POWER SUITS HER:

An arts-based portrayal of women and power

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Résumé

Cette étude, basée sur les arts, examine la notion du pouvoir tel que perçu par trois femmes leaders seniors évoluant dans le secteur du développement international. L'emphase est mise non seulement sur la façon dont elles décrivent les identités de leur pouvoir, mais aussi sur la manière dont on pourrait les représenter. Cette analyse s'appuie sur des informations recueillies au cours d'interviews et de dessins portant sur les métaphores du portrait, la tenue du pouvoir et la conception féministe de la «voix». Les identités du pouvoir des femmes sont représentées de trois façons : *textuellement* (sous forme de profiles d'identité du pouvoir), *visuellement* (sous forme de «tenues du pouvoir » création de costumes) et *oralement* (sous forme de monologues dramatiques). Le processus complet de cette enquête esthético-interprétative est documenté au moyen de notes, de descriptions, de schémas et d'explications.

Les résultats de cette étude suggère que ces trois femmes leaders
- Ont une manière diversifiée et individuelle de conceptualiser, de parler du pouvoir et de leur rapport à ce pouvoir. Mais, de façon collectif, elles
- Font preuve des thèmes et des compréhensions fidèle au models et aux publications féministe sur le pouvoir.
- Elles révèlent une compréhension plus diverses que celle qui est permis par les models androcentrique et patriarch ainsi que les models féministe bi-polaire.
- Comme tel, on voit que l'identité du pouvoir de ces femmes demandent les models inclusif, diverse et unique.

Bien qu'elles ne soient pas proposées comme étant des exemples généralisés ni représentatifs, les trois femmes de cette étude illustrent l'importance d'une approche diverse, d' enquêtes individualisées pour apprécier toutes les nuances et les contradictions inhérentes à la pensée des femmes et à leurs sentiments par rapport au pouvoir. Cette analyse soutient que, en tant que chercheurs, éducateurs et membres de la société, nous devons aller au-delà d'une vision limitée, stéréotypé et binaire des femmes et du pouvoir. De plus, il faut résister au besoin de définir l'identité du pouvoir des femmes en terme de ce qu'elle *n'est pas* (ex. traditionnelle, hiérarchique, et centrée sur le mâle) mais plutôt en vertu de ce qu'*elle est :* Évocatrice, quelques fois provocante et des identités de pouvoir féminin hautement *individualisées.*

Abstract

This arts-based study examines how three women, who hold senior positions in development organizations, perceive of power. Emphasis is placed not only on how the participants describe their power identities, but also on how those identities can be portrayed. Based on data collected in interviews and drawing on the metaphors of portraiture, the power suit and the feminist conception of "voice", the women's power identities are represented in three ways: *textually* (in the form of "power identity profiles"), *visually* (in the form of "power suit" costume designs) and *aurally* (in the form of dramatic monologues). Through notes, descriptions, outlines and explanations the entire process of this aesthetic/interpretive inquiry is documented.

The findings of this study suggest that the three women leaders

- have diverse, individual ways of conceptualizing, talking about and relating to power, but that they
- collectively display themes and understandings consistent with feminist theory, and
- illustrate a more divergent understanding of power than that which is afforded by either androcentric / patriarchal or bi-polar feminist power models. As such, they
- support the view that contemporary women leaders demand an inclusive and expansive model in order to completely and effectively portray their unique power identities.

While not being offered as a generalizable or even representative sample, the three women in this study illustrate the importance of diverse, individualized inquiry approaches in order to appreciate and represent the nuance and contradiction inherent to women's thoughts and feelings about power. It supports the view that, as researchers, educators and members of society, we must move beyond limited, stereotypical and binary views of women and power. Moreover, we must resist the urge to define women's power identities in terms of what they are *not* (i.e. traditional, hierarchical, and male centred) but rather in terms of what they *are*: evocative, sometimes provocative and highly *individualized* female power identities.

Acknowledgements

This thesis is dedicated to James and Elaine Wright who have always been the most powerful, positive forces in my life. Thank you for your omnipresent love and support and for allowing me to dream. I am truly blessed to have you as parents and friends.

Heartfelt thanks to:

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PROLOGUE

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Often our existence, the way we see things, how we choose to live is so common to us, so natural, we forget to question the authenticity of these constructs (Mumby, 1988). For example we can look at the term "power" as a part of our language that provokes an image. We rarely question these implications or what this word does or does not do for our environment. (Clinite, 2000, p.8)

Years ago, I remember looking at a booklet entitled *Woman Power*. The cover image-- a woman climbing the proverbial "stairway to success" -- made an impression on me, as much for the dated orange and blue colour scheme and the already *cliché* title as for what it represented. What I was viewing was the stylized version of female success: "Woman in Power Suit", boldly mounting those steps, suitably clad in tailored skirt, jacket and heels, attaché case in hand, heading... amusingly... towards a precipice at the top left-hand corner of the cover.

Since then, I have become increasingly interested in how power is defined and represented-- visually (as a costumer in the theatre); conceptually (as an educator working with minorities within the community) and theoretically (as a graduate student studying issues related to gender, leadership and education). I know personally, professionally and academically that power is often an uncomfortable and almost foreign topic for women, as expressed by Cantor and Bernay (1992):

Not only doesn't society attribute power to women, but women themselves have not been comfortable with using power as long as it is defined in the classical terms... when women try to put on the mantle of man-style power-- force, strength, devoid of feminine caring aspects-- they

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frequently feel extremely uncomfortable. They sense that power is not me." *(p. 37)*

Certainly in the traditional literature power is presented, explicitly or implicitly, as an exclusively male reserve, to the point where "woman power" could be considered an oxymoron (Swope, 1994). Contemporary researchers have concluded that, to a large degree, this phenomenon has been due to the fact that men have been the ones to define, conceptualize and theorize power (Bulbeck, 1998; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Hall, 1996; Jamiesen, 1995; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Nicolson, 1996; Sekaran and Leong, 1992). This androcentric locus of control has meant that women have been relegated "the second sex" or "the other", (de Beauvoir, 1953) and that their secondary status has been perpetuated in society (Jamiesen, 1995; Miller and Stiver, 1997; Mills and Tancred, 1992), the arts (Borzello, 2000; Chadwick, 1990; Nochlin, 1988) and academia (Gilligan, 1982; Stanley & Wise, 1983; Stivers, 1993).

Now, thirty years after the feminist movement first began, women are claiming positions of authority like never before and managing power in previously male domains. How do today's women leaders conceptualize power? Are they comfortable talking about and using power and, if so, is it the "classic, man-style" model they are assumed to reject? What does their "mantle of power" look like? In short, what are the power identities of contemporary women leaders?

This study examines how three women leaders perceive of power. Emphasis is placed not only on how the participants describe their power identities, but also on how those identities can be portrayed. Drawing on the metaphors of portraiture, the power suit and the feminist conception of "voice", the women's power identities are represented in three ways: *textually* (in the form of power identity profiles), *visually* (in the form of "power suit" costume designs) and *aurally* (in the form of dramatic monologues). Through notes, descriptions, outlines and explanations the entire process of this aesthetic/interpretive inquiry is documented.

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The Study

Inquiry Approach

Ely et al. (1997) acknowledge that there is "a complex network of belief systems and positions embedding, superimposing, and undergirding any research project" (p. 33). My stance is grounded in the interpretive/aesthetic approach which

> *...includes the notion that as reflective human beings, we construct our realities, for the most part, in discourse communities... [it is a] hermeneutic orientation based on interpretation and the search for deeper understanding... Interpretivists are concerned with symbolic meanings and various forms of representation that help the reader [or viewer] better understand the phenomenon under study. As such, interpretivists do not claim that their research portrayals correspond to a general reality, but rather that interpretivist portrayals strive for coherence, which provides the reader [or viewer] with a vivid picture of the essence of the meanings of what is under study. (Piantanida and Garman, 1999, p. 247)*

The tenets upon which this study is based (as outlined by Ely et al., 1997, p. 60) propose:

- There are many ways to come to know something and even such knowing is partial.
- There are numerous ways for us to report.
- All of our messages have agendas.
- Our language creates reality.
- The researcher is deeply interrelated with what and who is being studied. Research is context-culture bound.
- Affect and cognition are inextricably united.
- What we understand as social reality is multifaceted, sometimes clashing and always in flux.

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Finally, this study will follow the guiding principles underlying feminist research as outlined by McHugh and Cosgrove (1998). They state:

- Traditional assumptions about the nature of women and gender are to be challenged.
- Gender can be seen as a basic organizing principle that affects our worldviews.
- It is necessary to make visible the ways our social world is structured around gender.
- There is an overall concern for increased understanding of our social relationships with the intention of making transparent inequalities and injustices.
- A primary goal is to "give voice" to women and legitimize their experiences.
- Woman's participation in the teaching and creating of knowledge is essential.

Rationale

Until relatively recently, women have rarely been the focus of study. Writing on women's invisibility within the literature, Du Bois (1983) notes that:

> *Feminist scholars are engaged in almost an archaeological endeavour-*
> *that of discovering and uncovering the actual facts of women's lives and*
> *experiences, facts that have been hidden, inaccessible, suppressed,*
> *distorted, misunderstood, ignored. (p. 109)*

Such non or misrepresentation is due, at least in part, to the androcentric nature of scholarly research. "Androcentricity", Adler et al. (1993) explain, "takes male as norm for granted and thus considers itself able to ignore gender" (p. 59). Mills and Tancred (1992) concur:

> *Acceptance of male thought as universal perpetually consigns women to*
> *the second class status of other. Filtered by male perception, feminine*
> *voice, vision and text are fundamentally deprecated or remain missing*
> *altogether from the literature. Documentation and narration of direct*
> *female experience remains conspicuously missing from scholarly*
> *investigation. (p. 4)*

Miller (1986) reports the primary problem in the analysis of women and power: men ask the questions and decide what answers are important. She endorses the need for additional study that describes "women's lives and women's development in the terms in which it is lived rather than to force it into the categories which we have inherited; categories that originated in the attempt by men to describe all of life" (p. xviii).

In an effort to challenge this imbalance, feminist theory "necessarily leads to a criticism of androcentricity" (Adler et al., 1993). It attacks the "White Male System" as being based upon a system of "one-up or one-down... the assumption is that one of them must be superior and the other must be inferior" and concludes that, within this patriarchal system "there are no other possibilities for interaction" (p. 59). In contrast, within the "Female System, relationships are philosophically conceived of as peer until proven otherwise... each new encounter holds the promise of equality" (Schaef, 1981).

Increasingly, feminist researchers eschew such bi-polar models and urge others to struggle to develop new ways of thinking that do not rely on duality and dichotomy (Bose, 1987). This need is particularly relevant to studies of power, as "... feminists have often relied on the characterization of power as something evil, dangerous and corrupting... [saying that] it is not something any self respecting feminist would want to be involved with" (Kitzinger, 1992, p. 426). Hartsock (1983) submits, "There is, after all, a dangerous irony in the fact that both feminists and anti-feminists agree that the exercise of power is a masculine activity and preoccupation, inappropriate to women or feminists, and not a subject to which attention should be directed (as cited in Adler et al, p. 110).

In her book , *Fire with Fire: The New Female Power and How It Will Change the 21st Century,* Wolf (1993) rejects the notion that power-- and the study of it—is a male domain. Heralding the new era of "Power Feminism", she claims that girls and women have an inherent affinity and desire for power and encourages the development of both theoretical and practical "power literacies". "Our new opportunities will be wasted", she

warns, "unless we develop a vision of femininity in which it is appropriate and sexy for women to use power"(p. xxviii).

This research will contribute to that vision by illustrating what power actually means to women who are "living it". In keeping with Klein's (1983) call to conduct "research by, for and with women", this study is designed to maintain women at the centre of inquiry, giving voice, view and text to their unique perceptions of power.

Statement of Intent

My intent is to answer the call for innovative, arts-based inquiries by, for and with women. Drawing upon the discourses relevant to such a study, I will examine and portray women leaders' power identities using arts-based methodologies. Equally important, I will reflect upon and document the process of this aesthetic inquiry so that it may be used as a model for other researchers and educators.

Purpose and Significance of the Study

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this arts-based inquiry is to interpret and portray women leaders' power identities. More specifically, it will:

1) summarize the literature concerning conceptualizations of power and the women-power-representation nexus;

2) examine how three women leaders understand, define and identify with the concept of power;

3) represent the women's power identities with "Power Identity Profiles", "Power Suit" costume designs and dramatic monologues; and

4) document the arts-based inquiry process.

Significance of the Study

In keeping with the premise that "it is not sufficient, as Marx argued so many times, to just understand the world; the key is to change it" (Denzin, 1992, p. 167) this inquiry will contribute in three ways:

- theoretically: by focussing on women leaders' power identities, it will promote a more inclusive and holistic understanding of power theory;

- methodologically: by using arts-based methodologies it will promote a more diverse and creative approach to research analysis and representation; and

- pedagogically: by being mindful of my role as an educator, I will offer my inquiry process as an example which may benefit other students, researchers and educators.

Definition of Terms

Arts-based research:

Arts-based research is an innovative qualitative inquiry approach that involves "the choice and use of creative forms to give ordered expression to personal feelings, imaginative ideas and topics of concern" (Sarason, 1990). One of the hallmarks of alternative movements is the lack of consensus on terms. It seems that, in an attempt to define the unique essence of their creative approach, researchers adopt different labels. These include arts based research (espoused by Eisner, Donmoyer, and Barone and used by the American Educational Research Association, [AERA]); aesthetic inquiry(Ely et al., 1997); artful inquiry (Diamond and Mullen, 1999); interpretive inquiry (Piantanida and Garman, 1999); performative inquiry (Fels, 1999); performance research (Pelias, 1999); theatre as research (Meyer, 1998); portraiture (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997); artful data display (Blumenfeld-Jones & Barone, 1997) and poetic representation (Richardson, 1992) among others. In my study, I will use the terms arts-based research, arts-based inquiry, interpretive inquiry and aesthetic inquiry interchangeably.

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Power identities:

In his work on identity, Baumeister (1986) observed that "psychologists discuss identity as an element within an individual, a function of personality, while sociologists describe identity as a set of roles one assumes in relation to one's environment." Like the organizational analysts Mills and Tancred (1992) I prefer to "synthesize these aspects of inner self and outer context" (p. 240) for, as McAdams (1988) has suggested, "If identity is like a painting, environmental opportunities are the canvas and colors"(p. 4). I have coined the term "power identities" to represent how the participants "embody" their own understanding, perceptions of and identification with power as a concept and phenomenon in their own lives. These identities have emerged from a careful analysis of interview transcripts, where participants discuss: a) how they understand power as a concept, b) how they perceive of and relate to power structures within their own personal and professional contexts and c) how they contribute to or compensate for power structures and ideologies within their organizations.

Women-power-representation nexus:

This term refers to the representational elements that both shape and reflect our perceptions of women and power. I am indebted to Nochlin (1988) for her use of the term "women-power-art triad" because it chrystalised how I wanted to frame this study. I decided, however, to broaden the term to include all means of social, cultural, artistic and academic representation, hence the slightly more cumbersome but inclusive term "women-power-representation nexus".

SETTING THE SCENE

CHAPTER II

Review of Relevant Discourses

Halford and Leonard (2001) remind us that "it is through 'discourses': the historically, socially and institutionally specific structure of statements, terms, categories and beliefs (Scott, 1988, p. 35), which frame and determine both social knowledge and understanding, that the nature of personal identity (Foucault, 1977) is produced" (p. 21). It would follow, then, that women's power identities are at least partly influenced by the way women and women's viewpoints have been represented historically, socially, and institutionally.

The following literature review, framed by my concern for the woman-power-representation nexus, will summarize relevant discourses on power by focussing on: a) how power has been talked about conceptually and b) how gendered aspects of power have been visually represented in our society.

Power Perspectives: Conceptual Views of Power

History, politics, religion, and the arts all evidence power as "an enduring theme across time and place"(Prus, 1999, p. 271). Despite (or perhaps because of) our endless fascination with it, "no widely shared, generic concept" of power exists (Poggi, 2001). "What does exist," Poggi offers, "is a largish body of literature-- a great number of essays, a sizeable number of books from the disciplines of sociology, political science, social psychology and philosophy-- where numerous, overlapping and generally inconclusive attempts are made to generate agreement on a given understanding of the notion of power"(p. 1). In fact, the only thing researchers seem to agree on is that power is "an important and ubiquitous concept" (Yoder and Kahn, 1992) which "permeates every structure of society. It is embedded in the micro, gender relations that make up everyday life" (Denzin, 1989, p. 29).

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An understanding of power and power discourses throughout history is essential to (among other things) studies of leadership (Clinite, 2000), gender issues in organizations (Halford and Leonard, 2001), art (Nochlin, 1988), education (Swope, 1994) and research (McHugh and Cosgrove, 1998). Moreover, "a multi-dimensional understanding of power allows us to transcend the barriers between the conventional perspectives... and enables us to admit to the complex and contradictory picture in its entirety, released from the pressure to deny or prioritize particular aspects" (Halford and Leonard, 2001, p. 215).

This review will synthesize some of the power discourses prevalent in Western literature.

Foundational Power Literature

Prus (1999) points out that, while we could go back to the Greeks (c. 500 B.C.) who wrote extensively about power issues and concepts, the vast majority of contemporary western theorists seem to have derived inspiration from more recent sources. A summary of these foundational sources appears below.

Foundational Power Theorists

Theorist	*Date*	*Contribution*
Niccolo Machiavelli	1469-1527	Portrayal of power as an instance of the "strategic" maintenance of control
Thomas Hobbes	1588-1679	Sovereign order (as a means of rationally managing human passions) thesis
Karl Marx	1818-1883	Notions of economic determinism, ideological exploitation, and collective upheaval
Friedrich Nietzsche	1844-1900	"Will to power" (and self-realization)
Wilfredo Pareto	1848-1923	"Circulation of elites" thesis
Emile Durkheim	1858-1917	Emphasis on system maintenance (tendencies toward value consensus, social regulation, social integration)
Georg Simmel	1858-1918	Notion of "forms" of association (and domination)

Max Weber	1864-1920	Conceptualization of power, authority, and rational-economic organizational routines. Weber is frequently cited as the quintessential expert in discussions of power and authority with respect to organizational or structural positions. His conceptualizations of organizational domination and authority (rational-legal, traditional and charismatic) continue to shape many current images of power in society.
Robert Michel	1876-1936	"Iron law of oligarchy"
Wilhelm Wundt	1832-1920	These theorists linked power to psychological manipulation. Their work (including Skinner's conditioning theory) saw power as being contingent on those in position to manipulate the outcomes that others experience.
J.S. Mill	1806-1873	
B.F. Skinner	1904-1990	

Based on the summary of Prus (1999), pp. 18-19

With the exception of Machiavelli and Simmel (who more explicitly attend to human agency and the mutuality of influence) and Nietzsche (whose works have been drawn upon by poststructuralists), "the predominant emphasis for these foundational figures is on structuralist conceptualizations of power or control" as they assume that "structures" of sorts act on people to produce certain kinds of outcomes. Thus, Prus (1999) explains,

> *Power [is] centrally defined by virtue of the positions that people occupy with respect to one another. Envisioning power as embedded in the organizational arrangements in which people find themselves, virtually all of these authors (and those who have subsequently built on their works) see [power] as inhering in structures, resources, rules, norms, and values. (p. 19)*

Traditional Power Literature

Traditional social science definitions of power emphasize control, influence, or authority. Swope (1994) concludes, "Power as commodity, something done rather than something one has, is the prevailing theme of early research" (p. 9). A summary of the traditional works on power appears below.

Traditional Literature on Power

Author	Date	Title	Theme, Idea or Definition
Kidd	1918	*The Science of Power*	The science of power
Adler	1938	*Social Interest*	Control and domination
Russell	1938	*Power*	Fundamental to motives, goals and actions; the production of intended effects
Weber	1947	*The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*	About resistance, the ability to realize will in action
Lewin	1951	*Field Theory in Social Science*	More than coercion or control-- it's relational
French &Raven	1958	*The Basis of Social Power*	Initial efforts to classify bases of power
Mills	1956	*The Power Elite*	"Power elite" are men who get to ask the questions and decide what's important
Parsons	1960	*Structure and Process in Modern Societies*	Bringing interests into reality
Clark	1965, 1966	*Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas in Social Power* *Social Power*	Power is a dynamic process taking place in time, non dualistic
Dahl	1957, 1967	*The Concept of Power* *Pluralistic Democracy in the United States*	Only exists in terms of individual interactions getting someone to do what they "normally" would not do
May	1972	*Power and Innocence: A Search for the Sources of Violence*	The ability to affect, to influence, to change others; power as coveted but rarely admitted to being delirious
Winter	1973	*The Power Motive*	The capacity of one to produce intended effects on the behaviour or emotions of another person
McClelland	1975	*Power: The Inner Experience*	Cross cultural and transhistorical power bases and individual power as having "impact"

While a number of attempts have been made to classify bases of power, the model devised by French and Raven (1959) and later expanded by Raven and Kruglanski (1975) and Hersey and Goldsmith (in Hersey and Blanchard, 1988, p. 207) appears to be the most accepted. The illustration below represents this framework:

