EXPLORING WOMEN'S PATHWAYS TO CIVIC LEADERSHIP

by

MARY HALE TOLAR

B.A., Kansas State University, 1990
M.Litt. (read), Oxford University, 1992

AN ABSTRACT OF A DISSERTATION

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree

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Abstract

Women leaders today have many sources to draw on for inspiration, motivation, and sustenance in their civic participation. Their participation is possible, in large part, because of generations of women who opened doors and broke down barriers. Women also face persistent barriers and challenges to leadership. What factors have influenced women, allowing them to move beyond historical limitations of participation to the exercise of leadership in the field of public service?

This study employed qualitative research methods to explore women's pathways to civic leadership, focusing on women's narratives using a collective case study design. The pathways explored in this study involve experiences and relationships that have led the subjects to, through, and away from service in the public sector. Cultural capital and social reproduction theory, with its focus on the individual's dispositions and interactions with social institutions, was the framework used to explore the kinds of support, inputs or advantages women acknowledge as having an impact in their civic leadership. Female Truman Scholars, selected during their college years for their potential leadership in public service, formed the research population of the study. Respondents in this study, female Truman Scholars selected from 1977-1998, had at least ten years of education, career, and life experience from the time of selection.

Themes that emerged from analysis of the data describe the impact of personal and family relationships, the role of mentoring, financial challenges and commitment to public service as critical experiences and relationships that both drive and impede

respondents' pathways. Respondents described personal and family relationships as inspirations and barriers; the presence of mentors as both a help and a hindrance, and the absence of mentors also as both benefit and deficit; meeting or succumbing to the financial challenges of public service careers; and finding their commitment to public service slip into disillusionment, or reinforced as a source that sustains. Findings related to the additive nature of gender roles to other challenges faced in public service leadership, the shadow-side of mentoring, and perseverance and disaffection related to one's commitment to public service were informed by theory yet also highlight the complexity of women's pathways.

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Major Professor
Dr. Robert J. Shoop

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Dedication

To the generous women of the Truman Community who, by exercising civic leadership as private citizens and in the public service, have contributed to the policies and practices that shape our society and have enriched the lives of many. By sharing their stories, they have enriched mine, and made this study possible.

CHAPTER 1 - Introduction

Women leaders today have many sources to draw on for inspiration, motivation, and sustenance in their civic participation. In the public sector, women are serving in greater numbers in state legislatures and in Congress – there has been a steady increase of women elected to congressional seats in the last three decades – and eight women are currently sitting governors (*Women in elective office*, 2009). Women serve on local school boards and city commissions, lead national nonprofits and international NGOs, and hold some of the highest ranking positions in the United States executive branch. In the 2008 presidential election, the US had its first competitive female national party presidential candidate. Women have improved education, advanced science and technology, delivered health and social services, advocated for social justice, promoted international development, and fought wars – as soldiers and activists. However, female leadership in the public arena remains well below gender parity.

Women's participation in civic leadership is possible, in large part, because of generations of women who opened doors and broke down barriers. Women also face persistent barriers and challenges to leadership. What can we learn about how women emerge as civic leaders by exploring the pathways to civic leadership of contemporary women? To understand how leaders' pathways were formed, this study drew from women, in their own words, their perceptions and understandings of the professional and personal experiences leading to their current positions of civic leadership.

Statement of Problem

Given the historical limitations of women's participation in the public arena, the presence and advancement of women in civic leadership is remarkable. The normative American women's experience had its roots in the founding of the country with the ideal of Republican Motherhood (Kerber, 1980). The nation's founders determined that if America's new republican democracy was to take hold, they would need a force to balance potentially unbridled newfound independence, freedom, and liberty. The new republic required virtuous citizens – men who would be productive, competitive, and mobile while exercising self-control under moral influence. The founders turned to women to provide moral ballast, framed as Republican Motherhood. Republican Motherhood offered women a critical opportunity for development, as it was understood that in order to fulfill the role of mother and moral guardian, women needed to be educated. The call for education reform for women, cast in the light of Republican Motherhood, was activism even if it was of a conservative nature (Kerber, 1980).

The virtues of Republican Motherhood of the late eighteenth century gave rise in the new century to a powerful new ideology – that of separate spheres for men and women (Cott, 1977). Private life – the world of home with women at its center, if not head – is understood to be the moral foundation of public life. In a time of great transition, where the public world was competitive and uncertain, women had charge of the home, the moral base providing stability. This separation of spheres created sex roles that did not exist as such in earlier American society, and yet were explained and understood as *natural*. Separate spheres also allowed for an ordering of a society that at the time appeared disordered and dangerous (Cott, 1977).

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In an unsettling time, and in a country committed to a democratic culture, "the demarcation of women's sphere from men's provided a secure, primary, social classification for a population who refused to admit ascribed statuses" (Cott, 1977, p. 98). Separate spheres, with sex as the basic and *natural* category of distinction, presented an acceptable social order. And while a response seemingly aligned with America's 'classlessness,' separate spheres, in fact, form the ideological basis for formation of the middle class: "In the process of constructing women's vocation, the canon of domesticity enshrined the unifying, leveling, common identity of the domestic "American lady" (not the aristocratic lady) for all" (Cott, 1977, p. 99). Separate sphere ideology, and the middle class ideals it sets out, became the normative American experience against which all else was judged.

Separate spheres remained in place even as women became active in the reform campaigns of the nineteenth century. Moral reform, essentially an attack on the sexual double standard, starting in the 1830s, provided women cause to venture into the public arena and work for social change on behalf of women. The temperance movement, improving women's educational opportunities, and prison and asylum reform were all causes which brought women's concerns to political life. The moral reform movement was America's first explicitly female social movement. Women also began to organize around concerns related to the labor of women and children, with protests at the Lowell mills serving as a prototype of the labor associations that proliferated in the 1890s. Still, this activism was framed in separate sphere ideology; women *must* act in their role as moral guardian of the home.

By the time the suffrage issue emerged for women, the ideology of separate spheres was well established. Women as political actors, or even present in any meaningful way in the public sphere, were considered aberrant – against the 'natural' order. Legally, too, women lived under coverture and had no identity separate from their spouses or male relatives (Van Berkleo, 2001). Women's activism, for suffrage and beyond, fueled controversy because it drew women out of the circumscribed sphere in which their gender was understood and defined. Through activism, women began to construct a *public* identity. From the Republican Motherhood espoused by early constructors of the republic, women negotiated for themselves a voice: "Throughout the history of the republic, women had assigned their own meanings to motherhood. They extended into the public sphere prevailing assumptions that mothers were responsible for protecting citizens within the home by drawing on associations between women and motherhood they made political demands ranging from abolition to temperance, from suffrage to anti-lynching to peace, and from segregation to desegregation" (Feldstein, 2000, pp. 5-6). Women gained skills, agency, and discovered gender consciousness that led to collective action. They spoke publicly on issues of social and political concern, and were politicized by their reform activity.

Even while women worked to expand existing notions of appropriate gender roles, the ideology of separate spheres persisted in the rhetoric of Second Wave feminism, generally associated with the 1960s and 1970s. Women continued to redefine social activism in the public arena as the duty of womanhood. Second-wave feminists found voice and agency through collective action on issues that affected their prescribed sphere of influence. For, example, Women Strike for Peace, a formidable organization

working for peace and the control of nuclear weapons, effectively galvanized members by appealing to their role as mothers – making the world safe for their child (Swerdlow, 1993).

What factors have influenced women, allowing them to move beyond historical limitations of participation to the exercise of leadership in the field of public service? According to the theory of cultural capital and social reproduction, dominant culture reproduces through its social institutions (Bourdieu, 1976; Bourdieu, 1986). What have contemporary women leaders experienced that have allowed them access to and advancement in the historically male-dominated institutions and culture of public service?

Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the pathways to leadership of contemporary female leaders in civic life using a collective case study design resulting in a description of themes or patterns. Pathways to leadership are defined broadly as the experiences and relationships comprising individual women's career and life trajectories. Contemporary female leaders in civic life consulted for this study are Truman Scholars, recognized during their college years for their potential leadership in public service.

Research Questions

This study asks what pathways have these women taken to civic leadership. What are the incidents and influences they have experienced and acknowledge as critical to developing their leadership in pubic service? Embedded in the study, as a contextual question is how do contemporary women in civic life *define* leadership? Do women selected in their college years for their leadership potential and commitment to public

service define their current activity as "leadership?" In exploring women's pathways, to what extent are strategy and serendipity evident? And finally, what kinds of support, inputs or advantages do women acknowledge as having an impact in their civic leadership?

Scope of the Study

The research questions of this study are addressed most appropriately using qualitative research methods.   Unlike quantitative research which seeks to make comparisons between groups or establish a relationship between variables (asking 'why'), qualitative methods were chosen for this study because the nature of the research question – focused on 'how,' 'in what ways,' and 'what' – seeks exploration and description (Creswell, 1998. p 17). To explore contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership, this study employed a collective case study approach, where a number of individual cases are studied in order to inquire into a particular phenomenon (Stake, 1995). Bogdan and Biklen (1992) refer to this also as a multi-case study. The cases studied are women's narratives, collected using a qualitative survey comprised of open-ended questions.

Contemporary civic leaders for this study are female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998. Truman Scholars, selected through a national scholarship competition in their college years, are recognized as having exceptional leadership potential and an intention to pursue a career in public service.   The Truman Foundation defines appropriate career intentions as those in government, the nonprofit or advocacy sectors, education or elsewhere in the public service. This study narrowed the population to female scholars with at least ten years of education, career, and life experience from the

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time of selection. Female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998, participating in this study have held positions of leadership in the public sector including formal organizations such as government, military, nonprofit and higher education, or exercised leadership as civic activists outside formal organizations. This population is identifiable and one to which the researcher has access.

Participants in this study completed a qualitative survey comprised of open-ended questions. Data collected from open-ended questions, such as ones posed in face-to-face interviews, provide researchers a detailed view of the case. Researchers ask open-ended questions in order to listen to the participants and recognize themes or patterns as they emerge. The qualitative survey used in this study elicited women's narratives; the questions drew from women, in their own words, their perceptions and understandings of the professional and personal experiences leading to their current positions of civic leadership.

Definition of Terms

Civic leadership and public service leadership

The researcher defines civic leadership as participation in executive or 'lead' roles either in formal organizations in the public sector, such as government, nonprofit agencies, and education, or in activities outside of formal institutions that mediate between citizens and government. The latter definition extends to the term civic activism. Participants in the study's group interview, which preceded and informed qualitative survey design and is described in detail in chapter three, determined that the term civic leadership may well be understood or defined differently by participants. The term public service leadership, which employs the language of the Truman Scholarship,

an experience held in common by participants, was used in place of civic leadership in communication with and data collection from participants. For the purposes of this study, public service leadership is interchangeable with civic leadership.

Pathways to leadership

Pathways to leadership are defined broadly as the experiences and relationships comprising individual women's career and life trajectories. The pathways explored in this study involve the experiences and relationships that serve as critical incidents or influential factors leading the subjects to, through, and away from careers in the public sector. Pathways include many different forms of talent development (Arnold, Noble & Subotnik, 1996) including informal and formal education experiences, as well as personal and professional relationships, from role models to mentors.

Contemporary women leaders

For the purpose of this study, contemporary women leaders are defined as women exercising leadership within organizations of higher education, government, military, the nonprofit sector (e.g. director of a state housing authority) - or in civic activism (e.g. member of the local school board). The contemporary women leaders serving as subjects of this study are female Truman Scholars selected from 1977-1998.

Truman Scholars

The Truman Scholarship was established by Congress in 1975 as the federal memorial to America's thirty-third President. Since 1977, the Truman Scholarship Foundation has conducted an annual, national scholarship competition to award scholarships for college students to attend graduate school in preparation for careers in government, the nonprofit or advocacy sectors, education or elsewhere in the public

service. Truman Scholars are selected on the basis of their "exceptional leadership potential" and commitment to "making a difference" through public service. Colleges and universities in the United States are encouraged to nominate up to four candidates annually. Candidates submit an extensive written application including a policy proposal, transcript, and three letters of recommendation. Applications are reviewed by the Truman Finalists Selection Committee and finalists are invited to interview with Regional Review Panels. While details of the process have changed over time, for an example starting in 1989 when scholars were selected in the junior year of college rather than in the sophomore year as previously, the mission of the program remains to select a qualified resident nominee from each of the 50 states, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, and the Islands (considered as a single entity: Guam, Virgin Islands, American Samoa, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands) along with additional at-large scholars. The activities of the Foundation are supported by a special trust fund in the US Treasury.   There have been 2,545 Truman Scholars elected since the first awards were made in 1977. Women have participated in the program and have been selected as scholars from the start (2007-2008 Bulletin of Information; Notes to Candidates 2008).

Importance of the Study

Learning how women understand their pathways to public service leadership informs the conversation and contributes to the scholarship on leadership development, and particularly development of civic leadership. The study's findings may be of value to emerging women leaders directly; there is value in gathering and sharing the voices of one generation to speak to the next.   Findings are also relevant to institutions and programs that seek to identify and develop leadership. Competitive scholarship programs

in particular have demonstrated interest in exploring the value and impact of their efforts. In November 2002, responsible officers of many major European, British, and American competitive scholarship programs, along with leaders from higher education in Asia and Africa gathered at the Rockefeller Center for International Study in Bellagio, Italy. The purpose of the meeting broadly was to determine if and how competitive scholarship and fellowship programs, designed to identify and support the world's future leaders, meet their goals (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004). Exploring the leadership pathways of female Truman Scholars provides data relevant to the Truman Scholarship Foundation and the aims of other scholarship programs. Beyond competitive scholarship programs, the study's findings can inform the activities of any institution or program that seeks to identify and develop leadership.

Broadly, the reason to study women leaders in the public sector is because they were so long absent from that sphere and now they are present. The pathways these women have taken to leadership in public service, when they previously did not have a public voice, helps illuminate pathways not only for future women leaders, but also for other absent voices. Understanding the critical incidents and influential factors for women forging those paths provides a deeper understanding of what challenges and opportunities exist for those previously excluded or persistently marginalized. Studies that explore and describe issues of choice and chance in a particular group's persistence in a given profession or career, may help us better understand, recognize and address structural discrimination within organizations and professions, and the role social and cultural reproduction play in determining issues of power.

CHAPTER 2 - Literature Review

Introduction

This study explores women's pathways to leadership in public service and civic life. The research questions are posed in recognition of the history of women's activism, which informs the context – the challenges, advantages, rewards – of women's pathways today. This section begins with a review of the history of women's activism, followed by an overview of the historical evolution of one woman's story, providing context for the current study. A review of literature on contemporary women's leadership in public service follows. The theory of cultural capital and social reproduction frames the study, selected as a lens through which to view individuals' dispositions and interactions with social institutions. This theory looks at privilege and advantage in social systems that serve as barriers to persistently marginalized populations. Women have transcended socially constructed boundaries to enter and succeed in the field of public service previously reserved for men. The focus of this study is a group of women, selected while undergraduates to receive a prestigious scholarship for their potential for leadership in public service. These women were asked to share how experiences and relationships forged their pathways. Research on the prestigious scholarship experience, itself a potential critical incident of one's pathway, is included at the close of this section.

History of Women's Activism

The history written of women's activism in this country, while often dominated by studies of women's suffrage, covers a wide range of causes – political, social and

moral.   From the 1960s, social histories, as well as political, family, and cultural histories have explored the construction of gender in American society from colonial times through American feminism's Second Wave.   From the "cult of true womanhood" (Welter, 1963) and the "cult of domesticity" (Kraditor, 1968) came a focus on the ideology of separate spheres as a culturally-constructed way of defining and expressing gender (Cott, 1977).   As discussed in chapter one, the ideology of separate spheres developed following the ideal of Republican Motherhood, which confined woman's influence to the home and made clear the boundary to the male sphere of public life.

The reform campaigns of the nineteenth century have been explored by historians and rhetoric scholars. Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a vast amount of literature produced on the ideal of true womanhood – books and articles on woman's rightful place in society, sermons on the subservience of women, tracts celebrating the notion of separate spheres. Yet women had life experience which confronted these ideals and led to several attempts at social reform. Perhaps the most notable experience was that of the frontier, where notions of fragile femininity were tested and defeated daily. The temperance movement, improving women's education opportunities, and prison and asylum reform were all causes which brought women's concerns to political life. These reform campaigns followed America's Second Great Awakening in the early nineteenth century, a period of religious revival and evangelical participation in social reform which attracted a predominance of female converts (Cott, 1975). Women also began to organize with the Club movement and labor associations of the 1840s. Female Labor Reform Associations were concerned with the promotion of protective labor legislation for women and children. Early success, as in the 1845 campaign for the ten-hour workday,

gave reformers hope that legal solutions to problems faced by women were attainable. Historians have described these reform campaigns as politicizing forces for women, living in a world ordered along an ideology of separate spheres (Aptheker, 1989; Boase, 1980; Cott, 1986; Kaminer, 1984; Sharistanian, 1986).

Moral reform, starting in the 1830s, was America's first explicitly female social movement, providing women cause to venture into the public arena and work for social change on behalf of women. The moral reform campaign was a collective, public attack on the sexual double standard. There was a powerful gender consciousness that grew out of women's church groups that then paved the way for the women's moral reform societies. The female laity became empowered by the moral reform movement and began to exercise social power unknown to the women of previous generations. During this time, Republican Motherhood was institutionalized in the new public school system, partly in response to the wave of immigration and the need to inculcate shared, i.e. middle class, values. So during this time of a louder broad call for separate spheres of influence, women began to embrace their sphere, with fervor in the case of moral reform, leading women to not only possess moral authority, but to wield it, taking them into the public sphere out of necessity (Carlson, 1992; Cott, 1977; Lueck, 1999; Wright and Sklar, 1999).

During the last part of the nineteenth century, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) represented a prominent women's social movement, based, as the moral reform campaigns before it, on the understanding and acceptance of women's moral authority (Donavan, 2006; Parker, 1997). The WCTU was a powerful force in the women's rights movement. The Union mobilized thousands of women, and based as it

was, on Christian morality, the Union had the effect of making causes respectable. The WCTU asserted that as Christian women, their members were bound to a higher law than those made by men, and their duty was to lift up the morals of society. As mothers they must care for the home and children, and it was their duty to protect the home from the evils of drink. Beyond temperance, their communities faced other challenges to the health, welfare, and moral wellbeing of women and children. The WCTU sparked women's civic action to address these challenges, justified on the grounds that women were the rightful moral guardians of the home. WCTU leader Frances Willard's "Do Everything" policy encouraged local action by women to flourish. While activity remained domestic in scope, women began to see how the issues of family affected the larger world. Rhetorically, the actions of the WCTU were understood as 'civic housekeeping,' with the argument for suffrage becoming home protection. The base of activism remained firmly in the established sphere for women's influence, but the stage for action continued to grow, and in the process, women were gaining skills and a sense of agency they had not experienced before. Through organizing for social change, women were becoming politicized and transgressing the lines that appeared to separate the spheres (Baker, 2005; Bolt, 2003; Buechler, 1986; Kraditor, 1965).

Women's experiences in the Anti-slavery, and later Abolition movement have also been studied by historians and social movement scholars. From the start, women's involvement had created tension in these movements. The gender issue split local societies and became a significant factor in the fragmentation of the national Anti-slavery movement into two distinct wings. Members of the Anti-slavery movement that did not see a role for women split with leader William Lloyd Garrison to form the Liberty Party.

In the Garrisonian wing of the movement, women were welcomed and performed duties considered by many as overstepping the boundaries which defined appropriate feminine behavior, such as speaking in public to mixed audiences. Facing strong opposition, these women were compelled to address the issue of women's rights, and in doing so argued the parallels between the enslavement of blacks and the oppression of women. For many women, Abolition was the politicizing force that brought them out of the home into the public square (Birney, 1969; Buechler, 1990; Eger, 2001; Lerner, 2004; Sklar and Stewart, 2007).

The women's suffrage movement in America has been studied most extensively by historians, sociologists, and theorists of social movements, politics, and feminism, particularly since the 1970s (Bacon, 1986; Baker, 1984; Barbrook and Bolt, 1980; Conway, 1972; Cott, 1977; DuBois, 1978; Evans and Boyte, 1986; Kerber, 1988; McGerr, 1990; Scott and Scott, 1982; Stevens, 1976; Trecker, 1972). Biographers have contributed to our understanding of a number of the movement's leaders, particularly Alice Paul, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and Susan B. Anthony (Barry, 1988; Gillmore, 1977; Lunardini, 1986; Oakley, 1972; Rossi, 1988; Sherr, 1995; Ward, 1999); but also Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone and Frances Willard (Baker, 2005).

There have been comparative studies, too, of the woman suffrage movement and the contemporary women's movement (Buechler, 1990). Buechler's comparative sociological analysis identified similarities and differences between the movements, persistent feminist issues, and the distinctive concerns of each movement in its socio-historical context. His study of the organization and ideologies of the movements,

however, did not extend to themes of leadership styles or motivation of the women involved.

More recently, historians have shown significant interest in the gender dimensions of the private/public distinction, pointing out that understanding when and where the distinction came into play is historically significant (Boydston, 1990; Kamensky, 1997; Norton, 1996). Kamensky's treatment of gender and speech in seventeenth-century New England reveals much about the construction of social order in the colonies. Kamensky explores the power and meaning of speech in Puritan life and doctrine, and the inherent tensions that became apparent as they were tested in the new colonies. Starting with a discussion of speech in England, Kamensky frames both the Puritans' inherited understandings of speech and the social order (who could speak where, with or to whom, when) and their effort to resist the speech constraints of the Anglican Church. Kamensky illuminates the Puritans' process of developing new rules for governing speech, and because Puritans understood speech as conduct, new rules for governing conduct as well. The cases of Anne Hutchinson and Ann Hibbens, demonstrate the gendered power of speech. These court cases called the attention of the chuch-state authority to the *place* of woman in the household and society, and allowed the church to define women's speech – "stepping out of place" – as a social danger (Kamensky, 1997).

Mary Beth Norton's examination of the New England and Chesapeake colonies in the first fifty years of English colonization effectively links the daily life experiences of colonists to emerging theories of power and social organization focused on political, social, and familial relationships (Norton, 1996). This study is presented as a gendered analysis of power relationships, and of particular interest is how the notions of 'public'

and 'private' inform the interplay and intersections of family and the state in the court cases recounted. Authority, in the society of the time, was based in the household, and there was state interest in the unitary sovereignty of husbands and fathers. 'Informal public' and 'formal public' blurred, and 'private' was never applied to women's sphere of activity. Colonists faced difficulty navigating their way in the early development of their government. This was a time and place of transition, where replicating the authority structures of the past was made difficult by access to land (previously a mechanism to preserve and replicate household structure) and distance from established social institutions. By determining that women at this time did not occupy a private sphere, Norton underscores that separate spheres is a culturally-constructed way of defining and expressing gender, and placing its appearance in history is significant (Norton, 1996).

