to follow.

Society would benefit greatly by valuing the contributions of all individuals, regardless of background, biological makeup, or socialization. The future of American society may well bring new appreciation for the leadership styles which women have traditionally utilized. The potential for an emerging leadership paradigm based on the feminine model is heralded by *Time* magazine,
which "predicted that women's 'flexible, mediating approach' will play a vital role in managing America's work force, with its' increasingly varied cultural ground rules. In fact, men may find themselves adopting female qualities to adapt their managerial styles to the changing needs of the workplace." 40 In my experience in the Office on Environmental Policy I found that the White House, as represented through exceptional women leaders such as Katie McGinty, Cathy Zoi, Eileen Claussen, and Alexis Herman, already models a leadership approach which values people and WomanPower. The success of the interactive and empowering approach to decision-making will in time filter down to society as a whole, thereby serving as a moral and practical leadership lesson for generations of American women and men to follow.

**Questioning the Independent Study Conclusions**

Does the leadership paradigm modeled at the national level truly carry through to all levels of our government and society? Has the development of an inclusive, interactive, and ideal leadership approach occurred throughout all levels of our government? In what ways are gender issues confronted on the state level? For example, is Katie McGinty's leadership style and the respect she receives as a noted female leader in her field representative or atypical of women leaders throughout the our society? More specifically, what is the historical context of women in the political realm, and in what way does gender impact leadership style and performance at a "lower" level of government, particularly in the Virginia State General Assembly?

**Women in Politics: A Historical Perspective**

In traditional political literature, the stereotypes regarding the leadership styles and effectiveness of men and women are particularly entrenched in the world of politics, because the view lives on that
"politics is a man's business, (and) women are simply not capable of understanding it." 41 Part of the basis for the perseverance of these attitudes is rooted in socialization. Past studies demonstrate that "a knowledge differential (of politics) between the sexes is one of the earliest and most consistently found differences in childhood socialization studies." 42 When women become involved in politics they must be prepared to fight the old, instilled rules of the "old boy's network" which has defined the realm for many years.

The main reason for the lack of attention to women's issues is that women are grossly under-represented in elected offices on both the state and national level. By societal definition, elected office is where the true power in our system is rooted, and women simply have been denied voice in this area of our society. However, women have been involved in grassroots organizing for years, gaining power in an area "outside" the system because conventional roots were cut off. Often women have emerged as leaders at the forefront of issues at the local level, and have led community organizing to reach set goals and approach emotionally-charged issues. Grass-roots organizing has gained great respect in recent years as the power and ability of large numbers of concerned citizens to affect change has been proven. 43

Women are slowly beginning to turn the tide inside the system as well. As a result of the 1992 elections, four new female Senators and twenty-four new women Representatives will be joining the United States legislature. Yet, these successes must be viewed realistically in light of the fact that only six female Senators total will be in the Senate, and the additional women Representatives bring the female representation in the House to a mere eleven percent. 44 The state level of the government throughout the country is similar. Taking the Virginia General Assembly as an example, only four of the forty state Senators are women, constituting only ten percent of representation.
Part of the reason that women have not been involved in political offices in large numbers historically is that women have been socialized away from political participation, and the scarcity of women in positions of power is the result of few women actively seeking office. The times are changing slowly, but to a large degree the trend remains that women tend to spend “more time and energy in routine party work than men, and that womans’ ambitions [are] confined [to the] party office, while men [are] much more likely to seek public office.” 45 Traditionally women simply have not sought leadership roles in politics. In addition to socialization, women who seek political office are oftend intimidated by the nature of the current “old boys’ network”, the lack of women role models, and the lack of contacts and financial resources that can be accrued for campaigning from the “old boy” networks themselves.

The effects of motherhood on women pursuing a political office are manifold. Historically, the majority of women who seek election have been older than their male counterparts, because they have waited until their children were old enough to care for themselves. Obviously, beginning a political career as an elected official later than the competition puts one at a distinct disadvantage. The difficult expectations in all aspects of home and public life provides a partial explanation of the difficulties women have in pursuing a career in politics. The main obstacles in seeking political office are best explained by the combination of “women’s generally subordinate roles in all areas of modern public life, together with their rather lower rates of grass-roots political participation.” 46

The balancing act that women must perform in order to be effective leaders is only a part of the grand political puzzle, however. Women are also kept from being appointed or elected because of perceived gender differences, the stereotypes that are held in our society about the differences in leadership styles of men and women. Sex-role stereotypes
continue to lead to unrealistic expectations of both men and women, while the same characteristics for necessary for success regardless of gender. To be successful in politics one must be able to communicate effectively and have the interpersonal skills to gain support from a wide range of people, regardless of gender. Individuals must also be able to complete tasks efficiently and accurately, and lead others by example in performance. By treating others with respect, an individual often brings the equivalent treatment back to him or herself, while the opposite holds true as well. 47

The differing characteristics of gender according to Judy Rosener's article "Ways Women Lead" points to the success of women who have "broken the glass ceiling" 48 and achieved financial success. Rosener states that although the International Women's Forum Survey, completed in the Spring of 1989, has found many similarities between the personality and behavioral characteristics of men and women, many differences exist as well. 49 Rosener feels that a very different type of leadership can be called feminine, in which the subordinates are allowed to participate in decision-making. She also claims that women give credit where credit is due, which is energizing to those who work under them. Men are more likely to rely on structural or positional power, while women are more likely to use charisma and personal contacts as a power base.