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The Classification of Power Bases

```
Expert  ──────────────┐
Information  ──────────┼──────→  Personal Power
Referent  ─────────────┤
Legitimate  ───────────┤
Reward  ───────────────┤
Connection  ───────────┼──────→  Position Power
Coercive  ─────────────┘
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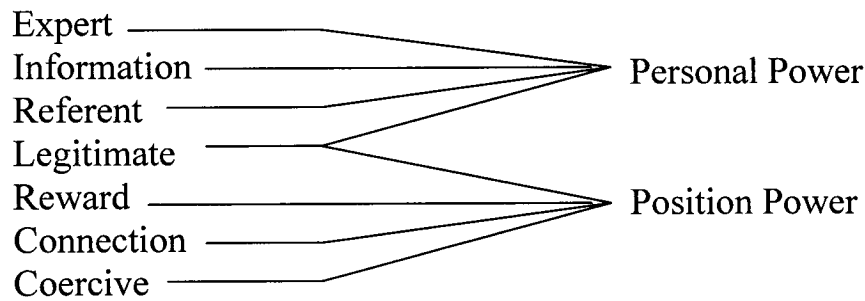
Based on the Classification of Power Bases as cited in Swope, 1994, p. 10.

Hersey and Blanchard (1988, p. 208-210) define the power base terms listed above as follows:

Expert	The perception that the leader has relevant education, experience and expertise
Information	The perceived access to, or possession of, useful information
Referent	The perceived attractiveness of interacting with another person
Legitimate	The perception that it is appropriate for the leader to make decisions due to title or position in the organization
Reward	The perceived ability to provide things that people would like to have
Connection	The perceived association with influential persons or organizations
Coercive	The perceived ability to provide sanctions

Note that power is externally defined in terms of perceived abilities and attributes, and is aimed at "inducing compliance" or "influencing the behaviour of others" (Hersey and Blanchard, 1988, p. 217). It would follow that the more elements an individual exhibits the more powerful he or she would be. Equally significant, the fact that power is, at least partly, vested in a position means that it is a finite, somewhat exclusive commodity.

The following model, that of a Broken Pyramid as presented by McIntosh (1983) and later Regan and Brooks (1995), represents the issues and realities of traditional power structures as seen by modern power theorists.

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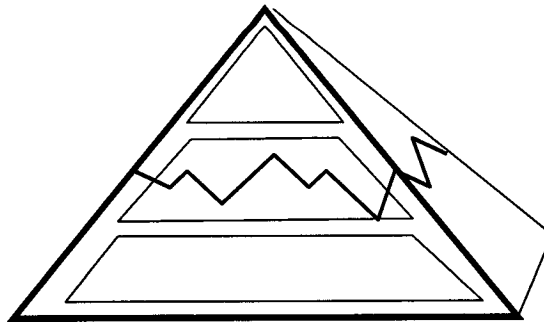
The Broken Pyramid Model: Based on the Broken Pyramid illustration in Regan and Brooks (1995, p. 14)

The pyramid (pictured above) has a fault line running through the middle of it. Regan and Brooks (1995) explain:

> *Above the fault line is the world that operates competitively in an either/or mode. Either people move up the pyramid and gain more wealth, status and power or they don't. The movement of those going up by definition prescribes failure for others, because there is room for fewer and fewer as the pyramid narrows at the top. Whole segments of our society have this vertical structure, for example, the military, the church, the corporation, the schools. Mostly white males occupy this upper part of the pyramid, and the closer to the top, the more dominant their numbers.*

> *Below the fault line lies a whole different world, inhabited primarily by women, people of colour, and low-status white males. Its organization is horizontal and collaborative; it is cyclical and repetitive. Most of daily life takes place here: doing dishes, changing diapers, planting the fields, and teaching. These are tasks that, when done, must be done again, repetitively, cyclically. This is where caring, nurturing, relationship and community building happens. It's a both/and world. (pp. 13-14)*

This model is representative of the traditional literature which defines power in structural, binary, either/or terms. It is, essentially, a "power over" model developed in accordance with the Enlightenment's "laws of nature" which classified, stratified and assigned roles in society according to their role or place in the "natural" order of a "beneficial" culture. Inherent in this model (subscribed to by the traditional hierarchical institutions of church,

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military, state and education) is the assumption that those below the fault line are powerless to defy the norms and roles dictated by the dominant groups within any given society. Using patriarchal societies as an example, Miller and Stiver (1997) explain the decidedly non democratic reality of this model:

> *By definition a dominant group is not likely to create mutually empowering relationships, else it would not remain the dominant group. Thus, a patriarchal society would not evolve a system of relationships based on mutuality. Instead, such a society tends to create a concept of power as a limited commodity and a "power over" definition of power itself. (p. 49)*

Contemporary Power Literature

Traditional models of power were rarely questioned, not necessarily because of overt oppression, but because the majority accepted the *status quo* as the "way things are". Westergaard and Resler (1975) suggest

> *In any society, the pattern of people's lives and their living conditions take the forms which they do, not so much because somebody somewhere makes a series of decisions to that effect; but in a large part because certain social mechanisms, principles, assumptions...are taken for granted...The favored group enjoys effective power, even when its members take no active steps to exercise power. They do not need to do so, for much of the time at least, simply because things work their way in any case. (as cited in Stacy and Price, 1980, p. 8)*

Thus traditional power structures have generally been "veiled in normalcy" and those who deviated from or challenged the status quo were seen as improper and unnatural. Stacy and Price (1980) contend that these social realities are rarely the result of conspiracies at work, but rather

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...ideologies that... are promulgated and perpetuated much more subtly. Notions of the "proper place" and "proper behaviour" are deeply ingrained and emotionally loaded, such that acute discomfort is felt when the norms are violated. For to the actor concerned, the norms have come to appear as "natural", as part of the externally given order without which there would be only chaos. Thus, deviants must be put down and the order maintained. But most people do not think to deviate. And this is as true, of course, for those without power in a given order as it is for those with power. (p. 8)

Beginning in the 1960's, post structuralist or post modern thought heralded a major paradigm shift in the power literature. Both the nature and definition of power came under scrutiny by those advocating "liberal, socialist (and) feminist transformations" (Bulbeck, 1998, p. 12). French philosopher Michel Foucault is often cited as the father of contemporary power discourses although some, like MacPherson (1962), would credit the rise of "possessive individualism" as early as the French Revolution. Bulbeck (1998) sees western feminism as "part of this philosophical tradition, drawing on humanism, utilitarianism, marxism and liberal individualism" (p. 13).

According to Foucault, power "is embedded within the very process that produces knowledge or constructs reality within a society; thus, such power seems innate rather than fabricated by humans" (Day, 1991, p. 11). In his writings, which became popular reading at universities in the 1980's, Foucault challenged people to question the "natural order" of well-delineated power structures. His notion of "disciplinary power" refers to his view of society as an "ever shifting configuration of power sites (within which) only variations in the sorts of repressions to which human bodies and minds are subjected." Power emerges as "a force seemingly administered by people, yet (organizationally) estranged from human purveyors who, themselves, are hopelessly bound in realms of discourse related reality" (Prus, 1999, p. 35).

With our increasingly interconnected world, researchers such as Poggi (2001) advocate a social framework for the understanding of power. The three principal forms of social power, he suggests-- the economic, the normative/ideological and the political-- are based on a group's privileged access to and control over different resources. This "have versus have not" model may include, but is not exclusive to women.

In his book *Beyond the Power Mystique: Power as Intersubjective Accomplishment*, Prus (1999) advances the theory that power is an enacted feature of community life. While he criticizes feminist approaches (seeming to lump them all together ideologically as radical or Marxist feminists) the theory he proposes-- that power must be viewed in terms of enacted relationships-- could be considered the heart of mainstream feminist thought.

Gender as a Power Discourse

What does the literature say when gender is an explicit part of the equation? Gender refers to "patterned, socially produced distinctions" (Mills and Tancred, 1992, p. 250) or "characteristics that we take on as we learn to be 'masculine' or 'feminine' as our society defines these ideals" (Smith and Peiss, 1989, p. 7). The distinction between sex and gender, or natural and social differences is a crucial one in part, Smith and Peiss (1989) note, "because every society casts its own particular and historical ideals as 'natural', claiming that changing those ideals of masculinity and femininity would be impossible or wrong" (p. 8).

A thorough understanding of gender is critical because it is a "pervasive symbol of power"(Scott, 1986, p. 251) and largely unavoidable. As Nicolson (1996) points out,

> ... *sociologists such as Berger and Kellner (1964), through Harré (1993)*
> *and Shotter (1995), to psychological discourse analysts such as Potter*
> *and Wetherell (1987) and psychoanalytic theorists (Freud, 1973; Lacan,*
> *1977) have all stressed society/social discourses 'pre-exist' the individual*
> *in some way, and the process of living as a gendered person is not one of*

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choice. The body, language and power relationships all conspire against
volition. (p. 66)

In her book *Body Politics*, Henley (1977) asserted that sex differences may be traced to power differences, and innovatively described power (specifically male dominance) as a "continuum ranging from covert controls such as internalized controls (socialization) to the overt controls of weapons, death and war" (Griscom, 1992, p. 399). By including covert individual, interpersonal, and inter-group power dynamics within the continuum, she highlighted not only gender, but also race, class, ethnicity and age as important power dimensions. These elements continue to be the focus of many contemporary power studies.

While not inherently a negative aspect, "gender, as patterned differences, usually involves the subordination of women, either concretely or symbolically" (Mills and Tancred, 1992, p. 251) and, as such, has served to maintain power structures and ideologies which are detrimental to women.

Feminist academics believe gendered analyses of all aspects of social life are necessary to fully understand the concept of power (Wolf, 1993; Bulbeck, 1998; Nicolson, 1996; Jamiesen, 1995; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Sekaran and Leong, 1992). One example of the need for gendered studies was a groundbreaking article by Acker and Van Houten (1974) which

> *... provides telling examples of the extent to which sexist thinking has informed the design, methods, results, and analyses of some of the 'classic' studies of organization. Reanalyzing the Hawthorne studies and Michael Crozier's work on bureaucracy, Acker and Van Houten reveal how 'sex power differentials' were a key element in the design and consequent findings of both major studies and yet were ignored by the researchers involved. (Mills and Tancred, 1992, p. 11)*

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Why have non-gendered power discourses traditionally ignored women? Four issues repeatedly surface in the literature concerning power and gender. These issues, summarized below, include: a) women's access or exposure to power, b) gender-based socialization, c) national culture and d) binary conceptual views of power.

Women's Access or Exposure to Power

"Where power is", Nowotny, (1980) asserts, "women are not" (p.1). While this statement may seem overly simplistic and outdated to some, the literature clearly reveals our culture's history of androcentric power structures, the reality of which led Simone de Beauvoir (1952) to label women the "second sex" and "the other". Constriction of women's options were "set in motion by the Renaissance, reinforced by the Reformation and firmly locked in place by the attitudes of the early nineteenth century" (Chicago, 1996, p. 105). Ironically, women's exposure to power was further limited during the Industrial Revolution which heralded the modern age. Before it, Vicinus (1985) contends,

> *... women had a number of rights they later lost: the rights of widows to inheritance and of wives to own their own businesses and property, the right to vote and even become members of parliament. In the Middle Ages women managed large convents and controlled vast estates. (cited in Bulbeck, 1998, p. 132)*

With the Industrial Revolution came a clear delineation between public and private spheres. As men left homesteads and family businesses to take up salaried positions in offices and factories outside the home, women were confined to the less valued, non-paying domestic sphere. In a culture which increasingly valued professional, economic and political power, the separation of public (male) and private (female) domains is considered by many to be the single most debilitating factor to women's status (Bulbeck, 1998; Stacey & Price, 1981).

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Since that time (and well before it) women as a group have not attained power equity with men. Despite significant advances made over the decades, our society continues to be plagued by gender inequalities. Halford and Leonard (2001) observe that

> *... women are still under-represented in the upper echelons of most organizations, and, just as critically, still over-represented in the lower. Men still dominate organizations in almost every sense: in terms of jobs, status, rewards and opportunities. And women and men remain segregated into different types of work, such that it still makes sense to talk of "women's work" (where the benefits are lower) and "men's work" (where they are higher). (p. 2)*

For this reason, women have relatively few female *role models* – those who may "demonstrate the possibility of reaching certain positions and a way of doing the job, once it has been achieved" (Hall, 1996, p. 55) and *mentors*—those who "act as a guide to an unfamiliar male-dominated organizational culture...provide sponsorship and legitimate access to power" (p. 55). Hall (1996) refers to research which suggests, "once in posts that carry status and power, women are faced with two options. They can either continue with the 'masculine' behaviour characterizing their male predecessors or use their new authority to reconstruct their role to include their own interpretations, based on their experiences as women, of what is appropriate" (p. 55).

Gender-Based Socialization

Gendered messages concerning power are pervasive, and begin influencing individuals at an early age. Astin and Leland (1991), Cantor and Bernay (1992), and Hall, (1996) outline research which suggests that "the beliefs, values and norms underpinning women's interpretation of power are rooted in their earlier experiences as girls and women, in response to the cultural expectations (including those relating to the use of power) of their families, schools, colleges and other work settings...These expectations

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include their attitudes towards 'status', 'consensus', 'hierarchy', 'authority' and 'conflict'... and their use of power to empower" (Hall, 1996, p. 33).

In any culture boys and girls are socialized more or less according to gendered ideals. Alfred Adler, the author of *Understanding Human Nature* (1927), is a seldom acknowledged "early feminist" (Griscom, 1992), and "was the first to note that stereotypical characteristics assigned to female and male children are associated with power, whether helplessness for females or dominance for males, and result from the culture's unequal distribution of power by gender" (p. 397). In North America, while boys are culturally conditioned to be "preoccupied with trying to develop 'himself' and a sense of his independent identity" (Miller, 1984, p. 6), girls are socialized to believe that to exert one's power as a woman or as an individual is wrong , selfish, shameful and unfeminine, a belief which may lead to self destructive feelings. (Miller, 1982; Miller, 1984; Miller and Stiver, 1997). Moreover, Miller (1982) found women fear admitting that they may need or want power. This fear is grounded in the expectation that needing or wanting power could bring disapproval, attack, or abandonment (Miller, 1982). Wolf (1993) outlines the "Seven Cardinal Feminine Fears of Power": Fear of Leadership, Egotism, Ridicule, Conflict, Standing Alone, Having Too Much, and Seeing Other Women Have Too Much (p 274).

Feminist researchers see the change many girls experience during adolescence as evidence of how gendered socialization affects both personal and world views and how attitudes concerning power are learned rather than innate. In their groundbreaking work, *Meeting at the Crossroads: Women's Psychology and Girls' Development*, Gilligan and Brown (1992) describe adolescence as a "developmental juncture", when girls on the threshold of womanhood begin to disconnect from their former identities and repress thoughts, feelings and knowledge they had previously owned. In this way, strong, independent minded girls become hesitant women, "unable to convey or even believe in (their) own experience" (p 5). Similarly, Wolf (1993) observes that, before girls "learn to conceal and deny" their inherent will for power, they entertain incredible fantasies which demonstrate their leadership potential. They speak of

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...scenarios in which (they are) lauded on the front pages, worshipped by adoring fans, surrounded by attentive courtiers, given the Nobel Prize, carried on the shoulders of fans; (in which they made) life or death judicial decisions, discovered buried treasure, shamed (their) rivals, ruled (their) own colonies, fought alligators, and (were) knighted by the queen. (p 262)

By the time they reach puberty, many girls lack the cultural reinforcement necessary to carry out these dreams, having observed a marked lack of role models and examples of what the "proper image of a woman with power is" (Cantor and Bernay, 1992, p 42).

National Culture

Not surprisingly, culture has a critical role to play in the unbalanced nature of power discourses. Hofstede (1997) defines culture as being: a) rooted in values, b) learned not inherited and c) a process of continually adding and shaping our understanding of the world. Culture perpetuates "mental programs" or specific patterns of thinking, feeling and acting which are manifest in values and incorporate levels of meaning including rituals, heroes and symbols (Morgan, 1986; Schein, 1992). Hofstede's work (1997, 1980) draws attention to the gendered nature of national culture and, more specifically, to the masculine orientation of American society.

Aspects associated with masculine cultures include an emphasis on material success, progress, money, ability, strength and action (Hofstede (1997), all of which may be perceived as antithetical to the 'feminine' cultural virtues of relationship building, nurturing and caring for others (Regan and Brooks, 1995). A review of American national culture reveals the domination of a competitive and individualistic orientation that permeates our personal and work lives (Clinite, 2000, p. 18). Miller and Stiver (1997) agree, stating American culture supports and maintains a "patriarchal power-over model" (p. 52) in direct opposition to the supposed "feminine traits" of frailty,

dependence, including: ingratiation, exemplification, supplication, feminine modesty (Sekaran and Leong, 1992, pp. 198-200), deference and emotionalism (Nicolson, 1996). Clinite (2000) asserts, "the persistence of these beliefs as norms in our society dictates how organizational structure, design and language determine our definitions of power, professionalism and success" (p. 2).

Most feminist (including male) scholars would agree that the phrase "It's a man's world" is not merely a *cliché*. In his work, *The Power Elite*, C. Wright Mills (1956) argued that men occupy "the strategic command posts of the social structure, in which are now centered the effective means of the power and the wealth and the celebrity which they now enjoy"(p. 3). He claimed that this elite depended upon a conception of power that rests on who gets to decide, and "those who get to decide are men" (p. 4). Since then the literature clearly supports the tenet that men decide what is meaningful and of consequence, creating an overwhelmingly androcentric world-view (Clinite, 2000; Mills, 1956; Morgan, 1986; Swope, 1994).

Interestingly, the majority of the population accepts this male gendered perspective not only as "natural", but also as "neutral". This phenomenon has lead to the observation that, "Men with power tend to see themselves free of gender; whereas women have been defined...as though gender is their most significant trait" (Kaufman, Westland & Engvail, 1997, p. 121). The same tendency has led to two models of analysis in the organizational literature, namely a *job* model (when thinking about men) and a *gender* model (when the focus is on women) (Mills and Tancred, 1992).

As microcosms of the larger society (Mills and Tancred, 1992; Nicolson, 1996) organizations offer interesting case studies of the gender-power dichotomy. In their book, *Men and Women at Work*, Kearney and White (1994) separate between "warriors" and "villagers" in the workplace. While both sexes may share characteristics men, they conclude, are generally "warriors" with individual power agendas whereas women "villagers" overwhelmingly seek a sense of community and connection with others. The authors stress that neither approach is better than the other; however, as Clinite (2000)

points out, "one leads to success, promotion, status, power and money. The other leads to being stereotyped as soft, thin skinned, unprofessional, or not possessing the characteristics of what it takes to be an executive" (p. 42).

Vast amounts of research suggest that, because women are socialized and programmed to be feminine (even if it conflicts with their goals and personal nature) they often experience dissonance within organizational culture. The result is either that they have to become something they're not and "manage their gender" (Morgan 1986, p. 178) or be devalued as "weak" and unworthy or incapable of holding powerful positions. Socialization may even determine whether stress is a positive or negative motivator in terms of career decisions. Nicolson (1996) notes, "While men's stress increases if they *don't* climb the ladder and achieve what they're socialized to want, women's stress increases *with* power, as they battle ...psychological boundaries between self, social context and their sense of gendered subjectivity" (p. 138).

A summary of the literature done by Nicolson (1996) supports these findings and outlines the three main stages women undergo when introduced to the "toxic context" (p. 72) of patriarchal organizational cultures. These stages include "shock", "anger and/or protest"; and, finally the "internalization of (patriarchal) values" (p. 72). In this way, women who fit neither the patriarchal mould nor the feminine stereotype may eventually resort to stereotypically feminine behaviours. "Gender differences are relevant here", Miller and Stiver (1997) assert. "Because of cultural expectations, women probably make greater efforts to have some kind of connection with other people than do men, often through placating and accommodating those whom they perceive as more powerful and controlling" (p. 107). Moreover, in a patriarchal society "those with less power (women) accommodate to those who have more power (men), in order to have any relationship at all" (p. 86).

In her book *Beyond the Double Bind: Women and Leadership*, Jamieson (1995) credits gendered double binds-- strategies "perennially used by those with power against those without" (p. 5) with having "forcefully curtailed" women's options throughout history.

While she admits that "masculinity has its own constellation of double binds, including the assumption that decisiveness and competence are masculine traits, so that a man considered effeminate is open to questions about his ability" (p. 4), the "overwhelming evidence shows that, historically, women are usually the quarry" (p. 5). The following Double Binds, she believes, continue to shape contemporary culture:

Bind #1: Womb/Brain	Women can exercise their wombs or their brains, but not both.
Bind #2: Silence/Shame	Women who speak out are immodest and will be shamed, while women who are silent will be ignored or dismissed.
Bind #3: Sameness/Difference	Women are subordinate whether they claim to be different from men or the same.
Bind #4: Femininity/ Competence	Women who are considered feminine will be judged incompetent, and women who are competent, unfeminine.
Bind #5: Aging/Invisibility	As men age, they gain wisdom and power; as women age, they wrinkle and become superfluous.

Binary View of Power

Jamieson (1995) believes "Binds draw their power from their capacity to simplify complexity." She goes on to explain,

Faced with a complicated situation or behaviour, the human tendency is to split apart and dichotomize its elements. So we contrast good and bad, strong and weak, for and against, true and false, and in so doing assume that a person can't be both at once—or somewhere in between. Such distinctions are often useful. But when the tendency drives us to see life's options or the choices available to women as polarities and irreconcilable opposites, those differences become troublesome. (p. 5)

While most feminists consider historically binary views of power particularly troublesome for women, they have not necessarily resisted the urge to create binary conceptualizations of their own. Kristiva (as cited in Chadwick, 1990) suggests women's

conceptions are naturally binary in that they are defined in terms of what they are *not*: the male view. "A woman cannot *be*," she argues, "it is something which does not even belong in the order of being… it follows that a feminist practice can only be negative, at odds with what already exists so that we may [only] say 'that's not it' and 'that's still not it'" (p. 13).

Tong (1989) alluded to the feminist tendency of replacing patriarchal views with something equally exclusive when she asserted,

> *As bad as it is for woman to be bullied into submission by a patriarch's unitary truth, it is even worse for her to be judged not a real feminist by a matriarch's unitary truth… What I treasure most about feminist thought is that although it has a beginning it has no predetermined end. Feminist thought permits each woman to think her own thoughts. (p. 236, 238)*

With the freedom to "think their own thoughts" , feminists did not embrace power as a topic of analysis. Despite the fact that power is "the common lynchpin" of feminist thought (Halford and Leonard, 2001, p. 26), early feminists rejected the very topic of power, preferring to focus exclusively on women's inherent will to *em*power others. Miller (1982) suggests that, because our culture has maintained the myth that women neither have, need, nor want power the only acceptable power model for them is one of empowerment. In other words, women's power is only palatable when it is used in the service of others (i.e. in nurturing and support roles).

Lips (1991) suggests women

> *… have developed strong, conflicting emotions, often characterized by distaste, toward the idea of power. Discomfort with the idea of examining the connections between gender and power has led to one of two responses: a refusal to discuss it, or an attempt to define power in a more palatable way. (p. 3)*

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Wolf (1993) objects to women's "power illiteracy" (p. 257) and laments that, when women do examine and discuss power, it is primarily through euphemisms. This approach, she feels, does not serve women because it perpetuates the view that power is an exclusively male reserve.

Other analysts agree, arguing a binary view of power based on gender has left the only alternative: to focus on women's powerlessness (Swope, 1994) and ambivalence over power (Adler et al., 1993). Three decades after the beginning of the Women's Movement, research suggests that there continues to be gendered differences in how men and women talk about, value and identify with power. Nevertheless, Wolf (1993) warns, "...we should not characterize the 'different voice' of women as including an aversion to power; rather, it is an evolving re-imaging of a force that is just as attractive to women- if secretly- as it has always been 'openly' for men" (p. 273).

Feminist Models of Power

The feminist approach to power analyses has been circuitous and oftentimes contradictory. Feminism came about in large part because, "historically, theoretical and popular conceptions about power (had) not included or addressed women's experiences" (Miller and Cummins, 1992). This meant men had been the ones to define, conceptualize and theorize power (Bulbeck, 1998; Halford and Leonard, 2001; Hall, 1996; Jamiesen, 1995; Mills and Tancred, 1992; Nicolson, 1996; Sekaran and Leong, 1992). Despite this consensus, surprisingly little feminist work exists on the analysis of power itself and, as of the early 1980's, feminist analysts had "rarely questioned the male-oriented approach to power" (Bernard, 1981). This omission has meant that most theoretical frameworks about power are also built around the supposition that the male experience is the universal experience. (Gilligan, 1982; Miller and Cummins, 1992; Swope, 1994). The problem, Regan and Brooks (1995) contend, does not lie in women learning about power through the perspective of men's experience but rather "in being told and believing *that*

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that's all the knowledge there is. How false, how immoral this is, and what a loss to everyone, women and men alike" (p. 18).

With the rise of feminist psychology, however, the topic of feminist perceptions of power burgeoned in the 1970's, diminished in the 1980's, and boomed again in the early 1990's (Halford and Leonard, 2001; Yoder and Kahn, 1992). Over the decades, feminist activity has challenged society to broaden its views and definitions of power. The following chart, based on the work of Wheeler and Chinn (1991) presents what many accept as the "Feminist Alternative to Patriarchy":

Patriarchal "Power Over" Model vs the Feminist "Power To" Model

Patriarchal "Power Over" Model of Control	*Feminist "Power To" Model of Empowerment*
Results: programs, goals, policies, as outcomes. Achievement justifies any means to get the job done.	**Process**: programs, goals, policies as tools. How you do the job is priority.
Prescription: authority, position, prescribed outcomes. "Do as I say. I know what is best."	**Letting go**: collective integrity; balance between individual and group interest.
Division: Hoarding of knowledge and skills by the privileged. "What they don't know won't hurt them."	**Whole**: flow of ideas, images and energy from all, nurturing networks, intimate and expansive.
Force: for/against coupled with penalties and negative sanctions. "Do it or else."	**Collectivity**: personal power of each individual; consensus.
Hierarchy: linear chain of command, responsibilities subdivided.	**Unity**: shared responsibility, integration of variety, transforming conflict.
Command: leaders are aggressive and followers are passive; leaders have titles, status and privilege.	**Sharing**: leadership shifts according to talent, interest, ability or skill; passing along of knowledge and skills.
Opposites: polarizations; make choices for/against. "Good vs. bad; right vs. wrong".	**Integration**: situations in context; no value-laden judgements; integration of self needs with others.
Exploitation of resources and people.	**Nurturing**: integration of life and experiences as resources.
Accumulation: material goods, resources, dollars as "things" to be used in self-interest, means of gaining privilege over others.	**Distribution**: values materials resource as items to use for benefit of all, to share equitably and according to need.
Casuality: technology to conquer without regard to consequences.	**Intuition**: technology as tool and resource.
Expediency: immediate reward or easiest solution.	**Consciousness**: long-range outcomes and ethical behaviours.
Xenophobia: fear of strangers, reward of conformity. "Be a team player; don't make waves."	**Diversity**: creativity, values alternative views, encourages flexibility. Express dissenting views, integration in decisions.
Secrets: mystification of process, agents and chain of command. Assigns dirty work to someone else.	**Responsibilities**: openness, no mysteries, open criticism and self evaluations.

Adapted from Wheeler and Chinn (1991)

In *A Different Voice*, Gilligan (1982) compares the male notion of hierarchy (where authority comes with *distance from* those below) to the "web of connection" (where authority comes from *connection to* the people around) in describing what men and women find valuable in the world. She notes that these models are exact opposites because the most desirable place in one is the most feared place in the other. "As the *top* of the hierarchy becomes the *edge* of the web, and as the *center* of the network of connection becomes the *middle* of the hierarchical progression, each marks as dangerous the place which the other defines as safe" (p. 61). Helgesen (1995) explains, "In the hierarchical scheme of things, 'reaching the top'-- where others cannot get close—is the ultimate goal; in the web, the top is too far from the center. The ideal center spot in the web is perceived in the hierarchical view as "being stuck" in the middle-- going nowhere"(p. 50).

While women's development has been documented as showing that women, in general, are more relationship oriented and work from a network or collectivist paradigm (Gilligan, 1982; Miller & Stiver, 1997), the fact that feminist power conventions frequently focus on concepts of empowerment, web and connection (Miller, 1986; Schaef, 1981) means that the focus of these alternatives is external, always "given or taken or measured by someone else" (Tavris, 1992).