By the time of industrialization, the separation of spheres had gained new currency (Boydston, 1990). In a powerful shift, the economic contributions of women's household labor valued in pre-industrial times gave way instead to glorification of the emotional and psychological contributions of mothers and wives. Republican Motherhood, however, "emphasized women's child-rearing responsibilities almost to the exclusion of the remainder of their work," masking the substantial time and energy expended on housekeeping, in effect creating "a vision of domestic labor which was sharply at odds with the reality of their lives" (Boydston, p. 43). The ideology of separate spheres supported by the notion of Republican Motherhood, denied women's significance as economic agents creating instead a definition of women as economic dependents. Industrialization eroded the artisan system, from which craftsmen understood their value as laborers and people. Whereas the yeoman and craftsman had

been the exemplars of "industriousness" leading to economic independence, the 'man of business' in the republic became associated with "industry" leading to profit and wealth. From patriarch to breadwinner, men experienced a significant redefinition of manhood. Women, while they remained subordinate to men socially and politically, lost the economic agency they had in colonial households. This new conception of "work" narrowed appropriate and acceptable roles for women to that of devoted wife and mother – and devoted in a particular, increasingly middle class way. The spheres of men and women took on distinct identities as well – the aggressive, volatile, public sphere for men, and the sentimentalized, pastoral domestic sphere for women (Boydston, 1990).

The sharp distinctions, and recognition of industrialization's disruption to traditions of work and life, set the stage for women's education advocates such as Catharine Beecher. Beecher espoused the virtues of domesticity and motherhood that bounded women's sphere, and, denying that these virtues and duties came naturally, worked to educate women on both the importance of this choice to serve the republic in the way reserved to women, and also the means to achieve the ideal. Women's education reformers advocated on both sides of the women's suffrage movement, with rhetoric that both supported and confronted the ideology of separate spheres (Boydston, 1990; Rossi, 1988; Sharistanian, 1986).

The ideology of separate spheres persisted in the rhetoric of Second Wave feminism, generally associated with the 1960s and 1970s. Second-wave feminists pushed beyond the early quest for political rights to fight for greater equality across the board – in education, the workplace, and at home. In postwar America, a generation of women living in middle-class suburbs was organizing for change. Women were finding voice

and agency through collective action on issues that affected their prescribed sphere of influence. There was great richness and complexity to women's community activism, with women mobilizing to address crumbling schools, quality of and access to health care, and war (Murray, 2006). Women Strike for Peace, a formidable organization working for peace and the control of nuclear weapons, effectively galvanized members by appealing to their role as mothers – making the world safe for their child (Swerdlow, 1993). Women who participated in this and related collective community activism found they were capable of effective resolution to community issues through action.

Many also found that their community activism was a springboard to elected office and to participation in national movements. Notable women leaders in public service of this time, such as Bella Abzug, Shirley Chisholm, and Barbara Jordan had been active in community affairs, sparked perhaps by their role as wife and mother, but moving to a broader connection as persons seeking equality in social movements such as labor and civil rights (Levin and Thom, 2007; Rossi, 1988; Sherman, 2007).

For American women, defined overwhelmingly by their domestic identity, constructing a civic role appears to have been an incremental process. Women worked to take existing notions of appropriate gender roles – their domestic identity – and expand them to include social action. Women who took seriously their duty as Christian mothers, with the developing notions of middle-class values that accompanied that duty, were compelled by social injustice and moral danger to act, and act in a public manner. Grounded by those issues rightfully claimed as "woman's issues," social activism, then, becomes redefined as a duty of womanhood. Yet, the context of action – the public arena – transgressed the separation of spheres and the exclusion of women from the public

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sphere. Women organizing for change had discovered a gender consciousness that led to collective action. More, they found success even in the uncharted territory of the public sphere. The act of organizing for change was a politicizing process for women, leading to a civic role unknown to women of the eighteenth century.

Women's Narratives

While this was not an historical study, its use of women's narratives responds to calls for new forms of evidence from the field of history and historical biography (Freedman, 1974). Following second-wave feminism and the development of women's history, women's narratives have become recognized as legitimate historical sources possessing value as data, in exploring history as well as questions of contemporary concern. Legitimacy of women's narratives as evidence was gained through an evolutionary process, demonstrated well by the historiography of one notable American woman, Jane Addams, as told by historians over the last five decades.

Jane Addams remains one of the most famous women in America's history. Founder of Hull House and iconic leader of the settlement movement, and of broader contemporary progressive urban reform, Addams has become a touchstone for women's public activism in America at the turn of the twentieth century. Her story has been told by many, writing to celebrate, honor, critique, recover, position and/or contextualize this woman's contribution to history.

Early accounts of Addams' life and work presented idealized visions of a great woman – Saint Jane – who was famous for her contributions to social work and progressive politics (Davis, 1964; Scott, 1960). Later accounts were more critical, but were criticized themselves as lacking complexity. In her review "Heroines and Heroine

Worship," historian Anne Scott argues that Davis' 1973 biography of Addams lacks complexity, and suggests the author's ability to adequately view and understand this exceptional woman is restricted because existing narratives are insufficient: "In Davis's over-simple world, if a person with Jane Addams's reputation for goodness is not an ideal saint, then she must be a hypocrite and a fraud. There seems to be no third alternative, such as that she was a complex, interesting, talented, many-sided, sometimes troubled, intensely human being" (Scott, 1974, p. 415). Estelle Freedman might argue that Davis's shortcomings as biographer of Addams were the result, at least in part, of insufficient or inappropriate tools of historical analysis (Freedman, 1974). She asserted that a richer understanding of a history that included women required looking to a different set of sources and a broader set of subjects.

By the late 1980s, the field of women's history had established a broader claim to valid subjects and sources. In "Their Fathers' Daughters: The Autobiographies of Jane Addams and Florence Kelly," Sherrick asserted the validity of women's lives as a subject of historical inquiry, as well as the emerging literary genre of autobiography (Sherrick, 1986). In her study, she explored how the traditional "rules" of autobiography apply or don't apply to women's narratives. Sherrick was primarily concerned with women's definition of identity. Exploring Addams's and Kelley's construction of their narratives, Sherrick noted that both found their definition of identity through their public work and careers, but also attributed their commitment to public work to the influence of their fathers. Unlike persistent dominant narratives of the self-made man, these women defined their lives and their identities in relation to others: "At no point did they develop an independent understanding of self" (Sherrick, p.49). Sherrick also focused on the

gendered narratives available to these women, and how, in the telling of their stories, they navigated the rigid gender distinctions of their fathers' Victorian era: "They cast themselves in particular parts – as their fathers' daughters – and used those rules to explain or justify their decisions to leave the world of home for that of the public sphere. Moreover, they recounted their pasts in an effort to reveal the way for other women to follow" (Sherrick, pp. 42-43).

Historians have sought to uncover critical events or influences in the life of Jane Addams, in her childhood as well as her work as a reformer, seeking a closer review of Addams' life and contributions (Brown, 2004; Knight, 1997; Knight, 2005). Elshtain (2001) revisits Addams' competing claims of family and society, reframing the tension represented by the transgression of gendered spheres, or rather efforts to redraw the spheres to provide greater opportunity and agency for women. In all these studies, historians looked to women's narratives, constructed through letters, speeches, diaries, and other autobiographical accounts, to better understand the lived experiences and contributions of Jane Addams.

In this brief overview of Jane Addams' story as told by historians over the last five decades, a trend toward Freedman's revision of attitudes toward women and women's narratives has emerged. Scholars examine the ideas, life, and work of women more closely and with richer interpretation when put in context of the gendered constructions of culture, society, and identity in which they operate. The focus has grown from writing women into men's history – Saint Jane as the exceptional woman – to seeking new sources and subjects of historical inquiry that illuminate the lives of

women in history. Women's narratives have emerged as a rich and legitimate source of data, in the study of history and of contemporary life.

Jane Addams' story itself also brings forth themes connected to contemporary women's pathways to public service leadership, such as the complexity of women's competing claims, their relational identities, and the concept of female ambition. The historiography of Addams' story also illuminates the way in which separate sphere ideology operated and persists in our understanding of women's lives. With this historical perspective on women's narratives, one may better understand the context in which women achieve positions of leadership.

Contemporary Women, Careers, and Leadership

Historians have sought to explicate challenges to women's leadership in various contexts, exploring rhetorical "double-binds" and how "stepping out of place" through participation in public protest shaped women's conceptions of themselves and their role in their communities (Jamieson, 1995; Kaplan, 1982; Naples, 1998). Sociologists and leadership scholars have also sought to understand and describe the relationship of women and leadership, looking at contexts of leadership, traditional gendered definitions of leadership, and the social ecology of women's leadership (Apfelbaum and Hadley, 1986; Eisler, 1991; Klenke, 1996; Valian, 1998).

A considerable literature base has developed about the career choices and life paths of women generally, and of high-attaining women in particular, including studies on the status of women in higher education and the professions (Arnold, 1993; Holland and Eisenhart, 1990; Solomon, 1985), their career development (Betz and Fitzgerald, 1987; Josselson, 1987; Noble, 1987; Noble, 1989), and their experiences and

achievement over time (Arnold, 1993; Hulbert and Schuster, 1993; Madsen, 2008).   A recent report on the status of women in higher education noted where women have made progress, such as earning postsecondary degrees in higher numbers than ever before; and remain stymied or are losing ground, notably the rate at which women advance through graduate study, achieve high levels of leadership and influence in the institution, or earn income comparable to male peers (Touchton, 2008).

Particularly related to underrepresented groups in particular fields, researchers have sought to understand the role of chance (Bandura, 1982; Betsworth and Hansen, 1996), interconnections between professional and personal lives (Armenti, 2004), and workplace environment (Aisenberg and Harrington, 1988; White, 2005) in career advancement, elements and themes that surfaced also in this study.   Scholarship has found that persistent challenges, such as the impact of family formation on advancement, unequal expectations and compensation related to employment, and work environment issues of flexibility and paths for advancement, exist for professional women (Catalyst, 2007; Mason and Goulden, 2002; Williams, 2004).

The literature base relating to contemporary women, leadership and careers demonstrates that women have made real progress on many fronts, yet inequity persists. Progress has not been consistent across all groups of women; economic status at birth determines more than national mythology likes to admit; and policies – national and institutional – that address family obligations are inadequate and few (Touchton, 2008; White, 2005). These circumstances and others take a disproportionate toll on women's personal and professional lives.

Theoretical Basis for Study

Many theories exist that could have been used to inform this study. Theories considered include change theory (Ellsworth, 2000; Kellerman and Rhode, 2007), transformational leadership theory (Bass, 1990; Burns, 1978; Kouzes and Posner, 1987) and feminist theory (Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberg and Tarule, 1986; Gilligan, 1982). Change, leadership, and gender are all components of the women's pathways examined in this study. In particular, the close reading of women's history that precipitated this study required appreciation for how gender has been and is constructed. In this study, however, the researcher sought to explore critical incidents and influential factors of women's pathways – the means by which the 'separate spheres' were transcended, rather than reproduced by these women. Consequently, cultural capital theory was selected to frame the study.

Cultural capital and social reproduction

Cultural capital is a theory based on French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's writing on social reproduction, and frames this study. Cultural capital theory suggests that cultural capital, in a particular system of social exchange, is accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. This cultural knowledge derives from family and early education experiences and is evidenced in the system of social exchange in many ways, such as speech and awareness of access to the system's power. Cultural capital becomes a mechanism of social and cultural reproduction, particularly as it relates to class distinction and social stratification (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986).

Aspects of Bourdieu's work have been discussed by sociologists of stratification since the early 1970s, when his concept of cultural capital was first developed as a means of understanding the relationship between educational inequality and social class. Bourdieu and Passeron contend that individuals from different social classes have access to very different resources which they can mobilize in their pursuit for achievement. Children of professionals are exposed to middle-class culture, the culture most valued by the educational system, from an early age. Children without that access must gain it at school, competing from a disadvantaged start. Access to economic, social, and cultural capital differentiates individuals' success in navigating the educational system, whereby additional capital resources are gained (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1970).

Bourdieu's theories have been explored and revised by many sociologists; *The British Journal of Sociology* devoted an entire issue in 2005 to revisiting Bourdieu's cultural capital theory. Because Bourdieu's body of scholarship on cultural capital and related notions of acculturation and social reproduction is so extensive, scholars have charted Bourdieu's thinking and argued putting his early ideas in context of his later work (Savage & Bennett, 2005). Bourdieu's early work on cultural capital was, of course, informed by his own culture and experiences, and was written in response to contemporary theories. The later refinement of his post-structuralist philosophy and social scientific explanation particularly impact his early concept of 'linguistic' capital as central to cultural capital (Robbins, 2005). Bourdieu's early work emphasizes, too, the role of family and domestic life for individual development and social positions. His connection of social origin to the role of the father does not take into account contemporary feminist analyses of the family. Scholars have called for further study of

the role of individuals, families, and households in constituting cultural capital (Butler, 1997; Silva, 2005; Skeggs, 1997). Sociologists, particularly those interested in the structural determinants of success, continue to find value in the theory (Savage and Bennett, 2005; Robbins, 2005; Silva, 2005).

Bourdieu's work has been translated to the American context and used to explore everything from the transmission of "taste" by marketing scholars (Holt, 1998) to identity formation by social psychologists (Cote, 1996). Cultural capital theory has also been employed to explore how the transmission of privilege works in the US context, and in the educational setting particularly (Karen, 1990; Lamont & Lareau, 1988; McDonough, 1997). In the sociology of education, cultural capital has been used to study social inclusion and exclusion, particularly manifested in family-school relationships (Biddle, 2001; Lareau, 2000; Lareau, 2003). This research has found that children in families with limited cultural capital experience serious institutional barriers, while children in families with capital valued by the school system are able to secure additional advantages in pursuit of achievement.

Social stratification and mobility research has examined the relationship between social origin and destination, establishing the clear pattern of people with the most advantages getting the greatest rewards (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992). Cultural capital and social reproduction theory has also informed studies looking at social processes such as racism and sexism (Erikson and Goldthorpe, 1992; Grusky, 2001), and social determinants of the careers of professionals (Blair-Loy, 2003; Youn and Arnold, 2004).

With its focus on the individual's dispositions and interactions with social institutions, this theory allows for rich exploration of the pathways women leaders have

taken into a field long dominated by men. Aspects of cultural capital theory relevant to this study of women's pathways pertain to structural determinants of success, focusing on critical influences – experiences and relationships – to public service leadership.

Scholars as Subjects

While there has been much scholarship on the undergraduate experience and the effect college has on students (Astin, 1993; Light, 2001; Pascarella and Terenzini, 1991), studies on competitive scholarships are few and tend to focus on the program or process of selection rather than the scholars as subjects (Heginbotham, 2004; Lamont, 2004; Sternberg and Grigrorenko, 2004). Youn and Arnold (2004) have looked at the pathways to prominence of Rhodes Scholars, utilizing data from structured interviews, public information, and standardized test scores. From this research they present a model of leadership reproduction shaped by a nexus of elite schooling, exposure to public and international affairs at Oxford, and social ties made in prestigious professional schools. Further, they found that Rhodes Scholars expand their network through civic engagement and political participation.

Ann Olivarius leads a research team working on The Rhodes Project, a web-based research study. The study has collected stories of 376 women Rhodes Scholars (elected from 1977 to 1995) representing 13 countries, utilizing primarily in-depth, sequential qualitative survey instruments combining significant demographic questions along with open-ended questions allowing for flexibility in written reflections. The Rhodes Project explores the patterns of the participants' lives and leadership roles in society. To date, analysis of the data has produced working papers and presentations that explore the power of the Rhodes "brand," and its potential to allow these women to achieve more and

to have more fulfilling lives. The research team intends to conduct further analysis of the data that will describe the collective experience of this group of women. (Rhodes Project, n.d.)

Unlike the Rhodes Project, this study did not target the scholarship experience for study. While Truman Scholars share the common experience of receiving this recognition of their potential for leadership in public service, they do not share a common graduate education experience as do Rhodes Scholars who all attend Oxford University. Receipt of the Truman Scholarship surfaced in the data as important to the women in various ways, but the study did not explore the "Truman brand" in the same way as Olivarius *et al*. This study explored patterns of women's lives and leadership, and extends the research to a broader population of scholars.

As a gateway to leadership roles in American society, competitions for three leading national scholarships – Rhodes, Marshall and Truman – stand out. Records show that generations of winners of these major scholarships have attained notable positions governing major social, cultural, and financial institutions (Ilchman *et al*, 2004; Youn and Arnold, 2004). There remains interest in learning how these exceptional collegiate achievers who won leading scholarship competitions have successfully attained powerful positions and hold leadership roles in America. This study contributes understandings of female Truman Scholars' pathways to the growing literature on scholars as subjects.

Summary

The literature review supported many aspects of this study of women's pathways to leadership in public service and civic life. The research questions have been posed in recognition of the history of women's activism, while addressing contemporary women's

leadership in public service. The study elicited and consulted women's narratives as the source of data. Exploring critical experiences and influential relationships in women's lives led to cultural capital and social reproduction as the theoretical framework of the study. This theory looks at privilege and advantage in social systems that serve as barriers to persistently marginalized populations. Women have transcended socially constructed boundaries to enter and succeed in the field of public service.

Female Truman Scholars selected while undergraduates for their potential for public service leadership were the subject of this study. These women received a particular advantage in the form of a prestigious scholarship. Research on the prestigious scholarship experience suggests the scholarship is itself a critical incident, serving as a gateway to leadership in this country.

The following chapter details the methodology employed in this study. A review of literature addressing career pathways, particularly those of women or other identifiable minority groups within a given context, shows use of both quantitative and qualitative research design. Some, such as Youn and Arnold's study of the pathways to prominence of Rhodes Scholars (2004), employ mixed-method research with data sources including structured interviews, public information, and standardized test scores, and employing logical regression analysis to determine findings. Many scholars, however, interested in exploring the lives of particular persons, tend to rely on qualitative research designs of case study, biography, ethnography, or some combination allowing rich description and personal narrative to be shared. This study employs a qualitative research design to explore women's pathways to civic leadership focusing on women's narratives.

CHAPTER 3 - Methodology

Introduction

The objective of this study was to explore contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership. Women leaders today have many sources to draw on for inspiration, motivation, and sustenance in their civic activism and public service leadership. They also face persistent barriers and challenges. To understand how leaders' pathways were formed, the study drew from women, in their own words, their perceptions and understandings of the professional and personal experiences leading to their current positions of civic leadership.

Theoretical Framework of the Study

By exploring the critical incidents and influential experiences that have forged women's pathways to public service leadership, this study sought to understand how women emerge as civic leaders. This study, with its focus on critical experiences and relationships, was framed in the context of cultural capital theory. Cultural capital theory suggests that cultural capital, in a particular system of social exchange, is accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. This theory, first articulated by Pierre Bourdieu, has been employed in examining education as a mechanism of social and cultural reproduction, particularly as it relates to class distinction and social stratification (Bourdieu, 1977). According to Bourdieu, each person occupies a position in a given "social space" defined by the amount of capital one possesses.

From the broad understanding of human capital, Bourdieu categorized social capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. He gives primacy to cultural capital as foundational, depending heavily on one's earliest imperceptible learning performed within the family (social origin), while acknowledging the importance social capital has in formation of cultural capital. Social capital is the aggregate of resources linked to durable networks of social relationships. Symbolic capital is derived from resources available to an individual on the basis of honor, prestige or recognition that embodies cultural value (Bourdieu, 1986).

In cultural capital theory, the modern social world is comprised of "fields," social spaces in which social actors compete for dominant position involving many complex relationships. In this study, attention has been paid to the cultural capital demonstrated or acknowledged by contemporary women leaders in the public sphere or "field" of civic leadership. Bourdieu developed this theory to better understand reproduction of social hierarchies, and strategies developed by social agents to adapt to the social worlds they inhabit.

Cultural capital theory, with its focus on the individual's dispositions and interactions with social institutions, allows for rich exploration of the pathways women leaders have taken into a field long dominated by men. Given the target population for this study, the researcher also drew upon the concepts of social capital, with its focus on social networks, and symbolic capital, acknowledging the participants' common experience of competitive selection early in one's career as a future leader in public service. Cultural capital theory was used in approaching the design of the study. Theory

informed the data collection process and instruments, and was drawn on also for analysis and interpretation of data.

Qualitative Research

This study employed qualitative research methods to explore the pathways women take to civic leadership. Qualitative research is a process of inquiry particularly suited for this type of exploration. Relying on a limited set of cases that present many variables, with the purpose of interpreting participant perceptions, qualitative research allows for individual and collective stories to be shared (Creswell, 1998). This study explored the issue of women's civic leadership in an effort to understand challenges, advantages, and strategies emerging as themes from participant reflections.

Using the case study tradition of inquiry, research focused on the case of women Truman Scholars. According to Creswell, case study is "an exploration of a 'bounded system' or a case (or multiple cases) over time through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information rich in context" (Creswell 1998, p. 61). Bromley asserts that a case study is a "systematic inquiry into an event or a set of related events which aims to describe and explain the phenomenon of interest" (Bromley, 1990, p. 302). The event or set of events explored in this study is comprised of the participants' pathways and the "phenomenon of interest" is women's civic leadership. An essential characteristic of case studies is that they strive to understand holistically cultural systems of action (Feagin, Orum and Sjoburg, 1991). Cultural systems of action refer to sets of interrelated activities engaged in by the actors in a social situation, which in this study refers to the activities and experiences of women aspiring to civic leadership. Another essential characteristic of case studies is that they must always have boundaries (Stake,

1995). The case explored in this study is bounded by time and setting: female Truman Scholars selected 1977-1998 exercising public service leadership.   To explore contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership, this study employed a collective case study approach, where a number of individual cases are studied in order to inquire into a particular phenomenon (Stake, 1995).   Bogdan and Biklen (1992) refer to this also as a multi-case study.

Research Population

The main objective of this study was to explore and discover contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership. To understand how these leaders' pathways were formed, the study gathered the perceptions of the women in their own words. Data were collected from female Truman Scholars selected from 1977-1998.

As described in Chapter 1, Truman Scholars formed the research population of this study. The study limited the population to female Truman Scholars selected from 1977 (the first year scholarships were awarded) to 1998, in order to engage scholars with at least ten years of education, career, and life experience from the time of selection. Truman Scholars are selected as college juniors currently; from 1977-1989 scholars were selected as college sophomores.   Scholars are selected on criteria of academic achievement, leadership ability, and commitment to a career in public service.   The Truman Scholarship provides funding for the remainder of the scholars' undergraduate education and for graduate study.

The Truman Scholarship Foundation maintains a database of over 2,500 Truman Scholars.   The Foundation indicated that roughly half of the records provide basic demographic information used for selection of subjects, some educational and career

history, and a means to contact the Scholars. As the instrument for collecting data was an online qualitative survey, described below, only those scholars with active email addresses were included in the sample.

