ABSTRACT
            This paper examined higher education, women's education, and
feminist leadership literature to determine the definitions of power they
suggest and the implications of such definitions as they apply to leadership.
A textual discourse analysis of five works was conducted; these included
works by Clark Kerr, Cryss Brunner, Leslie Bloom and Petra Munro, Luba
Chlinwiak, and Rosalind Rosenberg. It was found that all of the texts
provided suggestions for how feminist leadership might define power and craft
strategies within higher education contexts. All five of the texts agreed, to
some degree, on two basic strategies or beliefs about effective leadership.
First, they all asserted that in future leadership situations, less
hierarchical models will be more useful, especially as these models take into
account the perspectives of an increasingly diverse population. Second, the
texts suggested that increasingly, there would be a search for dialogic
relations with the multiple persons in and affecting the organization. There
was marked disagreement, however, over the overt use of power and the goals
of leadership. The analysis suggested that power and leadership have multiple
forms and strategies, and that the academy brings its own complexities to the
feminist movement. (Contains 15 references.) (MDM)

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Feminist leaders in higher education: A textual analysis of power and resistance

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In his inaugural address at Harvard in 1869, Charles Eliot asserted that, "The university must accommodate itself promptly to significant changes in the character of the people for whom it exists" (Kerr, 1992, p. 26). And yet fifty years later, "Men in most schools believed that women on the faculty would automatically lower the prestige of the institution. In 1919 Harvard reluctantly appointed fifty-year-old Alice Hamilton to its first position in industrial medicine (with the understanding that she would never march in commencement or attend football games) because her pioneering work in that field made her the only reasonable candidate. Sixteen years later she retired without a single promotion" (Rosenberg, 1992, p. 96). Both the society in which universities exist, and the character of the people who are directly involved in university life, have indeed made significant changes over the past hundreds of years. Yet, universities' response to those changes in participants and ways of thinking has not always been what many would call "responsive."

Feminism has ridden and created significant waves of change in society. Yet, have universities, admittedly diverse in form and function, adopted leadership styles and strategies to reflect, embrace, and manage those changes? My curiosity related to this question leads me to explore if and how feminist leadership might find itself well-situated to actively participate in higher education leadership at this time in history.

Specifically, the purpose of this paper is to explore higher education, women's education, and feminist leadership literature to determine the definitions of power they suggest and, relatedly, what those definitions imply about leadership. To accomplish this, I conduct a textual analysis to better understand the power dynamics which feminist leaders in higher education might encounter, embrace, and disrupt. In my analysis, I am cognizant that my perspectives and analytic tools derive primarily from the multiple lenses offered by feminist and poststructural thought. Further, I acknowledge that my main purpose is to figure out the extent and nature of the possibilities for feminist leadership within higher education environments.

Two paths have led me to this analysis. The first originated in a recent study I conducted on feminist teaching in higher education environments.[1] In this study, I sought to understand feminist teaching using feminist poststructural lenses. My review of the literature for this work led me to consider four inter-related

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[1] The research on feminist teaching that in large part provoked and suggested themes for this work was qualitative. In that study, I observed for a semester the classrooms of two teachers who had been identified by their peers and/or students as being feminist teachers. I further interviewed 22 feminist teachers about their practices and beliefs. The data from this research were analyzed through feminist and poststructural lenses and generated themes related to power, knowledge, difference, and language. A discussion of this work can be found in Feminist teaching in theory and practice: Situating power and knowledge in poststructural classrooms.

concepts whose interpretations had implications for feminist teaching: power, knowledge, difference, and language. At this point on my journey of inquiry, I find myself interested in understanding how my reading of feminist teaching practices and beliefs complicate similar practices and beliefs in other settings, like that of feminist leadership in higher education.

The second path began in a conference session when a participant said that in her view, educational leadership is the teaching of faculty. I had been struggling for quite some time to understand how feminist teaching and feminist educational leadership were related, and these words explicitly stated one way of understanding that relationship. I had not yet been able to articulate the rationale for my desire to investigate the four concepts above in the context of feminist leadership in education. Through that participant, I began to better understand my project.