However, Rosener cites the women's awareness that unless they achieve measurable results their different style of leadership may simply be rejected as "cheerleading", 50 a tactic not worthy of serious consideration. Women in political office most often avoid behavior associated with the feminine stereotype, and compensate for women's supposed over-emotionalism by doing their 'homework' and being prepared. 51 Women are also distinct from men in state and national government because "Their concentration on 'women's subjects' - health, welfare,
education, and more recently women themselves, and consumer affairs—is universal." 52 The female Virginia state Senators follow this line of reasoning. Senator Jane Woods, for example, currently has two Senate bills up for final reading on the floor of the Senate, one dealing with children with disabilities and the other regarding issues in preschool and nursery schools. Senator Janet Howell carries the cause of women even further. She has several bills in the session currently dealing with issues such as health, child protective service cases, and definitions of sexual assault. A particularly focused resolution, Howell’s Senate Joint Resolution 293, deals with the issue of gender balance and diversity “on board, commissions, and collegial bodies” throughout Virginia.

The different perspectives which women in public office are bringing to light may indeed herald a new age in the workings of society as a whole. “The women’s use of interactive leadership has its roots in socialization, and the women interviewed firmly believe that it benefits their organization.” 53 Many reports indicate that individuals want to feel that what they do as a career makes concrete contributions to society, and the interpersonal skills which women have been credited with for so long are reaching startling new levels of importance in today’s society.

However, an additional finding of many studies is that women must excel in these successful qualities, for “an average woman is not tolerated. You have to be exceptional.” 54 Women must advance in the leadership hierarchy not just for their own benefit, but for the well-being of society as a whole. The United States government limits their own competitiveness and reduces the level of effective leadership by ignoring women. On a moral and ethical level, the political world must reflect the society which it represents, thus issues of cultural, class, and sexual diversity must be addressed simply because human beings deserve respect.
The current additions to both the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives attest to the fact that hope does exist for the emergence of a truly equal society. Organizations throughout our nation are beginning to grapple with the issue by instituting new programs such as providing day care, parental leave, and reducing the pressure on women by other means. In the past "when women put their careers first, they prepared themselves to lose everything else." 55 Women are increasingly becoming unhappy with the family/work crunch they have been forced into by society, and are taking actions to alleviate the problems. Our society is changing rapidly, and women must make concerted efforts to make their needs heard so that they will not be the victims of the glass ceiling effect.

Women deserve equal political representation, and this can only be accomplished by women actively seeking public office. Women must continue to make a concerted effort to control their own destinies rather than simply depending on time to effect change. Women must not allow outdated attitudes to exist, but must be willing to make sacrifices and put forth the effort necessary to forge new paths through the glass ceiling for other women to follow.

Hope for the future does exist as "we may be witnessing the emergence of a new breed of women politicians, who enter politics relatively young and with a background of professional employment, notably in law... They will be more ambitious, more ready to put themselves forward uninvited and more prepared to face political contest." 56 Attitudes are changing, though slowly, and continued hard work and effective leadership by women will create lines of success for the future. Although American society may have fallen far short of the promises held in the claim for "The Year of the Woman," advances are being made and the call for optimism is heard. According to Newsweek, "Men - even very traditional men - are taking women more seriously, and
women are taking themselves seriously, too." A glass ceiling does exist throughout society as a whole, particularly in the world of politics, but if women continue to prove themselves as strong leaders capable of holding their own and make the efforts of make their voice heard, the wall dividing the genders will soon crumble.

Women must realize their responsibility to serve as role models for generations to follow, because society as a whole benefits from the inclusion of women in positions of power. The political world must begin to meet the needs of all genders, races, and economic classes, in order to truly represent the public which it serves. Politics, long a vestige of the rank and privilege of being white and male, must shift to meet the needs of all people, to accept on a fundamentally human level the contributions all members of society can make regardless of race, class, gender, or sexual orientation.