Qualitative Survey Design

Data for this study were collected using a qualitative survey comprised of open-ended questions (Appendix D). The qualitative questions resembled questions one would pose in face-to-face interviews, rather than questions one would expect from a quantitative survey, for example a consumer preference or market survey. An online qualitative survey instrument was chosen to accommodate a number of factors, including sensitivity of topic, timeframe of the study, complexity of questions, available resources, and characteristics of respondents (Doyle, n.d.). Because the research population was large and geographically diverse, face-to-face interviews were not feasible. Providing questions in a written format provided clarity and consistency to the questions, allowed respondents time to consider fully the questions and perhaps share reflections they may not feel comfortable sharing in person. The online format also allowed respondents to respond at a time of their convenience.

Prior to creating the open-ended questions that comprised the qualitative survey used in this study, a small group of female Truman Scholars participated in a group interview. This group interview served two purposes. Group interviews may serve a planning function in research design, and are employed when investigating complex behavior and motivations, for engaging and understanding diversity, and when a friendly, respectful research method is indicated (Krueger, 1998). In this case, the group explored with the researcher broad organizing themes that assisted in the development of questions

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and the design of the qualitative survey.   The group interview served a second purpose, in that the reflections shared in response to open-ended questions also informed the study.

Participants in the group interview served as senior scholars at the Truman Scholars Leadership Week held at William Jewell College in Liberty, MO, May 2008, comprising a sample of convenience.   Three of the five scholars invited were able to participate. The group interview protocol that was used, Appendix C, was first reviewed by a panel of experts, including 1993 Truman Scholar and Truman Scholarship Foundation Deputy Executive Secretary Tara Yglesias, a professional evaluator with expertise in qualitative research at the researcher's institution, and the researcher's doctoral committee, which included two experts on evaluation and qualitative research. The protocol was revised based on the panel's feedback. The group interview was audio-recorded and transcribed. Data from the group interview, including the transcript and researcher's notes, were considered along with the theoretical framework of the study to inform the composition and design of the qualitative survey.

One early and essential change was made as a result of the group interview. Participants struggled with the definition of civic leadership as presented. Civic leadership was confused with civic engagement in the course of one line of discussion in the interview.   Participants suggested that the term be changed to public service leadership for this population; they said they thought congruence with the Truman Scholarship Foundation language would be helpful in framing the responses of scholars participating in the study. Civic leadership remains the concept of interest to the study, but in all contact with participants, the term public service leadership has been

substituted. For the purpose of this study, the two terms are synonymous and include both professional employment in public service and civic activism as a private citizen.

The qualitative survey instrument was designed following key principles of Dillman's Tailored Design Method (Dillman, 2000). Tailored Design Method is founded on the theory of social exchange. The method proposes the development of survey procedures that create respondent trust and perceptions of increased rewards and reduced costs for being a respondent, take into account features of the particular survey situation, and have as their goal the overall reduction of survey error (p.29). The researcher established trust in the qualitative survey by gaining sponsorship of a legitimate agency, in this case the Truman Scholarship Foundation. This sponsorship, made clear by the invitation to participate extended by the Foundation's Executive Secretary that introduced the survey, also invoked another exchange relationship; respondents may have felt that they owed it to the Foundation to participate in the study in recognition of the Foundation's investment in the respondents as Truman Scholars. To reduce perceived costs and increase rewards, the qualitative survey instrument was designed to support group values, give social validation and show positive regard, while avoiding inconvenience, and appearing short and easy to complete (Dillman, 2000). Because of the personal nature of the survey's open-ended questions, intended as they were to elicit from respondents critical experiences and relationships, assurance was made that the information would be not be individually attributed nor would respondents be identified by name.

The qualitative survey instrument was comprised of theory-driven, open-ended questions. Cultural capital theory suggests that one's cultural capital is formed early in

one's family life and education, and is tested when engaging a new "field." Open-ended questions were developed pertaining to family and personal relationships, educational experiences, and critical public service experiences. Data from the group interview helped to refine questions and suggested groupings and organization. Specifically, groupings based on family, barriers encountered in public service, and mentoring were proposed. The organization of the qualitative survey reflects assumptions in cultural capital theory about when in one's life cultural capital is formed, tested and developed.

Participants in the earlier group interview were asked also to field test the qualitative survey once it had been drafted. Based on the participants' feedback, and researcher review of responses, questions were dropped or revised. Three changes were made from the initial list of questions for the qualitative survey.

The first change related to the challenge of defining civic leadership mentioned above. Following a definition of public service leadership, the first question of the survey asked respondents if their leadership occurred in their professional life, life as a private citizen, or both. Because it was phrased in such a way that all field test respondents chose "both," the question's wording and placement was revised.

The second change consisted of eliminating three questions, all of which followed the central 'critical event' question: "What moment, event, or time in your life has been particularly influential to your public service leadership?" Initially this question was followed by three others which posed a similar question, but based on a particular chronological time:

> In what ways did your early school years/educational experience influence your trajectory of leadership in public service? Provide an example.

In what ways did your college life influence your path to public service leadership? Provide an example.

Please share an example of how experiences or relationships in graduate school/early career affected your career path.

Asking the question for each chronological stage became repetitive and required additional time and effort on the part of the respondent when she may have felt she had already answered the question in the critical event question: *What moment, event, or time in your life has been particularly influential to your public service leadership?* The three questions were dropped from the survey.

The final change involved adding a follow-up question related to mentoring, the last topic covered in the survey. Field test respondents shared a particular interest in mentoring and suggested an additional question: What challenges, if any have you experienced in your mentoring relationships? Feedback indicated the question might provide rich data for future studies related to mentor challenges women face related to gender or generational concerns.

These changes resulted in a twelve-question open-ended qualitative survey, focused on five theory-driven components of one's pathway to public service leadership. Field test data predicted respondents would need approximately 45 minutes to complete the survey.

Data Collection

Data for the study were collected by means of a qualitative survey comprised of open-ended questions distributed and completed online by the research population of

female Truman Scholars. As mentioned above, the Truman Scholarship Foundation maintains a database of over 2,500 Truman Scholars. The Foundation reported that roughly half of the records provide basic demographic information used for selection of subjects, some educational and career history, and a means to contact the Scholars. As the instrument for collecting data was an online qualitative survey (utilizing the Axio system supported by the author's institution), only those scholars with active email addresses were included in the sample.

The Truman Foundation does not ask candidates to indicate sex on the application, as it cannot be considered in selection. Because the application is the basis of creating the database record, the records cannot be sorted on the basis of sex. Records were sorted initially by Foundation staff using any sex-identifying information in the record, such as traditional female names, attendance at a single-sex institution, or membership in a known single-sex association (undergraduate fraternity or sorority). This record-sorting created populations for two launches of an online qualitative survey. The first launch population was comprised of 374 known female Scholars; the second population was comprised of 10 Scholars for whom sex could not be discerned. In the second launch of the qualitative survey, participants were informed of the sex-specific nature of the study and asked to participate if appropriate. Following this initial question, the qualitative survey was identical in both launches.

Of the 374 e-mail messages sent in the first launch, seventeen were returned "undeliverable." Nine e-mail messages generated "out of office" replies. None of the ten email messages in the second launch were returned "undeliverable" or generated "out of office reply" messages. The online survey was open for fifteen days, with two reminders

sent to email addresses that had not accessed the survey before online access to the survey closed. Ninety-six Scholars began the qualitative survey; seventy-one completed surveys. No survey responses were collected from the population of the second launch. Included in the invitation to participate was an offer to share results of the study with any who requested; six requests for results were received.

Data Analysis

Data were collected from 71 completed qualitative surveys of female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998. The protocol for qualitative analysis used in this study is best described by the data analysis spiral (Creswell, 1998). The process was one whereby the researcher first read the data multiple times and then worked to organize the data. The researcher then visualized the data and began to place the data into categories through interpretation and classification. Interpretation continued upon several iterations of rereading and reflection.

Data from the survey were analyzed to create a detailed description of the case (female Truman Scholars) and its setting (women's civic leadership). Data were examined for common themes. Making use of theoretically-driven codes to organize the data, a coding scheme was used to determine emerging categories of sub-codes. Data were interpreted using a process of categorical aggregation. In this process, the researcher established patterns correspondent to the themes, uncovering potential relationships between categories. Finally, data were examined to uncover any understandings or assertions that contribute to a rich description of the case (Creswell 1998).

Trustworthiness

This study employed three basic strategies to support trustworthiness of its findings. First, a triangulated research strategy was used to demonstrate credibility of the process, and to ensure that the female Truman Scholars' perceptions are reflected clearly and accurately. Triangulation can occur with data, investigators, theories, and even methodologies. In this study, data collected from the survey as well as from the group interview utilized in the research design process was triangulated with theory.

Figure 3.1 Data analysis - triangulation
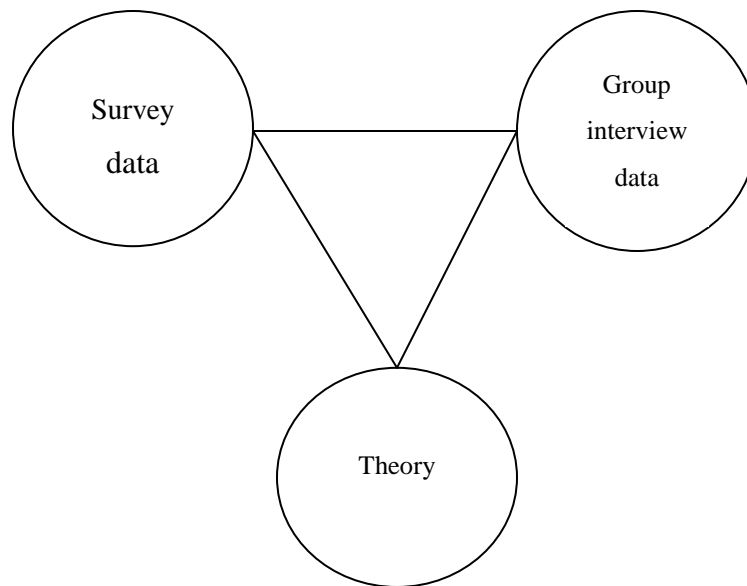
Peer debriefing also was used to add credibility to the study. Peer debriefing is a process whereby a peer reviews data, asks questions about methods and interpretations, and challenges the researcher's assumptions in order to verify the coding and interpretation of data (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). In this study, an expert in qualitative research at the researcher's institution reviewed 10 percent of the raw data and coded the

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data in two of the five primary theoretical coding categories. In consultation and with minor modification, rater consensus was achieved.

Another strategy to ensure trustworthiness and credibility is "member checking" (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). This is a process whereby participants are asked to assess whether they consider the researcher's interpretations to be accurate representations of their experiences. A form of member checking was used early in the research process when group interview participants reviewed the qualitative survey design based on data collected from the interview. In addition, three members of the group interview were provided the study's analysis and findings, and provided feedback that the overall account of data reflected their experiences.

Researcher's Role

The researcher is a member of the population studied. In addition, the researcher has engaged with the Truman Scholar selection process as a campus advisor, member of both the finalists selection committee (application review) and scholars selection committee (interview panel), and as former Deputy Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Truman Scholarship Foundation. The researcher has participated as a Senior Scholar in the Truman Scholars Leadership Week (TSLW) and continues to participate annually as an invited speaker and guest at TSLW. Because of this background, the researcher had access to the research population. While a peer of the population sample, the researcher did not participate in the qualitative survey or contribute data for analysis. In the group interview, the researcher introduced the activity, presented the questions, and did not contribute responses except for clarification or to probe for detail in participants' responses. Throughout this study, the researcher monitored observations

and data records for evidence of personal bias, and has accounted for personal contributions to data in the narrative. [Researcher biography is provided in Appendix E.]

Summary

This study employed qualitative research methods to explore the pathways women take to civic leadership. Qualitative research is a process of inquiry particularly suited for this type of exploration. Relying on a limited set of cases that present many variables, with the purpose of interpreting participant perceptions, qualitative research allows for individual and collective stories to be shared (Creswell, 1998). This collective case study explored the issue of women's civic leadership in an effort to understand challenges, advantages, and strategies emerging as themes from participant reflections. With its focus on critical experiences and relationships, the study was framed in the context of cultural capital theory.

Data for this study were collected using an online qualitative survey comprised of open-ended questions. The qualitative survey design process included expert panel review, group interview feedback, and field-testing. The instrument was designed following principles of Dillman's Tailored Design Method. To support trustworthiness of the study, the researcher employed strategies of triangulation, peer-debriefing, and member-checking in the data analysis process detailed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4 - Analysis of the Data

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter 1, women have moved beyond historical limitations of participation to the exercise of leadership in the field of public service. Women leaders today have many sources to draw on for inspiration, motivation, and sustenance in their civic activism. They also face persistent barriers and challenges to their public service leadership. By exploring the critical incidents and influential experiences that have forged women's pathways to public service leadership, this study seeks to understand how women emerge as civic leaders.

The purpose of this study was to explore contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership using collective case study design resulting in a description of themes or patterns. To understand how these leaders' pathways were formed, the study drew from women, in their own words, their perceptions and understandings of the professional and personal experiences leading to their current positions of civic leadership. As noted in Chapter 3, civic leadership was reframed during data collection as public service leadership, in response to feedback from a group interview prior to the survey design. Pathways to leadership are defined broadly as the experiences and relationships comprising individual women's career and life trajectories. Contemporary female leaders in civic life engaged in this study were Truman Scholars selected during their college careers for their potential leadership in public service.

Analyzing the Data

Data were collected from 71 completed open-ended surveys of female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998. The protocol for qualitative data analysis used in this study is best described by the data analysis spiral (Creswell, 1998). The process was one whereby the researcher first read the data multiple times and then worked to organize the data. The researcher then visualized the data and began to place the data into categories through interpretation and classification. Interpretation continued upon several iterations of rereading and reflection.

In the first iteration of data analysis the researcher examined the data for similarities, allowing data to be grouped and conceptually labeled as codes or coding categories. The unit of analysis, or segment analyzed, was phrases or sentences within a survey response, characterized by the researcher as a thought unit. Some full paragraph responses were coded into one category; frequently, however, responses held more than one distinct thought unit and would be segmented into multiple categories. For example, in the following direct quote response to a question related to barriers encountered, there are two distinct thought units:

> Barriers include: that I'm often paying for a babysitter to watch my kids while I am at evening meetings (volunteer/unpaid); that education issues can be emotionally-charged for parents and can lead to people being unhappy with me for taking certain positions.

The first unit, "I'm often paying for a babysitter to watch my kids while I am at evening meetings (volunteer/unpaid)," was coded as relating to money as a barrier. The second unit, "education issues can be emotionally-charged for parents and can lead to people being unhappy with me for taking certain positions," was coded as relating to the nature of public service as a barrier. During the coding process, full responses were kept

intact. When responses contained data falling into multiple coding categories, relevant data was highlighted within the response, so that the context was maintained.

In case study research, a dominant mode of data analysis is the search for "patterns" by comparing results of the collected data with patterns predicted from theory or the literature (Yin, 1989). As mentioned in Chapter 3, data for this study were collected using theory-driven qualitative survey questions. Of the twelve questions presented, the first two captured descriptive data of the population. These data were used to describe the collective case – the cohort of Truman Scholar women and particularly the type of work and service they pursue. The remaining ten questions comprised five theoretical coding categories, or clusters, for analysis, based as they were on components representative of cultural capital and social reproduction theory.

Initial analysis of the data followed the order of the open-ended questions. As noted, the first two survey questions provided data used to describe the respondents and provide context for the study. Analysis of the remaining ten questions surfaced five theoretical clusters based on the following groupings of survey responses: Critical Event, questions 3-5; Family, question 6; Barriers, questions 7-8; Unplanned Event, question 9; and Mentoring, questions 10-12.   Data from each theoretical coding cluster were analyzed to develop sub-coding categories. All data collected were accounted for in the sub-coding categories. These sub-codes describe the respondents' perceptions related to key experiences and relationships of their pathway. Sub-coding categories were next considered and compared across theoretical coding clusters to discover cross-cluster themes that emerge. These findings are presented in this chapter.

Description of the Respondents

The first two questions of the qualitative survey instrument generated data describing the research population. The first question asked, *In what areas or around what issues have you been most active?* Respondents were provided eleven areas from which to choose, plus a twelfth option of "Other." Respondents were able to select more than one area of activity. Responses are provided in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Data from Question 1
In what areas or around what issues have you been most active?

Area		Count (%)
Child Advocacy		12 (12.5%)
Civil Rights		14 (14.58%)
Community development		21 (21.88%)
Education		36 (37.5%)
Environment		15 (15.62%)
Health/medicine		21 (21.88%)
Human and social services		27 (28.12%)
International relations		18 (18.75%)
Military		4 (4.17%)
Science/technology		7 (7.29%)
Trade/economy		5 (5.21%)
Other, please explain below		21 (21.88%)

In addition, a comment box was provided to capture additional description. Thirty-six respondents offered comments; most comments added or clarified areas of activity. These areas of activity included anti-poverty, worker's rights, immigration,

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public financial management, law enforcement, tax policy, reproductive rights, gay rights, criminal prosecution, municipal government, workforce development, disability rights, and land and historic preservation. Some respondents provided detail about their work; other respondents described the sequence of their career development, indicating moves into and out of public service as well as development of volunteer interests and activity.

Respondents were asked next to characterize the nature of their public service leadership. Question two stated: *Leadership in public service is exercised by those employed in the sector (e.g. director of state housing authority) as well as by private citizens volunteering their time and talents to an issue of public concern (school board member). In what role do you serve most actively?* While some respondents indicated either employment in the public sector or civic activism as a private citizen, many respondents described activities that included both roles. Other respondents resisted the label or definition of public service leadership:

> I am not holding any leadership positions.
>
> Neither. I am an academic who does research around occupational safety & health issues. I do, however, see my work as a form of public service, although it is not a direct leadership role.
>
> I have not really 'followed through' on the Truman Scholar career path, honestly, and am less active in matters that I care about than I would be in a perfect world

This resistance to be labeled surfaced in later responses as well. Some respondents described difficulty with the attribution of leadership to their work. Other respondents described a narrow definition of public service, interpreting it as formal employment in the public sector.

The research population of female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998, demonstrated great diversity in their public service experiences. Respondents reported exercising leadership in both professional roles and their roles as private citizens – paid and volunteer. Some respondents reported both past and present professional and volunteer service. Respondents' public service leadership took many forms; responses to this open-ended question, represented in Table 4.2, demonstrate the fluid nature of paid and unpaid public service.

Table 4.2 Data from Question 2
In what role do you serve most actively?

Professionally	75%	Privately as volunteer	40%
Government service		Pro bono services	
Education/Higher education		Nonprofit board service	
Public service law		Church volunteer	
Military		School board	
Nonprofit agency		School volunteer/classroom parent	
Elected office			

Based on the public service leadership experiences reported in the first two questions, respondents described contributions and challenges to their pathways throughout the remainder of the qualitative survey. Data for the remaining ten questions of the qualitative survey were coded and organized into five clusters representing theoretical concepts:

- Critical event: influential incident or experience encountered personally
- Family: personal relationship(s) or experiences with family of origin
- Barriers: challenges experienced as defeats or discouragement
- Unplanned event: unanticipated experiences or unexpected consequences of decisions
- Mentoring: informal or formal relationship providing personal or professional guidance

Critical Event

Data for the first theoretical coding cluster, Critical Event, was generated by the open-ended question: *What moment, event or time in your life has been particularly influential to your public service leadership?* This question represents a foundational concept in cultural capital theory. Cultural capital theory suggests that an individual's cultural capital may be understood and/or is employed when the individual interacts with institutions, or established social systems. This interaction is characterized as an influential incident or critical experience. As an opening question for the survey, this critical event question invited participants to suggest a range of those incidents and experiences. The follow up question, *"What about it made it stand out?,"* along with data provided on when the event occurred, provided a rich description of these respondents' interactions with established institutions or systems that provides a way of understanding their cultural capital.

The sub-codes for the first theoretical coding cluster, Critical Event, are presented below (Table 4.3). In identifying critical events, respondents drew from childhood experiences with school and family, from college and graduate school experiences and relationships, and from professional encounters with public service and challenges of work-family balance. Some respondents did not identify a particular moment, describing critical experiences as "multiple," "cumulative," or "unfolding." Notably, one category surfaced from respondents who resisted the assumption embedded in the question. They indicated that they did not consider themselves leaders or as having demonstrated public service leadership.

Data were reduced through analysis into ten sub-codes and are presented below with definitions and representative data. The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *What moment, event or time in your life has been particularly influential to your public service leadership?*

Table 4.3 Cluster 1: Critical Event. Data from Question 3

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
1 Family's model of service	Responses referenced family members' service ethic, presence as role models and/or communicating an expectation of service	▪ my upbringing ▪ parents set example ▪ childhood was steeped in public service ▪ influence of parents' own career choices ▪ both parents took risks and loved everybody ▪ my grandmother's commitment to social justice
2 Critical service experience	Responses referenced a significant personal public service experience, either as a volunteer or in a professional capacity	▪ my first few years working as a prosecutor in the domestic violence unit ▪ my service as deputy city attorney ▪ my very first job ▪ high school volunteer experiences ▪ as a young attorney I won a political asylum case (saved a life) ▪ early volunteer involvement working for a U.S. Senator ▪ working in Africa ▪ when I heard about a program for "throw away and run away teens" ▪ serving on the redevelopment board of my city
3 Mentor/influential teacher	Responses referenced the impact of an influential individual or the role mentors played in their experiences	▪ helped me focus on what was truly important and remember the reasons I serve ▪ introduced to public service by my home economics teacher ▪ very influential high school government/history teacher that convinced a whole generation of students that public service was essential to democracy ▪ benefited tremendously from the presence of mentors ▪ Encouragement of mentors (college)
4 Motherhood	Responses indicated the impact of their role as mother	▪ becoming and being a mother ▪ influenced by having a young son with autism spectrum disorder
5 Environment growing up	Responses referenced the environment, beyond the family itself, in which they grew up	▪ growing up in poverty, with an undereducated single mother significantly influenced my decision to go into public advocacy ▪ I am the daughter of immigrants and wanted to give back to the society that had given me so much ▪ growing up experiencing biases and misunderstanding

		▪ community
		▪ moving to the deep South after living in more affluent areas of the country
		▪ growing up in the rural south/southwest made me very aware of poverty issues as well as the problems of violence against women
6 Truman Scholarship experience	Responses referenced receipt of the Truman Scholarship, opportunities provided by the Truman Foundation, or the impact of the network of Truman Scholars	▪ being selected a Truman Scholar ▪ attending TSLW (Truman Scholars Leadership Week) ▪ publicly affirmed for what I believed in ▪ had a big impact in encouraging me to stay on the straight and narrow and follow a life of public service ▪ the application process, and the people who helped me with it, helped me "frame" what I wanted to do ▪ confirmed my career commitment ▪ involvement with the Truman Foundation, especially during the summer internships ▪ all the opportunities that have been available to me since 1978 began with the receipt of this scholarship ▪ fundamentally altered the trajectory of my career
7 Early leadership/group experience	Referenced participation in school or community groups as youth	▪ extremely active as a Girl Scouts…student government, editing the newspaper ▪ my experiences in FHA (Future Homemakers of America) ▪ experiences on the debate team in high schools ▪ school governance in high school ▪ youth in government (YMCA)
8 Education	Referenced experiences in formal educational settings including K-12, college, and graduate or professional school	▪ college – encouraged to think about how I could make a difference in my local environment ▪ a gifted program in elementary school ▪ undergraduate education ▪ law school ▪ moving from an elite private ivy league university to a public community college ▪ graduate school ▪ a civil rights lawyer and poet, Martin Espada, who taught a class at my public school thanks to an NEA Fellowship
9 No moment	Responses did not indicate a particular moment, event or time	▪ no one thing ▪ has not been a single defining moment for me, but rather a series of experiences throughout my life ▪ have been many ▪ culmination of multiple influences ▪ nothing in particular stands out ▪ my path has unfolded in a more incremental, cumulative way and lots of factors (some intangible) seem influential
10 Don't see self as public service leader	Responses resisted description embedded in the question	▪ doesn't really precisely describe how I see my role ▪ can't say that you could describe me as exercising public service leadership ▪ have not been more engaged in public service due to a large family & primary economic responsibilities & absentee fathers

Cluster 1: Critical Event also presents data generated in response to the follow-up question: *What was it about that circumstance that made it stand out?* Four categories of sub-codes describe the significance of the critical event to the respondent. The four sub-codes are: agency, opportunity, motivation, and validation.