At the intersection of these two experiential paths, I find myself at a location in which I must articulate some assumptions before proceeding. First, I believe that teachers are leaders and, therefore, could benefit from considering literature both as it relates to feminist teaching and feminist leadership. Further, leaders are teachers and must grapple with similar complexities in their educational processes. In my research, I learned that many teachers had multiple roles on campus, and were affected not just by what happened in their classrooms, but also by many other facets of the university. I suggest that the line between feminist leadership and teaching in academic settings is still unclear, and that each could learn from the other. Second, I believe that teaching and leadership are both contextually based. This paper considers teaching and leadership practices through exploring the complex choices that feminist teachers and leaders make within their contextualized situations. As Patti Lather and Elizabeth Ellsworth (1996) suggest, stories of particular incidents need not resonate with the details of another situation to be useful. Instead, in this paper, I offer "interpretive tools" (p. 71) and multiple definitions of power in my efforts to deconstruct or unpack the assumptions about power that operate in educational settings. This analysis may be useful for adoption, adaptation, or contradiction of readers' own educational practices. Finally, I believe that the combining of feminism and poststructuralism offers educators a useful tool for rethinking the structures and discourses present in higher education institutions. As such, I use the tools that these approaches offer to suggest and disrupt ways of understanding feminist educational leadership in higher education.

Textual stories

In this paper, I conduct a textual discourse analysis through reviewing several major pieces of literature on feminist leadership, women's educational leadership, and leadership in higher education. Because

of the dearth of literature on feminist leadership in higher education, I am necessarily dependent on texts that embrace only partially that concept or position.[2]

In the area of higher education leadership, I reviewed Clark Kerr's (1995) The uses of the university. I chose this text for two reasons. First, it is written by a well-known scholar/leader who was an active as a president of University of California, Berkeley and continues to contribute to scholarship. Second, Kerr is self-reflective, constantly reconstructing his understandings of power and leadership in higher education, while describing how they have changed over time and depending on contexts. Currently in its fourth edition, The uses of the university provides a useful overview of power as conceptualized by many higher education leaders over the past 200 years.

In the area of women's educational leadership, I draw on Cryss Brunner's (1997) "Working through the 'riddle of the heart': Perspectives of women superintendents," Leslie Bloom and Petra Munro's (1995) "Conflicts of selves: Nonunitary subjectivity in women administrators' life history narratives" and Luba Chlinwiak's (1997) Higher education leadership: Analyzing the gender gap. I chose these two articles and book because they begin to raise questions and suggest dilemmas that might occur as women enter into leadership positions in educational environments. Specifically, Brunner's work describes the ways in which women in superintendency positions struggle to define their sources of power, and construct themselves as leaders. Bloom and Munro's work discusses the complexities involved in embracing a unitary position as a woman leader when the constructions of "women" and "leadership" are often positioned as diametrically opposed. They, too, discuss the ways that women school leaders have constructed their own stories within that tension. Luba Chlinwiak focuses on the gendered nature of higher education leadership and asserts that women's increasing presence in the upper levels of administration may change the ways that we think about power and leadership.

In the area of feminist leadership, I consider Rosalind Rosenberg's (1992) Divided lives: American women of the twentieth century. This text traces and analyzes feminist leaders who explicitly were interested in improving the conditions for women throughout this century.[3] While not specifically focusing on formal

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[2] This analysis is based on several key pieces of literature that contributed to my understandings about the possibilities and complexities of feminist leadership in higher education environments. I am fully aware that no text "represents" all of the literature or discourse within a certain area or field of study. Therefore, this textual analysis is not meant to compare all literature on higher education leadership, women's educational leadership, and feminist leadership. Rather, I have chosen the texts for specific reasons, in that they point to the complexities and contradictions of developing feminist leadership within higher education environments.

[3] Rosenberg points out that the word "feminism" has shifted in meaning over the course of the century. As such, not all of the persons who she considers in her book would have themselves claimed the term feminism. In this study, I will consider feminist beliefs and actions to be those that value equality and positive 'ironments for all humans; further, they recognize that all actions and effects are gendered. Feminism

educational environments[4], the broad range of activism and leadership described may provide useful clues about the possibilities for enacting feminist leadership in higher education.