The Great American Gender Debate

American society on the whole has been greatly impacted by the recent debates concerning the impact of gender on the possibilities of success for women in the career world, and the political world is particularly challenging due to its' history of male domination. The fact that society is transforming according to gender role expectations give credence to the suggestion that the gender gap is narrowing, however, a number of statistics and facts remain to support the construct that women are discriminated against in American society today. A recent U.S. News and World Report 57 cited the following statistics:

* "In 1980, the United Nations summed up the burden of inequality: Women, half the world's population, did two thirds of the world's work, earned one tenth of the world's income and
owned one hundredth of the world's property."

* "In 1993 the United Nations Human Development Report found that there is still no country that treats its women as well as men."

* "More women are working: They do so in Industrial nations at 77 percent of the men's rate in 1991, up from 59 percent 20 years earlier."

* "11% of the seats of the United States legislature are held by women."

Based on these statistics, the fact that women still have many barriers and challenges to face in our society and throughout the world is clear. However, our American society has been brow-beaten by attacks from extremists on both sides of the gender debate. The white male-bashing inherent in books such as The Beauty Myth, by Naomi Wolf, have been met by writers such as Jack Kammer, who in Good Will Towards Men states that, "For thirty years we've heard an articulation of male-female issues primarily from a female point of view." 58 Our society has entered an age of transformation and change, and members of both sexes must adapt fully to new roles and expectations. The vast change is summed up well in a recent issue of Psychology Today: 59

"Once upon a time, men were men, women were women, and anyone who rocked the boat got eaten by sharks. The truth was that women weren't really necessary at all, even for reproduction, since the mighty sperm carried the blueprint for life. Women were mere biological incubators..."
Fast forward to a time of fax machines and heart transplants, when real men change diapers and real women carry guns..."

The great gender debate originated with the transformation of our culture, and has led to the definition of women through "an identity of powerlessness," which serves only to harm the future of both men and women in positions of leadership for the future. Naomi Wolf's recent book, *Fighting Fire With Fire: The Female Power and How It Will Change the 21st Century*, provides a new perspective for the direction of feminism and the political strides of women in positions of power. Women must move beyond identifying their victimization, and be willing to embrace their own personal ambitions and internal sources of power. Women should not be elected to public office on the basis of their gender, for we "should vote for women only if they are qualified and only if they suit us, the same standards that we apply to male candidates... The achievement of true equality requires that the focus remain on ideas and merit, not on gender and results." Having identified the structural problems in the history of our American society, women must move beyond these challenges and be willing to "use the political system to create change."  

**Internship In the General Assembly, Lower James River Association: Personal Experiences and Observations**

My initial impressions of the political context of the Virginia General Assembly came from interactions with Ms. Patricia Jackson, the Director of the Lower James River Association, a prominent environmental lobbying organization. The leadership style of Ms. Jackson is similar to
that of Ms. Katie McGinty of the White House Office on Environmental Policy. Ms. Jackson focuses upon the importance of personal interaction and inclusion, and often uses a sense of humor to modify the need for high task structure in meetings. As an intern during the Spring 1994 General Assembly session, Ms. Jackson gave me great autonomy by immediately allowing me to perform tasks on my own, such as attending Committee meetings and develop projects for her. (See Appendix 1) She states that her general policy with intern-subordinates is to “allow great freedom throughout the session, with interns engaging in independent tasks and reporting back to me.” Ms. Jackson conveys her support and confidence in those who work for her, and thus followers are encouraged to perform to their best abilities.

My perceptions of the environment at both the Virginia Environmental Network and the Senate Agriculture, Conservation, and Natural Resources meetings supported my previous preconceptions regarding the impact of gender on leadership styles in the political context. The Committee meetings were intimidating to me as a woman, due to the fact that the majority of the powerful Senators and the members of the lobbying groups in the audience were male. Although I realized that this fact should not influence my actions, I did feel intimidated by the discrepancy of men and women in the organizational context. The Committee meetings were run in the traditionally “male” fashion, with agenda items approached in task-oriented fashion and little room made available for meetings the socio-emotional needs of the members of the Committee or the audience participants.

The meetings of the Virginia Environmental Network, on the other hand, were extremely inclusive and friendly, with the group members facilitating both task orientation and socioemotional interaction. The Network was predominantly female, and the methods of interaction appeared to meet the traditionally feminine approach to leadership style
and effectiveness. The inclusiveness and communication of the Network was readily apparent, but whether these factors can be contributed to the gender of the participants or to the nature of the tasks could not be concluded from personal observations.

The Interaction Process Analysis: A Systematic Focus on Group Behavior

As dependence upon personal observations could not fully support a definitive thesis, the need arose to use a structured observational measure to assure the legitimacy of this analysis. In order to achieve greater objectivity, Robert Bales' Interaction Process Analysis was applied to meetings of both the Virginia Environmental Network and the Virginia Senate Conservation, Agriculture, and Natural Resources Committee Meetings. A more critical understanding of the dynamics which occurred in these meetings, which are representative of many of the group interactions in the General Assembly, could potentially lead to greater understanding of the impact of gender on effective leadership styles in this particular political context.