In response to this, Josefowitz (1980) tells women "We need power in order to fulfill our needs, acknowledge our aspirations and claim our rights. Power is achieved through self awareness, through the understanding of others and through the knowledge of organizations" (p. 3). In an effort to validate intrinsic personal power, many feminists focussed on aspects of power with a basis in spirituality, psychoanalysis and psychotherapy. These models include "power from within" (Hoagland, 1988; Starhawk, 1982), "power of being" (Daly, 1973) , the "power of self-validation" (Marshall, 1984) and the "power of self" (Horner, 1989). Even the pioneering feminist Gloria Steinem seemed to advocate a "self-help approach" to power in her 1992 book *The Revolution from Within: A Book of Self-esteem* which prompted Sternhell (1992) to ask "How can it

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be, after so many years of trying to change the world, that one of our best-known feminists is suddenly advising women to change ourselves instead" (p. 5)?

The evolution of women's relationship with power conventions is outlined in Schaef's description of the three power systems in society (1981). They include:

1) The dualistic, White Male System which holds all the influence, rule making and power;

2) The Reactive Female System as a coping mechanism to male expectations; and

3) The Emerging Female System where women trust their own perceptions and judgement.

Compared with the traditional concepts of power, Schaef's *Emerging Female System of Power* is seen as a "limitless process, constantly changing, fresh and alive" (Swope, p. 39). Schaef (1981) endorses the development of more inclusive models of power, asserting dualistic thinking is "tantamount to attacking" one side over the other. "To limit our minds to dualism", she argues, " is to crawl when we can run or fly" (p. 150).

Increasingly, feminists are attempting to move beyond binary, simplistic notions of power in order to better reflect the complexity of both men's and women's histories, needs and experience. Stivers (1993) suggests women are beginning to offer broader perspectives of power than ever before. She suggests,

> *Having had the terms of women's lives and interests ignored, obliterated or deprecated by male theorists, feminists tend to come at theorizing from a standpoint that emphasizes the particular over the universal, tolerates ambivalence and difference, and tries to encompass dichotomies instead of getting caught on one side of them. Feminists observe that dichotomies are rarely between equal terms; instead one term assumes preeminence over the other. Feminists want to speak in terms of difference rather than dichotomy and to make room for varied points of view and for claims specific to particular experiences. (p. 127)*

In addition to the traditional "Power Over" model of control, contemporary feminist theorists recognize and advocate additional approaches and understandings of power. These include the "Power With/ Power Shared" , "Relational" or "Transformational" models of power, based on the concept of "power shared through relationships with others" (Marshall, 1984, p. 108) and "women's ways of knowing" (Belenky et al., 1986). In this dimension,

> *...power is essentially proportional, constructing associations to create shared meanings. Influencing particular organizational issues, exchanging information, informal networks, politics, coaching, allows for (the creation of) power through relationships, not from any single, individual member. (Swope, 1994, p. 104)*

The third model, "Power Through", "Power from Within", "Personal" or "Transcendent" power incorporates the various "individual aspects... including skills from which we derive the competence, mastery, self-esteem and autonomy which are bases for independence of being or doing (Marshall, 1984, p. 108).

In her *Four Dimensional Map of Power* illustrated below, Marshall (1984) "incorporates communal interpretations alongside more traditional, agentic notions" (p. 108). In this way she brings together the traditional and alternative frameworks of power into a more inclusive whole. The various elements, she notes, are neutral, neither "good" nor "bad", but dependent on the outcomes and the context.

The Four Dimensional Map of Power

Power Over Others	Structural Factors
Coercion	Centrality to organizational tasks
Reward	Handling uncertainty and risk
Ability to access organizational	Relative number
rewards (and punishments) for others	Visibility
Formal/positional/legitimate	Power through difference/
Expert	New perspective
Referent/charismatic	
Personal Power **POWER**	**Through/With Others**
Competence	Informal networks
Wholeness	Politics
Self esteem	Coaching/mentor relationships
Autonomy	Being attentive to wider
Definitional sensitivity and capability	community issues
Stamina and resilience	
Change and regeneration	

Based on the Four Dimensions of Power (Marshall, 1984) as adapted by Swope (1994), p. 85

In their work with female school administrators, Regan and Brooks (1995) sought to represent an inclusive model of power based on both male and female leadership orientations. Drawing from their understanding of women's experience and McIntosh's (1983) Broken Pyramid metaphor of traditional power, Regan and Brooks (1995) felt

> *... a more appropriate symbol was needed to convey a reconfigured world in which the experiences of each gender would be recognized and valued on their own merits; a metaphor that would convey the balance essential to relational leadership; that is, qualities above the fault (masculine) and below the fault (feminine)... To do so we must break out of the pyramidal thinking where top means more valuable and bottom means less valuable. We need a metaphor that conveys the idea we now understand to be the crux of feminist administering, that is, life can be lived on both sides of the fault line, necessitating movement across it depending on circumstances, which in turn is an expression of the idea that both either/or and both/and behaviours are required for competent administering. (p. 20)*

The result was their Double Helix model (pictured below), based on the shape of deoxyribonucleic acid (DNA) and symbolizing the notion of balance, interdependency, and inclusiveness.

The Double Helix Power Metaphor
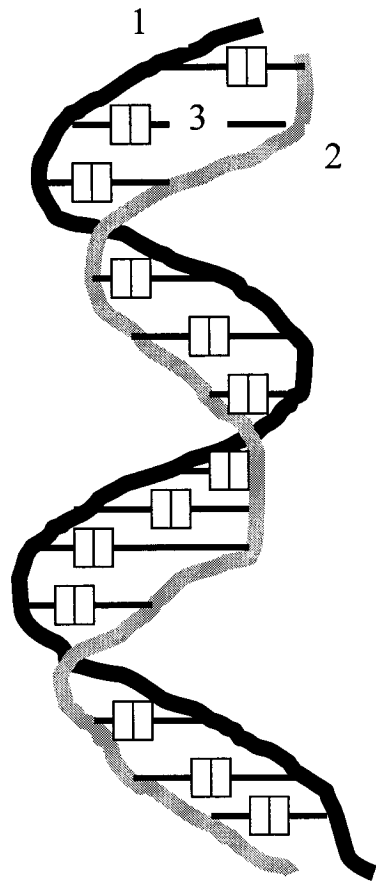
Power Concept	Sample of Characteristics
1. Traditional	Power Over; Control; Influence; Authority; Resources; Expert
2. Transformational	Power Through/With Others; Networks; Collaboration; Empowerment; Teaching/Learning
3. Transcendent	Power from Within; Dynamic; Competent; Make Things Better; Exercising Choice and Judgement

Based on the Double Helix (Regan and Brooks, 1995)

Regan and Brooks explain:

One strand embodies life above the fault, representing the necessity of choice; there are times when life is either/or. The other strand embodies life below the fault, representing the necessity of collaboration; there are times when life is both/and. The hydrogen bonds linking the strands together represent the necessary and frequent passage from one mode of life to the other. The strands are intertwined; neither is superior to the

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other, because neither is always more valuable to the other, and because it
is not possible to live a fully human life on one strand alone. (p. 21)

The conceptual literature on power suggests how we perceive of power depends on how we see ourselves and our world view… or perhaps visa versa.

Referring to the concept of power, Dahl (1957) surmised, "The Thing must exist since so many people were talking about it, presumably in a form that could be studied; but given this much attention, 'the Thing' is probably 'Many Things'" (p. 202). The literature certainly seems to support his theory.

Old paint on canvas as it ages sometimes becomes transparent. When that happens it is possible, in some pictures, to see the original lines: a tree will show through a women's dress, a child makes way for a dog, a large boat is no longer on the open sea... This is called pentimento... the old conception, replaced by a later choice, is a way of seeing and then seeing again. (Hellman, 1973, p. 1)

Analyses of power, like images on a canvas, are varied and multi-layered and sometimes, like the phenomenon of *pentimento*, give way to insights that forever change how we view our world. Social, political, technological and economic developments prompted people to rethink traditional models of power and feminist art historians began questioning how women's lives and authority were being represented. This review will illuminate how women's identities, realities, contributions and their perceived worth and power have been represented in art, fashion, advertising, theatre and research.

Power and Representation

Aristotle saw all modes of representation-- verbal, visual and musical— as the definitively human activity. He noted,

From childhood men have an instinct for representation, and in this respect man differs from the other animals in that he is far more imitative and learns his first lessons by representing things. (Poetics)

Although representation is a natural human endeavor, *how* we represent things and the meanings we derive from images are never neutral. All representation is intrinsically linked to issues of power. Mitchell (1990) states, " It should be clear that representation, even purely 'aesthetic' representation of fictional persons and events, can never be completely divorced from political and ideological questions; one might argue, in fact,

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that representation is precisely the point where these questions are most likely to enter" (p. 15).

In his book *Art and the Committed Eye: The Cultural Functions of Imagery*, Leppert (1996) refers to images as "visual transformations of a certain awareness of the world" (p. 6). He points out that all those connected with art-- the patrons, and the viewers as well as the image makers— are active participants in the construction of meaning, based on their own "knowledge, beliefs, investments, interests, desires and pleasures" (p. 9). This distinction is important because it underlines the social, historical, political, intellectual and psychological factors which affect how images are created, perceived and valued. "Representation is necessarily and always highly selective... (and) results from an act whose conscious or unconscious purpose is to engage a particular way of life, whether real or imagined"(p. 9).

Portraiture presents a conscious example of how art has traditionally been used by the wealthy and powerful as "propaganda" and "primary tools for managing culture" (Leppert, 1996, p. 154). An equally powerful message of power and influence concerning portraiture is conveyed by the fact that, whereas men are presented as individuals, women are frequently anonymous and generic. In her book *Monuments and Maidens*, Warner (1985) explains the phenomenon where "individual men's names and faces are enshrined in monuments, while supported by identical, anonymous (and beautiful) stone women" (p. 18).

Power, Gender and Representation

Feminist art historians Nochlin (1988) and Chadwick (1990) reveal how patriarchal power structures have been reflected in and perpetuated by male dominated representations of women in art and society. For centuries, women have not been producers, but rather "signifiers of male privilege and power" (Chadwick, 1990, p. 12). In the previous section on power concepts, we have seen how patriarchal structures

dictate our world view and, as Chadwick notes, "... one way that patriarchal power is structured is through men's control over the power of seeing women" (p. 11).

In her essay *Women, Art and Power*, Nochlin (1988) attributes the androcentric nature of the art world to "discourses of gender difference".

> *I refer, of course, to the ways in which representations of women in art are founded upon and serve to reproduce indisputably accepted assumptions held in society in general, artists in particular, and some artists more than others about men's power over, superiority to, difference from, and necessary control of women, assumptions which are manifested in the visual structures as well as the thematic choices of [works of art]. (pp.1-2)*

Inasmuch as the visual arts embody society's reality, it is not surprising that power and gender are inextricably linked in all areas of representation: art, literature, theatre, fashion, advertising and academia.

Power and Gender in Art

> *What if Picasso had been born a girl? Would Señor Ruiz have paid as much attention or stimulated as much ambition for achievement in a little Pablita? (Nochlin, 1988, p 155)*

The role art plays in representing both explicit and implicit power dichotomies, including those related to gender, was the subject of a 1991 installation entitled *POWER: Its Myths and Mores in American Art 1961-1991* at the Indianapolis Museum of Art. This presentation aimed to show how "meanings attached to... visual elements, materials and styles (are) embedded in American culture... Rather than reflecting from fixed reality, art encodes a set of power relationships. Each presentation thus reinforces the power and confirms its value" (Day, 1991, p. 3).

In terms of art history, the case for gender-based discrimination as a power tool is irrefutable. In her influential essay "*Why have there been no great women artists?*" Nochlin (1971) began to outline why, how and to what extent art has been dominated by men and, in so doing, paved the way for the feminist art movement. The answer to her question, she surmised, "…lies not in the nature of individual genius or the lack of it, but in the nature of given social institutions and what they forbid or encourage in various classes or groups of individuals" (p.158). She goes on to explain the role societal norms and mores play in the gendered nature of the art world:

> *…the total situation of art making, both in terms of the development of the art maker and in the nature and quality of the work of art itself, occur in a social situation, are integral elements of this social structure, and are mediated and determined by specific and definable social institutions, be they art academies, systems of patronage, mythologies of the divine creator, artist as he-man or social outcast.*" (p.158)

In all aspects of social life, biases are enshrined in the language we use. And so it is not surprising that the world of fine art based on the "Masterpieces" of the "Old Masters" can be seen to favour male privilege. Hierarchical ordering of the visual arts into gendered characterization of high (masculine) versus low (feminine) art has seriously devalued women's work. The gendered descriptors associated with femininity (such as "decorative", "miniature", "sentimental" and "amateur") along with analogies (such as a "gentle" treatment and "feminine" touch) provide a set of negative descriptors against which to measure "high" art. On the rare occasions when women were afforded praise, they were said to "paint like a man" (Chadwick, 1990).

Chadwick (1990) maintains,

> *Our language and our expectations about art have tended to rank art produced by women below that by men in 'quality', and thus their work is often of lesser monetary value. This has profoundly influenced our*

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knowledge and understanding of the contributions made by women to
painting and sculpture. The number of women artists, well known in their
own day, for whom no work now exists is a tantalizing indication of the
vagaries of artistic attribution. (p. 15)

Although women artists have always existed, a myriad of elements have conspired to render them-- as traditional views of art history would have us believe-- "inconsequential" and "second rate". Borzello (2000) affirms,

Research into the lives of women artists... has revealed how social,
religious and medical beliefs about women's capabilities affected the way
they were treated; documented the hostile attitudes that endowed women's
art with an aura of the inconsequential and second rate; shown how the
exclusion of women from art world institutions removed them from
contemporary debates as well as from the records... the situation of a
women working in a profession that was not of her making was unfair
from beginning to end. If she was not ignored or patronized, she existed
as a sort of female Rorschach blot on which those around her -- mostly
male, but female too-- projected their thoughts, arguments, fears and
prejudices. (pp. 8,9)

These prejudices included the view that art as a profession was incompatible with feminine ideals and that women were intended as objects rather than producers of art. Chadwick (1990) calls the "bizarre but all too common transformation of the women artist from producer in her own right into a subject for representation... a lietmotif in the history of art" (p. 19). Denied her individuality, she becomes instead a "muse" or a "sign for male creativity."

An analysis of subject matter as well as the story, content or narratives of art-- what art historians call their "iconography" (Nochlin, 1988)-- reveals how female images are subjugated to male bias, perception and fantasy (Borzello, 2000; Chadwick, 1990;

Chicago, 1975; Nochlin, 1988). Nochlin (1988), investigating how women are represented in paintings from the late eighteenth through the twentieth century, reveals largely uncontested

> ...*assumptions about women's weakness and passivity; her sexual availability for men's needs; her defining domestic and nurturing function; her identity with the realm of nature; her existence as object rather than creator of art; the patent ridiculousness of her attempts to insert herself actively into the realm of history by means of work or engagement in political struggle. (p. 2)*

Schwerdtner (1992) suggests the classical trope of "man as bee" (mobile, purposeful and productive) and "woman as flower" (stationary, decorative and static) underscores this pervasive ideology concerning masculine models of movement versus feminine models of stasis. These stereotypes become an "ongoing subtext underlying almost all individual images involving women" (p. 2). The pervasive ideology of motionless, powerless women, Nochlin (1988) argues, is represented not only through the visual structures and thematic choices artists make but also by their conscious and unconscious omissions.

Leading feminist artist Judy Chicago (1996) mirrors Nochlin's concern when she states,

> *I firmly believe that the absence of visual images from a female perspective attests to a more significant absence, one that impacts heavily upon women's sense of self. Whereas for men there is presence in the public arena, for women there is primarily absence: an absence of political leaders on the highest level of world governments; an absence of public monuments honoring women heroes and leaders; and, mirroring this, an absence in our museums of images that extend our personal experiences into the cultural dialogue and, most important, convey our sense of ourselves as subjects rather than as objects. (p. 5)*

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How far have we come? In the late 1970's, Judy Chicago's landmark, internationally acclaimed work *The Dinner Party* depicting powerful women in history with stylized vulval ceramic plates was shunned by the art establishment and later attacked by the U.S. Congress as pornography (Chicago, 1996). In the 1980's the "Guerilla Girls", a group of anonymous women clad in gorilla suits, posted an ad campaign targeting gender bias in the art world. One poster asked:

> *Do Women Have To Be Naked to get into the Metropolitan Museum? Less than 5% of the artists in the Modern Art section are women, but 85% of the nudes are female. (ad reproduced in Borzello, 2000)*

And in a popular 1999 manual for neophyte art enthusiasts, T. Hoving (1999), the former director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, fails to include one female example in his list of "the world's most interesting artists".

Power and Gender in the Literary and Theatrical Arts

> *Let me imagine, since facts are so hard to come by, what would have happened had Shakespeare had a wonderfully gifted sister, called Judith...*
> *(Virginia Woolf, 1929, p. 49)*

As Woolf's musings point out, androcentric perceptions are not exclusive to the visual arts. Chicago (1975) asserts,

> *It is always a man who embodies the human condition. From* Hamlet *to* Waiting for Godot, *the struggles for humanity are embodied in male characters, created by men, reflecting themselves and each other. Women, prohibited by law and by social taboo from revealing their true perception, can only now even think about portraying men as they see*

them, thereby providing for men a mirror that shows them new aspects of
themselves. (p. 128)

Similarly, Jamiesen (1995) speaks of women's "absence of a legacy" and Russ (1983) cites the traditional litany used to exclude work by women from the canon:

She didn't write it.

She wrote it, but she shouldn't have.

She wrote it, but look what she wrote about.

She wrote it, but "she" isn't really an artist...

She wrote it, but she only wrote one of it.

She wrote it, but it's only included in the canon for one, limited reason.

She wrote it, but there are very few of her. (p. 76)

In their work at *Womanhouse*, an innovative feminist art program at the California Institute of the Arts, Schapiro and Chicago noted how

Many men, accustomed to images of women that were quite different from
those we presented, felt somewhat shocked by the new information they
were receiving about women and women's point of view. For it has been
women's artificial self, not her real self, with which most men have been
familiar. (Chicago, 1975, p. 124)

Wolf (1990) points out how the "pretty-plain pairing" prevalent in literature, theatre and television enforces "beauty-without-intelligence or intelligence-without-beauty" myth. "From Leah and Rachel in the Old Testament and Mary and Martha in the New, to Helena and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and Anya and Dunyasha in Chekov's *The Cherry Orchard*, to Glinda and the Wicked Witch of the West in the *Wizard of Oz*, and Ginger and Mary Ann in *Gilligan's Island*... all suggest women are allowed a mind or a body, but not both" (p. 43).

Theatre, where the two most powerful forms of representation: aesthetic or semiotic (including things that "stand for" other things) and political (with persons who "act for" other persons) come together, (Mitchell, 1990, p 11) provides a literal example of men's dominance over women. Continuing in the tradition of Millet's influential book *Sexual Politics* (1970) which identified misogynist images in literature, Case (1988) advocates feminist readings of classic works and outlines the complicity of the theatre arts with gender politics. She offers,

> *The Athenian theatre practice created a political and aesthetic arena for ritualized and codified gender behaviour, linking it to civic privileges and restrictions. This gender principle was elevated to 'classic' status and so became a paradigmatic element in the history of theatre, connoting the expulsion of women from the canon and the ideal. (pp 11-12)*

Linking the rise of classical Greek theatre to "a new gender role of 'Woman' which served to privilege the masculine gender and oppress the feminine one" (p. 9), she attributes classical theatrical works and traditions as "allies in the project of suppressing real women and replacing them with masks of patriarchal production" (p. 7) including subversive female images commonly identified as "the Bitch, the Witch, the Vamp and the Virgin/Goddess" (p. 6).

At various times through the ages women were excluded as playwrights, directors, actors and even as spectators. In contrast, theatre as performance art became a compelling vehicle of expression for feminists during the Women's Movement. Astin (1999) explains how "feminists made 'spectacles' of themselves to object to how women were objectified in dominant social and cultural systems of representation" (p. 5).

Despite advances, theatre has "failed to give women an equal platform either in the hierarchical structures of male-dominated theatre work, or as a dramatic subject" (p. 5). Haring-Smith (1994) speaks of a need for performance pieces representing "women as they are understood by other women"(p. xv)   and monologues that go beyond "the

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traditionally female topics like abortion, domestic violence, rape, unequal pay, menopause, dieting and birth" (xvi).

Power and Gender in Fashion

Unlike the arts which may appeal to particular segments of society, clothes are everywhere and, as such, have universal influence. Because of this, clothes have always been a powerful means of self-expression. As Russell (1989) points out, "the two most obvious poles of expression in a society are conformity and rebellion and clothes speak more clearly about them than any other social custom" (p. 10).

In his book *Clothes*, Laver (1952) lists three main principles associated with wearing clothes: the Hierarchical Principle, the Seduction Principle and the Utility Principle. Bell (1978) ventures that styles of clothes have little to do with utilitarian factors such as climate and comfort, but rather are the result of class struggle. In an effort to legislate social status, governments passed sumptuary laws, dictating who could wear what. Social pressure proved even more effective, demonstrating and enforcing the unwritten rules of social propriety. "Dress is a very foolish thing", Lord Chesterfield observed, "yet it is foolish for a man not to be well dressed, in accordance with his rank and way of life" (p. 19).

While fashion's class distinctions are not as rigidly adhered to today, the "latest fashions" are still considered a limited commodity for the elite. Comparisons of high fashion magazines and department store ads prove that, "The middle class is always nipping at the heels of the upper, seeking to take that last step to the high plateau of fashion. When too many arrive, the plateau is moved, for fashion exists when it consists of a select number and is destroyed when too many are part of its elite world." Hazlitt (1818) describes how a style is adopted by the powerful, copied by the "slavish herd of imitators" then allowed to "sink without any further notice into disrepute and contempt" (as cited in Anderson, p. 25).

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Bell (1978) outlines ways in which clothing has been used to express social superiority, including: conspicuous consumption, conspicuous leisure, conspicuous waste and vicarious consumption. Lurie (1981) adds theatrical consumption or "the triumph of extravagance" to the list.

In a 1989 exhibition entitled *Men and Women: A History of Costume, Gender and Power*, the National Museum of American History's Smithsonian Institution explored the connections between power and appearance based on the historical ideals of fashion for men and women. It offered a compelling image of the role fashion has played in representing women as the "leisured" and "decorative sex" and how-- physically as well as symbolically-- repressive styles have linked women to the powerless domestic sphere. Clark Smith and Peiss (1989) assert,

> *There have always been links between how men and women are supposed*
> *to look and how they are supposed to live their lives, just as there have*
> *been connections between rules for appearance and the different*
> *opportunities, activities and rewards available to women and men. There*
> *are links between appearance and power. When people ask "Who wears*
> *the pants?" they are recognizing these historical links. (p. 10)*

Crossing the boundaries of acceptably gendered dress could be dangerous, as illustrated by the story of Joan of Arc. Using the decree that it was blasphemous for women to don the attire of men, her English captors tricked the imprisoned "Warrior Maid" into wearing her masculine clothes—after being forced to agree not to—a move which ultimately led to her death sentence (Williams, 1963). Other examples throughout history of women having been branded heretics and put to death for wearing men's clothes (a convenient excuse) prove that outward appearance was not merely a matter of individuality, but a critical social, religious and political statement. The same fate may befall women in modern day repressive religious states.

Contemporary societies continue to dictate how women should dress. The 1980's was the decade of "power dressing", when women adopted business suits to reflect their own career ambitions. "Dress for success" books, magazines and other popular literature inundated the market with headlines like "YOUR GET AHEAD WARDROBE!" and "WHAT TO WEAR WHEN YOU'RE DOING THE TALKING!" (Faludi, 1992, p. 210). Quickly, however, women were caught in yet another double bind. Both Faludi (1992) and Wolf (1990) point out that there was a fashion industry and media backlash *against* power dressing, which criticized women for looking masculine. The alternative of wearing more traditionally feminine clothes, particularly those that accentuated female characteristics, Wolf (1990) suggests, left women in danger of being accused of provoking sexual harassment or of not being taken seriously as a professional. Kanter (1977) illustrates how women's appearance may contribute to pejorative stereotypes of women in the workplace. These include: "the mother", "the seductrice", "the pet", and the "iron maiden" (pp. 234-236). Alternately, as Sheppard (1992) points out, "The area of appearance seems to be the one where women feel they can most easily exert some control over how they will be responded to-- something girls learn in childhood" (p. 148). Halford and Leonard (2002) and Newman (1995) discuss how some women leaders use their looks and clothes to their advantage in organizational settings where "power is more fluid than in traditional cultures, and there are fewer rules about how it should be expressed" (Newman, 1995, p. 87). Women who balance between the "desexualized and feminine" to their advantage, "to some extent... [buy] into the myth of appropriate dress codes" but manipulate them as a means of gaining power in more strategic, individual ways" (p. 87).

Power and Gender in Advertising

Day (1991) acknowledges the subversive nature of myth creation in contemporary Western society, maintaining,

> *Myths are created in every culture to justify or explain its existence. Perpetuation of the myth is essential to maintaining the power relationships it fosters... In modern societies myths are embedded in*

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mass-media advertising, popular culture, and objects of everyday life...
The potency of any myth depends on its endless repetition or retelling as a
true story. Visually, myths are often conveyed to the public as icons, or
formalized symbolic images offered for veneration. (pp. 3,4)

In her book *The Beauty Myth*, Wolf (1990) presents her thesis that, despite advancements, women continue to be caught in the hegemonic dictates of appearance. She believes, "we are in the midst of a violent backlash to feminism that uses images of female beauty as a political weapon against women's advancement: the beauty myth" (p. 2). "Beauty", she contends, is a currency system and

... like any economy it is determined by politics, and in the modern age in
the West it is the last, best belief system that keeps male dominance intact.
In assigning value to women in a vertical hierarchy according to a
culturally imposed physical standard, it is an expression of power
relations in which women must unnaturally compete for resources that
men have appropriated for themselves. (p. 3)

She and others have credited the overwhelming success of various industries, including the cosmetic industry, dieting industry, and pornography industry to "the buy in factor" concerning aesthetic power relations.

Power and Gender in Academia

The failure to see the different reality of women's lives and to hear the
differences in their voices stems in part from the assumption that there is a
single mode of social experience and interpretation. (Gilligan,1982)

Whereas women have been considered "invisible" in the other modes of representation, they are considered to have been silent (or "silenced") in the spheres of research. Originally discussed by Belenky et al. in *Women's Ways of Knowing: The Development*

of Self, Voice and Mind (1986), the need to give voice to women, their ideas, and concerns was the impetus for feminist research. McHugh and Cosgrove (1998) observe, "Recognizing the exclusion or the silence of women is often the first step in the feminist analysis of science" (p. 25).

Stanley and Wise (1983) believe standard social science arguments to be among the "last artifacts of sexism." Despite gains in feminist research, men remain the "measure of all things"; they are the ones who get to ask the questions, define the issues and decide what is meaningful. Swope (1994) concludes, "Filtered by male interpretation, feminine voice, vision and text are fundamentally deprecated or remain missing altogether from the literature" and that "documentation of direct female experiences remains conspicuously missing from scholarly investigation" (p. 3).

Summary of the Literature

In their article *An Examination of Women's Perspectives on Power*, Miller and Cummins (1992) report that "women's definition of power differed significantly from their perception of society's definition of power, as well as from the way power has traditionally been conceptualized" (p. 415). This is not surprising, considering, as Sherif (1982) remarked amusingly about French and Raven, "A review of the literature... shows that the bases are loaded with men" (p. 390).

Thanks in large part to the pioneering work of feminist artists and academics, however, things are beginning to change. In 1992 (following the Hill-Thomas hearings in the U.S.), an entire series on "Women and Power" was featured in *Psychology of Women Quarterly*. More recently, an interdisciplinary conference devoted to the study of how "Women in Motion" are depicted socially, artistically and academically is being planned at a Canadian University.

In her article *Women and Power: Definition, Dualism and Difference*, Griscom (1992) suggests psychologists "name power when they are talking about it", noting that they

"often talk about power processes without using the word", a practice that "obscures the subject and mystifies the unequal power relations in which we live" (p. 411). We must maintain diverse discourses on power so that we-- individually and collectively-- may better understand our own power paradigms. One of the ways we may accomplish this is through the diversification of research methodologies-- power methodologies-- that embrace difference and invite change. The next chapter outlines arts-based methodology as a powerful inquiry medium.