<u>Feminist poststructuralism and educational practice</u>

This paper is fueled by several tenets of poststructural and feminist approaches as they relate to education and leadership. Poststructuralism suggests that power can and does shift in social relationships (Foucault, 1978), and that events are always contextually based (Lather, 1991; Ross, 1988; Weedon, 1987). For these reasons, I would argue, poststructuralism suggests that persons traditionally seen as being powerless to shape social relations – people "at the margins" – have the potential to affect change in their circumstances. This also suggests that leadership can be diffuse, existing at a variety of levels and in a variety of circumstances. Therefore, questions arise as to the existence of a "margin" or "center" of power. Further, leadership takes many different forms and the term "leadership" expands in meaning; therefore, multiple forms and expressions of leadership can be acknowledged.

Specifically, this paper considers the defining of power as central to the relationships and discourses that are available to those practicing feminist leadership in educational settings. Poststructural and feminist thought have both established theory and practice based on the presence of resistance to dominant power structures. In ways that are not always easy to define, resistance and power co-exist (Foucault, 1978; Munro, in press). As Patti Lather (1991) suggests, resistance is not necessarily negative. Feminist educators can resist and/or perpetuate patriarchal structures, wherein students might resist whatever practices they choose. Many examples in education show how power exists in all settings, and resistance co-exists with power. Feminist leaders engage within and construct both power and resistance, depending on specific contexts and how those leaders choose to negotiate their multiple subjectivities or positions (Bloom & Munro, 1993) within those contexts.

One of the groups who, many would argue, has existed at the margin of social power is women. Indeed, feminism holds that while women's contributions have been critical in creating and maintaining our society, those contributions have not been recognized or sufficiently documented (Boxer, 1985). Women's leadership, as one type of those contributions, has also not been fully explored and recognized. Feminism

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focuses primarily on women's environments, and has also recently sought to understand and combat the multiple oppressions that affect all of our lives (to include racism, classism, and homophobia, for example). For the purposes of this study, I consider feminism to be enacted whenever a leader makes choices that were meant to improve the conditions of women.

[4] Although I am most interested in the possibilities for feminist leadership within formal higher education institutions, I am aware that women have formed and participated in educational interactions in varying ways throughout history. From salons to women's study groups, to union organizing groups, to settlement homes, women have been active in crafting educational experiences to suit their needs and, often, to promote the educational experiences of others.

suggests that all of society will benefit from learning to redefine leadership and value its multiple forms. This paper furthers the current research on feminist leadership in educational settings by drawing on five texts in higher education leadership, women's educational leadership, and feminist leadership literature to consider how definitions of power may lead to certain definitions of "leadership." This, in turn, may help us understand in what ways feminist leadership in higher education is possible. In the section below, I closely examine the forms of power presented in these texts and consider what they suggest for feminist leadership in higher education.

Power in higher education leadership

Clark Kerr's (1995) book, The uses of a university, is not one that is written exclusively about leadership in higher education. Rather, it is an overview of most aspects of university environments, focusing on what has changed and stayed the same over time, as well as on the reasons for those changes. As such, Kerr focuses on leadership as embedded in context, responsive to or managing participant relationships, and needed to serve universities' essential missions. Power, in Kerr's perspective, is deeply related to the context in which it is enacted, thereby shifting in definition, but is always with the purpose of being faithful to the maintenance of the university as a center for knowledge production.

The contexts in which a president serves are shaped by multiple participants' expectations, leading Kerr to observe,

> The university president in the United States is expected to be a friend of the students, a colleague of the faculty, a good fellow with the alumni, a sound administrator with the trustees, a good speaker with the public, an astute bargainer with the state legislature, a friend of industry, labor, and agriculture, a persuasive diplomat with donors, a champion of education generally, a supporter of the professions…, a spokesman to the press, a scholar in his own right, a public servant at the state and national levels, a devotee of opera and football equally, a decent human being, a good husband and father, an active member of a church (p. 22).

Among these varying populations and expectations, the president must enact a power that could lead toward commonality and consensus, keeping the "lawlessness" inherent in knowledge production to a minimum. Again from Kerr:

> There is a kind of 'lawlessness' in any university with many separate sources of initiative and power; and the task is to keep this lawlessness within reasonable bounds. The president must seek 'consensus' in a situation where there is a 'struggle for power' among groups that share it (p. 26-7).