The Interaction Process Analysis classifies twelve different types of individual behaviors based on the interpersonal interactions within a group. These behaviors are divided into two general categories representing either socioemotional activity or task activity. The Interaction Process Analysis provides a valid interpretation of group processes "because it records the number of times a particular type of behavior has occurred, [and] it allows comparison across categories, group members, and even groups." 64 The IPA was ideal for the study of gender and leadership styles because the instrument categorizes behaviors into two main categories, socioemotional focus and task orientation, which have been supported in leadership literature as applying directly to
Inherent male or female leadership characteristics. By focusing upon the characteristics of each group and identifying the behaviors of men and women in these groups in the General Assembly, greater insight and understanding of the impact of gender on leadership styles could be gained. 65

The Virginia Environmental Network is dominated by women environmental lobbyists from across the state. They meet weekly to keep each other informed of current environmental legislation and to discuss important issues which affect their organizations. When the IPA was applied to the Network’s group interactions during three different meetings, several common characteristics of the group’s norms and expectations occurred. The group interactions were primarily focused upon completion of the agenda items, but the emotions of the different group members were taken into account across the scale. The members had a large number of interactions in the “Giving Opinion” and “Giving Orientation” categories, which revealed adherence and dedication to task activity. Terry Cofer, the Network’s Director, was often task-oriented, but she yielded to the group’s displays of commonality and inclusion, and did not show negative socioemotional traits throughout the groups’ interactions. The primary socioemotional interactions were positive, displayed by a large amount of agreement and the need to promote “tension release” if any disagreement arose. In general, the Virginia Environmental Network displayed the historically feminine leadership approach of focusing upon positive group interaction and inclusion of all of the members.

The Senate Committee meetings, on the other hand, were characterized by interactions which were not only extremely task-oriented, but were often negative as measured by the socio-emotional values on the IPA scale. The group was male-dominated, with only two women state Senators represented on the committee. The majority of
lobbyists and interest groups which approached the committee with concerns about legislation during the four IPA-measured meetings were also male. The group interactions, as measured by the IPA scale, were primarily task-oriented, with almost no positive socio-emotional behavior and a solid amount of negative socio-emotional behavior. The committee met weekly to determine which bills would be considered by the General Assembly to become law, thus various interest groups debated the issues before the committee. A large amount of tension and disagreement characterized the interactions within these meetings, and the Chair, Senator Elmo Cross, ran the meets in a task-oriented manner. Once again, in this male-dominated environment the conclusions developed from the Interaction Process Analysis were that the groups' norms utilized the traditionally male leadership style of task orientation and hierarchy at the expense of traditional female characteristics of meetings emotional needs through communication and inclusion.

Although application of the Interaction Process Analysis to the groups in the Virginia General Assembly appears to firmly support the traditional views of male and female leadership styles, a number of factors and limitations of the IPA must be considered. The conclusions do have some validity, although it is difficult to draw a direct correlation between the number of men or women in the group and the direct impact of their gender on group dynamics. The simple conclusion that the “female group acted in feminine ways” and vice versa is not enough to support a conclusive study, particularly given the small sample application covering seven meetings. A primary limitation of the Interaction Process Analysis involves the objectivity, or lack thereof, of the observer who is using the instrument. The IPA categories such as “Shows tension” or “Gives suggestion” could be rather arbitrarily measured depending upon the observer’s personal opinion. Another factor which must be considered is that the observer may have had previous conceptions of the manner in
which a particular group would interact, thus would “see” the behaviors which support his or her ideas.

The Interaction Process Analysis does provide a conclusive support for the existence of traditional male and female leadership styles in the Virginia General Assembly. Another aspect of the analysis of these group dynamics is that the interactions within a conflict situation will generally be more negative on a socioemotional level, and will also tend to be more task-oriented. On the other hand, the interactions within a “common cause” type of environment such as the Virginia Environmental Network will be more interactive and inclusive due to the fact that all of the members generally support the same sides of the issues. In short, the IPA when applied to the General Assembly does reveal a number of insights, but these findings cannot be conclusive without further support, particularly from members and “observers” who participate actively in the political life of the Virginia General Assembly.

**Interview Results**

A number of male and female members of the Virginia environmental community were interviewed regarding their perspective of the impact of gender on leadership styles in the Virginia General Assembly. The results were conclusively in support of the need for more women in the political field, and many participants complained about the influence of the “old boy’s network” on the formation of public policy in the General Assembly. The interview questions were administered as follows: (Appendix 2)

1. Do you believe that gender has an impact on leadership styles? Do you believe that generalizations can be made regarding the leadership styles of men and women?
2. Do you feel that your gender has influenced your career path, either in goals you set for yourself or in the opportunities available to you?