The "agency" sub-code includes responses that describe the critical event as one where the respondent discovered skills, voice, or the ability to make an impact. These responses describe recognition of the respondent's personal agency. Personal agency as a concept encompasses related constructs of personal efficacy, empowerment, and sense of personal control, and may be described as one's perception of one's own competence demonstrated in confidence in self and persistence in the face of obstacles and frustrations (Bandura, 1997) Respondents described gaining a sense of personal agency or efficacy as a result of the critical event identified: "I could see the results of my actions and how it would affect people right away;" "Realizing that I am good at encouraging people and bringing forth their best efforts;" and "being able to see that as an individual I could make a difference."

Responses coded under the "opportunity" sub-code describe discovering new opportunities and in some cases the limits of those opportunities as the significant consequence of the critical event. For some the consequence was discovering public service as a career option; responses refer to being "exposed" to options for public service careers "I did not know existed." Other respondents expressed discovering through life changes, notably motherhood, that new opportunities exist for service where others become limited:

> Becoming a mother left me with very little time outside of work
> and family to devote to public service. Since my kids started to go

to school, though, I have tried to at least devote some volunteer time to their classrooms and/or schools.

The "motivation" sub-code category captures responses describing the critical event as having significant consequence for driving or inspiring the individual's public service leadership. Respondents described being inspired by others' examples:

> My grandmother and father both had an interest in issues concerning social justice. It provided an example for me. I always ask myself – is this experience going to help the world, and promote social justice, or reduce the level of justice and equality in the world.

Other respondents, represented in the direct quote below, appreciated the depth of the challenge faced in their public service leadership in new ways:

> Daily observing the long-term impact of family violence on victims and their children galvanized me to dedicate the majority of my public service to this area.

Some respondents described how the critical event tapped their passion:

> I have strong memories of marching with my mother for the ERA when I was a young child, talking about issues of poverty with my father, and witnessing the impact that residential segregation had on my classmates in the public high school I attended in Alabama.

Responses under the "validation" sub-code describe the critical event as providing affirmation of the individual's experiences, abilities, or ambitions:

> It was the moment when I was specifically identified by others as someone whom they felt they could entrust with being a leader in my field and was asked to do so. It was a huge vote of confidence on this aspect of my abilities.

Some respondents described the resulting community of like-minded people or network of support as the significant, validating consequence of the critical event: "allowed me to build solid relationships to peers with similar career interests and

passions." This acknowledgement of the personal significance of "network" or "community" is common among Truman Scholars when describing the benefits of the scholarship, particularly among Scholars selected from 1990 to the present. In 1989, the new Executive Secretary established programs intended to foster and build the "Truman Community." Respondents identified one program specifically, Truman Scholars Leadership Week (TSLW), as a significant validating event. TSLW brings together all Truman Scholars selected nationally in a given year to William Jewell College in Liberty, Missouri for one week of leadership development and community-building. Respondents mentioned other Truman Foundation programs, such as Summer Institute which again brings a group of Truman Scholars together for a residential, leadership and professional development experience, as a critical event that affirmed values of public service and validated ambitions.

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *What was it about that circumstance* [critical event identified in previous question] *that made it stand out?*

Table 4.4 Cluster 1: Critical Event. Data from Question 4

Sub-Code	Definition	Example of Data
1 Agency	Descriptions address finding voice, discovering skills, recognizing ability to impact	▪ Realizing that I had a voice ▪ helped me educate myself about issues I cared about, and learn skills that can be applied to bring about change. ▪ I was/am working in circumstances where I feel my actions contribute to a larger effort to improve people's lives. ▪ The final impact of the service definitely makes it stand out. I will never forget when the judge read the grant of asylum. It was indescribable.
2 Opportunity	Descriptions address discovering limits of experience and new opportunities	▪ It was my first exposure to government and legal rights, and the people I worked with were really interesting ▪ It exposed me to options for public service careers that I did not know existed especially growing up in

		an immigrant family. ▪ Seeing and learning about all of the opportunities that are available, both in govt. and in private practice ▪ Being a mother of four children led me to become involved in the mother attorney group and to volunteer at their school and as a coach. But it has been challenging to find time for other volunteer projects. I have also been less involved in politics because the events are typically in the evening or on the weekend, when I would prefer to be with my family.
3 Motivation	Descriptions address inspiration by others' example, by the depth of challenge/social injustice, or by experiences that tapped passion	▪ My mother was very involved in community/public service, it made an impression on me, and I often think of her when I am doing the same ▪ Seeing people at the highest levels of government working to advance causes that I believed in served to enhance my opinion of the capacity of government to be a force for good in people's lives (a process which, by the way, I am finally experiencing again this year). ▪ I was appalled at the various ways in which people can - and do - abuse the smallest among us. ▪ Where private development meets politics can be a very sordid place indeed. It changed my view of government-- and not always in a good way!
4 Validation	Descriptions address gaining affirmation, validation, a network, or community of support	▪ validated my commitment to public service and civic leadership and encouraged me to push on ▪ I felt very empowered as a young woman and I believe that support was critical to my eventual success ▪ I saw that a career in public service could engage all the talents of bright people of integrity in a meaningful and honorable way--people whom I respected and watched up close. ▪ I found there were others out there like me - and an entire organization and community available to support a commitment to a career in service.

The final component of this theoretical coding cluster is data generated in response to the question of when in the life of the individual the critical event occurred. Respondents were given five chronological/experience-based options along with an opportunity to describe the time differently. This question was included to explore an assumption in cultural capital theory about when in one's life cultural capital is formed, tested and developed. The theory suggests that one's cultural capital is formed early in one's family life and education, and is tested when engaging a new "field." Respondents

indicating that critical events happened before college may have described capital being formed. These events related to experiences in one's family of origin or formal education. Respondents indicating critical events happened in graduate school, early in their professional life or mid-career may have described capital being tested and further developed – engaging in new fields of service or professional life, family roles beyond childhood, etc. According to the theory, interacting with new social institutions or systems demonstrates the extent of one's cultural capital. Those experiences also demonstrate the limits to one's capital, presenting opportunity to adapt and develop additional cultural capital. Results, provided in the table below, cannot be interpreted as supporting the assumption; the researcher did not collect data specific to the formation, testing, and development of cultural capital. Rather, the data provide information to the broader theoretical coding cluster of Critical Event, adding "when" to the previous questions of "what" and "why."

Table 4.5 Cluster 1: Critical Event. Data from Question 5
Did this occur…

before college		22 (30.95%)
during college/graduate school		22 (30.95%)
early in professional life		13 (18.3%)
mid-career/life		7 (9.9%)
later in career/life		0 (0%)
I would describe this time differently (please explain)		7 (9.9%)

In selecting "I would describe this time differently," to the question above, respondents typically described the critical event as more of a process that spanned

categories, making the selection of one impossible. One respondent appears to respond

directly to cultural capital theory when she states:

> I believe that the positive support and experiences I had as a child
> and in high school and college predisposed me to public service,
> and to leadership.

Family

The second theoretical coding cluster presents data that focused on family as a

contributing element to one's leadership. (Table 4.6) The question generating data for this

cluster was: *In what ways have family/personal relationships propelled, sustained or*

challenged your leadership? Analysis of data in this cluster surfaced five distinct sub-

codes: Marriage/spouse, Family/personal finances, Caretaker role, Work/family balance,

and Family support/inspiration.   Responses characterized family and personal

relationships as challenges (negative) and means of sustenance or encouragement

(positive) in all sub-code categories.

Respondents who identified marriage or relationship with spouse as influential to

the individual's pathway described a range of relationships that propelled, sustained, and

challenged. One respondent shared "My husband is actively involved in public service

and his example encourages me to continue." Another reported:

> My husband is deeply supportive of all my efforts and shares in the
> tasks of parenting and running a household so that I can pursue my
> personal and professional interests.

A different experience is described by another:

> My husband resented my choice to use an expensive professional
> degree in a relatively low-paying area of the legal field. My
> ultimate choice to continue in my career path was one factor that
> led to the end of my marriage.

Several responses demonstrated the complexity of personal relationships, incorporating positive and negative elements experienced and observed:

> My husband is intellectually and philosophically supportive of my career and public leadership, but he has a very responsible job also, and he simply does not contribute 50% to family responsibilities-- and this is true for many professional women in public life I know.

Personal and family finance is another sub-code that emerged in this theoretical code or cluster. Respondents described the financial challenges families encounter when supporting public service careers. For some respondents, their family of origin's limited financial capacity prevented access to important but unpaid learning or career opportunities:

> The financial circumstances in my family sometimes stopped me from being able to take unpaid internships, etc. (incidentally offered to me by the Truman Foundation) which would have given me exposure to top leaders.

Other respondents acknowledged the financial support provided by parents while pursuing not only their education but public service careers.

> My parents have been enormously supportive of my career choices, and have encouraged me to work on social justice issues. They have also provided some limited financial support when I have needed it.

Respondents also noted the challenges of raising a family on low-paying public sector jobs: "The only thing lousier than the hours and the stress of public service leadership is the pay." Some respondents expressed reconsidering career choice and strain on personal and family relationships as a consequence of that challenge; other respondents acknowledged finding workable arrangements to meet the challenge: "My husband's successful law practice allowed me to take lower paying public sector jobs."

The role of caretaker also surfaced as a sub-coding category in this cluster. Respondents described the impact of their role as caretaker as influential in their leadership. Motherhood in particular stands out in the data as causing respondents to make changes in their home and work life. Some respondents noted the time demands of parenting and its consequences, both negative and positive:

> I now have two children and have less time to devote to endeavors outside of my parenting role. I now work part-time and am challenged to have time to devote to leadership activities.

> While being a mother has forced me to spend a few less hours working, it has also made me a different, and I think more insightful and passionate leader around what kind of policies, programs and practices need to be in place in the United States.

In addition to motherhood, respondents noted the consequences of other caretaking roles:

> I have made the decision to reconsider having children because I am not sure how I would support them financially or emotionally in my current life. My mother is very sick and is a constant motivator for the work that I do, but I also must think about her in a way that my brother does not.

Data presented in the category of work/family balance represent the challenges and rewards faced by respondents' of managing their roles as wife/mother/daughter and as professional.

> The challenges arise from the feeling of insecurities regarding time spent with children vs. time spent at work. There is a continual conflict between spending additional time with my young children and pursuing professional success--there just aren't enough hours in the day to do it all, and I'm reluctant to spend even less time with my children while they are young.

> Family and personal relationships have kept me whole and balanced. For several years, I was overbalanced with career, and following the death of my father, I realized that I had nothing BUT career. I diversified my life at that point--probably, to some extent, to the detriment of my service availability, but life is better now.

Family support or inspiration is another category that emerged in this cluster. Respondents noted the impact of family support of their ideas, ambitions, and choices:

>Both of my parents were always extremely supportive and proud of my work and ambitions and never hesitated to tell me.

>My family of origin doesn't get or like my activism (at least my parents). My partner's family is much more supportive, as is my partner.

Some respondents described limits or challenges to family support, noting instead the support of a network of colleagues:

>I have found that my co-workers provide a supportive community for my public service work. No real family direction, although they have been supportive - this is harder for immigrant families like mine.

Respondents also noted how family serves as an inspiration for their service, sometimes described as modeling they saw from their parents, or the modeling they wish to provide their children:

>The thing that really keeps me going is realizing that I'm setting a good example for my daughter.

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *In what ways have family/personal relationships propelled, sustained or challenged your leadership?*

Table 4.6 Cluster 2: Family. Data from Question 6

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
Marriage/Spouse	Described how role of being a partner or choice of partner has affected pathway to leadership	▪ I have a wonderfully supportive spouse ▪ My marriage ended after twenty-two years, principally because my husband was of the opinion that my career in law was not compatible with his vision for our life together ▪ It took me a while to find a husband who was comfortable with a strong, career woman. I just got married for the first time at age 40. ▪ trying to help support a spouse, emotionally and a bit financially, is challenging ● wonder what my life would have been like had I not married him
Family/personal finances	Described the impact of finances, both in family of origin and personal finances as an adult, on pathway	▪ I know that I missed opportunities many times because I had to work for money, rather than merely prestige, and in Washington, in public service circles, the best jobs in terms of advancement are often completely unpaid. ▪ Relationships have suffered because of commitment to service and poor salaries in public sector education ▪ financial circumstances have also played a significant role in my choices, as I feel partially responsible for contributing to my family's financial health. ▪ My husband's successful law practice allowed me to take lower paying public sector jobs. ▪ As I grew older and financial needs challenged my career choice, I went into the private sector for my day job and worked as a volunteer at night.
Caretaker role	Described how caring for others has affected pathway	▪ I am now a consultant working for municipalities and enjoy the freedom it gives to attend to my family as needed. ▪ Responsibilities for elderly parents as well as for a young child limit the time available for other interests. ▪ I always valued education, but becoming a parent provided me unique opportunities to understand public education systems and to work on behalf of children. ▪ My father is elderly and thus I have chosen to stay geographically close to him. This confines the opportunities that are available to me. ▪ Most recently, the arrival of my daughter, now 2 and a half years old, has given me an even greater sense of urgency about leaving the world a better place

Work/family balance	Described dual commitments of work and family as affecting leadership	▪ Since having children, I have found balancing family and career to be a challenge. ▪ The biggest challenge has been the time away from family and friends that is required by my job ▪ I have also been less involved in politics because the events are typically in the evening or on the weekend, when I would prefer to be with my family. ▪ The challenges arise from the feeling of insecurities regarding time spent with children vs. time spent at work. There is a continual conflict between spending additional time with my young children and pursuing professional success--there just aren't enough hours in the day to do it all, and I'm reluctant to spend even less time with my children while they are young. ▪ Family and personal relationships have kept me whole and balanced. For several years, I was overbalanced with career, and following the death of my father, I realized that I had nothing BUT career. I diversified my life at that point--probably, to some extent, to the detriment of my service availability, but life is better now.
Family support/ Inspiration	Described the role of family and friends in support and/or inspiration of public service leadership	▪ My children are a constant source of joy. ▪ I always felt supported and did not feel like I had to explain or excuse what I wanted to do. ▪ While family members actively resented my efforts to complete an education at midlife, friends and associates have been a constant source of support and encouragement. ▪ My parents have been enormously supportive of my career choices, and have encouraged me to work on social justice issues…these relationships sustain me, as well, and inspire me ▪ Many of my family members are still in poverty or are part of the working poor. The daily reminder of their struggles fuels my drive toward policy reform.

Family and personal relationships surfaced in responses to the first question on critical events, and recurred in all remaining clusters as well. It is not surprising that these relationships are powerful in affecting one's pathway.

Barriers

The third theoretical coding cluster presents data that focused on barriers to one's leadership (Table 4.7). The question generating data for this theoretical code was: *What*

barriers, defeats, or discouragement, if any, have you encountered? Analysis of data in this cluster surfaced nine categories – money, workplace sexism, lack of mentors, family/gender expectations, time/Truman guilt, disillusion, personal characteristics, nature of public service, and none/no barriers. Some respondents described experiences or relationships in this theoretical coding cluster that they had introduced in previous responses to Critical Event and/or Family clusters. These cross-cluster responses elevated patterns that are discussed later in this chapter.

Respondents expressed experiencing money as a barrier, disappointment or discouragement in their public service leadership. Some respondents described family financial challenges as a barrier to access to educational or public service opportunities:

> I had difficulty coming up with the money to complete my bachelor's degree, despite the generosity of the Truman Scholarship.

Other respondents characterized the barrier as personal financial challenges posed by low-paying public sector work:

> When I first moved to the Washington area in 1991, I interviewed for a number of jobs in the area of women's rights and community organizing. They were very competitive, and they paid absolutely crap money. Finally it dawned on me that little college girls right out of undergrad were going to get these jobs and live basically off their parents while they made less than a living wage doing them. This was not acceptable or survivable for me. I didn't want to be poor and I didn't have any hope of having someone else subsidize my activism, certainly not my parents. So I basically gave up a political / activist vocation because the standard of living was just not enough to live on in DC, honestly.

Related to public service pay, responses noted lack of access to affordable healthcare, ability to pay back student loans, and the costs related to volunteer service.

Husband could not get healthcare...and effectively took me out of professional public service for some years. Even now...I pay $760.00 per month for my own insurance...not sustainable!!!!

I had a hard time finding a job at a level appropriate to my experience and that paid enough to allow me to pay back my student loans.

I'm often paying for a babysitter to watch my kids while I am at evening meetings (volunteer/unpaid).

Workplace sexism surfaced as another sub-code in this cluster, experienced by respondents as a barrier to their public service leadership. While one respondent simply responded "Institutional Sexism," many respondents expressed their disappointment with persistent sexism in the workplace:

I've found some men are very threatened by women more capable than they are, and act out in weird ways sometimes, trying to one-up you constantly, using put-downs, etc. I've had several very painful experiences with harassment, not sexual harassment in the old fashioned sense of grabbing & groping, but more verbal menacing and behind the scenes back-stabbing because you're young and capable and female.

Before I became a consultant I did run into an organization that had a hard time with strong women in a management position. I was shocked that in 1999 I was facing such an issue.

Other respondents described in detail situations of harassment, prevented advancement, and other barriers based on sexism in their work environments:

I was 2 months out of being the first female S2 (staff intelligence officer) of the [omitted] battalion of the [omitted] brigade to exist in the Army when a bunch of old cavalry veterans lobbied Congress to get it coded a "ground combat" unit, thus causing all the women in the unit to be reassigned and closing that door to me - never mind the fact that women have served that location on the battlefield since the 1980s when their units were attached to ground combat units. The squadron commander had also chosen me to be the first woman to command the military intelligence troop after a year as his S2, because I was the best qualified intelligence officer in the brigade. As a result of this decision, however, I would have had to have waited an extra year (or more,

due to the deployment) to take company command, a job required for promotion to major.

Being a woman, I have not received promotions or assignments when I should have. I eventually got a promotion because they could not refuse me after I outscored all but one person. So they made sure to promote me on the same day as two other guys whom I had beaten out even though they started with a significant advantage of seniority points. By doing so, our archaic, old boys' contract allowed these two guys to have continued seniority in our new rank.

I was asked to work on a case involving discrimination at a foreign post of our organization, and one co-worker described the victim as "another angry woman with an ax to grind" in my presence, in a room with 10 men and me, younger than all the others by at least 10 years. I found myself often having to risk my own progression to stand up for my beliefs and for women in general. I began to realize that in order to succeed in that particular organization, you had to develop a very thick skin, very quickly.

While responses to all the open-ended survey questions were generally thoughtful and articulate, respondents articulating workplace sexism as a barrier provided a level of detail and description that conveys to the researcher an intense, emotional response lacking in ambivalence.

Lack of mentors also emerged as a sub-coding category of barriers, disappointments or discouragement. Respondents described the negative impact of having no mentors to provide encouragement or direction, as well as no role models to set an example or chart a course. The final theoretical coding cluster, which focuses on mentoring, generated much more data on this topic, but it is notable that lack of mentoring surfaced as a barrier earlier in the survey responses. Respondents also expressed a difference in the intensity of the perceived impact a lack of mentors has had on their pathways:

The biggest obstacle I have encountered is that it has been enormously difficult for me to find mentors.

While I have been very successful so far, there are few national role models who share my race and gender who have experienced success in seeking higher executive office.

In the family/gender expectations sub-code that emerged, respondents described family gender roles, such as mother, spouse, and daughter, as a barrier to their public service leadership. Some of the sub-coding categories from Cluster 2: Family surfaced again in these responses, most notably work/family balance, caretaker role, and spouse/marriage. Unlike Cluster 2 data, however, respondents in this cluster all described these relationships or experiences as barriers.

My family situation is a barrier. I created this situation through my choices in spouses so it's not so much that I encountered these barriers as much as I created them.

I was offered a wonderful teaching position that would have required my family to move to a place where I know my husband would have had limited opportunities and my daughter would not have grown up in the environment I want for her.

I have this constant paranoia of being judged by the stay at home moms... How can anything even if it is infant mortality, health care access for the poor, providing compassionate and competent prenatal care to HIV infected women or to adolescent mothers be more important than being around for one's own kids? I am not sure that these moms are spending a single second on thinking about my choices...All the same this is a constant worry.

Respondents expressed the barrier presented by family/gender expectations as both internal, negotiating one's own expectations, and external, negotiating the expectations of other family members, of the workplace, and of society.

Time/Truman guilt emerged as another sub-code in this cluster. Not surprisingly, time surfaced as a barrier: "Insufficient time has been the primary barrier." While time is

commonly understood as a potential barrier or constraint, respondents expressed time in conjunction with another factor which the researcher and others in the Truman community have termed "Truman guilt." This is not a formally documented term, rather how those in the community describe the commonly understood phenomenon of guilt related primarily to pursuing private sector employment. Truman Scholars are selected for this award based on their likelihood of becoming leaders in public service. At the time of selection – initially as college sophomores, now as college juniors – Scholars intend a career in public service and demonstrate outstanding leadership potential.   As the data in this study suggest, many factors can and may alter one's intended pathway. Selection early in one's career development for this national, prestigious award carries certain expectations. Respondents who have made choices or faced barriers that have led them away from the expectations, as they understand them, expressed "Truman guilt" in this sub-code, connected frequently with time as a factor in creating the barrier.