SETTING THE SCENE

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Horatio:	*O day and night, but this is wondrous strange!*
Hamlet:	*And therefore as a stranger give it welcome.*
	There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio,
	Than are dreamt of in your philosophy.

(Hamlet, Act I, Scene 5)

Graduate Student: Arts based research... what a concept!

Academic Sage: As Laurel Richardson says, consider yourself lucky

to be working in a postmodern climate.

There are more ways to do research, Michele,

Than appear in the Quantitative Research syllabus.

(Research Journal entry, June 25, 2001)

This chapter reviews the methodologies and processes used in this inquiry, including: a) a description of the methodological approach and rationale for this approach, b) an explanation of the research design and processes used, c) a description of how the data is represented and d) a summary of how the entire study has been documented.

Methodological Approach

Post modern thought has facilitated new ways of thinking about research as well as power. Before our current era of "paradigm proliferation" emphasizing creative and analytic experimentation (Diamond and Mullen, 1999, p. 20), research was equated with science and therefore thought of as "logical, value-free, tidy and replicable... [with verbocentric] text as the sole purveyor of research knowledge" (Neilsen, 1998, p 190). In effect and essence, art and science were considered antithetical. "The idea that the arts

could provide a basis for doing research, Eisner (1997) contends, " is itself regarded by more than a few as an oxymoronic notion" (p.262). Increasingly, researchers are coming to value the artistic process, not only as an alternative means, but as a *bona fide* methodology.

Speaking at the 1997 meeting of the American Educational Research Association (AERA), Eisner (1997) referred to the "new frontier" of representation in research emanating from "discontent with older paradigms... a growing interest in cognitive pluralism, and... new ways of thinking about the nature of research itself" (p. 262). Arts-based research advocated and, some would say, "pioneered" by Eisner is based on John Dewey's aesthetic theory and, to a lesser degree, Goodman's philosophy of cognition and art. Initially proposed as an alternative to educational studies stemming from ethnographic traditions in social science, it advocates a more liberating means of aesthetic knowing and rendering that portray, interpret and appraise phenomena (Eisner, 1991). The "referential function" of aesthetic knowing, according to Eisner, is to point to "some aspect of the world beyond our immediate ken, thereby allowing us to experience some phenomenon via vicarious participation" (p. 86).

Some experts feel artists may actually have a predisposition for research as they are more comfortable in the illusive, mysterious, messy space where qualitative research thrives. "It is a space that invites anomaly and relishes ambiguity", Greene (1995) suggests. For this reason, artists are an "endangered species" in all areas of education, from curriculum theory to inquiry. Artists are outside what Greene calls the "main text"; they "invite the untried and the unexpected; perceive patterns in new ways, find sensuous openings into new understandings, fresh concepts, wild possibilities. Artists help us subvert the ordinary, and see the extraordinary" (p. 135).

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis (1997) point out that the marriage of art and science is not new; novelists, philosophers and social scientists have long been striving to capture the essence of human nature. Taylor (1975) refers to the "five levels of creativity", including: "expressive, technical, inventive, innovative and emergentive", to

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describe the work of scientists, craft people, and artists. Similarly, Eisner (1991) suggests several features about qualitative work which compare with the artistic enterprise including: researcher/artist as instrument; the use of expressive language; the attention to particulars; and the interpretive nature of the work. "But" Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis (1997) contend, "both artists and scientists recognize the limits of their media , their inability to capture and present the total reality. Their purpose, then, becomes not complete and full representation, but rather the selection of some aspect of—or angle on—reality that would transform our vision of the whole. *Both artists and scientists hope that their choice of views, their shaping of perspective, will allow readers to experience the whole differently"* [emphasis added] (p. 5).

Through the use of arts-based methodologies, I have attempted to represent my findings in a way that will allow-- and even invite—readers/viewers to experience women's power identities in new, meaningful ways. The following summary highlights aspects of aesthetic inquiry that, together, render it a powerful research medium:

Aspects of Arts-Based Research that Render it a Powerful Medium of Inquiry

Power of Approach	Aesthetic inquiry encourages "the pedagogy of the question" versus 'the pedagogy of the answer". " Unlike the pedagogy of the answer, which reduces learners to mere receptacles for prepackaged knowledge, the pedagogy of the question gives learners the 'language of possibility' to challenge the very constraints which relegate them to mere objects" (Bruss & Macedo, 1985, p. 8). It focuses on the specific, the nuance as a way of illuminating more universal patterns. "The scientist and the artist are both claiming that *in the particular resides the general*"(Lawrence Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p. 14). The portrait researcher hopes that, by concentrating on the individual, the specific, the audience will discover resonant universal themes and self identity-- much like the artist or novelist.

The Power of Form	Arts-based forms create "not arguments but worlds" "Aesthetic inquiry", Eisner (1991) asserts, "exploits the power of form to inform". "Humans have a basic need to externalize the internal, to communicate, to share their experience with others. The trick is to learn how to use a form of representation through which imagination, affect and belief can be given a public, articulate presence. Art, music, dance, prose and poetry are some of the forms that have been invented to perform this function" (p. 171). Using a literacy of the arts, we find that, not only are the arts instructive, romantic and exciting, but that they can be and are political" (Counterpoints, p. 12). Artistic researchers seek language and forms that are "evocative, metaphorical, figurative, connotative, poetic and playful" (Diamond & Mullen, 1999). "Arts-based representations have the potential to break through the limits of conscious understanding to speak even beyond their maker's means" (Lather, 1995).
Power of Non Conformity	Neilsen (1998) describes her current experimental, feminist aesthetic inquiry approach as "a fluid, shifting relationship... (where) exploratory and expansive words have... overtaken numbers and logical propositional language in their magical power to create both text and trouble. Geertz reminds me that reality does not have an idiom in which it prefers to be described (p. 140). Others will argue that "telling stories, concocting symbolisms, and deploying tropes" are not valid approaches, Geertz says, but the argument arises from a "confusion, endemic in the West since Plato, at least, of the imagined with the imaginary, the fictional with the false, making things out with making things up" (p. 140) By challenging and "going against" prescribed norms and by promoting methods which are by nature non prescriptive, arts based researchers entice others to view and consider other possibilities. It could be considered the "Trojan Horse" of research.
Power of Transparency	With an emphasis on overtly subjective means, aesthetic inquiry lays bare the subjective nature inherent to it... and all research. It neither claims nor presupposes a unitary truth, but rather celebrates difference. "With the artful self in display, the issues of constructedness and authorial responsibility are profiled"(Richardson, 1994, p. 523).
Power of Voice	The term "voice", Donald Freeman (1996) admits, is a messy and much used one that means different things; principally, it seems to refer to three interrelated sets of ideas. There is "voice" as an epistemological stance about the source of knowledge and understanding; there is "voice"as sociopolitical stance about who is doing the speaking and for what purposes; and there is "voice"as a methodological stance towards what lies in the data to be heard, recognized through analysis, and advanced through the research process. Portraiture combines all three orientations-- of epistemology, ideology and method " but includes others as well,

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reflecting the portraitist's explicit interest in authorship, interpretation, relationship, aesthetics and narrative" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p 87).

Power of Diversity

Arts-based research belongs to no one genre "providing instead many subtle tools for the examination of self and other worlds" (Diamond and Mullen, 1999, p. 58). Such methods "remain the personal concern, approach, and attack of an individual, and no catalogue can ever exhaust their diversity of form and tint" (Dewey, 1958, p. 173)."Once literacy and a rich vocabulary of visual, aural and dramatic expressions exist, then society has a permanently available... resource in which all the tabooed, fantastic, possible, and impossible dreams of humanity can be explored in blueprint"(Martin, 1981).

Power of Process:

Aesthetic approaches expose participants to an experience of themselves that is "both familiar and exotic, so that in reading them they would be introduced to a perspective that they had not considered before... to feel *seen*—fully attended to, recognized, appreciated, respected, scrutinized... to feel both the discovery and the generosity of the process, as well as the penetrating and careful investigation... documents of inquiry and intervention, hopefully leading toward new understanding and insights, as well as instigating change" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p.5). As Richardson (1992) notes, process can be empowering for the researcher as well as for the participants in that it validates and enhances a diverse range of creative and interpretive skills.

Power of Access:

Increasingly, qualitative researchers choose an "accessible, informal, narrative style, in ordinary language and in (the researcher's) own voice for the following reasons: to *disrupt* conventional academic writing practices which denigrate the reader's experience; to *educate* and *engage* the reader; to *inspire* the reader to investigate further; to *demystify* and *democratize* the research process (Janesick, 1998, p. 9).

What most differentiates arts based methods "from a numbers-based and or/ theoretically grounded scientific text... is an assessment of its ability to speak to those... readers who do not share frames of reference formed in us by our life experience (Diamond & Mullen, 1999, p. 39).

Power of Connection:

Aesthetic inquiries advocate a connection between researcher and the researched. The aim, therefore, is not just to impart information, but to promote a co-construction of symbolic meaning. They are concerned with reshaping the relationship between the researcher and audience and communicating beyond the walls of the academy, eschewing opaque, esoteric language and inviting dialogue with people in "the real world" (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Hoffmann Davis, 1997).

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Power of Perception/ Interpretation	"In portraiture, the researcher—the artist-- interprets the subject of the portrait internally by searching for coherence in what she observes and discovers. The researcher represents that interpretation through the construction of the portrait intentionally employing aesthetic aspects in order to convey meaning. The reader-- the perceiver-- makes sense of the subject that is portrayed through his or her active interpretation of the portrait. The new interpretation of the subject on the part of the reader or perceiver can be thought of as a kind of reinterpretation. With each reinterpretation, it is as if the portrait is being recreated" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p 30).
Power of Subjectivity	"Artistic forms... give ordered expression to ideas and feelings that are particular to the researcher. The personal and the aesthetic are central to arts based research, while the treatment of topics of concern are intensified" (Diamond and Mullen, 1997, p. 40).
Power of Change	In their book *The Postmodern Educator: Arts-based Inquiries and Teacher Development,* Diamond and Mullen (1999) present arts-based approaches as powerful mediums for change. "By making experiences noteworthy, we arouse the interest of others, enlisting their empathy in pursuit of new experience, fresh forms of inquiry, and further development" and "may create the conditions for locating new epiphanies within texts and people's lives"(pp. 22-26).

As a methodology, "arts-based inquiry is art pursued for inquiry's sake and not for art's own sake" (Diamond and Mullen, 1997, p. 25) and therefore should not be construed as some "immaculate perception" (Eisner, 1991). Put another way, while we are free to express data in liberating ways, our perceptions are still very much influenced by prevailing social and theoretical constructs. Drawing from Dewey's (1938) model of transaction, Eisner asserts that all research (aesthetic inquiry being no exception) "is a product of the transaction of our subjective life *and* a postulated objective world" (p. 52) and therefore is both subjective and objective in nature. Peshkin (1985) explains this dual nature, saying:

My subjectivity is functional and the results it produces are rational. But if they are rational only to me and no one else, not now or ever, then I have spawned illusions and my views are bound to be ignored. When I disclose what I have seen, my results invite other researchers to look where I did and see what I saw. My

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ideas are candidates for others to entertain, not necessarily as truth, let alone Truth, but as positions about the nature and meaning of phenomenon that may fit their sensibility and shape their thinking about their own inquiries. If, somehow, all researchers were alike, we would all tell the same story (insofar as its non-denotable aspects are concerned) about the same phenomenon. By virtue of subjectivity, I tell the story I am moved to tell. Reserve my subjectivity and I do not become a value-free participant observer, merely an empty headed one.
(p. 280)

Examples of "artful data display" (Blumenfeld-Jones & Barone, 1997) include: visuals that tell more than words can and that provoke reaction (Jipson & Paley, 1997); musical and literary renderings of text (Diamond & Mullen, 1999); simultaneous and interrupted voices (Jipson & Wilson, 1997); poetic meditations on cultural and political themes (Greene, 1993); dialogue and story as reader's theatre/ script (Clark et al, 1996); performance texts based on the writer's personal history and the audience's co-creation (Denzin, 1997); interpretive biography (Denzin, 1989); auto ethnography (Diamond, 1992); narrative ethnography (Mullen, 1997); poetry (Richardson, 1992); dramatic monologues (Ely et al., 1997); performative texts (Neilson, 1998; Pelias, 1999); performative inquiry (Fels, 1999); theatre as research (Meyer, 1998); the use of dance as metaphor (Janesick, 1994); and costume design as conceptual representation (Gillette, 1992).

Research Design

In art there will be new form, and this form will admit the chaos and does not say the chaos is really something else. The form and the chaos remain separate. That is why the form itself becomes a preoccupation, because it exists separate from the material it accommodates. To find a form that accommodates the mess, that is the task of the artists now. (Beckett, 1979, p. 223)

This study employs an arts-based research design because it can best accommodate the "mess" inherent to a metaphorical look at women's power identities. Using metaphoric, textual and artistic forms, I have created three portraits of the women leaders' power identities. Portraiture, Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis (1997) explain, is

a genre of inquiry and representation that seeks to join science and art. It is a method of qualitative research that blurs the boundaries of aesthetics and empiricism in an effort to capture the complexity, dynamics and subtlety of human experience and organizational life. Portraitists seek to record and interpret the perspectives and experiences of the people they are studying, documenting their voices and their visions-- their authority, their knowledge, and wisdom. (p. xv)

The decision to incorporate arts-based methodologies into the research design emerged from a desire to fully explore and represent the affective domains of power , as well as to underscore the belief that all research designs, use of techniques and final interpretation of data are, necessarily, subjective. Lather (1991) acknowledges that

writers create their own versions of the world studied. Accordingly, the social text becomes a stage, or site where power and knowledge are represented. This means... we must explore alternative ways of presenting and authorizing our texts. (p. 510)

Contrary to traditional research methods that seek to establish order and reflect linear thought, arts-based approaches lend themselves well to the "messy business of emotion". Perception, and more specifically the perception of power, demands methodological representation which will incorporate its diversity and accommodate its nuance. As Diamond and Mullen (1999) maintain, "Images created by artistically rendered forms give us insights that stir and inform us in ways that only they make possible. No matter how accurate a declarative explanation may be, it can never give us the life experience it comments upon" (p. 25).

In *The Sciences of the Artificial*, Herbert (1996) describes design as "artifacts" interfacing between the "inner" and "outer" environments. This metaphor closely resembles the costume metaphor of Santayana (as quoted in Goffmann, 1959) which likens masks to "hardened cuticles revealing characters' arrested expressions and admirable echoes of feeling, at once faithful, discreet and superlative" (p.1). Santayana goes on to say,

> *... some philosophers seem to be angry with images for not being things, and with words for not being feelings. Words and images are like shells, no less integral parts of nature than are the substances they cover, but better addressed to the eye and more open to observation. (as quoted in Goffmann, 1959, p.i)*

This arts-based inquiry uses both text and image to portray women leaders' power identities. Using the participants' own words (albeit in a re-organized form) monologues literally "give voice" to these women's understanding. They provide the words, the rhythm and the cadence marking their relationships with power. The Power Suit designs *express* that relationship through form, line and colour. They, like the "man-style suits" of the 1980's, symbolize woman power, but in a much more intimate, individual way. Instead of being tailored to the assumed ideals of society, they are designed specifically to reflect the unique character of each woman's reality.

Specific processes and procedures used in this study are outlined below:

Sample Selection

This study focuses on three women leaders who hold positions of authority within international, educationally-based organizations (each of which varies with respect to size, structure and specific mandate). Each participant demonstrated a commitment to gender issues, an openness to self-reflection and an appreciation for alternative research methodologies. All ethical considerations outlined by McGill's Research Ethics Committee of the Faculty of Education, including confidentiality, were upheld. (See Ethics Form, Appendix B).

All three participants are highly educated, white, upper middle class women in their fifties. Mindful of the research that deals with the "predictors of perception" or "dimension of power" (Henley, 1977) including race, ethnicity, socio-economic standing, and age I decided to choose a fairly homogeneous group in order to explore inherent diversity within seemingly similar individuals.

Five women leaders were suggested by the Director of McGill's Centre for Educational Leadership and considered with respect to formal position, size and nature of organization, current and previous work and interests as well as geographic proximity to my city of residence. Following this assessment, three participants were selected as potential participants.

An email was sent to each of the women leaders, inviting them to participate in the study. In it, I introduced myself and my area of study, outlined the topic, scope, purpose and nature of my thesis, and estimated the time and degree of commitment I would need from them. All three women, who readily agreed to become participants, read and signed the consent form found in Appendix A.

Collection of Data

As Prus (1999) states, "The essential starting point for any analysis of power hinges on the definitions that people make" (p. 153). Clinite (2000) would agree, stating further that "understanding women's internal reasoning or system of making sense of the unknown is an essential link" to studies on gender and power. All data for this study was collected during two 3 hour interviews, where participants were asked to discuss their unique understandings of power.

In all cases, the dates, times and locations of the interviews were chosen by the participants. These sessions were conducted one-on-one and all discussions were tape recorded, upon consent.

While interview protocols were developed and used (see Appendices C and D for interview protocols) every attempt was made to make the questions as open-ended as possible in order to capture the women's own perspectives rather than their understanding of society's definition of power (Miller and Cummins, 1992, p. 417). Questions and prompts were developed in order to explore: a) how they understand power as a concept, b) how they perceive of and relate to power structures within their own personal and professional contexts and c) how they contribute to or compensate for power structures and ideologies within their organizations.

The following ground rules for soliciting legitimate information and facilitating a successful dialogue (Brown, 1998) were used as a basis for the interviews:

- *Awareness of others:* We must view one another as unique, with a different voice, without assuming they are like us.
- *Asking questions of inquiry:* As opposed to questions of judgement, where you already know, or think you know, the answer.
- *Acknowledging another's resources:* Admitting that others know things we do not.
- *Exploring the unknown:* Being open and ready to learn about others and other things.

- *Allow for the development of thought:* Recognizing that different words have different meanings, even in similar contexts; being open to interpretation.
- *Gaining self understanding:* Recognizing ourselves as different and unique. Expecting that new understandings of ourselves and personal world-views should develop during the process.

While I emphasized (orally and in writing) the need for participants to let me know if and when they became uncomfortable with any question or line of questioning, all three women spoke with unreserved candor and commitment to the study. Every dialogue was infused with sincerity, warmth and genuine humour, as evidenced by the monologues.

Analysis of Data

All taped interviews were transcribed *verbatim* in a three-column chart. The left-hand column was reserved for the numbering of lines and the right hand column provided space for annotations.

In her discussion of the various ways data can be analyzed, Janesick (1994) suggests theory triangulation (the use of multiple perspectives to interpret a single set of data); methodological triangulation (the use of multiple methods to study a single problem); and interdisciplinary triangulation (using various disciplines, such as art, theatre, sociology) to inform our research processes and broaden our understanding of method and substance. All three approaches were used in the analysis and interpretation of the data as described below.

While the creative processes of analysis and interpretation are organic, divergent and cyclical, at a practical level I generally followed the five phases of inductive analysis (Moustakis, 1990) as outlined by Janesick (1994, p. 216). These phases include: immersion, incubation, illumination, explication and creative synthesis. Explanations for these phases appear below.

Five Phases of Inductive Analysis

Phase	Activities
Immersion	Listening to taped interviews. Structured and non-structured readings of transcripts. Review of literature.
Incubation	Thinking, note taking, journaling, sketching.
Illumination	Narrative writing. Development of ideas for the women's power identities, Power Suit costumes and sets. Research into ideas, icons, understandings evolving from the transcript analyses.
Explication	Development of the power identity profiles, preliminary sketches, playwright's and designer's notes.
Creative Synthesis	Completion of the portraits including final versions of the monologues, sketches, analyses and findings.

Preferring the "voice centred" models of analysis to the traditional, structured method of coding, I used four separate but compatible models of analysis and interpretation. The first is a "nuanced interpretive analysis" advocated by Gilligan, Brown and Rogers (1989), which seeks

> to hold and represent the sense of tension that people often convey, and also to record the complexity of the narratives in order to capture the situational, the personal and the cultural dimensions of psychic life including language and voice, perspectives and visions, and the relationships between the reader's and the narrator's ways of seeing and speaking. (pp. 95-96)

This approach requires that the researcher "read and scrutinize an interview transcript four different times" ("taking four soundings"). Each reading "offers the researcher the opportunity of listening for a 'different voice', from a different angle, and with an ear to the subtle meanings and complex perspectives" inherent in women's speech. This approach is not unlike "listening in roles" (Riley, 1990) where researchers try adopting the viewpoints of specific people while reading the transcripts in order to "listen for" data we may otherwise miss. All insights and ideas I garnered from this process were recorded in chart and narrative form.

Next, I developed a visual code system, based on the "three types of codes" described by Miles and Huberman (1994) including: "descriptive, interpretive, and pattern", where I identified "recurrent phrases or common threads"; "reduced large amounts of data into smaller analytic units"; "developed a cognitive map" concerning the women's power identities and began to establish patterns (pp. 129-149).

The third model I employed, called "bracketing", as advocated by Denzin (1989) includes: a) locating key phrases and statements that speak directly to the issue of power and identity, b) interpreting the meaning of these phrases as an informed reader, c) inspecting the meanings for what they reveal about the participant's recurring or emerging power identity and d) developing a tentative description of the participant's power identity.

Finally, I approached the data using the model outlined by Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis (1997) in their work on portraiture. It involves: a)listening for repetitive refrains that are spoken (or appear) frequently and persistently; b) listening for resonant metaphors, poetic and symbolic expressions that reveal the ways actors illuminate and experience their realities; c) listening for the themes expressed through cultural and institutional rituals; d) the use of "triangulation" or "chrystalization" (Richardson, 1994) to weave together the data; and 5) constructing themes and revealing patterns (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p. 193).

At various times throughout the analyses, I tried other methods as outlined in *Getting the most from your data* (Riley, 1990). These include: writing summaries, self interrogation, hypothetical questions, brainstorming, conversations, visualizing the audience, drawing pictures and diagrams, and relating my work to other studies.

Throughout the various readings, tape reviews and transcript analyses, I employed both a narrative and chart system as a means of developing and recording the "expressive content"; that is, the "combined effect of subject matter and visual form" (Taylor, 1981,

p. 51) for the aesthetic portraits. These approaches are consistent with costume design practice, where designers analyze scripts in order to develop design elements.

An example of the chart I used to synthesize ideas appears below:

Draft Idea Chart

Analysis of text	*Notes for costume*	*Notes for monologue*
Summary, insights, analysis, questions, (in)consistencies	Ideas, images, design elements, links to historical, literary, artistic personages	Ideas, context, tone, words, phrases, blocking ideas
What I understand is...	*What I see is...*	*What I hear is...*

Representation of Interpreted Data

Representation is the "process of transforming the contents of consciousness into a public form so that it can be stabilized, inspected, edited and shared with others" (Eisner, 1993, p. 6). The selection of representational form is critical because "the selection of a form through which the world is to be represented not only influences what we can say, it also influences what we are likely to experience" (Eisner, 1991, p. 8). Piantanida (1999) stresses "the concept of portrayal is crucial to understanding the nature of knowledge generated through qualitative inquiries". Generally, portrayal is the form in which information if presented and/or ideas are represented. While tables, graphs, charts, and figures are portrayals commonly used to present information or data in scientific research reports, stories, poems, readers theatre, artwork, music and dance are portrayals more commonly used to convey complex ideas in a holistic fashion within qualitative/interpretive modes of inquiry" (p. 79).

Drawing on the metaphors of portraiture, the power suit and the feminist conception of voice, my perceptions of the participants' power identities have been "reconstructed" as theatrical elements: costume (the Power Suit designs) and script (the dramatic monologues). In keeping with the theatre motif, the power identity profiles may be seen as directorial notes, providing background and cohesion to the aural and visual portrait

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elements. In terms of analysis, however, the profiles serve as textual interpretive pieces, as explained below.

Power Identity Profiles

Instead of an attempt to find or see meaning "in the data" it is far more productive to compose meaning that the data may lead us to understand. In life, we create our own reality out of persons or situations; it isn't that the person or situation is the reality. (Ely et al., 1997, p. 20)

As Clifford (1984) observes, "literary processes-- metaphor, figuration, narrative-- affect the ways cultural phenomena are registered, from the first jotted 'observations', to the completed [work], to the ways these configurations 'make sense' in the determined act of reading" (p. 4). I have used literary processes to compose a power identity profile for each of the three participants. Like the novella (Meyer, 1998) in other performance inquiries these written profiles served to generate, synthesize and analyze ideas emerging from the data and helped me come to terms with ideas, themes, contradictions and peculiarities of the phenomenon under study. In this respect, their function as a written exercise was organic. They helped me get from the raw ideas recorded in point and note form to the completed scripts and images of the final portraits. It should be noted, however, that in practical terms the completed power identity profiles narratives serve as the main "analysis" section of my thesis.

The following guiding questions helped me articulate and construct the participants' power identities:

How does she approach the topic of power?

How does she define power?

How does she talk about power as a concept?

- *What words does she use?*

- *What kind of discourse does she use? (language style, rhetorical devices, sentence structure, etc)*
- *How does she appear to be feeling?*
- *Does she align herself with or distance herself from the topic?*
- *Does she intellectualize it? Personalize it? Dismiss it?*
- *What kinds of illustrations does she use? (Personal anecdotes? Professional examples? Examples from research, literature, arts, culture, etc?)*
- *Does her definition/way of speaking change or evolve as the interviews progress?*

What themes emerge?

"Power" Monologues

Dramatic script "integrates and orchestrates the elements of narrative, exposition, and description through language" (Ely et al., 1997, p. 123). It is a particularly effective venue for discussions of power because, as Richardson (1994) writes, "when the material to be displayed is intractable, unruly, multi-sited and emotionally laden, drama is more likely to capture the experience than standard writing" (p. 522). Diamond & Mullen (1999) suggest that the dramatic medium allows artistic researchers to "seek language uses that are evocative, metaphorical, figurative, connotative, poetic and playful" (p.43). When successful, dramatic writing is compelling and real.

I have chosen to recreate the data as monologues for two reasons. First, they literally "give voice" to the participants by bringing life to their words and spotlighting their personal experience. Like Shakespeare's soliloquies, they "allow characters to speak their thoughts out loud, presenting their conditions of mind and examining their motives" (Bloom, 1994, p. 70). Second, very few monologues exist which illuminate contemporary women's authority (Harding, 1994).

In crafting the monologues, I have "selected, juxtaposed, arranged, rearranged, streamlined and pared down" (Ely et al., 1997) the participants' own words (Richardson, 1992) (or as Jacobs would put it, I have "created by recombining".) While large amounts