3. What elements are most important in determining an effective leadership style in the Virginia General Assembly?

Although overall the participants felt that gender had impacted their personal decisions and careers only nominally, the overall consensus was that gender greatly influences opportunities for success in the working world, particularly in the Virginia General Assembly. Russ Hinz, an associate of the American Lung Association of Northern Virginia, feels that entering the General Assembly is "like walking back in time," for her is "not sure that society has changed as much as we'd like to think" in terms of gender discrimination in the workplace. In fact, the General Assembly can be characterized by an overall, and very apparent, lack of female leadership, for "there are no women leaders in terms of committee chairs and majority leaders" in the Virginia State Legislature. Mr. Hinz suggests that women who wish to pursue work in the political realm in the future must be prepared to "ignore the pants on the butt, ignore the overtures which will inevitably be made," which is testament to his perception of the existence of deeply-rooted stereotypes and prejudices based on gender. His final suggestion is for women to be willing to remain committed to their ideals and work through the influences of gender discrimination, for only be increasing the number of women in the General Assembly will changes in attitudes and values occur.

Mr. Hinz's conclusion were generally supported across the board, particularly by Linda Kolodjiez of the Virginia Audobon Council. She believes very strongly that women leaders "are more concerned with the overall well-being of people," and goes so far as to say that male state
Senators tend to "lean toward moneyed interests and campaign contributions" when making decisions, while women state Senators are more prone to attempt to "do the right thing" and hear out the feelings of all sides on issues before the legislature. Ms. Kolodziej was also similar to Mr. Hinz in her analysis of the Virginia General Assembly as the "land of gentry and tradition," in which one must simply "think back two hundred years and change the suits" 67 of the members, for little has changed in terms of the lack openmess to new ideas and the existence of gender discrimination against women.

Although the participants ranged widely in their analysis of the most important characteristics for effective leadership styles, citing elements from honesty to simple charisma and articulation, a unified description of the Virginia General Assembly in terms of gender differences and their impact on leadership did emerge. According to a number of key members of the Virginia environmental lobbying community, the General Assembly is a particularly challenging environment for women. Discrimination and the lack of positional power are key factors which contribute to difficulties women must face in this tough political environment. As far as these sources are concerned, the input of women's leadership is needed greatly in the General Assembly, for on both practical and moral levels women should be involved completely in the American legislative process.

Further, these participants argue that women generally have an exceptional perspective based on a strong commitment to fostering the well-being of others and generally being open and inclusive in the decision making process. Although all sources were quick to point out that many male leaders emody these characteristics as well, their overall impression from experiences in the General Assembly was that women have been shut out of the system and must be included for the good of the individuals and the well-being of the organizational context as a whole.
Conclusion:

The final question through this analysis still remains: Do men and women have distinct differences in their leadership styles as a result of their gender? The majority of scientific studies have proven to be inconclusive at best, and "If there are neuropsychological sex differences, clearly, we don't know what they are or what causes them. Perhaps more to the point, whatever differences have been tallied in the past are gone, or are disappearing rapidly." 68 The barriers do remain at present, however, and women must identify these obstacles in order to look past them without being hindered in their style or process.

The study of both the state and national levels of our federal government through utilization of the interaction process analysis, personal observations, and insights from participants in the political realm support the notion that distinct differences do exist in the leadership styles of men and women. The conclusions drawn from the original "Women and Contemporary Leadership in American Society" were too positive, as a leadership style based on open communication has not entirely emerged in our society. However, American society is moving towards acceptance of interaction and inclusion as the most effective leadership style of the future. Although these characteristics may be modeled on a traditionally feminine approach, effective leadership traits in the political context may be adopted regardless of gender.

American society must focus on the effective performance of leaders rather than their gender in order to truly insure equality of the sexes in the future. The time of "victim feminism" 69 must come to an end, and women must embrace their power and move forward to achieve their agendas in a positive manner. Organizational contexts such as the Virginia General Assembly still exist, and the decision-making processes in these institutions are hindered by the lack of the perspective of both
genders. The traditional leadership styles based on gender still exist to an extent, but the time is not far when these barriers will fall, and a new leadership paradigm based on effective performance and success can be achieved with the conscious dedication of all members of society.
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5. *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*, p.159.


**Endnotes (Continued):**


27. McElwee, Pam. Public Service Interview.


Endnotes (Continued):


36. Breaking the Glass Ceiling, p.119.


42. The Political Integration of Women, p.92.

43. The Political Integration of Women, p.105.


46. Women and Politics, p.84.

47. Women in Power, p.117.


51. Women and Politics, p.103.

52. Women and Politics, p.104.
Endnotes (Continued):


54. *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*, p.53.

55. *Breaking the Glass Ceiling*, p.119.


65. *Group Dynamics*, p.32.