Some respondents expressed time connected with defensiveness regarding their private sector careers:

> My current career does not provide a lot of time or opportunity to do more.

> The main barrier to my service is limited time because most of my time is already spoken for by my young family and by my private-sector work. (As noted above, though, I get a lot of personal satisfaction from my job and feel that I and my company are making very meaningful contributions to cancer patients around the world. Many people may not consider this work to be "public service," but I feel very good about my company's mission, values, and tangible contributions to patient health, as well as about my contributions to my company's successes.)

Other respondents connected time as a barrier to family obligations, still acknowledging an expectation for public service:

As a mother with a child with autism, I don't have as much time or energy to commit to my professional advancement and public service.

In this category, respondents described lack of time as a barrier, sometimes referring to or demonstrating guilt regarding timeliness of their expected public service career.

Another sub-coding category emerged based on respondents' reported disillusion with public service or politics. Respondents described experiences or encounters resulting in disaffection with their intended service or career. Some respondents described early disillusion: "I would say the biggest discouragement was law school itself." Many respondents described a cumulative set of experiences that resulted in disaffection:

It was disheartening to see that a small but significant percentage of the judges I appeared in front of were regularly discourteous, overconfident, and underprepared. I was also stunned at the lack of any effective institutional response to judges who persistently failed to competently perform their duties.

realization that there are so many agendas -- some hidden -- that block getting things done in the civic arena. People have their turf that they want to protect, even if surrendering some of it would be beneficial to the community over all. Also, it is not the case that the good ideas or programs get the most funding and support. The fact is that a lot of things get done based on who you know or who knows you.

Professional culture! Fear of organizational change! Fear of accountability! Fear, fear, fear. It's VERY discouraging, and takes all one's fortitude. And this was BEFORE the economy went bad.

Other respondents described particular experiences that led to their disillusion and disaffection:

I served on a redevelopment board, where things got very sleazy and corrupt. The ultimate outcome was not a "defeat", in fact from the outside the project is very attractive and has revitalized the downtown, but the redevelopment effort wasted tens of millions of

taxpayer dollars, and it took up years of my volunteer time fighting off the worst excesses.

It's who you know that allows you to win funding for your projects, regardless of how worthy...I hadn't seen it before in the Army and I'd thought it was less political than corporate America. It was disillusioning to learn that I was wrong.

In this sub-coding category, respondents described disillusion and disaffection as powerful barriers that in some cases redirected their pathways away from public service.

Personal characteristics emerged as another sub-code in this cluster. Respondents described barriers, defeats, or discouragements resulting from personal characteristics such as age, race, sexual orientation and gender. Most of the responses relating to gender as a barrier, where sufficient data was provided, were coded in other categories, such as family/gender expectation or workplace sexism. Responses included in this sub-code identified personal characteristics in addition to gender:

I regularly faced the barrier of walking into a room and having both the judge and the defense attorney discount what I had to say because of my relative youth and in some instances my gender.

race and gender

I found that my relative youth was sometimes more of a barrier than my gender.

The nature of public service emerged also as a sub-code in the theoretical coding cluster of barriers. Respondents described challenges related to the public service sector that served as barriers or discouragements. Some respondents described challenges particular to their form of service, for example the military or foreign service:

loneliness, geographic isolation, homelessness, unemployment, losing elections, frequent moves, economic/income uncertainties, extended separation from loved ones, war, intolerance, ignorance

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I live outside the US so have had to learn to work within a different political and cultural system as an outsider.

Other respondents described challenges they perceived to be particular to the issue they are working to address:

Working on global warming is tough--we are essentially attempting to change the energy infrastructure in the US and around the world from fossil fuels to renewables. And we need to do so quickly lest we reach a tipping point past which we irreparably harm the environment and the conditions that have supported civilization to flourish.

The Bush administration routinely rejected applications from Arabic-language scholars and speakers who were not sympathetic to the Bush administration's policies in the Middle East.

Respondents also described discouragement or barriers they had encountered more broadly in the field of public service:

The overall societal perception about people who work for government has not exactly discouraged me, but it has felt like a weight I've been carrying for the last 18 years. It feels to me like this attitude is changing as of late.

Two-year thinking does not solve 20-year problems. But that's endemic to government work.

The biggest challenge is probably the human toll of a job like this. When you're delivering hands-on services to high-need populations, their successes are your successes -- but their defeats are yours too. It's crushing to see people fall again that you've been helping to stand. The defeats are personal and wrenching.

Many similarities exist between the responses coded in this sub-coding category and those coded as disillusion. The distinguishing factor was how the respondent characterized the impact of the challenge. Responses coded in disillusion resulted in disaffection or change of pathway away from public service. The experiences are characterized more clearly as barriers. Responses coded in the sub-code nature of public

service, described more discouragement than barrier, and provided no indication that the

challenges described prevented or deterred respondents from pursuing public service.

In the final sub-coding category of this cluster, respondents did not acknowledge

any particular barrier. Some respondents reported their good fortune at not experiencing

barriers; other respondents acknowledge many, but none that were remarkable:

> None, really. I am discouraged that I do not have more time to devote to leadership activities at this point in my life, but this will change

> Too many to recount and too many to dwell. But, I am sure you will find in all of your answers that barriers, defeats and discouragements are temporary and only serve to make the success of goals accomplished that much more studied and richer.

> Too many to count, with a significant number being the results of my own decisions. I have learned to pick my battles, and to plan and prepare before engaging in them!

Some respondents resisted the premise of the question, challenging the definition

of barrier:

> I have never felt any barriers in the work I have done. I live by the motto "when life gives you lemons, make lemonade" and so when I was faced with my son's addiction and the obstacles that brought I pushed on knowing I could use my experience to help others.

> None--my background in engineering and business, both male-dominated fields. There are no such things as barriers, defeats, discouragement in these testosterone-filled environments. I use the same skills in my professional dealings to handle my public service path. No time for crying or group hugs.

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *What barriers, defeats, or discouragement, if any, have you encountered?*

Table 4.7 Cluster 3: Barriers. Data from Question 7

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
1 Money	Described personal or family financial challenges as barrier	▪ I had a hard time finding a job at a level appropriate to my experience and that paid enough to allow me to pay back my student loans. ▪ Women still make less than men, and with a child in college, that's frustrating. ▪ financial burden of student loans from undergraduate and graduate school is an ever-looming presence, even when it is manageable
2 Workplace sexism	Described situations of harassment, prevented advancement, and other barriers based on gender	▪ obstacles raised by sexism within the academy. I think there is more awareness of that now, but still the statistics reveal ongoing biases in promotion, tenure and salary. ▪ Being a woman, I have not received promotions or assignments when I should have ▪ I found myself often having to risk my own progression to stand up for my beliefs and for women in general…I guess as a young woman from a single mother household, I was shocked at the constant misbehavior of many men in the workplace, and the conspiracy to sweep it under the rug.
3 Lack of mentors	Described a lack of mentors and role models as a barrier	▪ I was discouraged from completing a PhD when I was in college. ▪ The biggest obstacle I have encountered is that it has been enormously difficult for me to find mentors. ▪ While I have been very successful so far, there are few national role models who share my race and gender who have experienced success in seeking higher executive office.
4 Family/ gender expectations	Described family gender roles, such as mother, spouse, and daughter, as barrier to public service leadership	▪ not enough room made for the greater family responsibilities that women have. Even today, many women in the academy must choose between children and their careers. ▪ my career choice played a significant role in the end of my marriage. ▪ male faculty seem to take their wives for granted and have no empathy for women who are dealing with a lot more in their lives. ▪ As a full time mother of 4 children with no household help, I always had to juggle time commitments around my family obligations first.
5 Time/Truman guilt	Described lack of time as a barrier, sometimes referring to guilt regarding timeliness of	▪ The timing of family, in my case, has certainly delayed other pursuits - especially any change in career from private sector to public. ▪ I am discouraged that I do not have more time to devote to leadership activities at this point in my life, but this will change.

	expected public service career	▪ I am trying, as noted previously, to serve in a more selfless way while balancing the demands of family. I do feel often, however, that I have failed to use my talents to their highest and best use. I take responsibility for this failure, however, and hope that someday I will be able to put them to better use.
6 Disillusion	Described disaffection of politics and service as barrier	▪ I have been totally put off as to political leadership due to the constant need for funds and the resultant people attracted to political leadership. ▪ Budget cuts always impact kids first. I am frustrated with the fact that the US is not a child-friendly country. ▪ disillusionment with politics and government. It's not enough to convince me to leave public service, but seeing how unpleasant many of these jobs can be-- the unsavory political compromises, the greed, the glacial pace of change, the caution imposed by fear of litigation, unions, etc-- has definitely transported me a long way from my almost Pollyanna idealism of college days.
7 Personal characteristics	Youth, race, and sexuality described as barrier	▪ my sexuality caused me to reconsider whether my leadership style would be public or private ▪ These things have come more from my age than my gender. When I first began my job nine years ago, there was no one at the foundation within 20 years of my age ▪ As a young lawyer in Washington, I was the ONLY person of color in my section, the Wildlife and marine Resources Section in the environment division at the Department of Justice.
8 Nature of public service	Described the human toll of service work and challenges in the way public service work, nonprofit and government is structured	▪ International development sometimes feels like three steps forward, one sideways, and one backwards. Much depends on the country context, and that can change in a heartbeat of a leader or in a natural disaster. ▪ Education issues can be emotionally-charged for parents and can lead to people being unhappy with me for taking certain positions. ▪ shrinking resources battling against ever-growing need; bending our programs to fit the latest grant requirements; a workplace that does not support the needs of new mothers, despite their service focus; so much work, so little pay.
9 None	No particular barriers were acknowledged, or definition of barrier is challenged	▪ To be honest, I cannot think of any. ▪ Really, not much! I got into a good graduate school, got some experience in Washington DC, and moved back to my home state, and have been actively engaged in public sector work ever since. ▪ I don't like to focus on those situations. I'm sure there have been many; I just choose not to remember them. ▪ Fortunately, I have encountered few true barriers or defeats. Also, nothing is worth doing if it is not at least a little challenging.

Cluster 3: Barriers also presents data generated in response to the follow-up question: *How did you respond?* Using a similar framework as in Cluster 1, data were organized into four sub-coding categories: agency, opportunity, motivation, and validation. These sub-codes describe how respondents characterized their responses to the barriers encountered.

The "agency" sub-code includes responses in which the respondent described her response to the barrier as a choice to ignore, reject, or retreat. In this sub-code, respondents expressed a sense of agency – that they had achieved on their own behalf the perceived desired outcome.

> Changed jobs. Now I make almost 2/3's as much as my husband instead of 1/3. I'm not jealous; it's just a challenge. I'm still in the public sector and actually doing even more fulfilling work.

> I'm adapting! ;-)

> I got smarter about how to deal with situations. You learn when to use "voice" and when to use "exit"! I also got tougher in professional terms, and learned how to not take things personally. Women, I think, suffer from a stronger desire to be liked. We have to get over this. If you are a strong advocate for a cause, or for positions, or whatever, some people are not going to like you!

Responses coded under the "opportunity" sub-code described the barrier as an opportunity to gain skills, education, or experiences. Respondents described their responses as making use of the opportunity presented:

> a command opportunity emerged. It was less desirable in many ways than an intelligence command, but I jumped at the opportunity and was rewarded with some of the best senior officers and soldiers I have ever served with!

> studied my history and was inspired by civil rights movements and have pressed on to refine my public leadership

I found a job within my organization that was less visible and had less responsibility, and the division chief valued me enough to buck senior management to protect me. It was not as professionally rewarding, but it gave me a couple of years to focus more on my family. I was admitted to a professional development program during that time, and I took additional graduate courses to broaden my skills. I was also selected to attend Senior Service College, which combined great work-life balance with a career enhancing diploma. When my son turned four, I moved back onto the "career superhighway" in to a leadership track job.

The "motivation" sub-code captures responses describing the barrier experience as motivating one's perseverance or action to change, or as inspiration to help others.

Respondents described being motivated by the barrier to help others:

successfully got a panel together on stress and mental health in grad school. I also try to identify and help students facing mental health issues.

using my experience and lessons learned to help parents with out of control adolescents. I knew what families were experiencing and felt I could offer some guidance and hope. I began my practice as an educational consultant and wrote a book (with a colleague) on the subject

Raising awareness of sexism is one of my community issues and something that I continually work, in my teaching, research and community service.

Respondents also described being motivated by the barrier to persevere:

As Dory in Finding Nemo says, "Just keep swimming!"

Persistence and a long term view of problem solving are essential.

I persevered. Public service is not an easy career path. Local government offices frequently have few resources to devote to training, which leaves new employees to shoulder increasingly serious responsibilities with very little support. The scarcity of resources and the overwhelming workload often force agencies to adopt a "sink-or-swim" mode of training that can do a real disservice to both the public servant and the public. Despite those obstacles, I wouldn't trade my career for another path. The intangible reward of seeing lives changed as a result of my work is

worth every obstacle I have had to overcome. The obstacles are surmountable as long as you remember that it's the people you serve that you're working for, not your manager or the cranky judge you drew today.

Responses under the "validation" sub-code describe the barrier as providing incentive to build or extend one's network or support and affirmation. Respondents described attempts to find mentors or secure help when faced with barriers.

When I was given the run around by two direct supervisors about a raise, I went to an older Commercial Officer and she intervened on my behalf.

I have a lot of help at home. My mother and my mother-in-law have helped me at different points. I travel with young babies and pay for someone to go with me.

I responded by asking for more resources, but the answer was NO.

I have just kept looking for mentors. Interestingly, although I am an African American woman, I have often found mentors among men of color and white men. I have been less successful finding mentors who are women of color. I hope that I can provide the kind of mentorship that I never received to those who follow me

Many responses coded in the sub-code validation were coded in multiple sub-coding categories. For example, the response quoted directly above ends with an intention to help others motivated by her experience. That portion of the response was coded under motivation, while the remainder was coded as validation. Portions of many responses to this question were categorized under agency, as the respondents described taking action on one's behalf. Responses that also described responding to the barrier in a way that moves beyond taking action for oneself, and ascribes motivation, opportunity, or validation as a factor, however, were coded in the respective sub-coding category.

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *How did you respond*? (to barriers, defeats, or discouragement described in previous question.)

Table 4.8 Cluster 3: Barriers. Data from Question 8

Sub-code	Definition	Examples of data
Agency	Described response to barrier as choice to ignore, reject, or retreat; perceived desired outcome achieved on one's own behalf	▪ By putting them so far behind me that I don't even remember them now. ▪ Avoid personal involvement in any political office. ▪ I chose to change careers, so what I was doing in my professional life was in sync with my personal life. ▪ Started working in the private sector in technology for real money ▪ Formed my own non-profit organization and sought non-government grants to support international relations and public diplomacy projects in the Muslim world.
Opportunity	Described barrier as opportunity to gain skills, education, or experiences	▪ I learned. I was patient. I did my job, did it well, and looked for ways to create new opportunities. ▪ focused on building a non-conventional and diverse resume. I have also taken advantage of opportunities to build management and executive experience in other areas, to augment my skill set. ▪ gaining more experience that allows me to predict at least somewhat more accurately when such circumstances are likely to be present, and therefore to allocate my time and effort more efficiently to projects with a greater chance of success.
Motivation	Described barrier experience as motivating perseverance or action to change, to help others	▪ The job is too important and I truly believe that one day, as long as I just do the right thing, things will work out for me for once. ▪ I just keep plugging along. ▪ You dig in and just keep doing it. ▪ Be persistent. Find opportunities in times of 'defeat'. Often, winning/losing is just a perception. Have a greater goal in mind. ▪ Remembered who I work for, and do my best to make bad situations better.
Validation	Described barrier as incentive to build network, find mentors, or secure help	▪ I try to surround myself by those that are committed and filled with hope. ▪ I talked to everybody I knew and many that I didn't know. ▪ I have sought people out that are committed to change, or worked to fund factors that will motivate those around me. ▪ seek the advice or solace of a mentor or mom who has gone through similar insecurities and challenges.

Unplanned Event

The fourth theoretical coding cluster presents data that focused on unplanned events as a contributing element to one's leadership (Table 4.9). The survey prompt generating data for this theoretical code was: *Give an example of when a significant unplanned event affected your pathway.* Analysis of data in this cluster surfaced six sub-coding categories: impact of marriage/divorce, health challenges/family death, pregnancy/motherhood, job change/work or service opportunity, education opportunities, nothing reported. Respondents characterized unplanned events in some cases as challenging and in other cases as rewarding. In some instances, respondents described surprise events – those unable to be anticipated. Many respondents, however, described incidents or consequences they had not intended.

Impact of marriage/divorce emerged as one sub-code in this cluster. Respondents reported the unexpected impact of family divorce, or their own marriage – which was described sometimes but not always as ending in divorce.

> Seeing how my mother struggled after her divorce from my father
> in the mid-1970s had a huge impact on me
>
> I didn't think through the consequences of getting married to the
> person I did, and I think that has taken up a lot of my energy that
> could have been applied to more productive endeavors.

Other respondents described series of unplanned events related to political changes or accommodating spouse's career:

> finished PhD, landed leadership role on Democratic presidential
> campaign, lost election, planned to be apart from partner for a year
> while he was overseas so moved back to old neighborhood in DC,
> his mil orders quickly changed so broke lease (and was out several
> thousand dollars when military clause did not cover us) and found
> myself removed to remote town in rural area with little demand for

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what I do professionally and where I knew no one (but him!), very happy to be with love of my life but still reeling from election loss and in a very conservative community...no clue what to do and generally grumpy and not much fun to be around but trying to put on a good face to attend wives' events and baby showers I had little interest in

Not all respondents described unplanned events related to marriage/divorce as negative; all responses, however, described personally significant impact.

Health challenges/family death emerged as another sub-code in this cluster. Some respondents reported unexpected events related to family or personal health challenges – physical and mental as having significant impact on their pathways.

> My husband's suicide attempt and 2 DUIs totally derailed me, and then him being in and out of treatment centers for depression and addiction to alcohol for 3 years was paralyzing. I got lots of incompletes, started having panic attacks, and couldn't catch up. I saw therapists and my life started coming together, but I couldn't talk to faculty for fear of judging me about my choices in life.

> I have recently been diagnosed with a chronic illness and I am trying to figure out how it will affect my leadership trajectory. I do not have answers yet, but it is slowing me down a bit.

> My path was so greatly challenged by my husband's illness. I did not attend graduate school, because I could not study full time as I needed to return to the business world to help support us. I basically worked two jobs always since.

Other respondents described the impact of unexpected family deaths on their pathways:

> My mother died unexpectedly when I was 24. She was African (from Kenya). A few years later, I stopped practicing law and pursued my doctorate in public policy, which allowed me to do fieldwork in the country she was from and surrounding countries. This has helped me to understand her, and myself, more completely.

Pregnancy and/or motherhood surfaced as a sub-coding category in this cluster. Respondents described the unexpected consequences of having children, particularly the impact having children had on their work choices. Some respondents noted the significant change in time available for career or service pursuits. One respondent describes motherhood as shifting her priorities and how she evaluates her work and service options:

> Having children affected my ability to work long hours on political campaigns. This was not entirely unplanned, but I did not realize how much it would change my ability (and desire) to work late in an office. With my kids waiting for me at home, I don't want to be tied to a job that requires me to get to an office early and stay until well past dinner time. This definitely changes the employment options that are available to me.

Also in this cluster, job change/work or service opportunity emerged as a sub-code. Respondents reported unexpected job offers or opportunities to serve that altered their pathways. Other respondents experienced unexpected job changes, some due to changes in politics/administrations.

> Just about three years ago, I had just broken off an engagement and living in Washington, DC. And Al Gore (with whom I had been volunteering for some years and had helped with speechwriting since 2000) called me up and offered me a job. He wanted me to pick up stakes and move to TN. Honestly, I thought this was a joke. I had, by then, lived there since 1992--and my entire life was wrapped up in DC. He wanted me to move here to TN to help him complete and release the movie, to start his philanthropy and with several other projects--and, mind you, there was certainly no guarantee that his documentary would be a success. Now, this seems like a brilliant move but, at the time, pulling up stakes (at 33 years old) and moving to a state that I had never visited, knew no one (except the Gores) for a contract jobs seemed pretty nutty. Who knew? An Oscar, an Emmy and a Nobel Prize later, we're all pretty thrilled.

> My current job was unplanned. I never envisioned pursuing an in-house counsel position in the private sector. One day, I received a

call from a headhunter. I listen politely, but not with much interest. I convinced myself that I had nothing to lose from at least interviewing for the position and learning more. The rest is history. . . This role (legal counsel for import, export and lobbying law matters) has refined my legal skills in ways I could never have imagined. It has honed my decision-making abilities and empowered me with confidence in my legal judgment. It has also given me an insight and understanding of the inter-workings of large, global corporations. Although an unexpected stop in my career, it has been a tremendous learning experience that, one day, I will consider as a defining moment in my career.

Education opportunities emerged as a small but important sub-coding category in this theoretical code. Respondents reported unexpected opportunities for study from competitive scholarships, including the Truman Scholarship, Rhodes Scholarship, and Fulbright Grant. Not only were the opportunities unanticipated (although sought after), the experiences had unexpected consequences.

I received a Fulbright scholarship to do a doctorate at Oxford immediately after college, but Oxford did not accept me for a doctorate but rather a masters degree. I ended up going to work in Chile after my masters' degree and eventually doing my doctorate at Harvard, which resulted in my meeting my husband in Chile and also resulted in my specializing in language and literacy development at Harvard and working with Catherine Snow, an amazing mentor. I am so glad I didn't do my doctorate at Oxford!

going to graduate school in England-- ended up living there 6 years and marrying a Brit!

The final sub-code in this cluster, "nothing reported," captures responses that reported no unplanned event. Some respondents expressed that they had nothing to report: "nothing yet," "I don't think this has ever happened," "can't think of anything."

Thank goodness, I have none. My pathway, for the most part, has been largely as I have envisioned it. Any deviations have been largely by my choice, not due to external factors.

Other respondents reframed the question: "no one thing;" "None of my career has been 'planned,' it's been a sort of organic evolution."