Kerr, then, seems to define power as both positional and situational. Additionally, it is to be used to develop consensus and harmony, mitigating and quieting the various sources of dissent that inevitably arise in university settings.

Kerr also perceives the one uniting purpose of universities to be powerful in its construction. While he believes that, "A community should have a soul, a single animating principle; the multiversity has several" (p. 15), he also suggests that:

> The ends [of a university] are already given – the preservation of the eternal truths, the creation of new knowledge, the improvement of service wherever truth and knowledge of high order may serve the needs of man. The ends are there; the means must be ever improved in a competitive dynamic environment. There is no single 'end' to be discovered; there are several ends and many groups to be served (p. 28-29).

Among those ends, Kerr believes that the president or leader of a university must try to maintain stability in order to provide a good environment for those ends to be met through a variety of means. He alludes to the need for this stability many times throughout the text. For example, he states, "To make the multiversity work really effectively, the moderates need to be in control of each power center and there needs to be an attitude of tolerance between and among the power centers, with few territorial ambitions" (p. 29-30). Further, "Survival [as a president] depends heavily on not disturbing any current faculty members" (p. 182). Instead, "The university as an institution, needs to create an environment that gives to its faculty members: a sense of stability . . . a sense of security . . . a sense of continuity . . . a sense of equity" (p. 71-72).

Finally, in perhaps his most convincing argument against "rocking the boat" too much, he claims that upon reflection, he has decided that as a university president, he shouldn't have written or spoken the Godkin lectures upon which The uses of the university was based. Rather, as a president, he should have spoken "in laudatory platitudes," never being "indiscreet." In his words, "I have concluded that it is a disservice to the presidency to speak otherwise; that it is not wise to be as frank and open [as I was in the lectures]; that discretion is the better part of valor – a rule that most presidents do not have to be told to obey" (p. 160). Kerr believes that university leadership encompasses the "protection and enhancement of the prestige of the name are central to the multiversity" (p. 15), and that, "the academic community, regardless of the particular process involved, is more changed than changing; change is more unplanned than planned" (p. 77). It is better, according to Kerr, that stability be prioritized over radical change, and that the sacred name of the university be ever revered, seemingly regardless of its perceived infractions or effects.

Amidst this quest for stability, Kerr believes that "power is not necessary to the task [of the presidency], though there must be a consciousness of power" (p. 29). This statement leads me to believe that he defines power as forcing persons to act against their will. Therefore, since he believes that leadership does not provoke differences, but rather seeks consensus, the university president does not need to use (or have?) power. In Kerr's perspective, leaders are seemingly most effective when they absent themselves from the

overt use of power, but remain constantly present in the eyes of all related groups, and aware of the ways that those groups position themselves within power relations.

Power in women's educational leadership

The three texts upon which I draw to discuss women's educational leadership are Leslie Bloom and Petra Munro's (1995) "Conflicts of selves: Nonunitary subjectivity in women administrators' life history narratives," Cryss Brunner's (1997) "Working through the 'riddle of the heart': Perspectives of women superintendents," and Luba Chlinwiak's (1997) Higher education: Analyzing the gender gap. Like Kerr (1995), all of these authors address conceptualizations of power as it relates to leadership in educational settings. Unlike Kerr, these authors take up power as being something that is ever-present and problematic. Further, while most of the women leaders on who this research is based were not identified as explicitly feminist, they acknowledged the ways in which their gender affected their definitions of and access to power.

In "Conflicts of selves," Bloom and Munro draw on four women educators who found themselves acting in administrative roles. They seek to understand the ways that their research participants (life historians) took up conflicting gender identities in their transitions from teacher to administrator; "resisted patriarchy by redefining power and authority" through their administrative experiences; and embodied conflicts between and about gender identity and professional identities. Because my interest in this paper centers on how leaders define power and, consequently, leadership, I focus on the second of these themes. Throughout the text, Bloom and Munro point out that since "to be female is to not have authority," the women educational leaders found themselves redefining the terms associated with authority and power. For example, one of the participants [Bonnie] saw herself continually confronting forms of power and leadership which she did not support, like "assumptions of hierarchy as natural, power as consolidation, and authority as the willingness of others, or even coercion of others, to give up their power" (p. 105). Rather, she is interested in dialogic leadership in which differences of view are sought and expressed. She has a strong desire to negotiate differences, rather than to jump to find consensus. As Bloom and Munro point out, "Bonnie's often confrontational style and her challenges to authority were interpreted in her school district as resistance to building consensus rather than as efforts to forge relationships and gain deeper insights into differing standpoints" (p. 106). Contrary to Kerr, who sees a president's duty as minimizing difference and maximizing work toward common goals, Bonnie saw her role as a leader encompassing the multiple perspectives that people bring to education.