Endnotes (Continued):

The Benefits of Environmental Protection for Virginia's Economy

Environmental protection expenditures not only help to create a healthier, safer, and cleaner environment for the state of Virginia, but also have many positive benefits for the state economy.

During 1992, U.S. environmental protection spending created in the state of Virginia:

- $5.3 billion in sales - three percent of gross state product.
- 123,000 jobs - 4% of the total number of jobs in the state.
- $430 million in business profits.
- $960 million in Federal, state, and local government tax revenues.

The Management Information Services organization has determined that the overall relationship between state environmental policies and economic/job growth is positive, not negative.

For the past forty years, Virginia's economy has benefitted greatly from the economic impact of national defense spending within the state. In fact, other than California, Connecticut, and Alaska, Virginia benefits the most from national defense spending.

FACT #1: National defense spending will decline tremendously in the coming years. In real dollars, the reduction will be to $250 billion in 1995, down to $200 billion in 2000. Thus, in approximately six years environmental protection expenditures will equal - and then exceed - national defense spending.

FACT #2: Virginia will be one of the top states in the nation to be negatively impacted by the reduction of national defense spending. On the other hand, environmental protection is a large and growing industry with tremendous positive economic potential for the state. Virginia would be well advised to contribute significantly to this industry.

The positive benefits of economic protection spending for the economy:

- Environmental protection is a "recession-proof" industry. During the heavy recession of the 1980's, environmental protection spending increased significantly.
- Environmental protection represents a growing industry in terms of absolute spending, real dollars, and percent of GDP.
- Environmental protection promotes job growth and investment. For example, in 1992 RCRA-related spending for sold and hazardous-waste management and control created 670,000 jobs - 19,000 of those jobs were in Virginia.
- The support of the environmental protection industry creates a "win-win" situation for all parties involved, for the economy is impacted positively while at the same time steps are taken to make our environment a cleaner and safer one in which to live.
FACT #3: While the rate of total employment growth among environmentally strong states increased by over 5% between 1973 and 1980, the environmentally weak states saw a decline of almost -15%.

FACT #4: There is a positive association between environmentalism and inter-decade improvement in employment growth. As the state's environmental rank increases so does the degree to which its employment growth increased between the 1970's and the 1980's.

The findings of *Environmentalism and Economic Prosperity* state that:

- States with stronger environmental policies consistently out-performed the weaker states on all the economic measures.
- The states with strong environmental policies showed the greatest inter-decade improvement in economic performance.
- *At a minimum*, the pursuit of environmental quality does not hinder economic growth and development.
- We are not forced to choose between a healthy economy and a strong environmental agenda. In fact, the research resulting from *Environmentalism and Economic Prosperity* supports the assertion that a competitive economy can exist in conjunction with the pursuit of environmental quality with measureable benefits for citizens and the community.

What do these findings mean for the state of Virginia?

Environmental protection expenditures not only help to create a healthier, safer, and cleaner environment for the state of Virginia, but also have many positive benefits for the state economy.

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Additional benefits of environmental protection for the state economy:

- Environmental protection promotes job growth and investment. In 1992 RCRA-related spending for solid and hazardous-waste management and control created 19,000 jobs in Virginia.
- Environmental protection is a "recession-proof" industry. During the heavy recessions of the 1980's, environmental protection spending increased significantly.
- Environmental protection represents a growing industry in terms of absolute spending, real dollars, and percent of GDP.
Senate Committee: Agriculture, Conservation, and Natural Resources  
Chairman: Elmo G. Cross, Jr.  
Date: Monday, February 7, 1994  
Time and Place: 9 A.M., Senate Room A, GAB

SB 126: Relating to designation of surface water management areas  
Patron: Nolen

Amended so that "west of Blue Ridge" language struck  
SB 126 Went by for the day

SB 190: Relating to coastal zone management  
Patron: Nolen

Augusta County Supervisors:  
1. Coastal zone management hurts the agricultural economy  
2. Not necessary to have nutrient-management in effect, currently followed voluntarily  
3. Impossible to fence around all the branches of the river

Charles Horne, Farmer:  
- The programs currently in effect are doing an excellent job, we don't need more regulations.

Sen. Marye:  
How will you keep run-off away from the river? We must do heavy planning instead of objecting to every program that comes along.

Virginia Forestry Association  
- Served on a 1 year task force to evaluate this issue, believe that benefits can be provided without additional programs.

Sen. Nolen:  
- NOAA is not requiring coastal zone management for the Susquehanna River Valley in Pennsylvania; Virginia farmers are burdened and unbalanced against competition.

Tom Evans, Virginia Wildlife Federation:  
- Virginia needs to move into a total watershed approach, must be able to come up to Federal requirements.  
- The recreational effects of water may come to equal the economic benefits of agriculture.