of text were edited (for the sake of length and relevancy), reorganized and juxtaposed (to highlight analytic aspects and heighten interest), very few minor additions (such as linking sentences to aid continuity for the sake of the reader/audience) and changes (i.e. verb tenses for grammatical coherence) were made to the participants' authentic speech. Similarly, the length of the monologues reflect the extent to which the participants discussed their views and experiences. Every effort was made to remain true to the participants' voices by maintaining the ideas, images, words (including vocabulary, idiomatic expressions and fillers), rhythm, cadences and tone of their natural speech without compromising their anonymity.

I have chosen to reproduce the scripts in a single-spaced format in order to distinguish them from the rest of the thesis as well as to help the reader process the flow of the participants' natural speech .

Aesthetic elements (such as stage directions, props, visual effects and lighting) are used to enhance my interpretation of the women's power identities. These are described and explained in the "Designer's Notes".

"Power Suit" Costumes and Set

In the theatre, costumes are "the strongest element of the visual scene; they project personality and individual emotion and obtain the strongest audience focus" (Russell, 1985, p. 4). Like scenery, costumes "re-create the text... developing and enriching it... (and form) the visual expression of the play's dynamic spirit" (p. 2). The purpose of the power suit designs in this inquiry is to simultaneously develop and enrich the audience/viewers' understanding of the women's power identities. Like all costumes, their designs will "function on two levels: the aesthetic or formal level as art... and the associative or symbolic level, where [they] suggest by stimulating an audience's visual experience and sense of association" (p. 6). The costumes have each been rendered in a specific medium (watercolour, coloured pencil, ink, découpage, etc.) with attention given to the various design elements of line, form, silhouette, colour and texture. Each element

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of the design reflects a particular aspect of the analysis and is explained in the "Designer's Notes".

I developed the chart below in order to isolate the various components of design for the costumes:

Power Suit Design Element Chart

Descriptive adjectives	Historical, literary, character references	Line/ Form/ Silhouette	Colour/ Texture	Decorative / Design Details	Illustration Medium	Transcript reference #

A set consisting of a backdrop in a particular geometric shape (representing the participants' view of organizational power culture) was also designed for each of the women leaders. All three backdrops are covered by images of a specific quilt (created by Andrea Balosky and photocopied from her book *Transitions: Unlocking the Creative Quilter Within* (1996) [with permission from Martingale Publishers, see Appendix E]) in order to represent their interaction with these organizational cultures as well as to pay homage to the metaphoric and feminist association of quilting with women's historic, personal, and collective identities.

Documentation of the Inquiry Process

Despite the subjective, constructed nature of social inquiry, researchers very rarely talk about their lived experience (Richardson, 1992) or document their own research journeys. Neilson (1998) suggests, "...creating research products is a little like producing a grand meal from delectable sounding recipes; few of us choose to take our guests through the kitchen areas afterwards where the evidence of creation and adaptation appears in all its mess and hopefulness" (p. 9). While qualitative researchers have shown how they have focused, ordered, and classified their data, "very few... have tried to seriously describe the process of creating the gestalt. Nor have they offered clear strategies for constructing the aesthetic whole... of moving from selecting the threads (the emergent themes) to

weaving the tapestry (the portrait)" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p. 244). By outlining the "whys" as well as the "hows" of this inquiry process, I hope to shed light on my "process of creating the gestalt".

Piantanida and Garman (1999) remind us that an important element of arts-based inquiry as opposed to "art for arts sake" is "to provide interpretations that further educational understanding." Researchers must, in a sense, "distance themselves from the scene in order to explain its meaning and account for what has been described" (p. 252). Eisner (1991) concludes that to interpret is

> *...to place in context, to explain, to unwrap, to explicate. It is, as some might say, a hermeneutic activity of decoding the message within the system. To be sure there is no code to crack, at least not in the technical sense. But there is a surface to be penetrated. If description deals with what is, interpretation focuses upon why and how. (p. 97)*

This inquiry has produced two sets of interpretation and invites a third. First, I interpreted the women's perceptions of power and represented them in textual (as the power identity profiles) and aesthetic form (as costumes and monologues). Next, I interpreted my interpretations, if you will, by explaining the "why and how" of my own artistic renderings. These secondary interpretations are included in the Designer's and Playwright's Notes. Finally, recognizing, as Blumer (1969) does, that "...human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings things have for them (p. 2), these "performances on paper" will provide opportunities for the audience (viewer/reader) to use their own interpretive processes and to draw their own conclusions regarding the women's power identities based on the aesthetic portraits themselves. For this reason, the "performances on paper" comprising the monologues and costumes have been presented separate from the interpretations I have developed in the power identity profiles.

Designer's Notes / Playwright's Notes

Like the Power Identity Profiles, the Designer/Playwrights notes serve multi-functions. First, by recording ideas and impressions throughout the analysis process, they helped me develop specific interpretations concerning elements of the power portrayals. After the portraits were completed, these notes provided an account of the creative process. Incorporated in the notes are explanations of how and why specific decisions were made with respect to both visuals and text. As noted above, they "explain" my interpretations, something which is very rarely done in qualitative research (Neilson, 1998; Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffman Davis, 1997) but which increases the "usefulness" (Eisner, 1991) and "soundness" (Pinatanida and Garman, 1999) of this inquiry as an educational research model.

Like the monologues, these notes represent distinct elements of the thesis and, as such, are distinguished by borders and single spaced lines. The ideas are presented as I have conceived and used them: truncated and in point form.

Criteria of "Soundness"

As opposed to the "methodolatry" or slavish attachment and devotion to the trinity of validity, reliability, and generalizability (Janesick, 1994), arts-based researchers demand reprioritized means of assessing and evaluating aesthetic inquiries. Eisner (1991) proposes we assess the "rightness" of methodologies through the judgement of their: coherence, referential adequacy, and instrumental utility. Ely et al (1997) suggest "Guideposts of Worthwhileness" with multiple foci, including: a focus on the reader, a focus on the researcher(s), a focus on the participants, and a focus on presentation (p. 380). Finally, Piantanida and Garman (1999) offer "Criteria for Judging the Soundness of Qualitative Dissertations" (p. 148) including Integrity, Verité, Rigor, Utility, Vitality, Aesthetics, and Ethics. Outlined below are the ways I have tried to ensure "soundness" in this inquiry:

Integrity: I have attempted to make this study structurally sound, logical and appropriate by linking all aspects of the research process to the tenets of interpretive and feminist inquiry, as well as by framing them within the literature and tradition of the woman-power-representation nexus. Through the use of theatric elements and by writing in what I hope is a clear and engaging style I have acknowledged the importance of connection with the reader/viewer/audience. And by following the approaches outlined above concerning data collection, analysis and representation, I have maintained the participants' integrity and persona.

Verité: A thorough review of the literature serves to situate this study in the prevailing discourses on power and aesthetic inquiry. Detailed accounts of processes and procedures used support the study's honesty and authenticity.

Rigor: Extensive research, preparation and analysis went into every step and aspect of this inquiry. Systematic as well as interpretive processes were used to create a balanced, careful and rich study.

Utility: This inquiry is useful and professionally relevant in terms of its findings and methodological approach. It provides additional insight into how women perceive of power as well as offering an innovative model for arts-based inquiry.

Vitality and Aesthetics: I hope that, in form and content, this study "has a sense of vibrancy, intensity and excitement of discovery" (Piantanida and Garman, 1999, p. 148). Furthermore, through the use of innovative and creative means, I hope this inquiry proves to be "enriching, pleasing, powerful, provocative and evocative" (p. 148). Anecdotal feedback from individuals both within and outside of academic circles has been positive.

Ethics: All ethical considerations, including the privacy and dignity of the participants have been paramount throughout the study. Consent to participate was sought only after the purpose, approach and plan of the study was thoroughly explained. Anonymity was maintained on all printed material and artistic renderings. Material was sent to the participants for

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feedback, including the completed transcripts, the power identity profiles, the monologues and costume designs. All ethical considerations outlined in McGill's policy on Ethics were closely followed. Finally, my own background, biases and assumptions are acknowledged and considered in terms of how they may have affected my understanding and representation of the women's power identities.

"It is not of importance whether research portraits deserve exhibition in a gallery" Lawrence and Hoffmann Davis (1997) state. "Instead, our consideration of portraiture as an artistic process… concerns the extent to which these entities demonstrate symptoms-- to borrow Goodman's word-- of the aesthetic" (p 25). By attending to the aesthetic elements of portraiture, readers will "find aspects of the subject not often included in more traditional research accounts, such as attitudes, feelings, colors, pace and ambiance. In the implementation of the methodology of portraiture, as in the construction of a work of visual art, the significance of the details of presentation transport the portrayal beyond simple representation into the realm of expression" (p 28).

Limitations

The following is a summary of the limitations concerning this study:

1. Degree of familiarity with the participants:
I was acquainted with two of the three women leaders prior to their participation in this study. In order to equalize this potential perceptual imbalance (and for other reasons outlined below), data was restricted to the material contained in the interview transcripts. All analyses were screened to ensure that ideas and interpretations were supported directly by the transcript texts, excluding (as much as possible) knowledge and assumptions based on previous or additional sources.

2. Data: Availability and interest of the participants:

While all three participants were equally motivated and gave generously of their time for the interviews, there was not a consensus concerning availability and interest to engage in other forms of data collection. These means could have involved journaling, narratives describing memories of "power plays" and power fantasies, and sessions involving the co-development of visuals and power suit designs. In order to maintain consistency (and mindful of my emphasis on authentic voice and the need to value women's perceptions without needing to "validate" those perceptions based on the views of others) my focus remained exclusively on the women's words. As I result, I decided to base my analysis solely on the participants' transcripts (as theatre designers analyze scripts when developing costumes and sets.)

3. Rendering of Portraits:

The costume designs and scripts are restricted to paper (as artistic renderings and reader's theatre). As such, these "performances on paper" depend on the ability of readers to imagine the aural, atmospheric and theatrical elements. Although it would be a natural continuation to construct the power suits, perform the monologues and assess audience response, all constitute different, separate, complex, time and resource demanding phases. The purpose of this study is not to evaluate method, but rather to explore the implications of arts-based strategies concerning women's power identities and to provide a model for future exploration.

4. Personal background and bias:

Like any researcher, I am influenced by my own personal biases and assumptions based on my background, personality, experience and worldview. My upbringing in a traditional, military family and the Catholic Church made me mindful and at times critical of traditional approaches to power and authority. As an educated, white, "Western feminist", I am becoming ever more committed to the promotion and support of women and their stories. My experience as a language and literacy teacher in the immigrant and refugee community sensitized me to the plight of marginalized individuals and exposed me to the need for diverse means of knowledge recognition and representation. Finally, I

have long been inspired by my Ninth Grade History and Latin teachers, who "bent the rules" and allowed me to undertake an interdisciplinary, arts-based study as class work. This resulted in a made-to-scale replica of a Pompeian Villa, complete with "authentically" designed and constructed fresco covered walls, tiled roofs and working fountains in the atrium... instead of a traditional essay. My belief in the power of arts-based mediums-- to both form and inform-- led me to study and work as a costumer in the theatre and later, as a teacher, to incorporate artistic and theatrical methodologies in the classroom.

As most aesthetic inquirers concede, "doing" arts-based research is difficult and limited by the skills, experience and abilities of the artist-researcher. This could be said of any kind of research. I hope that by representing my interpretations in various forms (i.e. textual as well as visual), grounding my work in the literature, and reflecting critically on the research process, I will compensate for the limitations inherent to this kind of study.

Summary

Diamond and Mullen (1999) remind us that "Methods or perspectives that deviate from accepted norms are often regarded as mistakes; they threaten competence and conventional lore. If new criteria are needed to appraise new forms of inquiry, if how things are said is relevant for understanding the meanings of a message, one needs to be able to 'read' these meanings and understand the forms that convey them. What is needed is interpretation and exegesis—in a word, rationality" (p. 51).

Dewey (1958) advocates an *artful* approach to education and the representation of social reality, suggesting, "If we want education to be artful-- beautiful not merely pretty, creative, not merely competent, discovery, not merely mimicry-- then... we have to find ways of envisioning and recording the experience that would not distort its texture and richness. This would require "joining aesthetic and empirical approaches, merging rigor

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and improvisation, and appreciating both the details and the gestalt" (Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p. 6).

In their tome of qualitative research, Lincoln and Denzin (1994) conclude:

> *The Old Story will no longer do, and we know that it is inadequate. But the New Story is not yet in place. And so we look for pieces of the Story, the ways of telling it, and the elements that will make it whole, but it hasn't come to us yet. So we are now the ultimate bricoleurs, trying to cobble together a story that we are beginning to suspect will never enjoy the unity, the smoothness, the wholeness that the Old Story had. As we assemble different pieces of the Story, our bricolage begins to take not one but many shapes. (Lincoln and Denzin, 1994, p. 584)*

As a neophyte arts-based *bricoleur*, I humbly offer my methodological piece of the Story.

POWER SUITS HER:
A POWER PLAY IN THREE ACTS
CHAPTER IV

Introduction for the Audience

[Narrator reads from a very old looking,
leather bound book...]

What can we poor women do?

What brilliant scheme can we poor souls accomplish?

We, who sit

Trimmed and bedizened in our saffron silks,

Our cambric robes

And little finical shoes...

Ah...can't you just picture it? In this scene, by Aristophanes (lines 42-45), Lysistrata tries to unite the women of her community in order to create a female power that will save Hellas from internal wars. Unfortunately, the women lack confidence and are timid. Plus, I'm sure those "finical shoes" aren't helping matters...

[Snaps book shut and tosses it onto a nearby stand]

WELL. That was then and this is now. Maybe women aren't "trimmed and bedizened" anymore, but they can still "Raise a Little Hellas..."

[Narrator winces]

I promise you won't have to put up with any more of my puns. And we'll quit with the Greek legends for now (the libraries and theatres are full of them.) What we have for you

is new and real. Although it is similar to what I just read, in a sense. It deals with women. It deals with power. And it deals with women's... power... identities... In other words, how they see themselves in terms of power. And how they embody that understanding.

What women you ask? Three contemporary women leaders who work in international development organizations. I talked to them to see what they think about power. How did they define it? Did they like it? Did they use it? How did they come to their understanding of power and how do they relate to it in their daily lives? Basically... what is their power identity...?

Well they talked. And talked. And talked. You see-- women really *do* have something to say about power. And they *do* identify with it... each in their own individual way.

So I listened. And thought. And listened some more. I listened to them in person. I listened to them on tape. I listened to the stories, ideas and meanings their words generated on paper from the transcripts... page after page. And then I did what I thought was the most natural thing to do... I interpreted their words into something tangible, something accessible, something... theatrical...for you. The audience. Because their stories need to be told. Their words need to be heard. Their understanding and feelings need to be seen. Their power identities need to be portrayed so that we, both individually and collectively can understand a little bit better what power means to women. Because women are leaders too. They "hold up half the sky" as the proverb goes.

And so, our play in three acts is about to begin. Sit back and enjoy this presentation where Olivia... Lorraine... and Kate answer the question... "If power were a woman, what would she be...?"

OLIVIA'S POWER SUIT

OLIVIA'S MONOLOGUE

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N.B.   The words and phrases appearing in bold type flash onto
the backdrop as Olivia says them.   These projected images remain
for 5 seconds, slowly spiral into the backdrop and then fade
away...
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[When the curtain opens, Olivia is standing in a pensive pose, centre stage, with one hand on her hip and the other at her chin, index finger tapping her lips.]

Have I ever thought about **power** as a concept? No. Never. Absolutely not. Well... no not really. Only in a ahhhh, uh, perhaaaaaaaaaps... I don't think about it so much as **I experience it.** I mean in my work.   You know, uh.   When I suddenly realize that people actually want me...*me*... MOI to make a decision on something, or that they actually uh, um, are working...they are... *scheming* (and I don't mean that in the bad sense of the word), but they're trying to figure out what's the best way to present something to me so that I will, ah, see it... favourably. And then I think—"Oh!... that's interesting!" But I have sort of a **hard time relating** to this stuff on power in some ways. And I can see there's the potential for some very **schizophrenic** feelings on the part of women about power...

My very first thought is usually, ah, **men in grey suits**... almost always male, ah, in a very authoritarian manner. Um. So usually not very positive connotations. And I very seldom associate myself as having power or being associated with power. But I recognize that I'm in a position that I normally think of *other* people... you know... that I AM in a grey suited position. But whether I actually *have* any power or not I *certainly* don't wear a grey suit.... And I don't, I don't relate...I mean I've worked "under" all sorts of males who I think "Oh god they have so much power"... or I don't even know if I've thought that... but I've related to them in terms of *their* power.

My brothers are probably why I regard power as men in grey suits. Not that they ever wore grey suits. Probably wore cowboy suits or something. But, you know, they were **'The Ones'**. Maybe there's something there-- power and age. Like, people who have power are usually older than I am. They've been doing things longer or something. Which I suppose makes sense. But those boys, you know.   They could exclude me because they were male and they had more experience... well, I want to avoid a sort of cause and effect thing. But most of the people who have given me hassles in life have been **older and male**. You know, I can think of very few struggles with women over my life... Like I often think it's not really that I have difficulty with men. It's that men have difficulty with women, who in any way threaten them. You know. So sure, I mean in organizations that I've worked in males have mostly been in power.   And they...some males more than others. Some males I've worked with have been wonderful. But most have not. More, probably, have not.

So, yeah.   Like I've said...having been in whatever position I'm in I don't think of myself as, like, are there people relating to me as "Oh she's got so much power"... um, I don't think about that at all. I just **get on with doing the work**. And it never crosses my mind that I'm the same person that I feared... was hostile towards probably more likely. In addition to the current administration and leadership work, I mean, I've been the director of various other parts within university and so on... if somebody else had that position I'd think about it, look up to them, or

whatever. But in that position *myself* it never actually, it never occurs to me that "Oh, oh...**OH!**. I'm that... THAT person". At least not in the beginning.

Speaking of beginnings, maybe I should start with mine. I grew up the only girl in a family of three kids. I was always sort of aware of my **"privileged status"** because my parents really wanted a girl and the boys were just "the boys".

My parents felt that I was singularly single minded about what I was going to do...that I was headstrong and stubborn. I mean they were always saying oh well, you know "Olivia won't do it. She just won't do it" Or you know, like after the fact "You wouldn't have done that. You would just say "Oh no-- I'm not going to do that". **Me? Headstrong?** I have no sense of being headstrong whatsoever...not really. I, I don't know. Well, yes, I guess, you know... I spent a lot of time in my room, reading, or just wandering away... Like I never was a very helpful person, and so on. So I guess I was sort of, I mean... I don't know. And of course the... I don't know. They were pretty quiet people... um, you know, my father would be quietly farming and my mother would be quietly doing something and my brothers would be quietly doing something. Not that I was a noisy child. I think I was pretty quiet too... but maybe more *mutinously* **quiet.**

I didn't do any work in the house. Or outside either! *[laughter]*. I liked to read a lot. When I was older I did help out, driving the tractor and **things that I like to do.** But I wasn't kind of "in there" doing stuff, you know, on the farm particularly. And I certainly never did anything in the house whatsoever.

Our home was just like the most boring place in the entire world, this farm in a small town in this very anti-intellectual world... it offered an absolute dearth of experiences... but I don't think I ever planned to **get out.** I think I was terrified I wouldn't.

Then when I went away to university I got a job as a ward aide in a mental hospital. In a way I think I learned a lot about power, in my, sort of, ah... I don't know. Maybe something about **competence.** Because it was the first time I had done any work off the farm, even though I wasn't very competent with things like making beds and stuff like that. But I learned you could be, sort of like, witty and amusing and talk to people and, you know, whatever. And, like, people... people didn't necessarily expect you to be able to do everything perfectly as long as you could, sort of, **get along with people** and so on. And I realized I had a certain amount of, maybe, personal power. I don't know if that's personal. I don't know if that's power. I don't know what that is. Maybe it's just social, you know, learning and social competence or something. But realizing, you know, it doesn't really matter if you can't make beds... and they won't really notice if you can't... if you sort of act cheerful and pleasant and... *cajole* people into getting along or something like that. So I think there was a certain amount of... something about power there.

I must say, though...I've always felt quite **affirmed**, like almost in a story way. I mean, as a Baby Boomer and growing up in the 60's and kind of always having been in the majority... the biggest class, the biggest group of people starting university, you know, like everything has always been larger. And I'm even supported by the popular culture and advertising and everything. So I've always had a sense of "**Oh ya!** Well this is IT now", you know? Whatever people my age are doing, that's what *everybody's* doing, kind of thing. And I've always done what you were supposed to be doing at the time. Like at the time that people were going back to the land, well there I was. Right at the beginning of that. Back to the land. I was a **Born Again Farmerette.** I didn't wear peasant blouses, though-- I did more the lumberjack kind of thing. And we subscribed to all of these publications: *Mother Earth News*, the *Whole Earth Catalogue*,

Farming, Rural Delivery and whatever. So there I was... The irony of course for me was that I actually grew up on a farm. So it was like-- other people went back to the land, but they had never actually BEEN on the land. For me it really was back to the land. Although I had never been interested in the farm when I lived on the farm. But I was doing all this communal, farming stuff... we'd buy 100 rolls of toilet paper and one chain saw and share it amongst 5 families, sort of thing. Baking bread, drawing water from the well, feeding the goats... the garden, blackflies, cooking... And it was really neat. Until, after a period of time you discover it's not so wise to have one chainsaw for 5 families because someone always fucks it up. And so, you know, we eventually became more capitalistic and bought our own toilet paper and stuff like that.

But you know... I did learn a lot of competence there. Creating a **survival** situation and so on. I mean, after that period I didn't have to bake my own bread and things like that. But I'll always have a **mental scheme** of being able to do a lot of that stuff. So when I borrowed a cabin in the woods to write my doctoral dissertation and when I'm working on a project in developing areas I draw on that experience. And to know I could do it. **I *can* do it.** It's sort of like... kind of learning how to work things out and figure out what's what and... no real understanding, I mean, kind of making it up as you go along. It's really neat.

As a teacher I, you know, had a very strong sense of power... **teacher power!** I mean, that was actually what struck me the very first day I ever taught in the classroom. I asked everybody to take out their books. And they all did! *[laughter]* Let's try that again! *[laughter]* "OK, now everybody put your books away! *[laughter]*. That's pretty amazing when you're 20 something or however old I was when I started teaching. I mean, they actually did it! Now-- they didn't always, obviously. But they did on the first day. It was really amazing.

And then the year I started teaching was the year our province sort of threw out the curriculum they had been using for years and years and so, you know, you could pretty well do whatever you wanted. And, you know, sort of **take on the principal** and **take on the** reading **curriculum...** like "Ya! *Of course* they should be listening to Leonard Cohen! They're *supposed* to be doing poetry, so that's what we're doing. And they should be debating because it's very important that kids learn how to, you know, *express* themselves". So I had the power to **make those** kinds of **things happen** in the classroom and to negotiate with the principal and so on.

When I did my graduate work my thesis supervisor was this incredible woman who was about **150 years old**. She was just great. She was about **10 feet tall**. Really tall and really old. And cantankerous and irritable but wonderful to work with. She had been invited to set up a reading clinic at the university because she had been doing work in that for years and years. So she came. And I **learned so much** about strategy from her. Like "it's better to ask for forgiveness than permission", you know, and **just DO stuff**... get on with the *doing*... don't let people intent on creating obstacles get in the way of you doing your thing. Um, but people above her, even though they had invited her to come, were putting all sorts of **obstacles** in her way as to why she couldn't do things the way she wanted to... I mean, if they have invited you to do something then clearly they have reasons for doing it. And if they start putting a lot of opposition in your way, well, um, then they're going to have to start dealing with the consequences of that.... I saw she was in a position to just kind of tell them to **stuff it** and just, you know, shape up, kind of thing. And I think, you know, it was good for me to see that. She was kind of an outsider, you know, an outsider to the institution. But I saw her as being, you know, having lots of power. But she also had the power to tell them to just fuck off and die too. She was close to retirement and didn't need the job. So maybe that's something. But still. She taught me that a certain amount of power is **the power to leave** something. Which I don't think women are maybe as good at as men in terms of recognizing that, you know, you don't really *need* to do this, you know, or you've got

enough marketable skills and so on, and if you don't do this you can do something else. Or if you actually told people, you know, "Fuck off and die" maybe they would pleasantly die and you would just be allowed to get on with your work too…

So my advisor was a real mentor and I admired her. I saw her as powerful. Oh yeah. She was powerful. Hmmm… who else? Do you know the character of Jean Brody? Some of the qualities Jean Brody has I really admire… her **strength**. She's **single-minded**. She works to **subvert the system**. Ah, even as she works *within* the system, um, she sees schooling and then she goes beyond the boundaries… And her colonizing nature. You know. Her little groups of girls. Like, I like little groups…So sometimes I do identify with Jean Brody. Which isn't very popular. Because **she's such a bitch**, you know.

Now I'm a university professor. But I certainly never, you know, *planned* to become a professor or, ah, work in development or anything like that. **It just never occurred to me**. In fact the only thing I was sure of was I *didn't* really want to be a teacher… because people were always going, you know, "What do you want to do? Be a **nurse** or a **teacher**?" Those were the only things you could be, apparently. So no, I *certainly* didn't want to do that. I think I wanted to be a social worker. I don't know why I picked that. I hadn't even known anybody who was a social worker. I think it was probably reading *Chatelaine* or something. Must have been articles about social work. There were books that **nurtured my interest** in sociology… I remember reading all this work by Vance Packard a sociologist in, I guess the late 50's or early 60's on social stratification and how societies work, and so on. I discovered that stuff when **I was 15** or so. I was just fascinated by that. John Porter came up with a book called the *Vertical Mosaic* which looked at, sort of the social stratification of Canada. You know, that's where the term "White Anglo Saxon Protestant" comes from and all that stuff. And I must… I don't even know how I had heard about that book. Must have been on the CBC or something like that. And so I started reading this stuff and then, you know, when I went to university they were the areas I landed in. **I just kind of fell** into that area because it was just absolutely engaging and interesting. And I think that probably most of the work that I ever do is sort of around sociology.

I do believe that part of **power is that you know a lot**. You know, you read, you find out, you do a computer search on everything that's ever been done… I want to know everything there is to know… and I want the people I'm working with to want to know everything there is to know too. And for me power is, knowledge is… you **have to share** it… I hate when members of a group squirrel away information and whip it out at the last minute, like "TA DA"!… I think "For fuck sake, *everybody* should have that, not just you guys…"