The second life historian, Robin, also chose to redefine power to better fit her definition of leadership. Robin sees herself as a facilitator and as a "participatory manager" who works in small, cohesive groups of educators decision-makers. Robin defines her power as a leader as something that she should use to bring people together, to make important decisions. Indeed, she asserts that when the group is working well, "that

is not a credit to me at all; it's a credit to the people" (p. 106). Yet, as Bloom and Munro point out, assuming a facilitator role as a woman leader risks negating the power that might be related to that role. In other words, "As a facilitator, [Robin] risks erasing herself as an expert. This, in turn, reproduces cultural norms that women are not creators of knowledge and should not have authoritative voices" (p. 107). Robin, then, redefines the meanings of both "power" (or authority) and "facilitator" to create a position in which her knowledge and skills as an educator and leader can work with others to create improved learning environments.

Bloom and Munro point out that although Bonnie and Robin define power and authority differently, they both desire "a professional environment in which they can participate and enact system change within a context of community and without giving up what it means for them each to enjoy being women" (p. 107). Their multiple subjectivities – or positionings – are often contradictory according to traditional leadership discourses, but they are able to craft their leadership practices through the negotiation of those conflicting ideals and, in doing so, create new possibilities for educational leadership.

Cryss Brunner's text also considers the ways in which women leaders, this time in superintendent positions, view and enact power. The title, "riddle of the heart," comes from one of three riddles that Carlos Castaneda (1981) reports is used in Yaqui Indian warrior training. The seven principles of power Brunner describes as applying to highly-successful women superintendents are taken from this context.[5] The women leaders in Brunner's study echoed Bloom and Munro's life historians when they discussed the gendered-nature of power in their roles. For example, one participant told Brunner how important it was to be connected to "the power networks in the community" and to have "a male advocate when applying for a position" (p. 144-145). Another discussed how, as a woman leader, "you have to bend over backwards as a female to make sure that you don't confuse men and, thereby, make them uncomfortable. . . . It's never *not* an issue" (p. 145).

Yet, unlike Bloom and Munro's work, the leaders in Brunner's study tended to have a firm idea of what "women's power" meant in educational leadership. As one participant stated, "I also think that women

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[5] These principles of power include: "Warriors choose their battleground. . . . A warrior never goes into battle without knowing what the surroundings are;" "[Warriors should] discard everything that is unnecessary;" "[Warriors should] aim at being simply. Apply all the concentration you have to decide whether or not to enter into battle, for any battle is a battle for one's life. . . . A warrior must be willing and ready to make his [her] last stand here and now. But not in a helter-skelter way;" "[Warriors should] relax, abandon yourself, fear nothing;" "When faced with odds that cannot be dealt with, warriors retreat for a moment. They let their minds meander. They occupy their time with something else;" "Warriors compress time; even an instant counts. In a battle for your life, a second is an eternity; an eternity that may decide the outcome. Warriors aim at succeeding; therefore, they compress time. Warriors don't waste an instant;" "A

in leadership roles . . . must remember that they are women, and they got where they are because they are women. And, we shouldn't act like a man" (p. 146). Another said, "As a woman, I don't want my style to be like a man. I am not a man. I don't think that I would feel comfortable acting like one" (p. 146). Yet, an analysis of the themes in Brunner's work points to some of the same contradictions that Bloom and Munro noted. As Brunner points out, "Compressing time" was especially important for women in the superintendency because "they felt they were expected to not only do what male superintendents do, but also what 'women' in our culture do" (p. 154). This contradiction between women leaders' letting themselves "just" be (essentialized) "women," while noting how that leads to extra responsibilities and different experiences, lends evidence to the proposal that women educational leaders experience multiple subjectivities as they attempt to craft their identities in seemingly incompatible roles.