Robert Cronick, Friends of the North Fork of the Shenandoah River  
- The language "or similar programs" is dangerous; may lead to not being able to do any water planning west of I-95
* Amendment Moved and Passed to Strike "or similar programs"*

Kim, Chesapeake Bay Foundation
- Member of interagency task force brought up by Finley which is examining impacts and costs of coastal zone management; this program is doing the heavy planning which Sen. Marye seeks

Richard Burton, Department of Environmental Quality
- Lead agency for the coastal zone management plan
- NOAA recommended expansion into traditionally non-coastal zones, each state must make own judgements (not mandatory)
- Loss of planning money for the state

Patty Jackson, Lower James River Association
- Concerned because of the large amount of work done on the east side of the state
- Effects 2/3 of the state, not just Nolen's district
- May jeopardize non-point source funds; could result in loss of 3 million
- Ramifications of bill greater than expected
- Allow JLARC and task force to continue
  Sen. Hawkins's Response: Not all of the water in VA goes into Chesapeake
  - Actually, 2/3 of the water does drain into the Chesapeake, suggestion that we exempt only those sources that don't drain into the Chesapeake!!

SB 190 Reported Out
Nays: Cross, Waddell, Howell, Maxwell

SB 283: Relating to the Virginia Fertilizer Act; penalty
SB 283: Amendment reported and re-referred to Finance

SB 318: Relating to water permits for animal feeding operations
Patron: Nolen

Nolen:
- Must keep Virginia in line with other states
- Does not mandate Virginia abatement permits
- Requires expensive monitoring wells

Chesapeake Bay Foundation
- Support viability of agricultural community
- Concerned about separation distance
- Alternative; DEQ's general permit applies provisions only to new facilities east of I-95

SB 322: Relating to approval of the selection of Outstanding Resource Waters
SB 322: To Holland's subcommittee

SB 328: Air control pollution permit program fees
Patron: Nolen

Richard Burton, DEQ
- Interested in "phasing in" program
- Backlog of air pollution permits; need flexibility to phase in; must hire staff and get them on board
- Concerned as manager with keeping out of backlog

Sen. Cross
- Suggestion that carry SB 328 over for one week to work out acceptable language,
- Must pass bill that won't disrupt the businesses we are trying to serve

Sen. Nolen
- We need justification for high fees

Chichester to Burton: Are fees in budget?

Cross:
- Industry does not want to be answerable to EPA without involvement of other government agencies

Stolle:
- Issue of when charging enhanced fee for permitting... How much notice of implementation involved when passed by the federal level?

Cross:
- Need to look for middle ground

SB 328 Continued; Will meet Wednesday to compromise

SB 372: Relating to the Ground Water Management Act of 1992
SB 372: Substitute as Amended, Reported

SB 373: Relating to disposition of funds collected by the Dep't of Agriculture and Consumer services; fees; penalties
SB 373: Continued due to technical amendments

SB 374: Relating to the powers and duties of State Water Control Board
SB 374: Substitute adopted, Reported
Waddell:  Must insure that we do not put economic development ahead of water quality issues
Holland:  Bill does not jeopardize water quality due to the substitute

SB 470:  Relating to liability for discharges to waters, lands, and storm drains
SB 470:  Go by for the day

SB 510:  Relating to water quality standards
SB 510:  Referred to Holland's subcommittee

SB 513:  Relating to the right to farm
Patron:  Nolen

Citizen, Small Farmer
- Must be able to exercise options to stay in business
- Shouldn't need a public hearing to be able to farm

Citizen, Beef Cattle Farmer
- "Young farmer" issue - need to be able to expand
- Must have equal playing field, use best management practices

Citizen, Soybean Farmer
- Biggest threat is developers
- Include language to protect the right to farm against encroachment of developers

VA Forestry Association
- Supports bill

Fairfax County
- Oppose bill
- Should add provision so that language does not include "retail plant nursery"

SB 513 Reported in nature of substitute
Waddell:  "Nay"

SB 521:  Relating to intervention by affected parties in enforcement actions under the State Water Control Law
SB 521 Referred to Subcommittee

SB 556:  Relating to the disposal of vegetation at real estate development sites
Patron:  Potts

Nolen:
- About substitute; strictly about local option of localities; on-site disposal
- Heard concerns in subcommittee

Committee adopted substitute

Homebuilder's Association
- Can't bring in materials from another area; emphasize local option

Builder in Winchester
- Helped create "green spaces"; permanent "no build" areas
- Take vegetation to these areas rather than to landfill
- Save increases in landfill fees; help give America affordable housing

Hooker Recycling, Williamsburg:
- There is a viable alternative to landfill/burning, General Assembly has moved to increase recycling and privatization of recycling in the past
- Why have solid waste regulations at all if this bill will pass?
- To keep burying vegetation is wrong; also smells bad to citizens
- Why regulate open-field dumping?