So I'm driven by **pools of knowledge**. I work in about 3 or 4 areas but I read in about 55… Like I read very widely a lot of the time… Sometimes sort of bog down… I think that my strength, one of my strengths as an academic is that I know about more areas than many people do in one area.

It's also a kind of a liability because there's really nowhere to place you… like "Oh I thought you worked in gender, but what are you doing in blah, blah? You know? Or "You look like sort of a butterfly". But **I'm NOT a butterfly**. I'm a, like a… I read seriously in these areas and then I try to pull them together and then, whatever I am at any one point is sort of all of those things… I guess all of my projects are reflections of that.

Sometimes I think of myself as a juggler… But I don't think that's fair to what I do. It **doesn't sound good enough**. I think I'm better than just a juggler. Maybe that's what this is all about. I

mean I'm interested in seeing how many things I can do at once, aren't you? I mean, like, I do find that interesting.

So I always have many different pieces of my life playing out at the same time. Each one, you know, kind of contributing to the others... so I always kind of feel **this 'multithing' going on**. I love the idea of attending an out-of-town conference just for the day. I don't want to stay there for 2 days. Even though, you know, there's always a lot of pressure, like "Why don't you come up the night before and we can have dinner?" And I say, **well, no**. I'll be home with my daughter in the evening and we'll have dinner and talk and that will be just fine. I kind of like the idea of 'fly **in** and fly **out**'...And hang on to kind of my family life...And I don't want to say squeezed into, but *linked* into everything else... my 'multithings'... I kind of like, like, stroking these things off..."

But every so often I have to re-establish my focus. Like when I go overseas on a project and leave the stuff here behind. I mean I'll do all of this other stuff. Like signing my name kind of things. I hate signing my name. I just, I don't like... It's not boring. It's just, I look forward to doing something else for a while... but it's always just kind of **foreground** and **background**, some up front, some subordinate. Like "I'm tired of having such and such as the foreground now. It's gotta go back there and I'll work on it and be better at it from a distance for a while".

Of course the problem with management sometimes is it's just so... *managerial*, you know?
It's just a lot of work most of the time... I don't always like the day to day stuff. Sometimes the work that comes with power can be **time consuming, burdensome** and **annoying**... It's not that I... well I'll just give you an example. When I was a little girl there was always a school inspector that came around. And the teachers would always, you know, make us practice for, like, a day in advance to say "Good **morning**, Mr. Thorkelson" or "Good **afternoon**, Mr. Thorkelson", whatever it was. And we'd always practice for the wrong time, you know, he'd come in the afternoon and we'd practiced in the morning so half of us would say "Good morning" still, or something. I remember the teacher would be, kind of **showing off**, and having kids go up to the board to do mental math and stuff like that. And we'd really sit up and be really frisky. And I always thought the inspector was there to see *us-- the students*. And then when I started teaching I realized the inspector wasn't coming to see *the kids* HE (because it was always a he) was coming to see *the teacher*. And then, you know, as a teacher years later, *I* was the one going around getting everyone to say "Good Morning", you know, and "Let's all practice!" And I felt so annoyed and betrayed in a way, that my whole life had been spent, you know, getting, like thinking that it was for *me*. But it wasn't. **It wasn't the point at all.** You know? And, in a way, power is sort of like that, because, ah, like it's just a lot of work a lot of the time. Like having to make a decision about something. Which, you know, **technically** is about having some power, I suppose. But it's, I find it very time consuming, you know, it's not really all that much fun, you know, I've gotta think, well you know, "On the one hand you could do this, on the other hand..." on some things. Like on a lot of day to day stuff, I find it's just not it's **not really any fun** at all. Not that I ever thought it would be, but it, it isn't.

What I do find interesting is this idea that, like, you could actually plan something and **make it happen.** And kind of, you know, kind of engineer stuff... have access to knowledge that people "under" you do not, but which I try to make available... **activating networks**... You know if you actually are in a position of some power in an organization you can say "I wonder what would happen if we brought all these people together to do something... and you can **actually do it!** I mean... well, there's always people, there's always somebody stopping you, but I mean you're much more likely to be able to do it.

So maybe there's two types of power: The power to make things happen and then there's the kind of power to just kind of get the managing things done.

I love starting projects and being able to say "Let's get together and let's brainstorm. Here's what the overall thing is, because that has to be negotiated. **Come on now!** Let's see if we can do it..." I have a much harder time with inheriting projects because it means inheriting decisions... So now you've got the power, you're in a powered position to try to deal with previous stuff, in a sense. Organizational structures you wouldn't have created your self; people you wouldn't necessarily have hired, with histories and allegiances "à la **Old Boys Network**"... you know, a series of cronies dealing with their own system of reciprocity and mutual admiration societies. I mean, I guess that's normal to surround yourself with people who have the same understanding, ideals and approaches. But when **they're not** *my* **cronies** it's difficult because it's not just about trying to crack through working with these people. It's also trying to crack through an **ethos I don't** particularly **share**. And, as a leader, if I want to replace it by something else, then I first of all have to find out what it is that they even understand... as well as figure out what I would and wouldn't want to do. Like, it's both of those. You know, it isn't as though I come in saying "I really want to shake things up and it's going to be like this, this or this..." It's more about figuring out *"what it's all about?"* But also trying to realize that a lot of our understanding-- or at least some things-- are not the same. So it's almost trying to find out, almost at an individual level, "OK... Where does **Bob** really see this stuff? How does **Pierre** see stuff? And **Sam**?... Almost individually, at an individual level before I can see it as a whole and help foster group decisions.

As a leader, the most important and sometimes most challenging aspects are centred around decision making, (well, it's not always decision making... sometimes there's no decision to make, which is the problem) But figuring out "How are we going to think about this? I think the difficulty is just, maybe trying to figure out **what do I have the power to do?**" Maybe that's it. You know. At what point can I absolutely say "Well, no. We're NOT doing that. I can remember one meeting where I tried to be collaborative and collegial but, in retrospect, I should have made my statements stronger. I would have said "Well what you've come up with is an OK strategy but it's not good enough. And I could have, in retrospect, and I sort of see that as, you know... "NO... no, no, no...**NO**. You've got to do something *better*". You know? So **I'm learning** that. I don't know what that is all about. Is that power? What is that? I mean... what is that about?

In terms of ethics, though, I make it quite clear when I DON'T think something is the right thing to do. So if people do something else it will be on their **moral territory** and not mine. You know, I can't stop people from breaking the law, or whatever. But I have set a, you know, a limit on something.

I do find it a challenge working with people who think hierarchically...like "You're our boooooooss..." Because they also mean... I mean they themselves *say*-- "Well this is my *boss*, so I've gotta kinda figure out what the *boss* wants. What the Boss Lady wants". And it's not like I'm uncomfortable with it. I just find it repugnant. **I don't want to be their stupid boss**, you know? That mentality, even as a joke, is repugnant. It means that they think *they're* the boss of somebody. You know-- *everybody's* got a boss. This "boss mentality"... Like *"boss"*? I haven't even heard that word for years.

And I'm not into strategies because a strategy presupposes that I always have a clearly defined goal. And I don't. But **I have a way of being.** There's something... something *over there* that I see we're getting towards but I don't really know what that is. I do know that whatever it is will

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be much richer and better if we can **zig-zag** through this as a group. I guess it's the recognition that I *don't* know, and I doubt that most people know exactly how something should be done. One of the benefits of working on a team is that you can figure it out. I don't go in with the idea "I want it this way". I go in with the idea of coming up with something that becomes a problem-solving thing. That we all **participate** in and we **agree** on as a way of doing something. And that, when I leave the room there's some energy going towards something that we agree on... **This is just the way I operate**. In all things.

A lot of the work that I do, as teacher, as a professor, as a project director is... a... *cajoling* people into doing things. I find, you know, generally in the courses that I teach people do a lot of work. Like a lot more work than they necessarily want to do. And maybe more work than they would have to do in other courses. But I try to make it so attractive and engaging that they will just *want* to do it. And so... but it's also talking my daughter into cleaning up her room. You know? And sometimes I resent the idea that... not resent, but sometimes I *question*, kind of, *what is that*? Trying to cajole people into doing things. But I know that people will, when they finish, be so happy (because I've seen it so many times) from doing a really super job or getting that room looking absolutely stunning that the ends will justify the means....

An episode came up the other week that illustrates what I mean. This person took what I thought were major liberties in terms of how he reconstructed what he was in charge of. He had just gone ahead and set it up and we had never agreed on any of this. So I checked with the sponsoring organization to see whether or not it had been discussed, bringing it to their attention. So I was a bit of a shit disturber. But I'm not... **I'm the leader here, OK?** I'm seeing that this is going to be fought down the road. So I sent an email to the person in question and said "Well, I don't think we agreed on that and I think we need to come back to this." And this was several weeks ago and he has not answered me, you know? So when I met him yesterday I thought "If I say 'no' to him he's going to have a frigging *fit*. And **I don't** actually **want a confrontation** here". So I kind of approached this as "Well, I've looked at this, um, looked at what you've got. I think there's a problem. I really think, really think that maybe it's going a bit too far and it looks like maybe we're trying to get away with something and maybe we're not being too transparent." I was not too adversarial, maybe a little bristly. I said "You know, it's all about ' Don't hide it. Bring it out'." And I sort of *massaged* him into agreeing. Although I could see, like, like... suspicion. Like paranoia setting in. Like "they're out to get me..." But in the end he agreed and that was fine. But it could have been major. And so I thought I cajoled him. This was, like, **intellectual cajoling**. That, to me, was a good example of what I'd like to do all of the time.

The problem is that there's often an "anti-cajole" environment. I do feel we need systems in place that make it easier for people to succeed in being less adversarial. You know, like **a little more "win-win" here**? Having said that, I have learned that I don't always have to make things nice for people. I learned that at a conference a while back. This person who was, technically, working "under" me kind of took me on in public. His **attack** was quite hostile and I said "No-- you're dead wrong on this." Then I went up to my hotel room and I **could hardly sleep** all night, thinking that something was going to come of this or that I should have handled things differently. But I felt this person was totally inappropriate in the way he had spoken and **I didn't tolerate it** and made it quite clear. And so, as I said, I had a lot of angst about it all night. And by breakfast I was all, you know... I would have been prepared to *apologize* practically. Although I was clearly in the right. But he actually did, you know, intimate that he realized he had stepped out of line. So that was a kind of recognition of, ah, **protocol** and not always wanting to smooth things over and make it nice for somebody else. I think now I would **lose less sleep** over it. I do find I lose a lot less sleep over a lot more things. I realize there's no possibility

that everything's going to be all smooth sailing and so on. And I have a much greater recognition of "Well, OK, but I'll look at it tomorrow. I'm not looking at it any more today".

So yeah. Is that power? Is any of this power? I don't know...   Like I... I really don't know. Because I don't really, um... I'm not even sure that what I've said is that useful. You know... to be honest, I've been kind of thinking "Oh I'd better talk about **power** now! Haven't talked about **power** for a while! Oh yeah-- **POWER!**" *[laughter]* I'm probably not even a good person to be talking about power, in a way. Because... well...a lot of what I've been talking about totally contradicts what I said at the beginning about "men in grey suits". *[laughter]* But **I assume I can be contradictory...**

[Walks off, stage left, laughing and waving hands in the air...]

LORRAINE'S POWER SUIT

LORRAINE'S MONOLOGUE

N.B. The **bold, *italicized*** lines, representing the character's thoughts, are recorded in Lorraine's own voice and delivered over a loudspeaker situated high up, behind the backdrop.

Wherever indicated, the spotlight will switch direction (see set notes).

[When the curtain opens, Lorraine is standing, centre stage, tugging at the cuffs of her suit, as if to adjust an uncomfortable sleeve.]

I feel like I've been, all my life, in a struggle with power. In power struggles all my life. Really. Um, probably since I was about 15, or something. Fifteen when I became conscious about it. So I have always been very, very, very aware of power. I watch it like a hawk. I have a kind of, see power as a combative, sort of struggle, still. Which is, um, very energy consuming. And very, to some extent, unhealthy.

... Buddhist students I've met tell me that pain, difficulty and struggle is a path of enlightenment. But I don't know. I don't feel much lighter in the least.

[Spotlight switch]

What is power? Hmmm. I never thought so much as defining it. To define it, hmmm. I guess to be completely, sort of self, um, reliant and able to, um, you know, to make choices and decisions and be a very good negotiator. Being able to, ah, achieve goals or realize goals and objectives and ends from a negotiated point of view. Not necessarily "win/win" for myself, but that everybody's happy. For sure, or, including myself especially. And so, if power can be shared so that we *all* feel powerful... The ideal...yeh, the *ideal* would be that I am very capable as a person to bring everybody to feel powerful... and this would be in a work context or a social context or whatever.

...is that the issue of power that we are all groping with? To achieve, or arrive at a sense of self power and self worth, if that's what that's, sort of couched in. I don't know...

So what is power? Power is big. But it doesn't have to be. Just that sort of sense of self, um, satisfying, self fulfilling, building your self confidence. Building your self worth. But it's more than that...um, a vision or a metaphor or a, uh, image comes to mind for me. Just now, of being in a forest and, uh, being self sufficient. Being very capable of looking after the self, being a survivor. Being able to live in a challenging environment... let's say surviving a week in the forest all alone, foraging for yourself... and achieving, sort of, a sense of peace, I think. Knowing you can survive and hike and climb and forage and hunt...and do all these things alone.

... I've gotten all of the positions I've had because of my ability to find them and suss them out and persist and fight for them. In theory I really pushed hard for those jobs without any backers, without, you know, "Put a good word in for Lorraine", you know what I mean? I don't know what that means or says. But I do know that when I get into these situations I feel them quite strongly...

So I think power in that sense can be very much single and individual.

But it can also be this other, sort of embodiment of people. I think it has both.

I know that, when it comes to power there are lots of, lots of, lots of issues. Definitely lots of issues. Of which, um, you know, I'm still trying to sort them out and map them out, and figure them out. Gender, personality, culture... all of that.

I see myself as having a very powerful presence. That can be good and bad.

...there is one question that I have not been able to put my finger on, and it's a question that I talk to people about, and I'm trying to investigate. Obviously not trying hard enough, but I'm asking... what exactly is it that I do when I walk into a room...?

I'm very conscious of this, now. Not conscious of it when I'm in the situation so much as when I look back. I know that when I walk into a room there are some people-- particularly some men-- that I walk up to that I push buttons on. I have no idea-- I'm pushing buttons. I don't even have to speak. It has something to do with this power presence. I'm convinced of that.

... I get the sense they're thinking "Oh, oh, oh. Now what am I going to do with this person...?"

And I have very concrete examples of that, if you want me to elaborate.

One example was when I was changing positions... I was moving from Geneva to Katmandu. Now. I organized-- because I hadn't met this guy I was going to work with or for... I found out he was going to be in New York. So I thought, "Well, I'll just fly through New York and meet him". I, *I* organized and took the initiative to meet my new boss.

...I am a very forthright kind of a leader. I set up appointments. I do things that, as a woman, I should wait to have done. Sometimes it's as a woman and sometimes it's as, um, just wait your turn. Be that, that...waiting sort of person. That's the opposite of me...

So I bound up the stairs, or out of the elevator and I come out, and this person is standing there and I say [*pretending to shake someone's hand*] "Hello. My name's Lorraine Cochrane" with my arm out, probably very tough and strong and not very feminine. [*laughter*] And, um... that was the end of my career with that guy. I *knew* it. I knew instinctively. I knew.

... Oh oh. This was a bad idea. He's very insecure. Oh, oh, oh...

And that was, effectively, the beginning of the end for that working relationship. I mean, I managed to stay with the organization for five years, but I requested to move from that initial position after only one because it was so bad. And, in that organization, that was a no-no. So I had a pretty big black mark against me.

... was he threatened by me? He seems quite insecure about his height-- that is definitely an issue. But I'm short. My God... if I were tall how would I be perceived? A mountain...?

But sometimes my powerful presence works to my advantage. Uh, two years before that scene, almost precisely, I walked into another room, ah, um, where there was another man that I had decided I wanted to interview, be with, be interviewed by, whatever. I wanted a job. So I manage to get an appointment-- I didn't deal with "Come back next week"--and I walk in and I walk in with confidence. Either that's learned or I'm feeling it. I don't know. Sometimes I'm not sure. But I do it and I know that sometimes, when it's received well then everything goes well. And I remember distinctly walking into this guy's office...and we just sort of connected in

spirit, as you sometimes do. The smile, the eyes…and it was a very, kind of nice communion. So we met and things clicked and 4 days later I landed the job.

…why can't everyone see that all I want to do is do a job and do it well and be supported…?

[Spotlight switch]

I have always been driven to see what's "out there". That's partly why I decided to go into international education. The other part was a fear of being trapped… being bound (I'll use that term)… housebound or relationship bound… letting that interfere with my inquiries, pushing me towards this need to know "What's behind the next door, what's behind the next door?" It drove me to get travelling and live in other countries, so it was less likely, I thought, of being trapped… and I use the word trapped very distinctly and very specifically, because I had this fear always of being trapped.

…at fifteen I had the "I will not get married for sure" plan, until I have achieved economic independence. It was very, very clear. And I would never, EVER allow myself to get pregnant. Because then that would be a slip. So I was a virgin until I was about 20 or 21 or 22 or 23, I can't remember. But that really dictated my social behaviour as a teenager. OH! Did it ever! Because I was not going to allow… I was so, so… protective of myself. So I wouldn't fall into little traps. [laughter]…

I have always been very determined to be economically independent. To be economically independent means I need a very big position. I have been driven by that since I was 15 years old. But it's bigger than a financial thing. It's more complete than that. I absolutely expect to have economic independence. I will not marry, and these are sort of decrees, until I am economically independent. I will have a minimum of a Master's degree to define myself by an educational level. Um, and then I will have a job that I am happy in and that provides me with that…yes, that sense of voice, that sense of power, that sense that what I have is an important position, a recognized position.

[Spotlight switch]

I suppose my upbringing had a big influence on me. I came from a very large family (there were 7 girls, 2 boys in my family). My mother, um, I felt that my mother was burdened by too many children (which she didn't choose to control)

… I refuse to get trapped…

and money was always a huge issue. There were always fights over money…

… I must be financially independent…

We lived on a farm, and I chose to work outside instead of inside the house. Milking the cows, driving the combines. I took very much a male role.

…that was my interest. That's what I was known to be good at…

My sister, my older sister was sort of this house maker. I was the farmer. But, um, when you try and translate what I was or did at the age of 14 or 15 or 16… I basically managed a farm. I mean, I was in an interview and someone asked me about my management skills and I said, "Well, if you consider… and I listed off, I used to run the farm when my parents took vacation. And this farm was 6 sections of land and we had 500 cows and 300 this and 400 that… So I had a very strong sense of responsibility. A *very* strong sense of responsibility.

… I mean, don't let the cows down, because if you do they'll die, you know…

But I knew early on I was *not* going to be a farmer. It's too much work. That was not the life I wanted. The problem was I didn't have the environment to guide me academically. My parents did not appreciate or respect or have any interest in my education. But I was curious. I was intelligent. I wanted to learn. And I had this sense, as dreamy as it seemed, and almost as

unrealistic and unattainable as it seemed, was that I would go on to university and then graduate school.

...Lorraine Cochrane from Saskatchewan was going to be the one that graduated, even though the teachers predicted that I wouldn't. Even though no one had confidence in me-- my parents, my relatives, my teachers, my community... no one...

I was just a poor farm kid. I fought that for a long time.

... I was depressed about it right into my 30's. I had to fight that negative image...

[Spotlight switch]

Finally, now, I think I've achieved what I've been striving for. In my current position I have been given an extraordinary amount of power. Much more than I even use. I have been given an enormous amount of autonomy...which I interpret as respect and power. I...can...talk...to *anybody*...I feel like.

... I don't have to wait for appointments...

I can do *anything* I want with my current boss. But you know it's funny. I've sort of arrived at this very exciting senior education advisor position... I can talk to the President, talk to whomever... and yet... sometimes when I talk to my own boss, I still wonder whether I'm putting out the right image of, you know... "Trust me. I can do this." So there's an interesting dimension with my own self image there.

... I want more feedback. I need more feedback...

Now in the past, the feedback I used to get was just awful. But I am looking for interaction. Because I am a people person, OK? I'm looking for interaction.

...I'm also really looking for affirmation that I'm doing OK. That, yes, you're successful and powerful, but you're doing OK. I still seem to seek that...

[Spotlight switch]

So I am still plagued with self doubt from time to time. I was at this international meeting in Paris where I didn't say *anything*. And I thought, "Oh, Lorraine". And I was depressed for a couple of days. Because I didn't carry off my power persona like I felt I should. "I should be speaking for Canada. I should be doing, this. I should be doing that"... I started giving myself the "shoulds". I wanted to demonstrate that I know what I'm doing and you have to demonstrate that by certain actions and messages and opinions and comments. And I just sat there very quietly.

... why didn't I speak up? I was feeling sick. I've been ill at the last two meetings in Paris. So maybe that's partly it. And not yet knowing the whole organizational structure and protocol. That could be it. That could be it...

[Spotlight switch]

I'm working with a lot of male dominated cultures where I don't fit. My strength, my forthrightness, my presence, the way I introduce myself. They don't always like me. I just don't know what to do with that. Ideally I would like to be liked. I have this incredible, (if we go into the psychology)... I have this incredible desire to be liked.

...I know, I KNOW. I've accepted it and I hate it... I have to be liked. So what?...

So I'd get these good jobs, but they'd be in these contexts where the men don't want me. I'm sorry, but it's true. And it's very hard. I mean you could step out of that and say "Maybe you *made* it so that the men didn't want you". But I don't think so...

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...I mean I've worked so many places where it was fine and I got along...I was well liked, I was used, I was appreciated. I still go back and see my friends in Geneva. Most of them men...

But I would say this male/female power dimension has had a serious negative impact on my career in some ways. It started as a very powerful image for me in my life and has gotten extremely complex and challenging in a professional sense... as I've climbed up the ladder it has gotten more complicated and more difficult and more challenging. In workplace environments, for the most part. And even, sometimes in social situations.

... I have problems when I get caught being too powerful. I am just too strong, have a voice, an opinion and they're not always welcome. You have to do what you're told, not say what you think...

So it's very interesting to, um, it's partly in relation to men's own confidence levels. Or people's confidence levels, perhaps is the issue. Because, yeh, I think I've had trouble with women as well... I can think of three women in particular who succeeded to undermine me. So, that's a very interesting issue. And of those three, I would say... they're all very strong. OK? Those women. They were not shrinking violets. One was devious and, um, slippery. The other two were devious, slippery and powerful. The one woman where I would say is just devious and slippery. So I shouldn't generalize. But it does... the ultimate struggles I've had have been with men in the last... one, two, three consecutive jobs before my present job.

... How could this have happened so often? Sometimes I wonder what is going on with my life...?

[Spotlight switch]

I've nearly had nervous breakdowns in the past. And it's very hard because I haven't always had much of a support system. It's hard finding a therapist who understands all of the issues.

... I went to see this therapist once who said "Oh Lorraine. You're a sheep in wolf's clothing. And I thought "Oh my God. What does that mean-- a Sheep in Wolf's clothing?" I found it very disturbing. So that didn't work...

At one point I joined the English Speaking Feminists of Geneva *[laughter]* as opposed to the french speaking ones, I guess. They were very interesting women and that was a sort of sub-support. But generally I don't have one. And that is a constant challenge.

... no wonder all of the men in the "Big League" have wives to support them and share the load. My new strategy is to hire a friend to help out around the house so at least I can go to the office, be cool, work effectively and come home to find some progress made in the home front. I guess I need a wife...

[Spotlight switch]

I remember the first major power struggle of my career. It was with a guy who basically, nudged me out of a project in Northern Indonesia because he felt it was *his* territory and I was too "in the way"...

...He was only 24 years old, I was 37 or something, whatever. Mr. Happy, Mr. 2 Kids and Wife coming out, the Perfect Couple. Then, as he got more entrenched he divorced his wife, married an Indonesian and took on the Indonesian lifestyle. You can't draw any conclusions, but it is interesting...

This was a project managed by a Canadian University in Northern Indonesia. The design of the project was to have one Science Advisor (him) and one English as a Second Language Advisor (me) working together as a team. Now, normally, the scientist (because he was *"The Scientist")*,

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would be the manager and "The Big Boss" and the Language Advisor would just be the Language Advisor. But my scientist was not due to arrive for an entire year so I was out there alone.

... what was I supposed to do-- sit around waiting? And besides...what made him more qualified or entitled to manage the project...?

I had experience and I was qualified, so I said I wanted a higher position. More responsibility. And not just more responsibility, but authority to go with that responsibility. So the University approved that. But this scientist guy just couldn't cope with the fact that I had been given that special treatment compared with the other language advisors. Who was *I*? Why did *I* have this special treatment? Who did *I* think *I* was to have this special condition? Just couldn't cope with it at all. And basically rooted me out after one year. Out. And, um, oh it was the worst head-locking of horns. Unbelievable.

... I was just devastated. He was the dark horse. And I was doing such great things and having such great experiences. Of course there are always problems, but I had done such great things there and I wanted so badly to stay on another year. He rooted me out...

Anyway, out of every bad comes some good. So then I thought, "Well, I've got to go job hunt."

...I'll go to Geneva, New York, big places where there are international organizations and I'll knock on doors...."

[Spotlight switch]

So I landed in Geneva, wrapped on a bunch of doors at this major international organization and was directed to this guy who was sort of in charge. This was major Challenge Number Two in my life.

... "Lesson Number Two" perhaps...?

Um, the man who was in charge had a coffee with me. And he said "This is not an ESL job. We don't have any ESL jobs here." And I said "I'm not applying for an ESL job. I think I'd be quite good working in an education project. I've worked in a refugee camp for 2 years and developed an excellent program that's been published and this, and this, and this... OK. I knew, from talking to him, that it was a non-starter. The message was so clear from that little cup of coffee. It was "Thanks very much but... you won't be working here." Just as clear.

...what exactly is it that I do when I walk into a room...?

Well, I didn't let him stop me. I went over to personnel and I managed to land a job at the same level as this guy.

... who did he think he was...?

So I started and he was just awful. If he had been the boss I probably would have been OK. But we were 2 people at the same level. And he obviously didn't want me there.

...apparently HR had never hired people based on his recommendations...

Anyway he was just awful. Even cruel. He would ignore me. We would set up meetings that he would agree to and he wouldn't even show up. Then he would accuse me of having meetings without him! He would try to undermine *everything* I did. He would just weasel his way into these things and pull out carpets wherever he could. And just try to destroy me. He was really awful.

... People saw him doing it. They saw him doing it...

But he had been in the system for 8 or 10 years already, so he was well entrenched. Not necessarily well backed, but well entrenched. And he was a great talker and knew his stuff quite well. But he couldn't work with people and he couldn't deliver. So, yes, Mr. Wonderful, Mr. Schmoozer. Mr. Charming. Everybody loved him. You'd love him. He'd charm you. I *know* you'd love him. If you had to work with him and saw the results it would be a different story.