Within the complex positions that result from enacting multiple (and often contradictory) subjectivities, women leaders in Brunner's study framed power as "servant leadership," "collaboration," and being "inclusive," establishing that no one person is more powerful than others (p. 155-156). As a result, their definitions of leadership practices were also collaborative, facilitative, and less hierarchical than one might expect from the person embodying the top leadership position in a school district. Still, these strategies were more or less useful depending on context and situation, and often relied on the woman leaders choosing to deny the power they may be presumed to have (p. 156), deciding to "play the role that has been given to [me as a woman]" (p. 157) and suppressing the emotional reactions they may have to hostile situations, since, "When you swim with the sharks, you can't let them know that you are bleeding" (p. 160).

Luba Chlinwiak's (1997) work, <u>Higher education leadership: Analyzing the gender gap</u>, examines the roles of women in leadership at the higher education level. Her book is couched in evidence that women are underrepresented in all leadership ranks in higher education[6] and that characteristics that have been traditionally ascribed to women – such as a tendency for caring and collaborative practices, shared decision-making, and flattened hierarchies – are increasingly being seen as essential in effective leadership. Chlinwiak reviews literature that demonstrates in detail how women and men differ in their approaches to leadership, and ultimately asserts that, "The type of power the leader utilizes is indicative of preferred leadership style" (p. 44).

Chlinwiak's work resonates both with Bloom and Munro's and with Brunner's in at least one important way. All three of these articles assert that women in leadership positions experience conflict

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warrior never pushes him[her]self to the front" (taken from Castaneda, 1981, pp. 278-290, in Brunner, 1997, pp. 144-155).

between and among their various identity positions. Clinwiak asserts that this tension arises in a variety of settings, often because of communication differences between men and women that tend to place women in a double-bind. More specifically, women are negatively evaluated if they appear to be too assertive, but risk minimizing the power traditionally associated with a leadership position if they redefine their roles in a way that is deemed by others to lack power (p. 50). Chlinwiak asserts that, "Women must choose whether to challenge social norms or become socialized to fit traditional, often masculinized, organizational expectations of leaders" (p. 51). She further indicates that the position itself may redefine women's definition of power and leadership. In her words, "holding a leadership position may influence, nullify, and/or socialize women's perception of leadership so women and men are more alike than different due to positional power" (p. 53). Again, women are influenced by and influence the possibilities of their leadership in educational settings. Their positions are multiple, and they cannot ignore the contradictory identities they embody.

Power in feminist educational leadership

The book that I chose to review on feminist leadership was Rosalind Rosenberg's (1992) Divided lives: American women in the twentieth century. In it, Rosenberg traces the contexts from which women leaders throughout the century lived and crafted their strategies. Specifically, she focuses on women like Jane Addams, Emma Goldman, Margaret Sanger, Pauli Murray, Ida Wells-Barnett, and Betty Friedan (among many others) to paint a picture of their life choices as they enacted diverse methods to improve the lives of women in a variety of circumstances. As mentioned earlier, this book is not about formal educational institutions, per se. Rather, it is about the multiple learning, working, and living environments that were changed by women's efforts to improve the conditions of those experiences. As such, "this book does not attempt to tell one story" as "there is no one story of American women's past" (Rosenberg, p. xi). Additionally, there is no one way in which all feminist leaders define power or, consequently, shape their leadership practices. This analysis, then, draws both on common themes and individual instances, hoping not to define feminist leadership, but rather to articulate multiple options that it may encompass.

In the early part of the twentieth century, the context for women's leadership was very circumscribed. Rosenberg points out that "For all their opposition to the absolute patriarchal rule of the king of England, the Founding Fathers thought it natural and inevitable that men be dominant in the home and represent the family in politics" (p. 15). Further, when women did work outside the home, they rarely shared the same positions with men. Still, although a leading psychologist of the time, G. Stanley Hall, urged that women not participate in higher education because of its potential to discourage them in their childbearing and family

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[6] Chlinwiak (1997) cites statistics indicating that only 16% of postsecondary education institutions are headed by women presidents; in research universities, the figure drops to 7%. Additionally, in the full professorship, which often provides a source for departmental and institutional leadership, only 18% are female.

responsibilities, their participation increased. It was within this context that women like Jane Addams and Charlotte Perkins Gilman chose to enact leadership through settlement houses that provided services and education for both poor citizens and for settlement house workers. Perhaps to reject the discourse described above, most women who chose a career in settlement house work did not marry. Rosenberg notes that settlement houses "shifted from being organizations that tried to comfort and aid the unfortunate to agencies of reform" (p. 31). Power, then, came from the need to act to correct inequities in social systems that governed daily lives.