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the prompt: *Give an example of when a significant unplanned event affected your pathway.*

Table 4.9 Cluster 4: Unplanned Event. Data from Question 9

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
1 Impact of marriage/divorce	Reported unexpected impact of family divorce, own marriage/divorce, including accommodating spouse's career	▪ Seeing how my mother struggled after her divorce from my father in the mid-1970s had a huge impact on me ▪ I did not plan to create a family with someone who was rooted by family and career in one place. This has certainly posed some challenges to me ▪ My husband struggled with his work and his career path; I realized I would need to be, and could successfully be, the main breadwinner. My job in public service, which was 60-70 hours/week at minimal pay, didn't financially benefit us enough for me to stay.
2 Health challenges/ family death	Reported unexpected impact of family or personal health challenges – physical or mental – or deaths in the family	▪ I have recently been diagnosed with a chronic illness and I am trying to figure out how it will affect my leadership trajectory. I do not have answers yet, but it is slowing me down a bit. ▪ Addiction of a loved one impacts all members of a family. All the incidents in my life were unplanned and became major road blocks to my pathway. ▪ I applied to the State Department as a Foreign Service Officer and got selected and slotted into the school, but my mother-in-law (who I financially supported) developed breast cancer, so I passed up the opportunity so I could focus on those issues.
3 Pregnancy, motherhood	Reported unexpected impact of having children, including work choices based on parenthood	▪ I had to limit my sabbatical leave to only 6 weeks away from home b/c my son cannot handle transitions well. ▪ Illnesses of children prevented my getting to meetings. My current significant responsibilities at home keep me from considering a more full time position. ▪ Taking 14 months off from work with my first child—I took a very different job coming back from that.
4 Job change/work or service opportunity	Report unexpected job offers or opportunities to serve; unexpected job	▪ A call to meet the CEO of a new non-profit who convinced me to leave a job at a time when I was not looking for a job change ▪ My daughter's friend invited her to be part of a

	changes due to failure, changes in politics/administrations	Volunteers in Mission team to the former Soviet satellite state of Estonia in 2005. I went along for the ride as a chaperone, but was impressed with what the church was doing and have moved into a leadership role in our church, especially related to the Estonian mission with street children. ▪ A job offer that came along when I wasn't looking for one - but should have been
5 Education opportunities	Reported unexpected opportunities for study from competitive scholarships (Truman, Rhodes, Fulbright)	▪ going to graduate school in England-- ended up living there 6 years and marrying a Brit! ▪ Winning the Truman Scholarship. Provided great courage and access!!
6 Nothing reported	Reported no unplanned event – nothing yet, no one thing, can't think of anything	▪ My pathway, for the most part, has been largely as I have envisioned it. ▪ cannot think of any at the moment. ▪ Many unplanned incidents have affected my path - I am not one of those people who maps out their career path and follows it systematically

Mentoring

Data for the fifth theoretical coding cluster were generated from the final three questions of the qualitative survey focused on the role of mentoring on respondents' pathways to public service leadership. Data on mentoring surfaced also in previous clusters. Respondents described the presence or absence of mentors in their education and career development in both the Critical Events and Barriers clusters.

The first question in this cluster established how many respondents had experienced a significant mentor relationship. Seventy-one respondents answered the question: *Have you had a significant mentor related to your public service leadership?*; 39 replied yes, 31 replied no, and 1 did not report. This relatively balanced split among respondents provided rich data relating to the impact of both the presence and absence of mentoring on one's pathway.

The second question in this cluster was: *What role did the presence or absence of a mentor play in the development of your public service leadership?* After reading the

data multiple times, the researcher organized the data into six categories. Responses in each of the categories represent the different perceptions of mentors and their roles. The six sub-coding categories are: Role model, Sounding board, Door opener, Career counselor, Not an important factor, No role.

When discussing role models, respondents described the role of mentors as that of an example and source of inspiration for their service or career:

> Facing new challenges of working with young children, it would be wonderful if I had a mentor now who could help me work through my issues of balancing work and family. If I had had a mentor or role model back when I made the decision to leave the political campaign world to get my PhD in 2004, maybe I would never have left campaigns... if I had seen another mother with young kids working in a political campaign setting, maybe I would have been willing to stay.

> They have been there, they have survived and thrived and made a huge difference in so many women's and infants lives. And they believe that I can do so as well. When I waver I turn to them either in person or in my mind and this last thought alone is enough to help me continue. Cheesy I know, but so true.

Some respondents also described being inspired to be a role model to others, inspired either by the presence of mentors in their lives or by their absence.

Respondents described mentors' role of "sounding board" as important. Responses indicate that mentors are perceived by respondents as a source of support; respondents described a mentor as one who listens and provides encouragement after setbacks.

> Helpful to be able to drop by to share experiences/get feedback.

> helped me get up when I have stumbled, let me use them as sounding boards, encouraged when I have lost steam

> The support of my mentors has been vital to the successes I have had as a prosecutor, and even more important to sustaining me

during challenging periods of my career. My mentors have provided everything from help on specific cases to strategies for dealing with difficult managers or judges, and emotional support in difficult personal and professional situations.

Mentors have helped me stay on my path by being there to disucss challenges and strategies with. Also, the support and understanding is very important. In my current job, I do not have a mentor and must by more strategic is my day-to-day actions within the organization. However, I continue to rely on mentors from previous work experience to help me.

"Door opener" was another sub-code that emerged in this cluster. Respondents described mentors as providing opportunities and removing obstacles, "opening doors" that without mentors may well have remained closed:

I am incredibly fortunate to have had a series of mentors (almost all women) who not only paved the road, but have given me the car to drive down it. Mentors have shown me options for leadership in my field, they have opened doors, they have helped me troubleshoot, they have removed obstacles

Shortly after I left my foundation job, my mentor nominated myself and my husband for a leadership program… This program has helped me define my own vision and mission in life and become much clearer about what is my role in contributing to social and economic justice. … It has also helped strengthen the ability of my husband and me to help each other achieve our life's goals because we both were able to participate. My mentor also created the opportunity for me to work on chronic early absence.

Respondents described also the "Career counselor" role of mentors. In this sub-coding category respondents described mentors as serving as a guide to the sector or career field, or as a counselor on career choices:

If I had someone I could go to for guidance, I'm sure I'd be more successful at navigating the bureaucracy

I have had many mentors. Some encouraged me to work in public service, others to stay out of politics. All of my true mentors encouraged me to work for a higher purpose and to do what I am

passionate about. This necessarily involves helping or teaching others, whether it fits the strict definition of public service, or not.

The presence of mentors has given form to my professional ambitions and advanced my development and understanding in ways that could not have happened otherwise.

"Not an important factor" also emerged as a sub-code in this cluster. Some respondents reported that mentors had not been particularly important in their pathways to public service leadership. All respondents in this category described an absence of mentors in their pathway to public service leadership:

Not yet

Hard to say

I believe a mentor would have helped guide me toward a more focused effort.

I've never really been the type to have a mentor. I think I prefer to feel I'm leading my own way than to give someone else the authority over me that a mentor relationship would imply.

Another sub-code, "no specific role," was created to capture responses that did not indicate a particular role for mentors. Respondents described mentors as important, influential, and "absolutely crucial." However, respondents did not describe a role for mentors; rather, mentors were characterized as a general, positive factor in one's leadership pathway.

It played a significant role in the beginning, but I would love to have one now as I try to figure out how to reconfigure my life post diagnosis

Absence of a mentor means that I am on my own to figure out what to do. Sometimes this makes me feel less successful, and other times it makes me feel more determined.

Now in my forties, I see the irrevocable responsibility I have to continue to bring up young men and women who will champion

this way of life. It takes time, money, effort, and creative energy to be a mentor, yet there is no greater responsibility that we have as public servants.

contributed substantially to my drifting away from any kind of public service leadership

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *What role did the presence or absence of a mentor play in the development of your public service leadership?*

Table 4.10 Cluster 5: Mentoring. Data from Question 11

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
1 Role model	Mentor perceived as example, source of service/career inspiration; inspired to mentor others	▪ I would have liked someone who had successfully balanced the struggles mentioned previously and showed how to get through the burnout and the financial adjustments. ▪ Two of my law partners have been mentors. Their public service as volunteers and their view that I should do so as well -- unusual in the legal world of more billable hours. ▪ Her influence had very little to do with what she said, whether in class or elsewhere, but everything to do with how she lived, how she treated her students and her colleagues, and how she was always faithful to some inner moral compass
2 Sounding board	Mentor perceived as source of support, listener, provider of encouragement after setbacks	▪ helped me to see setbacks as challenges to be overcome instead of barriers. ▪ I've had two wonderful female mentors, both my supervisors, who encouraged me to believe in myself, take risks and use my talents to the fullest. ▪ A sounding board and a place to develop a process ▪ Provided belief in me even when my belief in myself faultered
3 Door-opener	Mentor perceived as providing opportunities, removing obstacles	▪ Having a mentor has helped me see paths to success. They have supported me in bids for selective positions and in competing for awards ▪ My graduate mentor has been incredible in offering me opportunities to do things I didn't think I could do ▪ Unfortunately, I did not have any mentors in the non-profit job sector. This meant that I had to learn everything on my own--how to form and sustain a non-profit, how to find funding, incorporate, and so on. While this was rewarding, it took a lot of time.
4 Career counselor	Mentor perceived as guide to the sector, counselor on career choices	▪ They have helped me learn and figure out the toughest of things about being a leader in my field ▪ This would have been more helpful at an early age when I was making my initial career decisions. ▪ A strong mentor is critical for anyone in a research

		career, but even more so for a woman. I would not be where I am today without strong guidance and mentorship. This is necessary to understand the 'unwritten rules' of academia, research and grant-funding. It has also be extremely helpful in achieving at least some family-career-life balance.
5 Not an important factor	Mentor has not been present, but absence not seen as significant	▪ I don't think this was a significant factor. ▪ I only wish that I had a mentor earlier in my career--those first years out of grad school. ▪ I don't think the absence of a mentor has had an impact on my public service leadership, but it would be helpful! ▪ Direct mentorship has not proven to be a help or hindrance
6 No specific role	Mentor perceived as important, influential, crucial, but no role characterized; a general positive factor	▪ I wish I'd had one. It would have made me better at what I do. ▪ The mentors have pushed me in a very positive fashion. ▪ There were so many, and each played an important role at different stages, so it's hard to generalize. ▪ I am the kind of person who seeks out many people for their guidance and so I would say that many people contributed to my leadership efforts.

Data generated from the final question of the survey completed the cluster on mentoring. The question asked, *What challenges, if any, have you experienced in your mentoring relationship(s)?* Respondents described challenges related to both the presence and absence of mentoring relationships. Six sub-codes of challenges emerged from respondents' descriptions. Those sub-coding categories are access, moving on, lack of mentors, ineffective mentoring, appropriate boundaries, outpacing mentor, no challenges.

In the "access" sub-code that emerged, respondents described challenges to access, including time and distance. Respondents reported these challenges both as the one mentoring and the one being mentored:

> truly exceptional leaders don't have a lot of time to give mentoring. You just need to watch and learn, instead of being taught by him or her.

I have enjoyed mentoring several young women; the challenge is time.

Distance

I am trying to be as patient and as free with my time as my mentor was with me.

Just that she doesn't have a great deal of time to focus on that role with me.

The hardest problem that I have with mentoring students is finding enough time to dedicate to them.

Another sub-code that emerged, "moving on," related to challenges due to transitions. Respondents described mentoring challenges related to relocation, change of job, or other transition:

I unfortunately lost contact with my former mentor when she moved out of the country several years after I graduated from college. However, by that time I was already fairly well established on my career path.

Finding new mentors most appropriate to new stages of first my education and then my professional career.

My mentor in public service consulting retired a few years ago, and then passed away a few months ago. I feel like calling her to talk a lot, but still feel inspired by her.

"Lack of mentors" is another category that emerged in this cluster. Respondents described challenges of finding mentors, noting such factors as few women in leadership roles and difficulty developing cross-gender mentoring relationships:

The other significant challenge I have faced in this area is forging cross-gender mentoring relationships. While most of my mentors are women, I have developed a few mentoring relationships with men. These have been the most difficult to cultivate, because many men in professional settings are reluctant to develop close working relationships with younger women because of their perception of the risk of sexual harassment claims. While these relationships were trickier to initiate, they have been worth the effort, because

the perspectives of my male mentors are often very different from my female mentors.

I had one mentor (male), on one of my boards, who was very helpful to me in making the transition to a first-time CEO. He had a great faith in my ability to take on the new responsibilities and thrive at the new challenges-- and he encouraged me to think big and guide myself with strategic goals. However, a later board president (female) accused him of it being less than professional. It was painful for both him and me, and it ended the mentorship because we became so self conscious.

Respondents also reported "ineffective mentoring" as a challenge in this theoretical coding cluster. Respondents described challenges related to a mentor's manner of communication, conflicting messages or advice, and a lack of understanding financial and personal challenges. One respondent described a combination of challenges:

Sometimes my mentors give me work/opportunities, and get excited about my ideas, but later tell me I need to focus and say no to things. The next day, they tell me I should do this or that. It's nerve-wracking! Also, they assume I have it all together no matter how much help I seek, so it's hard to get real feedback and input from them that is constructive.

In the "appropriate boundaries" sub-coding category, respondents identified challenges related to developing appropriate professional-personal relationships, learning to respectfully disagree, and, in mentoring others, resisting the temptation to give advice too aggressively. Some respondents described challenges that they have experienced as mentors. Other respondents reported challenges with setting or finding appropriate boundaries with their mentors:

As one who mentors, I am challenged with the delicate balance of allowing enough latitude to experiment and even fail and yet not so much latitude that would create an irreparable disaster to a given project or the person. Often it is a hard balance to see or feel. That

is precisely why mentoring happens over time. Wings take some time to develop strength.

The biggest challenge is trying to find the balance between giving good advice and being overly intrusive, especially when you think someone is making poor choices or hasn't "learned" a lesson that you know they will, the hard way, years down the road. The challenge is resisting the temptation to give them advice too aggressively, which would be inappropriate.

The biggest challenge has occurred when I have found myself disagreeing with my mentors. Because of the personal closeness, the disagreement becomes more than just a matter of substance. Sometimes, it has taken me a while to realize that I disagree and then to figure out how to raise the disagreement because I have so much respect for my mentor. Once the disagreement is raised, I have found that sometimes my mentors have not always found it easy to accept that their "protege" no longer sees eye to eye with them.

"Outpacing mentor" also emerged as a small but meaningful sub-code in this cluster. Respondents described challenges related to "passing up" or outgrowing one's mentor:

I tend to outgrow or out strip mentors which causes resentment

I hit a rough spot for a while with another one of my mentors when I was promoted to a position in which I was no longer "under" her - but this was a temporary rough spot.

In the "no challenges" category, respondents reported "no significant challenges," "None, and "Never had any problems in this area." One respondent reported, "My relationships have not been so complicated as to make a response valuable." In many ways the number of responses in this sub-coding category is more descriptive than the content; over one-fourth of responses were coded as "no challenges."

The phrases presented in "Examples of data" in the following table are direct quotes of the respondents to the question: *What challenges, if any, have you experienced in your mentoring relationship(s)?*

Table 4.11 Cluster 5: Mentoring. Data from Question 12

Sub-Code	Definition	Examples of data
1 Access	Identified challenges to access, including time and distance	▪ Physical availability and demands that pull us away from each other. ▪ Lack of time to spend with my mentors is always an issue. But, it is an incredibly important relationship to keep up. ▪ distance has been a very real issue. For example, I have had some wonderful mentors in other countries or cities and do see that I could likely strengthen relationships with individuals who prefer catching a quick coffee or walking to the Metro together rather than connecting by phone or email.
2 Moving on	Reported challenges related to relocation, change of job, or other transition	▪ Mentors leave. ▪ the biggest challenge has been to still feel comfortable with transitions, even when you know that key folks won't be there in the same way to assist you. ▪ The most difficult thing for me was leaving them to move on.
3 Lack of mentors	Identified challenges of finding mentors including few women in leadership roles and difficulty developing cross-gender mentoring relationships	▪ there are very, very few women in leadership roles. I've tried to mentor younger women in my own little crusade to balance the scales. I'm not sure if this is because there aren't many women in science or if it's just an old boy's club. ▪ many older male mentors have ideas about what younger women should do, and if you vary from their suggestions, they see you as a rebel, where men who vary are assertive and powerful
4 Ineffective mentoring	Reported challenges related to mentor's manner or messages/ conflicting messages, lack of understanding financial and personal challenges	▪ One of my mentors is a male whose wife basically has raised their children and ensured that their household is in order. He only serves as a mentor in a limited capacity since he simply cannot understand (even if her were seeking to do so) how I need to balance family and work ▪ Also, the other challenge was ALWAYS money. Older rich people, who came from two-parent households with money, could not understand why I could not do more things for free and not worry about paid work. ▪ Sometimes my mentors give me work/opportunities, and get excited about my ideas, but later tell me I need to focus and say no to things. The next day, they tell me I should do this or that. It's nerve-wracking! Also, they assume I have it all together no matter how much help I seek, so it's hard to get real feedback and input from them that is constructive.
5 Appropriate boundaries	Identified challenges related to developing	▪ there some boundary issues when your mentor is your boss and your personal friend. ▪ Staying at arms-length in a professional relationship while balancing sharing personal situations and

	appropriate professional-personal relationships, learning to respectfully disagree, and in mentoring others, the temptation to give advice too aggressively	challenges. ▪ The biggest challenge has occurred when I have found myself disagreeing with my mentors. Because of the personal closeness, the disagreement becomes more than just a matter of substance. Sometimes, it has taken me a while to realize that I disagree and then to figure out how to raise the disagreement because I have so much respect for my mentor. Once the disagreement is raised, I have found that sometimes my mentors have not always found it easy to accept that their "protege" no longer sees eye to eye with them.
6 Outpacing mentor	Reported challenges of 'passing up' one's mentor	▪ I tend to outgrow or out strip mentors which causes resentment ▪ I hit a rough spot for a while with another one of my mentors when I was promoted to a position in which I was no longer "under" her - but this was a temporary rough spot.
7 No challenges	No challenging experiences reported	▪ I can't think of any ▪ I do not feel as if I have had any challenges in my mentoring relationships. ▪ None, really. I feel very fortunate to have had such a strong relationship with my mentor.

Cross-cluster Themes

As one would expect with a qualitative study, and a research sample of 71 respondents, an enormous amount of data was collected and analyzed. Sub-codes for each of five theoretical codes, or clusters, were presented above. Categories of sub-codes emerged after reading and re-reading data, organizing the data, and working to code all data into a thorough yet manageable set of categories. Sub-codes were next considered and compared across clusters to discover cross-cutting themes that emerged. Four major themes – elements critical to respondents' pathways – emerged through this process: impact of personal and family relationships, the role of mentoring, financial challenges and commitment to public service. Each of these cross-cluster themes surfaced in at least four of the five theoretical coding clusters. These four themes cut across the clusters, characterized by respondents as both driving and resistant forces along their pathways.

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Impact of Personal and Family Relationships

The impact of personal and family relationships surfaced in all clusters. While it was the focus of Cluster 2: Family, respondents described these relationships in the Critical event, Barriers, and Unplanned event clusters as well. Even in the theoretical coding cluster focused on mentoring, respondents described the role that family members and spouses played as mentors or inspiring respondents' mentoring in others. It is not surprising that these relationships surface persistently as critical to one's pathway. These relationships are typically the most personally significant, intimate, and longstanding in an individual's life. That said, the relationships do not always support, sustain, or advance one along one's pathway. In many instances described by respondents, personal and family relationships served to challenge their public service leadership.

A sub-theme emerged from the personal and family relationships theme related to gender roles. While some respondents described gender roles as a primary barrier or challenge, gender roles surfaced more dominantly from the data as an additive challenge. That is, one's role as mother, wife, or daughter – or as the woman (or young woman, or experienced woman) in the office – served to compound challenges of one's public service leadership. The sub-theme of the additive nature of gender roles is discussed as a finding in Chapter 5.

The Role of Mentoring

The role of mentoring also surfaced as a theme across clusters. While it was the focus of Cluster 5: Mentoring, respondents reported mentoring, both its presence and absence, in the Critical event, Barriers, and Unplanned event clusters as well. Respondents described the impact of mentors on shaping their pathways, pointing to job

offers and educational opportunities, to door opened and obstacles removed. Other

respondents report a sense of loss or disappointment at the absence of mentors along their

pathway:

> It makes me sad that I have had no mentor(s).
>
> I wish I had fought the impulse that "I don't have time" and sought
> one out.
>
> I have never had a female mentor, which is something I've desired.
>
> I have had people come in and out of my life, but there are no
> stable mentors

Many responses support what is commonly believed about mentoring – that it is a

positive element in one's personal and professional development. Some responses,

however, discuss the "downside" of mentoring. These potential pitfalls or drawbacks are

not generally understood or shared in popular literature. The shadow-side of mentoring is

discussed in greater detail as a finding in Chapter 5.

Financial Challenges

Financial challenges emerged as a theme cutting across four clusters. While

money surfaced as a sub-code of its own in Cluster 3: Barriers, respondents described

financial challenges in the Critical event, Family, and Unplanned event clusters as well.

Some respondents described the impact of growing up in poverty as an inspiration for

their public service. For some respondents, family finances either precluded or made

possible certain opportunities for education, service, or professional development that

respondents viewed as beneficial to their public service leadership. Respondents noted

financial challenges related to unplanned events such as job changes, health challenges,

relocation due to spouse's career, and marriage/divorce as an important factor. As noted

previously in this chapter, many respondents directly tied financial challenges, however, to public service careers, which pay "absolutely crap money" and are "so much work for so little pay." Beyond financial challenges that most working individuals in our society encounter, respondents highlighted the financial challenges of public service, indicating serious and substantial frustration at the barrier seemingly inherent in the sector.

Commitment to Public Service

The final cross-cluster theme that emerged was commitment to public service. Across all five theoretical coding clusters, respondents described how their commitment to public service had been affected – by critical events, family, barriers, unplanned events, and mentoring. Perhaps not surprising given the research population – Truman Scholars selected for their leadership ability and intention to pursue careers in public service – what is remarkable is the impact the respondent's commitment to public service had on the development of her pathway. Sub-themes of perseverance and disillusionment or disaffection emerged in this theme, and are discussed as findings in Chapter 5.

Summary

In this chapter, data collected from 71 completed qualitative surveys of female Truman Scholars, selected from 1977-1998, were coded, analyzed, and presented. Data provided demographic information used to describe the respondents as a cohort and provide context for the study. Remaining data were organized into five theoretical coding clusters. The clusters followed the order of theory-driven qualitative survey questions. The five clusters that emerged were Critical event, Family, Barriers, Unplanned Event, and Mentoring. Respondents described their perceptions related to

critical incidents and influential experiences and relationships related to their pathway to public service leadership.

While individually compelling, diverse, and powerful, the collective narrative that emerged when responses were considered and compared across clusters surfaced four major themes. These themes identify elements critical to respondents' pathways. The four themes are: impact of personal and family relationships, the role of mentoring, financial challenges and commitment to public service.

These four cross-cluster themes describe the critical experiences and relationships that both drive and impede the respondents' pathways. Respondents described personal and family relationships as inspirations and barriers; the presence of mentors as both a help and a hindrance, and the absence also as both benefit and deficit; meeting or succumbing to the financial challenges of public service careers; and finding their commitment to public service slip into disillusionment, or reinforced as a source that sustains.

Three sub-themes of these four cross-cluster themes are explored as findings in Chapter 5. The three findings are: the additive nature of gender roles to other challenges faced in public service leadership; the shadow-side of mentoring; and perseverance and disaffection related to one's commitment to public service.