... Mr. Charming couldn't deliver. He just wanted to schmooze and talk. Talk his way through another meeting and another day...

So I was a threat, clearly. Because I'm a doer and I deliverer. And because of that I got a lot of the high level portfolios. Well he continued to ride me and ride me and ride me. And finally, after quite an enormous amount of stress and visiting therapists...

... "Sheep in Wolf's Clothing"... what does that mean?...

I decided even if I have to risk losing this job I have to stand up for my rights. This guy was riding me into the ground. So finally one day he pushed me over the limit and I fought him sooooooo hard the place was shaking.

... The building was shaking...

And we got hauled into the Big Guy's office. My boss' office. He (my boss, *our* boss) was disappointed.

... Of course he'd be disappointed...

"Can't you work together and dadadadadada... Couldn't we make a pact to work together". And so that was the start of the end. The downfall. And they recognized that he didn't deliver. But-- c'est la vie. So that was this big, big thing.

                        [Spotlight switch]

So after that clash Mr. Charming was sent out into the field and I was "parked" in several departments on a month-to-month-to-month basis. It was all incredibly interesting and challenging work. But this month-to-month thing was driving me crazy.

... I mean, hanging by a thread is not my style...

Well, the organization was in the midst of dealing with the aftermath of a huge corruption and mismanagement scandal. A new Deputy High Commissioner had been brought in to clean things up. So I just summoned up the courage to challenge this new guy.

...Because he was put in place to reform this corrupt agency. OK...?

Well, he was rough as guts. He was very, very tough, swore a lot, used the "F-word" everywhere, and he was gonna clean up this place, this rubbish, this slop of an operation, you know? *[laughter]*. Anyway. So I decided I'd been jerked around enough. I had my cv ready and I was going to have a meeting with him. So I went up to see him and I said "You know, I'm really discouraged. I know that I'm good. I was good on this. I was good on that. I did this and that. Here it is-- I want to meet you because I'm really dissatisfied with the personnel system. I'm going month to month to month. I do not have a job. I would like YOU to take up this issue. So at one point he said "I tell everyone this-- If you've got some skills you apply them. Go look outside" And I said "I'm doing that. But I think this organization needs me". OK. So I *did* go look outside and I *did* get a job.

... I got involved in a lot of pretty high level jockeying and risk taking, but it worked out. I was offered a great job at another organization...

But meanwhile, I was offered a field position at that organization. So he *did* take up my issue and I appreciated that. So-- out of courtesy-- I went back to see the High Commissioner to say "Thank you very much for your help. I regret that I will not take your position. I did look outside and a better job has come though. But thank you for that and I'm sure we'll be working together and cooperating in a different capacity..."

... I had it all worked out, this courtesy call...

Well. I knock on the door and I go in there and say this. And he just exploded. And he said "Who the *fuck* do you think you are? After I have stuck my neck out for you! After I have gotten you a job here YOU come waltzing in here to decline ME?" He was so angry! He just went off his head!

... Now there's a good example of male power behaviour. Of course anybody could do that but he was known to be off the handle ...

And I looked at him and I said "You know, I'm really sorry you feel like that. Because I do feel we have to work together in this business. I do feel I'll be very effective in my new position and I, um, I really wanted you to know... *[long pause]*... Bye! *[laughter]* But, you know... that one didn't throw me. He *didn't* throw me.

...I can be easily thrown on these kinds of things. But he didn't throw me...

I didn't collapse. Which I'm so pleased about. And I look back and see that was a very important interaction for me-- to strengthen me in terms of character. And I got a big promotion out of it too, which feels so... respectful...

[Lorraine stands in front of the pillar with one spotlight shining up from beneath, illuminating her features like a flame at her feet.]

So my whole life--- and certainly my career-- has been a series of power struggles. Some which turned things around for the better and others for the worse. And I know that, in some cases I have contributed to these conflicts.

... At one point in particular I could say I had an attitude problem because things weren't working out...

But when I look back I see that my major problems were due to conflicts with obstructionist-type people. In all three cases. All three cases.

... Let's see, there was "Mr. Happy" in Northern Indonesia, "Mr. Charming" in Geneva, and that boss with the height complex...

I really feel they confronted me because I was some sort of bone in their craw. But now ALL have been--- ALL have been demoted or called to task. Which demonstrates a pretty significant failure on their part...

*...And it lets me feel "Lorraine it wasn't you. It wasn't you"...*

What is that saying? Somehow I get into these... I don't know. I don't know.

[Lorraine eases herself off stage into the audience, slowly walking up the aisle, addressing the audience members in their seats.]

You know... ideally I would like to just erase power altogether and--the ideal-- have it in that sort of way that I described at the beginning... as collaborative and mutually empowering. But the reality is... I just see it as sort of this... there's always this challenge, this combativeness. But now, in my job, there are very few power struggles, which is just living in heaven on earth. Really. I just can't believe how peaceful it is... Sure there are tiny bits in pockets here and there. But it's easy to walk away. It's *easier* to just... walk... away...

[As she delivers her last line, she gives a lighthearted salute to the audience and walks out the theatre's main entrance.]

KATE'S POWER SUIT
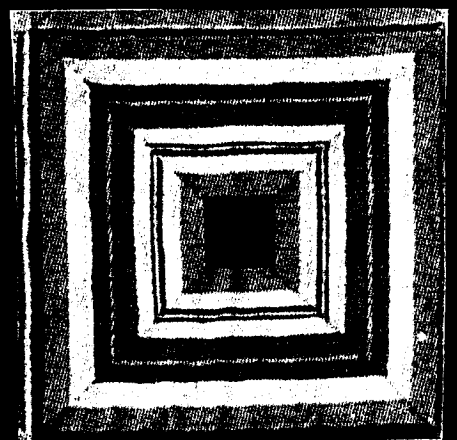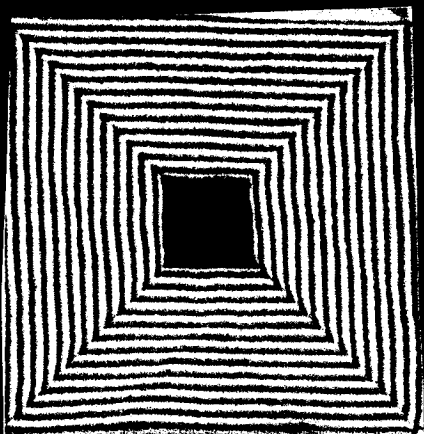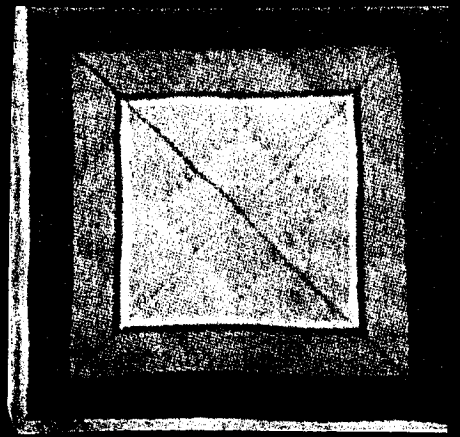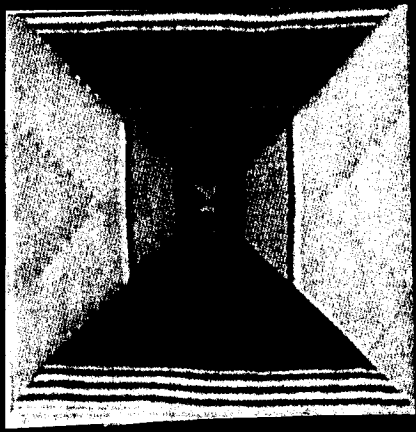
KATE'S MONOLOGUE

[When the curtain opens, Kate is leaning on a desk, arms
crossed, head cocked in concentration. With each new topic, she
may assume a different position on stage, pulling or filing
documents, leafing through books, writing in an agenda, etc. Her
movement takes her to each of the four quadrants, as described in
the set notes.   At various times throughout the scene,
individuals or groups of people-- presumably staff members-- walk
on and off stage, going about their daily business in animated
silence. They may, for example, motion to her to sign something
or take part in a short, mimed discussion. Kate goes through all
of these motions in a flowing, natural manner but never actually
talks or interacts with them audibly. She maintains a connection
with the audience, delivering her lines, but at the same time,
acknowledging the presence and importance of her staff.]

I used to be more preoccupied with the issue of power than I am now. It's not something on a personal level that I think that much about. Although it probably manifests itself in other ways around effectiveness and ability to implement change and that sort of thing.

At this stage in my life I think of power as the ability to influence. The ability to influence individuals and the ability to influence decision making and to effect change. I think of it in that way. And in that light I see it as quite, um, generally I see it as quite positive. I don't see it as a negative. I mean I know there's authoritarian power and I'm in a position where I sometimes can use authoritarian power if I choose to. And I have chosen to in certain situations. But I don't like that very much. It doesn't feel very comfortable to me.

I think there may be different features that contribute to your ability to influence. And here one of them is positional-- that I'm the director. It's true that people listen to you because you're the director. There's no doubt about that. People just listen to you. You know, you can say something till you're blue in the face. And then when you become the director you can say the same thing and people listen. Because it's in their interest to do that. You are their director, right? So you have a certain amount of power over things. In theory you could fire them. I mean, you're not going to fire them if they're not listening to you but you have an input into their performance reviews, you have an input into giving them references, if they want to go for other work, ah, um, you have some impact into creating their reputation. I mean this is all true for you too. It's not all a one way thing. They have a chance to input into my evaluation. And my reputation is built on how well they prepare me to go out and do these things, and what they say about me to other members. So I mean it's not one way. But it is true that as a director of an organization you have more power than other employees. Um, but there may be some other features when you're in a group where you're not the director. I think the definition is the same. But the factors that give you that influence change.

I think part of having professional power is doing your homework. I think it's being prepared. I've seen many people in group situations where, to a large extent they succeed because they read all the documents, they think it through, they come up with proposals... so there's a good part of it that's preparation and an understanding of what you're doing. Um, I think there's another part of it that's process related, that you keep your eye on what's happening in terms of group processing. It can even be a very small group. And that you try to facilitate the group process. I

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think that gives you influence. Because sometimes when there are 2 or 3 points of view on the table you can summarize a point of view and say, well I think we can all agree to do X and Y. Um, and that might represent more your own point of view. But you've taken the opportunity to support the group in the sense of moving forward. Um, I think being able to present your ideas clearly helps. I think, ah, I think a sense of humour helps in groups too. I think there's a lot of room for humour in breaking up tension in groups, in putting things on a table in a group that you wouldn't necessarily want to put on in a very serious way but if it's put on in a humorous way... often that relates to peoples' behaviour, giving feedback humorously that might be difficult to take directly. Um, peoples' connections, their networks, how other people treat them, the response of other people... I think it's true that people who are physically attractive often have a better impact on people, I think research shows that. I don't think you have to be beautiful, I mean I don't know how really beautiful people, how they affect things, but people who dress well and look nice. Or not. I mean there are other situations where you're not dressed well, but you're dressed appropriately for whatever group you're trying to influence.... I mean I'm in an environment where we talk about poverty and social justice a lot, so you don't want to be wearing $100, 000 power suits when you're talking about poverty, uh, even if you could afford them, but uh, so what you might wear to go talk to, uh, I don't know... suppose you went and talked to a group of young people or you went and talked to your members, you might wear something slightly different than if you were going to do a presentation to a standing committee, or members of parliament or to a minister. I mean I don't spend a lot of time on that. But I do think about it. I do think about what I wear.

I was thinking as I was coming in this morning, if I had to turn the organization over tomorrow to somebody else who was in the organization would they really be able to do it? And I was thinking of these three women who would be the obvious choices. One in particular. But when she applied for the position I didn't give it to her. The Board wouldn't have either, which is interesting, because I think she could run the organization. I think she just needs to shape, sharpen up a bit. You know? She often wears... this sounds so petty in many ways... she looks so 60's, you know? She doesn't pay much attention to her appearance... But for the job interview she got her hair cut, she got a new suit, and she really presented herself well. And I said to her "You look really terrific. And not only that, you just really gave the impression that you were serious about this job and people were very impressed." So I told her that. But it seems so silly in a lot of ways, that a person has all of these skills but needs a more confident self presentation which would include your appearance, you know? Um, so I guess, you know it depends a lot on the individual.

Am I a powerful person? You know, it's a good question and I don't want to be coy about it... I really don't know. Because there are a lot of people with good ideas in this organization and they pretty much get on with it. Um, on the other hand, if I didn't think something was a good idea and I said so it probably wouldn't happen. Um, I have a fair amount of influence with the Board in that, to a large extent, I write the agenda and suggest ideas and bring in speakers and decide on the process. Now, the Board makes the decision and the Executive decides whether they want to do it or not. But in the end, generally, they, they rarely say "No, I don't want to do that." So I think I am powerful at some points in some situations. I mean, generally I don't feel, I don't feel power*less* in the sense, you know, if you were looking at it on a continuum. I, I usually feel that if I need to I can take control of the situation. I don't feel that I'm overwhelmed by events. But that sense of "Yes, you know, I'm really here, I can really influence what's going on"... that varies. But on the whole I guess I would say that I feel more power*ful*... um, than not. But you know it's very, it's very... it's not ephemeral... it's very transitory. I don't know if you know that Blue Rodeo song "I don't know where my confidence went. One day it all disappeared..." And I do, I, sometimes I feel like that here. Sometimes I feel like I really know what I'm doing

here. I feel things are really going well. And then some small thing will happen and you just for some time lose your confidence. You wonder if you're losing... because so much of what I do is more intuitive than intellectual. (I guess that's true.) I mean I have a feeling or a sense of where I should be going. And if you begin to lose confidence in yourself or in the direction you're taking then people begin to pick it up. You know, they begin to pick it up in the way you present yourself, in meetings and, uh, you don't have as much confidence, and, so, I mean on the whole I think... I'm not necessarily more powerful than other people-- because I often am in groups where there are a lot of powerful people-- but I feel like mostly I can hold my own. But there are lots of things that go on around here that I don't have any, you know, haven't put my stamp on. And there are certain other things that people here do that I couldn't do. The policy people here know more about policy than I do. So I don't know what other people would say. I mean-- I think I mostly give people kind of a framework and confidence that the organization is organized, that it's reasonably well managed, that we can do our planning and develop our plans and go ahead and do it. And the Board will appreciate that and our funders will still give us money. So, it's a kind of a symbolic role, in a way, of the organization. Because none of the rest of them have the same responsibilities within the organization as I do. They have other responsibilities. But when I have my performance reviews done, you know, the Board and the members and staff have confidence in me and look to me for leadership and so on. But I don't really know what that means. I mean sometimes people say things that are not necessarily true. Or they're not deeply analytical about it. What does it mean to say "people have confidence in me"? But I haven't had feedback, you know, that people *don't* think that I'm doing a good job or that they wish I would move on into something else *[laughter]*.

I've never thought of my career in terms of gaining power or climbing the ladder. It just kind of happened. I was always a kid who got good marks and got elected to be president of student council and was the first one in my family to get a university degree. I did feel a certain amount of resentment from both of my sisters. I think it's true. You know, they felt they had to live up to the standards I set. I think they still feel that way... my mother was sick a little while ago and they said "she'll probably eat just for you", you know this kind of thing? *[laughter]* It's kind of pathetic! I was laughing about that with my husband the other day. There's a point where you'd think you'd grow out of this stuff! Anyway, until I was 14 I was an active member of a Church group-- CGIT-- Canadian Girls in Training. I became Provincial President of that organization. Then I went on to participate in various exchanges, projects and work camps internationally. I guess you could say I was an activist, although, you know, it was the 60's and there was so much going on here but I was mostly working overseas. Like, I lived in Africa for 3 years. I mean I had a lot of opportunity to do that kind of thing and always found myself in some kind of formal or informal leadership position. But I don't remember seeking them out so much. Again it just sort of happened. And I liked it.

The funny thing is I'm not the sort of person that, ah, makes an immediate impression on a group. But I find that over a longer period of time I usually have more authority. I see that I develop more authority, more influence as I build longer term relationships in a place for a longer period of time. Ah, I'm not quite sure why it is, but anyway. It doesn't happen, you know, if you go to an afternoon seminar and everybody says "Wow! Isn't this person terrific?" That doesn't very often happen. I don't know why. Because I usually try and talk from the beginning. Um, I'm not quite sure what it is. Whether it's a... no I really don't know. One woman said to me, at one point, she said she noticed this in me because it was also true for her and I think it's true for a number of women. There are a number of us who are in positions which actually require a certain amount of extrovertedness in terms of, you know, if you need to be the spokesperson, the media spokesperson, the representative. And that we actually have more introverted personalities. So, then it takes a certain amount of effort. It's not something that you do that

naturally. Or even if you begin to do it more naturally you begin to do it with a lot more effort. Not that, it's not that it's laboured, but it takes energy. You know? Some people get energy from being out and going around. But there are a number of women in leadership positions who really are more introverted, but have-- even enjoy -- playing a more extroverted role. I mean, if it's clearly a responsibility of your job, uh, there's some kind of authority, in a sense, for doing it. People will expect you to do it, for one thing. So it's not so intimidating if they already expect you to do it. But I still think it takes a toll.

Of course there are other circumstances that demand a lot of energy... like having to deal with things without necessarily having the formal power to do it. Years ago I worked in an organization where there were terrific power struggles. There was a, a relatively weak, ineffective director. I didn't have much confidence in him and after a while I got sort of fed up with somebody who was supposed to be playing this role and wouldn't, didn't, couldn't. I mean I did talk to him about it and I did discuss with him the fact that there was, you know, perceived to be a power struggle between the two of us and I didn't think that was very healthy. And other people saw it. Everyone could see it. So I said if he would simply tell me what he wanted me to do and what he was planning to do that would help. But he didn't see it that way. And he couldn't do anything about it. Or wouldn't do anything about it. He would try and he would launch some minor initiative (that's really condescending, isn't it?!) [*laughter*]... he would launch an initiative which we wouldn't think was a very good idea. So we would say, "This is not a good idea, don't do this" which wouldn't help him either. I mean he kind of worked himself into a corner and then every time he tried to get out we wouldn't let him. I mean in the end. I didn't help him either. We were quite fed up with what was going on.

So that gave me and others a lot more power in the organization. And there was constant talk about that. Who had power and who didn't...Whether it was, you know, personal power, or formal power or informal power. And where the decision making lines within the organization were very unclear. There was all this, in a sense, organizational confusion, which I think in hindsight was very dysfunctional. And I was in that context for a long time. There are still some organizations that, they got caught up in kind of a...ideology around joint decision making and participation and antipathy to hierarchy. So that the staff became the main power group in the organization and there was less thought about what happens to the members and what's the role of the board and what about the people that we're working with in third world countries... It was kind of an unconscious, unexamined model, um, growing out of the 60's, essentially, I think... and it was both clarified and exacerbated by the development or the unionization of staff in many of those organizations... and then you had a struggle around who was going to run the organization as management.

So I had a lot of informal power at that time. Yeh, I did. I mean not everybody said "Oh Kate's our spokesperson" There were other contenders for that role. And near the end of the time when I was there it had switched quite dramatically to somebody else. But they did a, I think it's a particular process (I forget what it's called) ... It's a way of analyzing the organization and the dynamics of the organization starting with the budget. So you look at where money is being spent in an organization and you deduce, kind of, the power relationships in the organization. I wasn't there... I can't remember what it's called... anyway, maybe it will come back to me. This was after I had gone. And, um, there was a woman who specialized in this kind of analysis, so they got together, the whole staff or much of the staff, and they were identifying people who were very powerful in the organization... and, uh, somebody said "Kate Bradford". And the woman who was running this said "But she hasn't been here for 6 months! [*laughter*] Six months after I had left people were still pissed off at the amount of informal power I had! [*laughter*] As I said, I did not always perform sterlingly. And this was a very dysfunctional organizational

culture. Because you know, there's power and then there's power! There's power that is used destructively in organizations. Power which is used very negatively to undermine people's confidence, to undermine organizational processes, to prevent decisions from being made, to force change in an organization. Now forcing change is not always negative. You know, like if there are things that are going wrong. But if you simply build in a kind of anti authoritarian or anti management bias into an organization which is reinforced by informal power it can have a negative effect on the people who work there and a negative effect on the organization itself.

So anyway, I left that organization and took over here, as Executive Director. I've been here eight years and I must say-- it's a very different environment than when I first got here. In fact, my first year here I thought it would be dreadful. I just didn't like the feel of it. The organization had quite a centralized, hierarchical structure... Now, I think I probably could be effective in a hierarchical organization if I were near the top. Although, having had a very authoritarian upbringing I am anti-authority in a way. But I don't... I think hierarchical structures can work. I just don't know if they can be humane. I mean they can be effective in getting the job done. But I don't know... I think people can get a real sense of security out of hierarchical structures. But I think they're all disappearing. I think this notion of hierarchy is... especially in knowledge-based industries and knowledge-based performance, it doesn't work. You need people who are given the kind of atmosphere and tools in which they can perform and assume responsibility. And that's not one where you lay out a clear line of authority.

The other interesting aspect when I got here was that there were four men managers and me. Plus, of the 12 largest member organizations there was only one woman-- me. So that was a bit of a challenge. Although I must say that I've worked with a lot of men in NGO's and I find there are many men who are just as much feminists as women are. Very good to work with. That doesn't always mean that they are. Well anyway, in this organization there was confusion over... there was a power struggle going on between the two directors who were here at the time. And, uh, it was sort of irresolvable in some ways. And they'd been through a very, a major change in strategic direction and they had reorganized the secretariat offices, and they had laid off a lot of staff and had hired new staff... so you can imagine when you do that it just... Let's just say there are better and worse ways to do it. But the better ways don't necessarily produce a harmonious environment. Um, right away. And I think that was mainly what had happened. There had been all this change and so there were these concerns and there were anxieties, there were people who weren't speaking to each other, you know, that kind of thing. Everybody was nice on their own basis, you know. But the working relationships were not very good and the structure was one where there was this management team of four people who sort of sat around and decided what to do. And then they went out and everybody else was around and sort of supported the management team and what they had decided to do... Or not! [*laughter*] But it's changed. I think we've been quite successful in changing from that little model, you know, where you have 4 people and this outer donut of support to one with people who really do take responsibility. And that's true right through. It's not just true for the program staff. It's true for the administrative staff as well.

I really need to look back at some point and figure out exactly what we did, how we went about changing the structure... I mean it became clear what some of the internal problems were and, um, you know, there was poor communication. A constant, ongoing organizational dilemma. And there was lack of clarity and there wasn't such a good planning process and, you know, there weren't human resource policies in place. Um, so, at one point I think we identified all of these problems and then we put together a team of people who represented different aspects of the organization who went away, I think, for a week and worked on the various dimensions of this and tried to figure out what we could do about it. At that point I was not interested in changing the structure. But as a result of what came out of that process I decided to change the structure...

I just couldn't see any other way but to change the structure. So I did change the structure. And then I hired another person who had quite a lot of international development experience and who is also a good manager and who is a close friend of mine to be the deputy manager and to implement this. We had looked internally, but couldn't find anyone. She really was the best person for the job. So that worked quite well.

People on staff have said to me that this is a family friendly place now. We let people work at home, people can come in, you know, they can come early or late. They can take their kids to school. It's relatively relaxed, although there's a fair pressure on work and work performance... the pressure is to do a good job as opposed to... there's not much room for just personal ambition in terms of getting ahead because in NGO's there just aren't many places to go. Also, I mean, other people have said it makes a difference-- we only have 5 men on staff at the moment. Out of 21 people five are men. We could have a few more men. I'm not opposed at all to having men on staff. In fact I think it's a good idea. [*laughter*] And the men that we have on staff work very well, obviously. If they didn't like working with women they wouldn't be here. This is a pretty female environment. It works well, it works well. But it's been a lot of work. Like I said, it wasn't like that when I came here.

We often hear how hard it is for women to work together and they nit pick and they gossip. That hasn't actually been my experience. I like working with women because of their attention to detail and follow up. And they, they're people you can count on. Now there are lots of men like that as well. But in general I've found I like working with women. It may be that, you know, it may be that women have had an impact because of their responsibilities and their need to get home and see the kids and take responsibility. But, uh, you know we have 2 or 3 men who have equal responsibility for looking after their kids now. Maybe that's helping change things as well... I mean probably women are more supportive and more emotionally open in the workplace. I think that's probably true. But it's also true that there's an aspect of that which branches into their feeling like they're mothers. You know? There is a book called "Your Boss is Not Your Mother" which supports my feeling that women tend, I think, to sometimes overdo it on the sense of responsibility that they feel towards their employees' emotional state. One thing that I've sort of discovered with personalities is that your strengths are actually the same as your weaknesses. They're not different sets of characteristics. The more, perhaps, nurturing feature of women I think can be a handicap. I used to have this discussion with a woman who worked here previously. She would be very concerned about what so and so was saying and what so and so was feeling and I just felt that we weren't responsible for that. That I mean, maybe her friend was responsible for that and if you wanted to be her friend that was something else. But as her boss or as her work colleague you were not responsible. You might play a different role outside the office but I don't think that it is your responsibility within the office to provide that kind of... You know if somebody is really upset because of something that's going on at home, a family breakup or something's going on with the kids I think you have the responsibility to say "Well would you like to go home? Or do you want to take time out? Or want to go see a friend?" But I don't think you necessarily have the responsibility to sit down and work it out. Whatever the personal dilemma is. You can get bogged down. I've seen men too get dragged into things like that. It's good if you have some kind of an employee assistance program.

I have always been kind of intrigued about the notion of how women are different as Directors. Or whether they're different as Directors where they're in fact... you know, trying to be a moral, collaborative, co-operative person in a space in society which doesn't necessarily support that. So whether it's actually possible to be different. Having said that, I certainly think there are some old styles of management that men and women in the Old Guard have now that are passé. There

are new ways of running organizations now... more teamwork, more networking, more accessibility, more sharing of information. It's true for both men and women.

I would say as a Director I'm fairly collaborative. I like to work in a team. But I have a suspicion that I might like working in a team when I'm in charge. *[laughter]* I think I like it better when... I'm not quite sure what I'm trying to say... I'm all right when I'm in charge. And I'm OK when I'm sort of a part of a team. I sort of have difficulty when I'm in groups where it's not clear what anybody's responsibility is. I don't like those kinds of situations. And, um, my tendency in those kinds of situations is to move in and organize it... which is often resisted by the other people in the group! *[laughter]* I sort of like being in charge. Or I don't mind-- sometimes-- being told what to do.

I do think we have a collaborative working environment here with a fairly horizontal structure. Although, you know, there are differences between program and support staff. But I'm sort of hovering up here... *[flutters hands above her head, laughing]* It's true! I don't see myself in the middle with my authority radiating out or anything like that. I still am up here. But on a daily basis I kind of go into different parts so that I work with a team here or another group of people there. We do a lot of cross text, cross team work. We have little groups of people working on things. And, I mean even in those groups I'm not, I don't have the most ideas and I'm not always the brightest. But I am the one who often... It's not so much that I make the final decision but that I force some kind of decision to be made. You know, it's not that I say "Look this is what we're going to do" I say "Look, this isn't good enough. We've been around this 6 times. What are we going to do?" Um, I do recognize the value of, I try to exercise a certain discipline in listening and trying to hear different points of view. Because I've been in situations where you make up your mind very quickly and you just select evidence that supports what you already want to do. It could be the wrong thing to do. So now we're piloting a more deliberative approach. And we've used a process, *De Bono's Five or Six Hat Thinking*, you know where you try to think things through from an emotional point of view, from a factual point of view, from a positive point of view, from a negative point of view... to think things through in a more systematic way. But ultimately, I'm the one who forces a decision to be made because I am the Director.