Power also came from personal and professional relationships. For example, it was through experience with the poor people that came to settlement houses that workers understood and attempted to address the social inequities that affected them. Personal relations with other women influenced their ability to lead as well. Rosenberg states, "[While] the number of women who spent their lives together remained small, . . . their ability to sustain each other emotionally enabled them to act as leaders in the movement that brought women out of the home into public life" (p. 34). Further, women formed unions, such as the Women's Trade Union League, and groups, often related to women's suffrage, that were committed to improving women's lives. Many of these groups believed that power came from a uniting of women regardless of their backgrounds, although we were later to see that this was not inclusive of non-white women. The resulting leadership, in Rosenberg's view, was not as effective as it could have been because it assumed a unitary experience that did not encompass the lives of all who were affected by an exclusive definition.

According to Rosenberg, feminism "found its first full expression" in a club in Greenwich Village in 1912. Founded by Marie Jenny Howe, and named *Heterodoxy*, this feminist group stressed "women's rights" instead of focusing on "women's responsibilities" as earlier embraced by women's groups. The members of Heterodoxy believed that women should be able to enjoy both economic and sexual freedom, asserting that they wanted women to experience "humanness" instead of just "femaleness" (p. 65). Charlotte Perkins Gilman was a primary advocate for economic freedom in this group, while Emma Goldman advocated strongly for sexual emancipation. Goldman believed that in order for women to fully contribute to society, the relationship between their sexual and intellectual freedoms must be acknowledge and ensured. Goldman's view was not fully espoused by the group and, according to Rosenberg, foreshadowed the conflicts that feminism would support in the future. Rosenberg frames the conflict in this way:

> All feminists believed that women should band together to claim personal emancipation, but they
> disagreed about what emancipation meant and how best to achieve it. To some, sex was but an
> incident in a woman's life, something best ignored. To others it was a central, defining characteristic,

one that social policy must never forget. In these differences of emphasis lay the potential for much future strife (p. 68).

Differences continued to inform feminist practice, while the desire for activist activity related to suffrage proved to be a uniting cause.

The types of power necessary for leadership toward the improvement of women's lives changed drastically depending on context. Rosenberg points out the effect that World War II had on employment opportunities for women, dramatically increasing the options for their livelihoods in a way that political organizing had been unable to accomplish (p. 126; Blount, 1996). Still, the context following the war led to women's reinstatement as "homemakers," whose primary responsibility was not bread-winning, but bread-baking. They were encouraged to "live your gender" and, as mothers, to be "ever present, but never controlling" (p. 151). Women were again discouraged from participating in higher education, as it represented a turning away from a woman's family. The tendency, then, was for women to derive their power from the limited social sphere of their family.

Of course, other contexts were driving feminist leaders as well. As described earlier, with power comes resistance. Rosenberg points out that the 1950s were not only a time for women's retreat into their homes; rather, they were also a time where persons interested in social equality were generating ideas and support (Rosenberg, p. 176). Ella Baker, an activist in the civil rights struggle and NAACP, worked both in the SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference) and in 1960, helped to establish the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) to deconstruct boundaries (primarily racial) that circumscribed and limited the life experiences of certain groups. Baker's leadership style embraced grass-roots organizing, emphasizing that "strong people don't need strong leaders" (Rosenberg, p. 177).

The 1970s and 1980s again brought to the fore divisive views about how and in what direction feminists should proceed. Divorce reform, reproductive rights, employment opportunities, and the Equal Rights Amendment served to fuel feminist movement, yet those involved placed different levels of import on each issue. Still, "all radical feminists agreed that nothing short of a social revolution would liberate all women" (p. 204). Rosenberg believes that in recent work, feminists "are again looking to women's lives as a guide to a better social order" (p. 244).