The following table (Table 4.12) summarizes the analysis conducted in this study. From five theoretical codes, or clusters, sub-codes emerged. These sub-codes were analyzed across clusters and four cross-cluster themes were identified. Within the four cross-cluster themes, three sub-themes emerged and are discussed as findings in the following chapter.

Table 4.12 Summary of analysis

Critical Event
Family model of service
Critical service experience
Mentor/   **Impact on**
influential teacher   **capital**
Motherhood
Environment growing up   Agency
Truman Scholar experience   Opportunity
Early group experience   Motivation
Education   Validation
No moment
Don't see self as leader

Family
Marriage/spouse
Family/personal finances
Caretaker role
Work-family balance
Family support/ inspiration

Barriers
Money
Workplace sexism   **Impact on**
No mentors   **capital**
Family/gender expectations
Time/Truman guilt   Agency
Disillusion   Opportunity
Personal characteristics   Motivation
Nature of public service   Validation
None

Unplanned Event
Impact of marriage/divorce
Health challenges/death
Pregnancy/motherhood
Job change/service
opportunity
Education opportunities
Nothing reported

Mentoring
Role model
Sounding board
Door opener
Career counselor
Not an important factor
No specific role provided

Cross-Cluster Themes [4]

Impact of personal and
family relationships

Role of mentoring

Financial challenges

Commitment to
public service

Sub-Themes [3]
Additive nature of
gender roles
Shadow side of
mentoring
Perseverance and
disaffection

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CHAPTER 5 - Discussion

Overview

This qualitative study elicited from women, in their own words, their perceptions and understandings of the professional and personal experiences leading to their current positions of civic leadership. With a research sample of 71 thoughtful, reflective, and articulate Truman Scholars, an enormous amount of rich data was collected and analyzed. Findings from five clusters of data were presented in Chapter 4. These clusters included Critical Event, Family, Barriers, Unplanned Event, and Mentoring. Cross-cluster analysis revealed four themes that describe the critical experiences and relationships that both drive and impede respondents' pathways. These four themes are: impact of personal and family relationships, the role of mentoring, financial challenges and commitment to public service.

In this chapter the researcher interprets and draws deeper meaning from the data. How do we make sense of all the rich data provided in the diverse, individual narratives? In this chapter, a two-stage approach is taken. First, as this study was informed by theory, findings are viewed through a lens of cultural capital and social reproduction theory; how is cultural capital theory useful in understanding women's pathways to civic leadership? Next, drawing on the individual narratives shared in the study, the researcher developed two composite narratives. These composite narratives are used to synthesize, display, and make sense of the range of rich data generated from this collective case study.

Theoretical Framework

In this study, research questions, survey questions, and initial clusters of analysis were theory-driven, framed in the context of cultural capital theory. Cultural capital theory suggests that cultural capital, in a particular system of social exchange, is accumulated cultural knowledge that confers power and status. This theory, first articulated by French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, has been employed in examining education as a mechanism of social and cultural reproduction, particularly as it relates to class distinction and social stratification (Bourdieu, 1977).

Cultural capital theory has been explored and utilized in many fields. From its origins with Bourdieu (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970; Bourdieu, 1973; Bourdieu, 1977; Bourdieu, 1986), the theory has been translated to the American context and used to explore everything from the transmission of "taste" by marketing scholars (Holt, 1998) to identity formation by social psychologists (Cote, 1996). Sociologists, particularly those interested in the structural determinants of success, have found value in the theory (Savage & Bennett, 2005; Robbins, 2005; Silva, 2005). In the sociology of education, cultural capital has been used to study social inclusion and exclusion, particularly manifested in family-school relationships (Biddle, 2001; Lareau, 2000; Lareau, 2003). For this study of women's pathways, relevant aspects of Bourdieu's broader theory are those that pertain to structural determinants of success and transmission of cultural capital, focusing as it does on critical influences – experiences and relationships – to public service leadership.

The theory of cultural capital and social reproduction contends that individuals from different social classes have access to very different resources which they can mobilize in their pursuit for achievement. Access to economic, social, and cultural capital differentiates individuals' success in navigating the educational system, whereby additional capital resources are gained (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1970). In the various individual narratives provided by respondents, differences in access to and utilization of resources are evident. Respondents reported advantages they enjoyed due to families supportive of public service as a career. Other respondents described challenges they faced because of the family environments in which they were raised, such as growing up in poverty or being raised in an immigrant family. One respondent shared the conflicting views her parents and she had for her future, describing in this response both her limited initial cultural capital and the critical experiences that developed that capital:

> I was the first person in my family to ever attend college, let alone graduate. Through my elementary and high school years, I was a bookworm. Through books, I recognized that there was a huge world outside my small rural county and that the door into that world was college. It never occurred to me that college was not going to be in my future until I was a senior in high school when it became clear that it had never occurred to my parents that I might go to college. I got married and had four children while my husband finished college and began his career as a teacher back in the same rural setting where we grew up. Ten years after I graduated from high school, when my youngest son started kindergarten, my husband wanted to go back to college for his Masters. I didn't let that opportunity pass me by; I began my undergraduate studies on a Pell Grant, knowing that when he finished his Masters we would likely move again. But, when I was a sophomore, I was chosen as a Truman Scholar and my life was changed forever.

In addition to the basic assertion that access to cultural resources advantages individuals in a social system, Bourdieu introduced three key concepts: "field," "habitas,"

and "capital." According to Bourdieu, the modern social world is comprised of "fields," social spaces in which social actors compete for dominant position involving many complex relationships. Each individual occupies a position in a given "social space" defined by the amount of capital one possesses. In this study, attention has been paid to the cultural capital demonstrated or acknowledged by contemporary women leaders in the public sphere or "field" of civic leadership. "Habitus" refers to a set of dispositions toward culture, society, and one's future. Habitus is generally learned at home and often taken for granted; associated often with childhood, it determines what is natural or comfortable. This collection of cultural skills, social connections, educational practices, and other cultural resources are translated into value as an individual moves out into the world (Lareau, 2003). When respondents in this study referred to their families' dispositions toward public service as a career or calling, they were describing their "habitus." The third key concept for Bourdieu was "capital." Capital is the possession of resources which one can mobilize in one's pursuit for achievement. Cultural capital generally originates from one's "habitus," and is valued according to the dominant institutions in the "field" in which it is activated.

Bourdieu's theory, with its focus on conflict, change, and systemic inequality, has proven useful as a way to understand women's pathways to civic leadership. Bourdieu's concepts allow for a more fluid interplay and better understanding of the relationship between structure and agency than do other theoretical perspectives (Lareau, 1999). Bourdieu developed this theory to better understand reproduction of social hierarchies, and strategies developed by social agents to adapt to the social worlds they inhabit. With its focus on the individual's dispositions and interactions with social institutions, cultural

capital theory provided a useful framework for exploring the pathways women leaders have taken into a field long dominated by men.

According to Lareau (1999), the empirical work on social reproduction, despite the original theoretical richness of Bourdieu's writing, has not sufficiently recognized three important points. First, the value of capital depends heavily on the social setting (or field). Second, there is an important difference between the possession and activation of capital or resources. That is, people who have social and cultural capital may choose to activate capital or not, and they vary in the skill with which they activate it. Third, these two points come together to suggest that rather than being an overly deterministic continual process, cultural and social reproduction is jagged and uneven and is continually negotiated by social actors (Lareau, 1999). Bourdieu's theory was useful in framing this study, but does not fully capture the complexity highlighted by the pathways described by respondents in this study.

The following quotes are examples of how respondents viewed the impact of personal or family relationships on their public service leadership. These respondents characterized their "habitus" and "capital" as complex and fluid:

> I had a family that didn't have any pre-conceived notions of what I would do with my life. Dad was a high school drop out, and Mom was a high school graduate, and they ran a small business. They didn't have a real sense of what to do to encourage me, but they certainly didn't discourage me from doing whatever I wanted to do. I guess I am more "self-propelled," but that would not have been possible without the support of my family.

> As mentioned earlier, my parent's lack of understanding of my career direction was initially a challenge although this has changed over time. Throughout my career, peers and mentors have been essential to shaping my thinking about the content and the strategy for making change in the world as well as helping me to identify opportunities to advance change.

In the following response to a question about mentoring, the respondent describes being aware that she lacks cultural capital and how she has worked to develop it:

> I have always felt that I lacked access to the tacit knowledge that white men find so easily. I have had difficulties finding people who recognized my talent and encouraged me to move forward. I have had to have enormous reservoirs of self-esteem and endurance to become successful. I have just kept looking for mentors. Interestingly, although I am an African American woman, I have often found mentors among men of color and white men. I have been less successful finding mentors who are women of color. I hope that I can provide the kind of mentorship that I never received to those who follow me.

Lareau (2003) has suggested that to understand moments of cultural and social reproduction, researchers need to look at the contexts in which capital is situated, the efforts by individuals to activate their capital, the skill with which they activate their capital, and the institutional response to the activation of resources. This study has attempted to do so, looking particularly at the capital women have, develop, and use in public service leadership. This study also identified how women's capital is eroded by leadership in public service.

Three Findings

Analysis of the data across all five initial clusters surfaced four themes. These themes identify elements critical to respondents' pathways. The four themes are: impact of personal and family relationships, the role of mentoring, financial challenges and commitment to public service. These four themes describe the critical experiences and relationships that both drive and impede the respondents' pathways. Respondents

described personal and family relationships as inspirations and barriers; the presence of mentors as both a help and a hindrance, and the absence also as both benefit and deficit; meeting or succumbing to the financial challenges of public service careers; and finding their commitment to public service slip into disillusionment, or reinforced as a source that sustains.

From these themes, three findings, referred to as "sub-themes" in Chapter 4, are discussed in this chapter. The three findings are: the additive nature of gender roles to other challenges faced in public service leadership, the shadow-side of mentoring, and perseverance and disaffection related to one's commitment to public service. These three findings are informed by theory yet also highlight the complexity of women's pathways.

Gender Roles

Respondents in this study described their gender roles – as spouses, mothers, and daughters – as being significant and in cases critical to their pathways to public service leadership. What was striking was the common description of their gender roles as additive – a compounding factor, or "second-tier barrier." Rarely was being a wife, or mother, or partner or daughter characterized as the primary barrier respondents faced; rather respondents described the challenges of public service leadership – the "crap hours, crap pay," the depth of injustice or magnitude of the policy or social change they were working for – as a first-order barrier which was compounded by work-family balance issues or institutional sexism. Second-tier, however, does not mean these barriers were any less significant to the respondents' pathways; the challenges reported are real and powerful. The following excerpts are direct quotes from respondents, and

demonstrate the complicated and additive nature of gender roles on public service

leadership.

> One day I got a call at work from my next door neighbor who was at our neighborhood pool with her kids and had joined my nanny and my kids there. They had run into a third friend and they were all sitting there. The called to tell me that they missed me and wished I was there. I could hear my daughters laughing in the background. I was having a difficult day at work. Usually the girls' laughter is like magic balm for a day like that - on this day it made me cry. I could not stop thinking of how many moments like this I have missed. For a brief moment I was even angry at my friends and my nanny. On another day they called me from the pool because my older daughter had slammed her finger into the car door and they were trying to determine whether or not to take her to the emergency room...I was 40 minutes away. All I could think of is how she was in pain and needed me there. I have this constant paranoia of being judged by the stay at home moms... How can anything even if it is infant mortality, health care access for the poor, providing compassionate and competent prenatal care to HIV infected women or to adolescent mothers be more important than being around for one's own kids? I am not sure that these moms are spending a single second on thinking about my choices...All the same this is a constant worry.

> To be completely honest, my family has been a barrier to my "leadership". I was a very ambitious, high achieving student and young professional, with everyone saying, "go change the world." I have found family life has been a huge brake on that ambition. Most of the time, I'm not unhappy about it. I chose to get married, and to have children, and I have never regretted those decisions, and it's been the core course of my sense of meaning in life, and the contribution I want to make. However, over and over again, I have had to make PROFESSIONAL compromises. Looking at me, a lot of people don't realize that. I've had visible positions of responsibility, I'm a CEO of a nonprofit, etc. But I've turned career opportunities down, declined speeches and paper opportunities, not delved as deeply into projects I cared about, etc., because I know that I cannot handle that given my family responsibilities. My husband is intellectually and philosophically supportive of my career and public leadership, but he has a very responsible job also, and he simply does not contribute 50% to family responsibilities-- and this is true for many professional women in public life I know. I think it remains a little-discussed fact among many professional

women in positions of public leadership. Public service exacts a particular tax in this regard, too: you don't command the salaries necessary to have full-time housekeeping and nannying.(sic) So not only do I work full-time, and then some, but I end up being the person who does all the school stuff, the vacation planning, the holiday planning, the home repair contracting, the family medical stuff, packing up the outgrown clothes, the financial management, the decluttering (sic) before the cleaning lady comes, etc. I still am just not convinced that most men understand how much work is involved in maintaining a family, and if you value a rich and close family life, you will end up doing that work.

The challenges encountered by respondents as a result of their gender roles are powerful and certainly affected their pathways. Their stories demonstrate the complicated and additive nature of gender roles on public service leadership.

Shadow Side of Mentoring

Mentoring is generally understood to be a positive element in one's professional development. Organizations in the public and private sector have invested resources in mentoring programs as an effort to develop and retain employees. Discussion of the challenges of mentoring typically focus on making a good match of mentor and mentee or providing sufficient structures and resources – particularly time – to support a quality mentoring experience. One respondent noted limitations of organizational mentoring programs:

> The "formal" mentorships never worked for me. I was in a couple of professional development programs that required that you find a mentor and work through the program with them. I found those relationships limiting and stilted.

Still, the presence of mentoring is expected to be a positive influence in one's development, while the absence of mentoring is understood as a deficit. From respondents who had not had a mentor, one hears a sense of regret or loss:

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It makes me sad that I have had no mentor(s).

I wish I had fought the impulse that "I don't have time" and sought one out.

I have never had a female mentor, which is something I've desired.

I have had people come in and out of my life, but there are no stable mentors

What was surprising in the data was the expressions of the "upside" to not having a mentor. Respondents who reported having no mentors presented a nuanced understanding of the shadow side of mentoring. For some respondents, the lack of mentoring motivated greater personal resolve or resourcefulness:

I've never really been the type to have a mentor. I think I prefer to feel I'm leading my own way than to give someone else the authority over me that a mentor relationship would imply.

the absence just made me make more decisions for myself, seek out those whom I respected. I made mistakes in trusting some people because I was foolish enough to believe most people are generally honest and was disappointed. Many are just lazy, petty, greedy and selfish, but I also came to believe that since I cannot control how others live, I can control how I do and I worry about doing the right thing because it is the right thing to do

Absence of a mentor means that I am on my own to figure out what to do. Sometimes this makes me feel less successful, and other times it makes me feel more determined.

Respondents expressed concern about the loyalty a mentor commands, and resentment at the misplaced authority mentors appear to have:

I have been called "unorganizable" because of my preferences for tackling issues where there has been no organized approach to the problem. The lack of a mentor or leader to whom I would owe loyalty probably was as much a cause of this as was my own personality.

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> I discussed this a bit above, but I think again, many older male mentors have ideas about what younger women should do, and if you vary from their suggestions, they see you as a rebel, where men who vary are assertive and powerful. Also, the other challenge was ALWAYS money. Older rich people, who came from two-parent households with money, could not understand why I could not do more things for free and not worry about paid work.

Mentors can be understood to have undue influence, prevent personal development, or perpetuate systemic norms that these women encountered as barriers.

> Even mentors have limits - several times, I've been told "this is wrong, but I don't have enough influence to do anything about it. Merry Christmas, huh?"

While some respondents described the limits or 'downside' of mentoring with a sense of resigned acceptance, other respondents reported retreating from mentoring relationships. One respondent, while still referring to mentoring as "positive," described "taking cover" from her mentors:

> The mentors have pushed me in a very positive fashion. In recent years, I have responded by taking cover, if you will; electing not to take on highly visible or demanding roles due to balancing concerns and due to some personal insecurity as to my ability to execute.

These narratives also highlighted the added complication of gender in mentoring relationships. Respondents discussed both male and female mentors in their narratives. Respondents who emphasized the mentor's role as example or role model typically but not always described a female mentor – one who could set an example for work-family balance. Other respondents discussed the challenges of cross-gender mentoring, attributing challenges either to lack of understanding (related to gender roles) or to fear of perceptions of an inappropriate, sexual relationship. Examples of these responses were

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provided in Chapter 4. Respondents expressed the complexity of gender in mentoring relationships in other ways as well:

> I've found that as a woman, it's better to have male mentors. My female mentors always set the bar lower - "you should try this first." My male mentors push me to higher limits, even those that first seem out of reach.

> I have had various role models and helpful people along the way - but not one significant mentor. I would very much like one, particularly a woman. Often there are supportive men, but I recognize that their leadership styles or examples would not be appropriate for me to emulate. I have also encountered all too many women whose examples are not ones I admire - backstabbing, self-absorbed, etc

The reflections shared by women in this collective case study deserve further study, contributing a new perspective to discussion on the benefits and challenges of mentoring relationships.

Commitment to Public Service

Commitment to public service is a criterion of selection for the Truman scholarship. Throughout the study, respondents expressed this commitment in two particular ways. The first was expression of how the commitment to public service was sustained by experiences and relationships, and served as a source of strength in facing challenges and barriers. The second expression was how the commitment to public service still exists in theory, but has been challenged in practice, resulting in disaffection with politics and the public sector and a rejection of earlier ambitions. The role that commitment to public service has played in women's pathways to leadership is the third finding of the study.

Commitment and Perseverance

The depth of respondents' commitment to service reflected in their narratives is palpable and inspiring. For some respondents, their commitment is driven by the magnitude of the social injustice they work to redress:

> The number of individuals living in poverty in the US does not make sense to me given the amount of wealth in our country. I also believe the "protective factors" for children that have been identified through research are common sense and should be easily attainable in a country such as ours. I am motivated to create change that allows us to provide these basics to children.

> These children had been living in horrific situations. Some had been emotionally, physically, or sexually abused. Some had been exposed to meth labs and other drug situations. Some had been horribly neglected. All were filled with fear about what would happen next and where they were going. I was appalled at the various ways in which people can - and do - abuse the smallest among us.

> Before I started working in the area of domestic violence prevention, the motives of victims who continue long-term relationships with their abusers seemed incomprehensible. Working directly with victims has helped me to understand the complex dynamics of violent relationships and the barriers to leaving. The more I worked in the criminal justice system, the more I observed the broad societal impact of domestic violence - many offenders grew up in homes where they witnessed and suffered abuse as children, and learned that violence was a method of problem solving. Daily observing the long-term impact of family violence on victims and their children galvanized me to dedicate the majority of my public service to this area, and to continue to work in the area after my assignment in the prosecutor's office changed.

Other respondents expressed a commitment forged from personal experience and a sense of connection to those they serve:

> I felt lucky and blessed that I was able to make it out of poverty with the help of other caring adults around me. I felt it to be my duty to help change policies to make it easier for others to move out of poverty.

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Although they encountered barriers and setbacks, respondents expressed an admirable intention to persevere, relying on their commitment to public service:

> If anyone has done anything long enough, there will be disappointments and discouragement. However, the mark of a true leader and statesman is the ability to keep the bigger picture in mind. Every setback is an opportunity to reevaluate your position or project and reformulate your approach. A global approach allows one to see success from many vantages. There will always be a new opportunity to influence the public, to serve the needs of the people, and to strengthen the community where one serves and lives.

> Once I achieved academic success and received a Rhodes it was clear people expected me to make money and focus on becoming a corporate mogul. I went the road less traveled and don't for a second regret the route that I went. Being able to work in environments where you can make a difference is a blessing and when I am frustrated I remember I have the choice to do this work.

Commitment and Disillusionment

Commitment to public service, for other respondents, was not a sufficient determinant or guiding element of their pathways. While committed in theory, public service in practice challenged the respondents' ideals, ambitions, and plans. Some respondents expressed lost motivation for public service leadership:

> This [question] presumes a pathway. I had a pathway when I graduated from high school/college but financial realities and a general feeling of cynicism toward my time in Washington led me to go off course. I am still trying to find a new pathway.

> I don't have a specific incident, but I can describe a rather intense period of insomnia, when I realized that after four years of intensive work on project attempting to improve management of global environmental risks, the likelihood of our efforts making a difference were relatively small. At this point, it became clear to me that I needed to make my daily work something I loved, not just the end goal.

Some respondents indicated clearly they had changed paths because of their disillusionment; other respondents appear to be "on the brink" of making significant changes:

> I have been totally put off as to political leadership due to the constant need for funds and the resultant people attracted to political leadership. This has discouraged me from being involved politically other than a supporter.
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> One major discouragement is the realization that there are so many agendas -- some hidden -- that block getting things done in the civic arena. People have their turf that they want to protect, even if surrendering some of it would be beneficial to the community over all. Also, it is not the case that the good ideas or programs get the most funding and support. The fact is that a lot of things get done based on who you know or who knows you.
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> Another discouragement, related to the local board discussion above [in a previous response], but also to my professional life, where I work with a number of high-ranking public leaders in government, nonprofits, etc., is the disillusionment with politics and government. It's not enough to convince me to leave public service, but seeing how unpleasant many of these jobs can be-- the unsavory political compromises, the greed, the glacial pace of change, the caution imposed by fear of litigation, unions, etc-- has definitely transported me a long way from my almost Pollyanna idealism of college days.

Given the nature and degree of barriers to public service leadership respondents shared in this study, it is not surprising that some would choose to change their career or personal objectives. The lives of these women are complicated and complex, with many experiences and relationships weighing in to their decision-making.

Unanticipated Insights

The assumption of the Truman Scholarship Foundation, embedded in its application process and selection criteria, is that public service is worthwhile and

individuals committed to public service can make a difference, in the lives of others and the life of this nation. Respondents shared many experiences throughout their narratives that spoke to making a difference through public service. Two reflections in particular stand out as speaking powerfully to the difference service makes not only for those served, but for the one serving. The first reflection is of a particular incident that the respondent described as a touchstone:

> As a young attorney, I won a political asylum case before an immigration judge. It was hard fought, with difficult facts and legal arguments. But for the legal representation provided by myself and my colleague (via our law firm's pro bono program), my client would likely have been returned to her country and, in all probability, killed. I have always been struck by the fact that a little hard work and advocacy, changed (and probably saved) my client's life. It is easy to discount the power of your pen, your voice, or your intellect; yet, this experience continues to remind me that we all have to power to change lives.