Chichester:
- Would you object to a private owner piling tree stumps in his yard?

Waddell:
- This bill requires vegetation to be covered (in response to Chichester)
- Hundreds of years will pass before the vegetation will decompose if processed according to this bill

Andrea Trank, Sierra Club
- Also Vice President of Homeowner's Association
- This bill will turn liability over to homeowners, local governments will also have to take the time to monitor and maintain
- This bill will result in 50 to 100 compost sites in every community, difficult to manage "stump dump" sites, puts the power and responsibility in the homeowners' hands

Nat Carnes, Henrico County
- Recognizes that there is a stump disposal problem for the construction community
- Shifts the cost from the developer to lot-owners, homeowners, especially down the road 10 to 15 years when stumps decompose
- Disposal without permit hinders the best management programs
- How useful is this bill?
- Decomposition may cause groundwater problems, may move to other localities
- Cost-saver to developers, but homeowners and local governments will have to pick up the cost

   **Sen. Marye:** Who assumes initial responsibility for "stump dump"?
- Locality must regulate and monitor, homeowners may inherit problem they are not fully aware of

**Nolen:**
- p.4 requires that licensed engineers approve the area

**Response:** There is a three year limit, difficult to predict future of site

**Stolle:**
- p.4 states that the landowner shall assume obligation in writing, thus the homeowners will not "accidentally" take responsibility for these areas

**Waddell:**
- How are communities without homeowners protected?

**Pat Louden:**
- County will want some entity to monitor when developers have gone
- Homeowners don't know that they are taking on this responsibility

   **Waddell:** How is this bill different from Ticonderoga Farms?
- The other is on the surface, this is a "stump dump"

**Virginia Association of Engineers**
- What standards will engineers look at to determine the safety of these areas?
- Request for deletion of "licensed professional engineers" from language of bill

**SB 556 Carried over**
4 "Nays"
Mr. Russ Hinz  
American Lung Association  
9735 Main Street  
Fairfax, VA 22031-3798

March 11, 1994

Dear Mr. Hinz,

As a University of Richmond senior and a student at the Jepson School of Leadership Studies, I have been taught to continue my development as a citizen and leader by learning about a variety of organizational contexts. During the recent Virginia General Assembly session I observed the environmental community in action as part of my Jepson School Senior Project. I had the opportunity to intern for Ms. Patricia Jackson of the Lower James River Association, and I learned a great deal about the processes of our state government.

I am writing to request a brief interview with you, either by phone or in person, to aid my research for my Senior Project which involves studying the impact of gender on leadership styles in the Virginia General Assembly. I believe that your insights would be extremely valuable to my research, and I would greatly appreciate your assistance. The type of interview questions are as follows:

1. Do you believe that gender has an impact on leadership styles? Do you believe that generalizations can be made regarding the leadership styles of men and women?

2. Do you feel that your gender has influenced your career path, either in the goals you set for yourself or in the opportunities available to you?

3. What elements are most important in determining an effective leadership style in the Virginia General Assembly?

If possible, I would appreciate the opportunity to speak with you briefly in regard to these matters. I will call your office during the week of March 21 to see if an interview may be arranged. If you have any questions before that time, my number at the University of Richmond is 804-281-1970. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Amy K. Todd
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Interaction Process Analysis</th>
<th>1. SHOWS SOLIDARITY, raises other's status, gives help, rewards:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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## Interaction Process Analysis

### 1. SHOWS SOLIDARITY, raises other's status, gives help rewards:

| 4-0 |

### 2. SHOWS TENSION RELEASE, jokes, laughs, shows satisfaction:

| 2320 |

### 3. AGREES, shows passive acceptance, understands, concurs, complies:

### 4. GIVES SUGGESTION, direction, implying autonomy for other:

| 3-030303-0 |

### 5. GIVES OPINION, evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish:

| 4-0404-0303023 |

### 6. GIVES ORIENTATION, information, repeats, clarifies, confirms:

| 1-01012131010 |

### 7. ASKS FOR ORIENTATION, information, repetition, confirmation:

### 8. ASKS FOR OPINION, evaluation, analysis, expression of feeling:

### 9. ASKS FOR SUGGESTION, direction, possible ways of action:

### 10. DISAGREES, shows passive rejection, formality, withholds help:

| 3-332303-6 |

### 11. SHOWS TENSION, asks for help, withdraws "Out of Field":

| 34401043453540 |

### 12. SHOWS ANTAGONISM, deflates other's status, defends or asserts self:

| 143045134-0 |

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Interaction Process Analysis

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<td>SHOWS SOLIDARITY, raises other's status, gives help rewards</td>
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<td>GIVES OPINION, evaluation, analysis, expresses feeling, wish</td>
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### Interaction Process Analysis*

#### Part 1

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