Throughout the century, the power that fueled feminist leadership was based in groups and derived from relationships and connections. While based in those contemporary relationships, however, power and resultant leadership practices were also rooted in a respect for history and the ways in which social norms and practices had previously affected women's lives. That power was often driven by a cause and desire for improvement. As such, it related specifically and directly to social context and, therefore, was not static, but ...er was deliberately taken up at specific times for specific causes. Power was used both cooperatively and

manipulatively, asserting most often that feminists were not anti-men, but rather were staunchly positioned against patriarchy, as the system that attempts to establish female subordination.

Implications for educational practice

All of the texts above provide suggestions for how feminist leadership might define power and craft strategies within higher education contexts. Through my analysis of their work, I have come to concur with Henry Mintzberg that, "leadership ultimately is political and that politics is the exercise of power" (Chlinwiak, p. 66). Therefore, it is urgent that we examine the definitions of power and their corresponding leadership practices. Below, I talk briefly about the comparisons that I noted in my analysis of these five texts, as they relate to feminist leadership in higher education.

All five of the texts agreed, to some degree, on two basic strategies or beliefs about effective leadership practice. First, they all asserted that less hierarchical models will be more useful in future leadership situations, especially as those models will take into account the perspectives of an increasingly diverse population. Second, these texts represented an increasing seeking of dialogic relations with the multiple persons in and affecting the organization. These relations, though, take on multiple forms. For instance, Kerr defines very clearly the distinct ways that higher education leaders should relate to very specific segments of the public. The leaders in Bloom and Munro's work sought dialogic relations both to develop teams for educational decision-making, and to elicit and discuss different views. Rosenberg's work underscored the tendency of feminist leaders to form dialogic relations within socio-political groups that may lead to increased support and political strength.

There was marked disagreement in at least two areas, though. The first involved whether or not leaders should absent themselves from the overt use of power. Kerr believed it was important for higher education leaders to be aware of power, but not necessarily to use it. The women leaders in both Bloom and Munro's and in Brunner's study attempted to redefine power, and then use it for their purposes. Chlinwiak asserted that leaders need what have been traditionally both masculine and feminine forms of power. And, finally, the women change agents in Rosenberg's study enacted power to invoke radical social change.

A second area of disagreement dealt with the goal of leadership. While Kerr's work emphasized developing and maintaining consensus and stability as among the primary responsibilities of leaders, the other authors were less clear on this standard. Bonnie, in Bloom and Munro's work, sought diverse views, rather than a quick consensus. One leader in Brunner's study, though, agreed that stability and comfort were important, asserting that she didn't want to make the men too uncomfortable. Yet Rosenberg's work suggested that consensus and stability were far from the goals of feminist leaders throughout the century. They instead focused on dissonance and creating unstable situations that were ultimately rife for change and increased opportunities for women.

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What does this analysis of power suggest for the future possibilities of feminist leadership in higher education? First, power and leadership have multiple forms and strategies. Those attempting to learn how to craft feminist leadership practices in higher education would do well to consider previous practices in higher education leadership, in women's educational leadership, and in feminist leadership in a variety of spheres. Still, as deeply rooted in social norms, the academy brings its own complexities to feminist movement. One of Brunner's research participants believed that, "When a woman comes in politically naïve and sticks to what she believes is ethically and morally sound, she's uncontrollable – and that is dangerous for the women in the end" (p. 147). And Chlinwiak asserts that, "Some academics, however, find they are torn between including feminist scholarship and the desire to avoid being associated with feminist scholarship. . . . This dilemma culminates in a difficult career decision for the faculty member who wants to appear to be attached to the academic culture rather than perceived as attached to a political movement" (Chlinwiak, pp. 26-27). Despite Kerr's assertion that the academy is the intellect's most happy home, the conviction and lifetime dedication that feminist leaders in Rosenberg's work exhibited may perhaps not be enough to establish a comfortable home in the academy for their strategies and beliefs. Yet, feminist leaders' conviction derives from experiences telling them that they are needed – as advocates, teachers, researchers, administrators, students, and most of all, as leaders.

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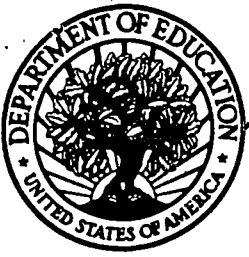
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