The second reflection describes a set of experiences that transformed the respondent's understanding of her service and her role in making a difference in the lives of others:

> The most transformative moments of my professional life took place during the years I spent as an advocate for women and their families in abortion care clinics. The quiet, hard conversations that I was witness to were more than enough to teach me that there are too many obstacles for women in this life and that I wanted to try and break down as many of those as I could. I studied social work and intended to pursue clinical work, but was offered this chance to help strengthen women's relationship to the political process and couldn't turn down the opportunity. By the time that patients would get to me in the clinics, much of the damage and disenfranchisement had already happened. I could see in their faces and hear in their stories the fact that the "choice" that we offer them is rarely that. It is necessity that so often forces women to have an abortion-poverty, an uphill battle to establish themselves personally or professionally, addiction, mental illness, and the rampant lack of support for mothers and families. I could see that they didn't feel like they had a voice or that they could even shift some of their blame away from themselves. I want women to have a voice because I have met too many who don't. [My work] helps me invest in women's potential as advocates and as a community. I think Eleanor Roosevelt says it best. "Only women in power will consider women without power."

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The individual narratives in this study describe a range of critical incidents and influential relationships that have shaped women's pathways to public service leadership. Respondents have described factors related to the development of and challenge to their cultural capital. They described the dispositions of the families in which they were raised ("habitus"); values of the social institutions in which they operated such as government, academia, and the public sector generally ("field"); and acknowledged those resources that they possessed or wished they had possessed that they could mobilize for their achievement ("capital"). The three findings discussed in this chapter were informed by cultural capital theory, yet the findings also highlight the complexity of women's pathways. As a way of synthesizing, displaying, and making sense of the data, the researcher developed two composite narratives: Anna represents the Truman Scholars who started with and gained cultural capital throughout their pathways. Zoe represents the Truman Scholars who started their education and career without benefit of cultural capital and encountered challenges in their leadership pathways that prevented development of capital.

Composite Narratives

Drawing on the individual narratives shared in the study, the researcher developed the following two composite narratives. Composite narratives are used to synthesize, display, and make sense of the range of rich data generated from this collective case study. The two narratives show how the possession and activation of cultural capital affect one's pathway to public service leadership.

Anna

I think I've always wanted a career in public service. I grew up in a family committed to social justice. My mom was a caseworker in social services. My dad was a campus minister. I was marching for the ERA, going on bike-rides for Bangladesh, raising money for Bread for the World – from when I was maybe 5? Public service was held up as a noble calling. Well, noble doesn't sound right – but really, we were all expected to do good work in the world. Every opportunity I had to serve, my folks looked for ways to support (we didn't have money, but we had will and a supportive community).

And it wasn't just my family. I remember the social studies teacher in 8th grade who modeled the service ethic for all his classes. And my debate coach in high school. Government service, public policy, nonprofit work – all were all held up as ways to strengthen the fabric of our society – our democracy. In Girl Scouts, too, I discovered how I could get others motivated to act on things I cared about. I think participating in these early service experiences showed me I could make a positive difference.

When I got to college, though, I didn't really know where I was headed. I struggled to find a major. I think in many ways I just really enjoyed the college environment, and hated the idea of settling on one discipline or career. I had great faculty, too. One in particular lit my interest in the feminization of poverty. While I wasn't sure if I would follow this study into higher education or public policy, I felt like I had found an issue I could dig into. My professor encouraged me to go on for my PhD, and recommended me for an undergraduate research program. She also referred me to our university's scholarship advisor. I worked with my advisor on the Truman application – I hadn't known such a program existed. I learned a lot in the process, and when I received

the Truman Scholarship, my already exciting world exploded. I became a part of a whole Truman community that extended my network of support and exposed me to new opportunities.

When I finished grad school, I decided to pursue a career in public policy. I needed to see these theories I had been studying about put into action. I had a great first job with the Department of Labor. My supervisor was this incredible woman, Margaret Lane. She was a person of such great integrity that one felt like a better person just knowing her. I always wanted to grow up to be just like her – still do. Margaret spent time talking and listening to me, helping me weigh the pros and cons of government versus academic work. I think I was most impressed by how Margaret demonstrated how to work effectively within the "good ole boy" network, while maintaining her integrity and sense of humor, and keeping her family a priority. That's been her hallmark for three decades of public service and has been an inspiration for me and so many others. She is the model for my own mentoring of others – trying to "pass the torch" or whatever!

Margaret and others I met and was mentored by showed me that you *could* have a career and a family. And I did my best to live that dream. I got married right out of college and thought of myself as very happy, even though for the last several years we struggled with my husband's depression and alcoholism. I thought we had really turned a corner last year, and then I learn my husband had met someone else. I'm only now beginning to see how deeply his situation was affecting me, and I can't help but wonder what my life would have been like had I not married him. I really did think I was happy, but I also made choices that I'm sure I wouldn't have if I was on my own, or with someone I could rely on. Bouncing back is hard, and takes some time. I'm not "back"

just yet. But I had adopted long ago the perspective that every setback is an opportunity to reevaluate your position and reformulate your approach. I follow the principle that something of value is learned from every situation in life – even if it is only that you don't ever want to do that, or be in that position again.

Focusing on the work helps, too. The Truman Foundation cautioned us all that public service was three steps forward, two steps back (and sometimes the other way around!). It is difficult work, and some of the issues seem intractable. But you stay with it – keep plugging along. In so many ways, it is a blessing to be able to serve. I'm not sure I could, though, without the support of my parents, friends and colleagues. And I would never have gotten this far without the inspiration and encouragement of my mentors. They opened doors – and walking through, I was confident I could make a positive difference.

Zoe

My parents didn't think I'd go to college. I guess it just never really occurred to them. But I was determined. Once they came around, they wanted me to study business, to make money. I can understand that. They don't want me to face all the challenges they have. But that's not where my heart is. My parents just don't get my activism – never have. Getting the Truman helped justify public service as a career to my folks. They saw that others really valued it. And the money helped. It meant less college debt, and maybe I could actually afford to work in public service!

Once I finished grad school (another big adjustment for my folks), public service opportunities were hard to come by. They paid nothing and living in DC is very expensive. I had Truman friends working on the Hill, and I swear the only way they

could afford it was because they had family bankrolling them. And these positions they had carried real influence. As legislative assistants they were writing policy – seriously writing policy. They'd talk with their Member of Congress, do some research, stay late to write up some piece of legislation – and committees would be hashing it out and getting it to the floor in a matter of days! I love these guys, don't get me wrong. They are committed, smart, and good hearted. But what kind of policies do we expect to get if the ones writing them all come from money? And the ones voting on the policies all come from money? Is it any wonder we never won the war on poverty?

I stayed in DC as long as I could, but made it back to my home state to see what I could make happen. My issue had always been poverty – still is! – and I decided to focus on affordable housing. I was working for the state and given oversight of a project that was high on the agenda of our Governor. Of course, I came to find out that the head of our agency had no intention of supporting the project. He withheld resources and constructed barriers all along the way. It wasn't a well-thought out project to begin with, but without any agency support, I was clearly set up to fail. That was tough personally, but worse, we have people who desperately need quality affordable housing – and who is looking out for their interests? It feels like the system has been *designed* to fail the least of us.

Maybe it would have been easier to take if I had mentor along the way. Or even a role model that I could look to – someone to light the way. A few of my bosses took an interest in me. They took notice of my skills and passion for the work. But I think they were as beaten down by the bureaucracy as I was starting to feel. I remember talking to my boss, asking how to find a way around recent loss of funding for one of our programs.

She said, "I know it's hard, and I'm sorry. These things are just beyond our control. But until the political winds shift, we just have to put it all aside." Not exactly inspiring. This is tough work.

My one serious relationship couldn't withstand the crap hours and crap pay for which public service is rewarded. He thought what I was doing was "good," but not something one makes sacrifices for – or not something he was prepared to make sacrifices for, I should say. For what I was making, he thought I'd be better off staying at home with our future children. He didn't understand that I *mean* to do this work. I was raised in poverty, and I am committed that no child should face that. God, we can do *better*. I'd love to have children – to have my own family – but I've got my parents to care for now. And Lord knows how – with health care costs through the roof and limited access to social services… And then there are all those I work for – they're my family, too. Their victories are mine, and their defeats just as crushing for me as my own.

It's a hard call for me to make, but I've got my folks and myself to take care of, and this work has taken its toll. I need to work for real money with time and energy left over for me. I still care – I'll volunteer when I can – find ways to play some small part, but I'm done. I can't help thinking – I have had a good life. I have been of service to my community, but who knows what I could have become had I had the economic, family, and economic support I needed.

Reflection

In the case of Anna, cultural capital is built and developed from an already strong base. Zoe did not start with a reserve of capital, but has developed it through critical experiences. Both Anna and Zoe encounter barriers. Anna draws on her capital and continues to develop – she survives and thrives. Zoe's reserves are consistently challenged – what she has is eroding.

Public service has its own challenges and rewards. Anna and Zoe attest to that, and the respondents in this study have certainly catalogued many. One respondent, cited above, quoted Eleanor Roosevelt: "Only women in power will consider women without power." Mrs. Roosevelt understood that it takes capital to serve. As for the capital required, public service seems to demand a renewable source. One's bank of capital has to be continually replenished because it is spent at such a high rate. The nature of the social injustices fought, the faulty systems in place to address them, the long hours, low pay, and emotional investment – all draw down one's reserves. While having capital is no guarantee that a person will succeed when faced with a challenge, this study seems to indicate that it matters. Starting out with capital from a supportive family helps, but is not enough to sustain a career. And what is valued or needed as capital for one, may not be for another. Educational opportunity, a network that provides access and support, encouraging mentors, personal relationships that sustain rather than challenge – each alone generates capital. Cumulatively, these create a balance of capital greater than the sum of its parts.

Applications

Learning how women understand their pathways to public service leadership informs the conversation and contributes to the scholarship on leadership development, and particularly development of civic leadership. This study provides perspectives relevant to those engaged in structuring learning opportunities and developing content for civic leadership development. Understanding the critical factors that may develop or erode women's capital for this work will allow for greater engagement of their time and talents.

Institutions and programs that seek to identify and develop leaders can draw support for their efforts from this study, both in terms of justification or showing value, and also in terms of guidance. Competitive scholarship programs have demonstrated interest in exploring the value and impact of their efforts (Ilchman, Ilchman and Tolar, 2004). Understanding the scholarship experience as a complex intervention, or critical experience with both positive and negative potential consequences for one's leadership pathway, provides program administrators with a new perspective with which to view their work. Scholarship programs may appreciate a moral dimension to their work to provide experiences that develop or enhance the capital of scholars. If there is an intention to provide a selection process that acknowledges different starting points of applicants – those with and without sufficient cultural capital for this work, then there should follow a commitment to provide experiences that accommodate that difference, providing all scholars with added capital moving forward.

The Truman Scholarship is an example of a program that has demonstrated a commitment both to access and also to scholar development. In the finalist selection

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process, reviewers are encouraged to consider if an applicant has "bloomed where they were planted." Rather than look at all applications with the same measuring stick, each applicant is considered in his or her context – what opportunities were available, and how did the applicant engage those opportunities and to what effect. This is a commitment to access which, if successful, results in a diverse scholar class. The findings of this study suggest that another step is required. Once selected, scholars must be provided opportunities to build capital, to develop reserves upon which they can draw.

Scholarship and fellowship programs provide opportunities to build capital in a variety of forms. The primary opportunity, of course, is the graduate study or other purpose of the scholarship. Many also provide some kind of orientation. The Rhodes Scholarship hosts a "sailing weekend," the Marshall Scholarship conducts a pre-departure session, and the Truman Scholarship holds Truman Scholars Leadership Week. An articulated purpose of these orientation opportunities is to create a community – a network of support among scholars. Inclusion of former scholars in these events seeks to establish informal mentor relationships. Sessions included may address understanding and making use of the scholarship and sponsoring foundation as a resource, acclimating to a new educational environment, and gaining access to additional funding or learning opportunities. The Truman Scholarship Foundation, given its focus on public service leadership, addresses during its week access to graduate or professional school, national service opportunities, managing debt, and understanding privilege. All of these provide early opportunity for scholars to build capital.

This study's findings would support such programming efforts with recently selected scholars. It also suggests consideration of long-term relationships with scholars

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to provide mentoring opportunities and additional leadership development as scholars develop their careers and navigate the many challenges and barriers noted by respondents in this study. Another consideration would be to develop a range of programs or development opportunities, recognizing that not everyone will need or benefit from the same intervention.

Finally, this study's findings also may be of value to emerging women leaders directly. Women anticipating a life of civic activism and public service leadership may find a vested interest in hearing the stories of those who have come before them. There is value in gathering and sharing the voices of one generation to speak to the next. These stories may fill gaps in women's mentoring. While they lack the interaction expected with mentoring, the stories show a way forward – illuminate many paths forward. One may find the role model she seeks, or see herself reflected, in the individual narratives presented – and find doors opened, obstacles removed, or career guidance offered. Sharing stories of women's pathways to public service leadership, as an act itself, may develop capital.

Future Research

Broadly, the reason to study women leaders in the public sector is because they were so long absent from that sphere and now they are present. The pathways these women have taken to leadership in public service, when for so long women previously did not have a public voice, helps illuminate pathways not only for future women leaders, but also for other absent voices. Understanding the critical incidents and influential factors for women forging those paths provides a deeper understanding of what

challenges and opportunities exist for those previously excluded or persistently marginalized. Beyond this study, future research may include:

- o Studies that explore and describe issues of choice and chance in a particular group's persistence in a given profession or career. Such research may help us better understand, recognize and address structural discrimination within organizations and professions, and the role social and cultural reproduction play in determining issues of power.

- o Longitudinal research, building on this study, that incorporates demographic analysis. Such a study would provide additional, rich detail to the understanding of critical incidents and influential factors that emerged from this study.

- o Replicating this study with a male population. Findings from such a study could be compared with this study to explore gender directly, and its role in capital formation, development, and erosion.

- o A study that explores more deeply the data gathered on mentoring. Further exploration of cross-gender and same-gender mentoring is warranted, as is a closer examination of the shadow side of mentoring.

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Appendix A - IRB Approval

TO: Robert Shoop
    Educational Leadership
    203 Bluemont

Proposal Number: 4728

FROM: Rick Scheidt, Chair
      Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects

DATE: May 5,2008

RE: Proposal Entitled, "Exploring Women's Pathways to Civic Leadership"

The Institutional Review Board (IRE) for Kansas State University has reviewed the proposal identified above and has determined that it is exempt from further review.

This exemption applies only to the proposal currently on file with the IRE. Any change affecting human subjects must be approved by the IRE prior to implementation and may disqualify the proposal from exemption.

Exemption from review does not release the investigator from statutory responsibility for obtaining the informed consent of subjects or their authorized representatives, as appropriate, either orally or in writing, prior to involving the subjects in research. The general requirements for informed consent and for its documentation are set forth in the Federal Policy for the Protection of Human Subjects, 45 CFR 46.116-117, copies of which are available in. the University Research Compliance Office and online at http://ohrp.osophs.dhhs.gov/humansubjects/guidance/45cfr46.htm#46.116. In cases of remote oral data collection, as in telephone interviews, oral consent is sufficient and the researcher is required to provide the respondent with a copy of the consent statement only if the respondent requests one. The researcher must, however, ask the respondent whether he or she wishes to have a copy. The initiative in requesting a copy must not be left to the respondent. Regardless of whether the informed consent is written or oral, the investigator must keep a written record of the informed consent statement, not merely of the fact that it was presented, and must save this documentation for 3 years after completing the research.

The identification of a human subject in any publication constitutes an invasion of privacy and requires a separate informed consent.

Injuries or any unanticipated problems involving risk to subjects or to others must be reported immediately to the Chair of the Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, the University Research Compliance Office, and if the subjects are KSU students, to the Director of the Student Health Center.

Appendix B - IRB Consent Form

PROJECT TITLE: Exploring Women's Pathways to Civic Leadership

APPROVAL DATE OF PROJECT: May 5,2008

PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: Dr. Robert Shoop

CO-INVESTIGATOR(S): Mary Hale Tolar

CONTACT NAME AND PHONE FOR ANY PROBLEMS/QUESTIONS: Dr. Robert Shoop, 785-532-5533; or Mary Hale Tolar, 785-532-3651

IRB CHAIR CONTACT/PHONE INFORMATION: *(This information is for the subject in case he/she has questions, or needs or wants to discuss any aspect of the research with an official of the university or the IRB)*

- Rick Scheidt, Chair, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.

- Jerry Jaax, Associate Vice Provost for Research Compliance and University Veterinarian, 203 Fairchild Hall, Kansas State University, Manhattan, KS 66506, (785) 532-3224.

PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH: The purpose of the dissertation study is to discover and explore contemporary women's pathways to civic leadership. To understand how these leaders' pathways were formed, the study will gather the perceptions of the women in their own words, by way of an online survey. The purpose of the exploratory focus group is to develop questions for the survey that will generate helpful responses.

PROCEDURES OR METHODS TO BE USED: Participants in the focus group will gather at William Jewell College during Truman Scholars Leadership Week (May 2008) for one two-hour session. The researcher will guide a group interview with a small group, approximately 8-10 female Truman Scholars, discussing topics related to career paths of women civic leaders. What the participants in the group say during the discussions – their suggestions and ideas – are captured using audio-recording and in the notes of the interviewer, and reviewed in the development of an online survey instrument. Individuals and their responses will not be identified or attributed in the records. Only collective data will be reported.

LENGTH OF STUDY: One two-hour focus group (with opportunity to field test instrument following)

RISKS OR DISCOMFORTS ANTICIPATED: No known risks

BENEFITS ANTICIPATED: As members of a network of scholars, participants may experience as a benefit a sense of contributing to the network and to future scholars (the 'Truman community').

EXTENT OF CONFIDENTIALITY: Individuals and their responses will not be identified or attributed in the records. In transcription of the audio-recording, any references to participant names will be replaced with pseudonyms. Tapes will not be duplicated and remain in the possession of the researcher only.

TERMS OF PARTICIPATION:
I understand this project is research, and that my participation is completely voluntary. I also understand that if I decide to participate in this study, I may withdraw my consent at any time, and stop participating at any time without explanation, penalty, or loss of benefits, or academic standing to which I may otherwise be entitled.

I verify that my signature below indicates that I have read and understand this consent form, and willingly agree to participate in this study under the terms described, and that my signature acknowledges that I have received a signed and dated copy of this consent form.

Participant Name:

Participant Signature:	Date:
Witness to Signature: (project staff)	Date:

Appendix C - Group Interview Protocol

Group Interview Protocol
May 15, 2008
Moderator: Mary Hale Tolar

The purpose of the group interview is to develop the questionnaire for an online qualitative survey of female Truman Scholars in order to conduct a study exploring women's pathways to civic leadership.   Five female Truman Scholars serving as senior scholars at Truman Scholars Leadership Week will convene for a two-hour session facilitated by the researcher. The session will be held on the campus of William Jewell College.

The researcher will begin by first sharing the purpose of the interview, and providing the consent form for signature. Prior to the group interview, participants will receive a partial list of questions/topics by way of introduction and preparation. The researcher will take notes and the session will be audio-recorded and transcribed. The group interview will follow a questioning route and will involve five question types: opening, introduction, transition, key, and ending (Krueger 1998). The group interview will be semi-structured to make sure important issues are addressed, but allow for flexibility in responding to and incorporating ideas or concerns raised by the group (Mertens 2005).

Opening: Tell me how long it has been since you received the Truman Scholarship, and your current position/role.

Introduction: "Civic leadership" is a term used to describe one's activity in public service either in one's career or as a private citizen, moving others to act on issues of public concern.

Transition: When you think of civic leadership, what comes to mind? (looking for guidance on how best to use and/or define the term; is public service leadership better for this target group?)

Transition: What characteristics or qualities do you associate with female civic leaders?

Key: When you think of critical incidents or influential factors to your pathway to leadership, what kinds of relationships or events come to mind? (looking for categories for questions, potential prompts)

Key: In what ways, if at all, do you think women's civic leadership is promoted effectively? (beyond personal experience to what they may observe in others)

Key: What would motivate you to take a survey on Truman women's civic leadership?

Key: I am conducting this study to explore women's pathways to civic leadership. What are some questions that are of interest to you – what would you ask?

Key: How much time would you be willing to spend completing a questionnaire on this topic?

Ending: What might you expect me to learn?

Appendix D - Qualitative Survey Instrument

"Public service leadership" is used in this survey to describe one's activity, either in one's career or as a private citizen, which moves others to act on issues of public concern.

1. In what areas or around what issues have you been most active?
          Child Advocacy
          Civil Rights
          Community development
          Education
          Environment
          Health/medicine
          Human and social services
          International relations
          Military
          Science/technology
          Trade/economy
          Other, please explain

2. Leadership in public service is exercised by those employed professionally in the sector (e.g. director of state housing authority) as well as by private citizens volunteering their time and talents to an issue of public concern (school board member). In what role do you serve most actively?

3. What moment, event, or time in your life has been particularly influential to your public service leadership?

4. What was it about that circumstance that made it stand out?

5. Did this occur
          before college
          during college/graduate school
          early in professional life
          mid-career
          later in career/life

6.. In what ways have family/personal relationships propelled, sustained or challenged your leadership?

7.   What barriers, defeats, or discouragements, if any, have you encountered?

8. How did you respond?

9. Give an example of when a significant unplanned incident affected your pathway.

10. Have you had a significant mentor related to your public service leadership? (Y/N)

11. What role did the presence or absence of a mentor play in the development of your public service leadership?

12. What challenges, if any, have you experienced in your mentoring relationships?

Appendix E - Researcher Biography

Mary Hale Tolar
Spring 2009

Mary Hale Tolar serves as Interim Director of the School of Leadership Studies at Kansas State University. In this capacity, Mary works with faculty and staff to provide learning experiences aligned with the mission of "developing knowledgeable, ethical, caring, inclusive leaders for a diverse and changing world" for the approximate 1400 students in the minor as well as the wider campus community through the School's extensive array of programs. Tolar teaches Senior Seminar, directs the Coffman Leadership Institute, and partners often with K-State's Institute for Discourse and Democracy and the Center for Engagement and Community Development. Research interests focus on the art and practice of civic leadership development, women's pathways to public service leadership, and the role of scholarship and fellowship opportunities on leadership development.

Prior to her position with Leadership Studies and Programs, Mary served as Executive Director of Kansas Campus Compact (KsCC), working with college presidents and their campuses across the state to advance civic engagement and the public purpose of higher education. KsCC engages campus and community partners through service learning and community service efforts and promotes development of civic leadership, particularly among youth and college students.

Before returning home to Kansas in 2003, Mary served as Deputy Executive Secretary and Chief of Staff of the Truman Scholarship Foundation in Washington, DC. Mary is a Truman Scholar, a Rhodes Scholar, founding member of the National Association of Fellowships Advisors, and co-author/editor of *The Lucky Few and the Worthy Many: Scholarships and the World's Future Leaders* (2004). She has spent more than a dozen years in higher education administration, serving five institutions in capacities ranging from scholarship advisor to development officer. The focus of her professional work has been and continues to be developing students as scholars and citizens.