Externally, as the Director, I am the chief spokesperson for the organization. So if we're going to do a press conference I'm the one who's going to talk. Or if we're going to make a representation to a standing committee I'm the one who's going to present it. That's my role. That's my role. But I try, and I've said this many times and I think people, to some extent, believe it... that this formal, representational role is simply the culmination of whoever had the original idea, whoever wrote the document, whoever translated, whoever made all of the logistical arrangements... that this is not-- although I get the credit often for it if it goes well, or if it doesn't go well *[laughter]* Um, that really we operate as a team... I do believe, for example, that there is no sense having the best brief in the world if you don't get to the thing on time, or people don't tell you the right place to go. I really do believe that all these things are important. So I try to operate with a team mentality... and to a certain extent people believe that.

I give people a lot of space to develop their own programs and activities. To the point where people will say that sometimes they'd like a bit more follow up from me. I mean sometimes I give people something to do and then I forget about them. ...I guess I have high expectations of staff. And I ask people to do their work. I'm actually better with people that already know what they have to do and can go off and do it. If they know what they want to do and all they need is a bit of support and then can go off and do it-- great, go for it!

I'm not such a good teacher and coach. Which is kind of funny, because I started out as a teacher... I hated teaching! *[laughter]*. I didn't really hate teaching. I found it boring. I really did not find it stimulating to be with children all the time. They were grades 7 & 8. They were nice kids. I just, you know, it just wasn't something I wanted to do. Also it was a time of a lot of change in the educational system in the middle 60's. And I got involved with some of the people who were trying to change education. But it just seemed so rigid. I asked for a couple of things I wanted to do. In terms of leaving early to participate in some kind of peace camp I think in the United States. And this wasn't possible. You know, it was just very confining. The whole thing was so structured. In fact I participated in a CBC documentary on the school system... It showed kids being marched around the hall *[laughter]*. They used a military analogy for schools.

I think my attitude towards structure and authority can be traced back to my father. He was quite authoritarian and that just solicited, for me, a lot of anger. I had a fair number of fights with him. Which, it's kind of hard to tell because it was combined also with other kinds of not very... other kinds of sort of traditional, conservative attitudes about race and about class and about social issues. I don't know. I really don't know how we started to diverge so much, you know... I guess it's not, I think it's not that unusual. But I don't know.

I think elements of my personality are manifestations of the relationship I had with my father as well. Um... because I was the oldest of the family I took the brunt of my father's authoritarianess. I mean, it's had an effect on me. I think it made me more introverted. And a perfectionist. And I see some of the characteristics that he had I have myself. He was also very introverted. And that, unfortunately, was exacerbated by having been in the war. He was a fighter pilot in the war. So a lot of his friends died. And I think a lot of the characteristics that he had were just cemented during the war. It was a very powerful positive and negative experience for him. And you know nobody knew how to fit these guys in when they came home. Then he came back home and had two kids. But he was unpredictable and that took a lot of emotional weight, you know? I think it had a ... it made me more, uh, more introverted and more protective of myself because he could be pretty... He wasn't physically vicious but he could be pretty caustic in his comments. And he was a perfectionist and nothing was ever good enough, and that sort of thing.

I still have a bit of a hard time accepting criticism. Um, I'm actually not very good at receiving criticism. Although, um, if not a daily occurrence it certainly is part of the job. And you have to learn how to deal with it. But for me personally I don't like being criticized and I don't like being challenged very much, uh, in spite of what my own intellectual beliefs are *[laughter]*. So that I often have, my gut reaction will be at one level so that I have to kind of control that. Uh, and let what I think are more correct processes take over, you know, where people feel freer to speak. I got into a little tangle with somebody last week at a planning meeting. And she and I were kind of... I mean it was pleasant enough, but we just kept going at it. And I finally realized that there was just one thing. It was not so much her idea but there was one thing she was saying that really bugged me. So I said "You know where I'm really responding to you is "X", it's not so much "Y". And I find if you can get that out on the table with people that you know well that helps. But no, I don't think I always handle it very well. There are other people I've seen who take challenges and criticisms better than I do.

I'm actually not so bad at confronting things head on. I'm very good at saying "The problem here is 'X'" or "We don't seem able to see eye to eye." I'm very good at stating what the obvious is, or stating the underlying problem, or bringing out dynamics that people don't want to deal with. I'm good at doing that. What I'm not so good at is, say, making a person feel that their ideas are really valued so that they will feel more comfortable and less confrontational and then reducing

the tension in that way. Do you know what I mean? Using a healthier, more subtle-around-the-edges approach. Again, I mean, in dealing with my father I developed ways of dealing with adversity. One was excelling, another was trying to keep out of his way and ultimately yelling at him about a number of things. But I also developed this witty, smart alecky persona. When it works it's witty, when it doesn't it's smart ass! *[laughter]*. And the more that you're in a kind of formal power position, it's usually NOT a good idea to be perceived as mouthy, and smart alecky, you know! *[laughter]* But it is a way of hardening yourself up. Uh, but I think that it's not the healthiest way to deal with things. It's very reactive. Uh, but it's still with me. It's my default position...

So there are better and worse ways to deal with people. One of the biggest challenges I have ever faced concerned staff lay offs. I think laying off staff is one of the biggest challenges. A big negative challenge. And an even bigger challenge is hiring good staff and supporting them. But that's more of a positive than a negative. The biggest negative challenge is laying off staff and dealing with personnel problems that are basically intractable. I know that the theory is that if people are having problems you work with them and you identify the problems, you lay out a plan and they improve. And sometimes that actually happens. If it's a skill question or a knowledge question or an attitude question. But if they have serious psychological problems it doesn't usually work, you know? So that there's not much you can do with things that are basically psychological in nature. You can try to change the behaviour, but I haven't found that that works all that well... When I first came I hired somebody to review and revise our personnel policies and we've revised the staff evaluation process. We've improved our hiring process. We are unionized, so a lot of our interactions are fomalized in collective agreements. No, I put a lot of emphasis on good Human Resource policy.

But there are times when you just have to be authoritarian. You just have to make tough decisions because there isn't a general agreement or there may be a general agreement within the union but the position of people who work here isn't the only factor to consider. Um, so I don't like that very much. Which brings me to the staff lay offs... this happened a couple of years ago. We had had our budget cut. We had our budget cut a couple of times. And I thought that we needed to reduce the size of the salary packaging in relationship to the overall budget. Because it was growing and if it continued to grow three years down the road you could see that we wouldn't have been able to manage unless we raised substantially more money. We went through a whole process with the union and we consulted and we thought about ideas. But then in the end we laid off staff. And closed the office for 3 weeks, actually. We laid everybody off. All of us, including me... Yes, but then, so I decided that. That's my job.

I'm not sure if there are skills you develop which makes aspects like firing staff easier...I think there are things you can do which make it better or worse. One thing is to share information and make sure everybody has all of the information. But we tried to do that and we tried to share what we were thinking about. But people didn't actually, I don't think they believed it until it actually happened. You know, so there was this great sense of betrayal. Um. The other thing that happened was, I thought actually, I worked with another person, my deputy who's gone now but we worked together and developed a plan of what we were going to do. Um, and I thought actually I felt all right about it. And I went in to tell the staff what we were going to do and normally I'm pretty aware of how I'm feeling, but this time I guess I wasn't. When I finished, I came out of it and I started throwing up. I went home and I was sick for the whole weekend. So, I don't know. Can you develop skills to help when laying off staff? I doubt it.

In my last performance review somebody said, uh, that I was, you know the iron hand in the velvet glove. But we had a bit of a discussion about that at night in the evaluation meeting and

one of the other women who was in the review said "You know they always say that". Because there are just tough decisions that you have to make sometimes. And I guess that's the iron hand part of it. And I would assume that what they would have been referring to would be the staffing decisions.

I wish like many women that I didn't care so much about what people think about me. But I don't really need approval. I'm thinking of one former colleague who really was a person who needed people to like her. And she was charming. And people did like her. They still do like her. She's very, very charming. But it's a bit out of neediness. She's said, "You know, even in Kindergarten I've gotten marks for la *charme enfantine*". You know, she went to kindergarten in France. So she said "Can you imagine? *[laughter]* They didn't say I was clever or good with my hands or I could really climb and play whatever... it was always that *charme enfantine*!"... So she was very aware of this. So I think that she just needed to toughen up a bit and not be so worried about what people thought. Now that's so much easier said than done. I mean it's nice when people like me. But it's not, it's not, ah... it's more than that. I think men need approval too. I mean I certainly don't find here that women need all kinds of approval or that men are self motivating and never need to be told what a good job they've done.... It probably is true that it's more important for women that people like them right off the bat. For me this is kind of a contradiction because people don't... I often have been in situations where people feel somewhat intimidated by me. So it's not that they actually like me so much off the bat. It's not that they don't like me, but they wouldn't be, I wouldn't be somebody they are drawn to right away. Or that they would feel warm about right away. I have a kind of a sharpness and then there's that smart alecky thing. But like I mentioned before, I make better impressions with time.

Being a leader is very reaffirming in a sense. Sometimes you can just see that your ideas, or your interventions, or your suggestions about process take the group in a more positive way. And so it's not, people won't even necessarily (although it's nice when it happens) they won't necessarily attribute it to you. But you know, it gives you a sense of making a contribution, of being important, of being noticed. It's kind of validating. I mean generally, if people like you or respect you or have confidence in you, you tend to get noticed more. You tend to get praised more. Whatever you tend to do is more valued. And so it gives you a sense of this terribly overused word... it gives you a sense of self esteem, of confidence of who you are and what you can contribute. If, if I'm in, say I'm participating in a meeting and I make an intervention and it's one where people say "Oh, that's a good idea" or "Yes, now let's see if we can build on that" or it somehow pulls things together and helps people take off in a new direction... I saw this not with myself, but, there's this fantastic woman I'm with in a group. I have been in the group with her for a couple of months now. And she has this wonderful synthetic capacity. And she listens. And then, from out of nowhere she will say, "Well let's do this and put this here and lalalala" and people say "Annie, that's fantastic!" And sometimes that happens to me as well and that gives you a sense of, then you really feel even more confident.

An example of the kind of thing I find validating as the Director of an organization came about recently. Stressful, but ultimately validating. We released an open letter to the Prime Minister on aid. And it was signed by a number of prominent Canadians. And many senior officials and Ministers were very unhappy with this. We gave them a copy in advance of our public letter. And they phoned me and told me this in the hopes that, in fact, we would not release it. And in some cases they actually phoned the people who had signed the letter and had tried to get them to withdraw their signature. So, I mean this is a power issue, but it is not a personal thing. I mean there is a personal role in this but this is a power dimension between us and the organization and the federal government on an issue of policy. And how they mobilize their own power, their personal relationships, their connections their funding capacity to try and present their point of

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view. And how we did the same thing, you know. How we summoned up our friends and called various people, and but that's not personal. I mean, I felt personally invested because I had a role in the direct conversations with these various senior people and relaying them back to the staff. I had a direct role in trying to say, um, I mean I could have said "This is not a good strategy. We're not going to do this. We'll cancel our release if it will be too damaging to the organization" That thought did cross my mind. And I had a direct role in, kind of, keeping everybody sharing information and we kind of kept, I was going to say, keeping up our confidence, but we kind of kept up everybody's confidence. You know, everybody would play different roles at different times. I would play the questioner. And then I would be the person who says "No you've got to go ahead with this". And other people would play various roles. So it's not, not unrelated. But the basic power in a relationship is not between me and the Minister. The basic power relationship is between us as an organization representing NGO's and people who work in this field and the Minister as representative of government policy. There are different power relationships there. But as the Director I did feel validated, both in terms of the position and for the sake of the organization.

Of course this kind of thing, while being exciting and validating is also extremely stressful. Um... there is kind of a buzz, but it's often in hindsight. When it's been successful *[laughter]* Um. At the time I do find it quite stressful. I get up early in the morning, sometimes very early in the morning, sometimes I can't sleep so I get up and prepare what I'm doing. Um, so it is exciting but it's very complex. There's a concern about what you're doing to the organization and whether it will be negative to the organization. But it really builds a team. It really builds a team. The part of it that I actually find the most fun is phoning, trying to collect intelligence over what's going on. So trying to, um, get through to people who can give me advice or an assessment of the situation. And in this particular case, uh, I phoned a senior cabinet minister. And I sort of find it interesting to see whether you can get them to phone you back. You know? It's not that easy actually getting Cabinet Ministers. So if you can get the Ministers to phone you back and to give you advice... I did this with one Cabinet Minister and another Deputy and another couple of people who are fairly senior in policy circles... that I find does give you a buzz. Being able to phone them, having them phone you back and give you kind of off the record, confidential advice of what you should do. That I really like. Actual confrontation-- that I don't like so much. And it's not just a question of knowing that you're right. You can be right on the issue but wrong on the strategy. Um, but then when it's over and you've had some success the team which has worked on it has a great sense of "God, we did it!" You know. "That was really fun!" But it's not so much fun when you're right in the middle of it. But I think other people do get more of a buzz out of it. Like Bill Clinton. There must be some buzz that he gets being out on the edge seeing he keeps standing on the edge. And there are other people who do that. And I understand what it is and I have moments of that. I do recognize that you learn a lot, you grow a lot, you build very strong relationships with the other people that you're working with. And it can give you a great sense of accomplishment to know you managed to withstand that pressure. So there are many positive things that come out of it. But that kind of adrenaline buzz... I would never seek a job where I feel that all the time.

I do feel the need for balance and support in my work. And I feel, for the most part I have that. The former Deputy Manager I mentioned before was a great support. We would discuss and decide what we were going to do. Um, there's another man in the organization whom I've known for a long time, whom I have total confidence in, and I use him to get ideas, to explore things, to ask his opinion. I have a few close friends I talk to. And my husband, on the whole, is quite supportive of what I do. Even though at times he thinks I put more time and energy into my job than our relationship. He would say that I'm not balanced enough because I put too much emphasis on my work. I don't have hobbies, you know, like he does. For example you know, he

is, uh, a naturalist, he does photography, he makes furniture, he ties flies, he, you know, he just has a whole lot of other interests. Other enthusiasms that give him so much pleasure. I can't even knit, you know! *[laughter]* But seriously, you know, I think it's a lack. Like, in a few years if I decide to retire and don't have the framework of a job... I'll need other interests...

I've told the Board that I'm leaving next year. I've extended my contract several times at the Board's request. But I don't know. I like the job, I think I've done a good job here and I think the organization's in good shape. We're more influential than we used to be... *[laughter]* influential compared to what?! I would say, depending on the issue we range from moderately influential to totally ineffective. *[laughter]* I really think in some ways we're about at the outer limits of what we can do... if we wanted to be much more influential I think we would have to be something else. We would have to be another kind of organization, structured in another kind of way, or funded in another kind of way, or with a different sort of mandate. I think for the structure that we currently have and the way we're currently funded I think we're about, we're pretty much as good as we can get. Which doesn't mean that I think that we have as much influence as I would like to have. I just don't know how we can take that next step without being different from what we are now. But that will be for someone else to decide. I will have been here 8 years and I think that's enough. I think, for me personally, although it would be easy to stay, I think it would be a good idea to move on. And I think for the organization too, it's not a bad idea to have somebody else come in and re-evaluate its vision and its role. It's time. I do believe you have to know when to leave.

[Kate walks over to a light switch, fastened to the backdrop...]

You have to know when to leave...

[... and turns off the light. The entire stage goes black.]

EPILOGUE:

SCENES FROM THE CUTTING ROOM FLOOR

CHAPTER V

Introduction

This chapter presents the documents used to develop and explain each of the three women's power identity portraits. They are presented in the following order:

Profile I: Olivia

Profile II: Lorraine

ProfileIII: Kate

Each of the profiles comprise: a) a power identity profile narrative; b) designer's notes, describing and explaining the power suit costume and set; and c) playwright's notes, explaining elements of the dramatic monologues.

The three profiles will be followed by a brief discussion of issues encountered while developing aesthetic portraits of the women's power identities.

Profile I: Olivia

Olivia's Power Identity Profile

Olivia's power identity is organic and ephemeral, emerging from a divergent array of inference, lived experience and instinctual understanding. It could equally be viewed as a cryptic puzzle which, when viewed at close range, zooms in and out of focus in the mind's eye. Hers is a meandering discourse, peppered with humour, yet balanced by serious contemplation. She is at once engaged and tentative; irreverent and sublime. While her discussions and analyses of power do expand and develop throughout the interviews, you never get the sense that she fully relates to "that stuff on power" and that, however she may analyze or intellectualize the concept, a discussion of power remains just that: an interesting discussion, but not one which has any real bearing on her understanding or way of being. Even though she readily attributes power to others, she rarely conceives of her own power ("Me? ME? *MOI*?!") and seems to have to "step outside" to be able to look at herself in that light. Once there, she finds it "interesting", a bit "surprising", and even "amusing" that others may see her as powerful. She worries that she is "probably not a very good person to be in this study" and wonders whether what she has to say "is that useful".

Olivia's discussion of power is circuitous, talking "around and through" her own feelings and perceptions. She acknowledges "the potential for some very schizophrenic feelings on the part of women about power" and, readily reveals her own. She vacillates between seeing power as a "negative", "positive" or "neutral" phenomenon, "assuming [she] can be contradictory". Her entire discourse (not only *what* she talks about, but also *how* she says it) suggests that, while she is not *un*comfortable talking about power, she has never really given it that much thought. She refers to "power in action more than, like, power after the fact" adding, "I think it's something more, something that I live in, live on, act on more than I reflect on".

Her first association of power is one of male authority and privilege-- "men in grey suits"-- with which she neither relates nor fully values. As the interviews progress, however, she makes specific reference to various other aspects of power: "the power of knowledge"; "the power to make things happen"; "the power to get the managing things done"; "the power to leave" and to dismiss those who only want to create barriers and opposition (or, as she puts it, "the power to say 'Fuck off and die'"); "the power to deal with inherited decisions"; and "the power to recognize that everything doesn't have to go right" and "not lose sleep" over inevitable problems.

She acknowledges that, as a young woman, she discovered she had "a certain amount of, maybe personal power" to "cajole" ("I don't know if that's personal. I don't know if that's power. I don't know what that is.") In fact, many of the anecdotes she shares reveal her development of skills and characteristics normally attributed to *personal* and *transcendent* aspects of power (competence, self esteem, self assurance, autonomy and resilience) in feminist literature. Her adherence to the *transfomational* aspects of power are evidenced by her collaborative approach to work ("I like working in groups") and decision making ("I'm trying to get people that I'm working with to see that they have more say and more to contribute to decision making"), her emphasis on power through and with others ("You guys get together and come up with a plan I will support in any way I can..."), and empowerment ("having systems in place that allow [support staff] to succeed in being less adversarial-- You know, kind of win/win here?").

Olivia's strategies may be seen as stereotypical of women leaders: cajoling, avoiding confrontation, collaborating, and network building. She describes conflict (with difficult personalities and with the "Old Boys Network") as "larger than life"; something she has to "just get through" and which make other potentially stressful aspects of her life (like preparing for large conferences or long term postings) "just seem like nothing". She "generally tries to spare feelings" and "promote collegial and collaborative" problem solving, yet will "put her foot down" when necessary. She likes to "cajole" people, seeing it as a good natured, effective way to motivate and guide students, colleagues and family members instead of adopting a "This is what I want and you deliver it" attitude.

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She is adamant about not wanting to "shake things up" but rather "to understand others' ideas and ways of thinking" before "cracking through" an ethos she does not share. She is driven by "pools of knowledge" and "absolutely expects" colleagues to gain and share knowledge and information for the good of the group. She eschews hierarchical terms such as "boss" and normally speaks of "people she works with" instead of "people who work for her". She refers to herself as "a university professor" and an "academic" rather than by any title associated with her position as a leader. ("I don't know if there's a need for a word ... Like 'Hey! I'm the Project Director or I'm the Team Leader'... it kind of presupposes, you know?") Far from attributing her success to career planning and hard work, she speaks of having "fallen into" her areas of interest "I certainly never, you know, planned to become a university professor or, ah, work in international development or, you know, anything like that" without any kind of plan or strategy "It never, just never occurred to me".

Helgesen (1995) would argue, however, that Olivia does indeed have a strategy: the strategy of the web. Defined as a more diffuse and growth centred approach to success, it concentrates on gaining strength by drawing others closer, emphasizing interrelationships, knitting loose ends into the fabric and honoring approaches that Gilligan (1982) calls "being responsible in the world". Helgesen adds, "by emphasizing the *continual* drawing closer and strengthening of parts, it betrays the female's essential orientation towards process, her concern with the means used to achieve her ends"(p. 58).

Interestingly, Olivia rarely refers to the organizations within which she works. As a teacher and professor she speaks of the power she has had with individuals, groups and in the classroom rather than within the system as a whole. She engages and identifies rather with her "multithings"-- the various interests and endeavors that make up her life's work. The fact that her passions and career are one in the same just seems to be a happy coincidence or, at least, a natural course of events. Despite the "tremendous potential for chaos" in her life, it appears that her life has ebbed and flowed, with neither overt strategy nor strife. One exception has been her work as leader of an ongoing project, developed by members of the "Old Boys' Network". Here Olivia talks of her moral

sense being "accosted" by unethical organizational structures and *modus operandi*. This is the issue which seems to bother her at a visceral level and she admits sometimes having a "sense of powerlessness" in cases where she has "inherited" structures "lacking in integrity". Within these contexts "the difficulty is... in trying to figure out... what [she] has the power to do". This reality reflects Nicolson's (1996) assertion that [in male dominated organizations] "the burden falls on women to make sense of the [male] culture and constraints and develop suitable coping strategies" and that women are forced to find "individualized means of survival".

Without resorting to a "cause and effect thing" (as Olivia herself tries to avoid), you wonder whether she has never really identified one way or another with power (in its traditional sense) because she has never really *had* to (or, perhaps, has learned ways to avoid it.) Up until the time she inherited the "difficult" project, Olivia had "almost always worked on gender and almost always with women" who, presumably, shared many of the same ideals. With the new project, she seems to be experiencing "traditional" aspects of power for the first time and has alluded to a certain learning curve regarding positional power and authority. All in all, she is not so much against *power* (however we may choose to define and describe it) as power *mindsets and manifestations*-- the notions, trappings and demands of power-- that "get in the way" of what she feels is paramount: creating something of value and "getting things done", all the while maintaining a heightened level of energy and moral integrity. She seems, therefore, to feel that, far from having nothing to do with her, power is something inherent, almost spiritual; a "way of being". "This is the way I operate", she concludes. "In all things." She simply doesn't feel the need to focus on power; define it; claim it. It is, perhaps, this intrinsic, transcendent, holistic view of power that prevents her from pigeonholing or labeling her understanding of power or, indeed, of her own attributes and accomplishments.

The term Olivia uses to describe herself as a girl—*"mutinously quiet"*—captures the dichotomy and contradiction that characterize her discourse on power. She doesn't attribute power to herself, yet relates to *others* (even those who hold positions comparable to hers) in terms of *their* positional power. She reports not having given

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much thought to power as a concept, yet has been enthralled by the study of sociology (and what could be considered aspects of social power, such as social stratification and equity) most of her academic and professional life. While she resists any clear association with power as a concept ("I don't relate" "I don't think about that at all") the anecdotes she chooses to share reveal that she both uses and values aspects of power (including personal, positional, transcendent and transformational power). She is decidedly against structure, hierarchy and patriarchy, yet has chosen to spend her entire career within public school and university systems, both of which could be said to embody those attributes. She denies being headstrong, yet demonstrates a remarkable ability to "do her own thing" despite inevitable barriers, a quality, along with being "single minded", that she also admires in others. She steadfastly asserts her aversion to confrontation and a "shake things up" attitude, yet both implies and demonstrates a certain penchant for "going beyond the boundaries" and subverting the system . She places a great emphasis on collectivity and collaborative effort, yet approaches her own work in a manner which keeps her autonomous, and free to "fly in and out", attending to her "multithings". She tends to lead with the "big picture" in mind, yet deals with management issues at an individual level. She believes in collaborative, non-prescriptive approaches to leadership, yet values her ability to "cajole" people into doing what she believes is "the right thing to do". She feels very "affirmed" at being part of the majority culture, yet is matter-of-fact about having felt "Different. Other. Outside. But, you know, not necessarily worse" than her brothers and, later on, members of the "Old Boys' Network". Despite the fact that she is committed to feminist work on gender and admits the struggles she has had in her life have mostly been with men, she resists attributing "a cause and effect kind of thing" to gender itself. She has a high tolerance for (and even expectation of) ambiguity in both her personal and professional life ("A strategy presupposes that I have a clearly defined goal. And I don't"), yet she maintains a profound (almost spiritual) focus on her priorities, in terms of moral and ethical standards and approaches.

One could easily link her beliefs, perceptions and approach to the feminist "Power To" model (it *is* quite the perfect match...); yet that may be too easy and simplistic and "just not good enough". And so, my interpretation of Olivia's power identity remains open

ended, defying any specific label. As Olivia says, in reference to her "multithing" approach, "Whatever I am at any one point is sort of all of those things". Perhaps we should take Olivia's lead and not feel a need for specific words. After all, "it kind of presupposes, you know?"

Power Suit Costume

Olivia's Power Suit design consists of two layers. The outer layer is a loose, but fully tailored business suit make exclusively of sheer organza. This part of the power suit will be barely discernable (translucent as opposed to fully transparent), revealing the layer beneath. Like Olivia's power identity, this "see through" suit will come in and out of focus, depending on the light and angle at which it is seen. Its style, like the professional positions she holds, is a traditional one with tailored pants and jacket but roomier and less restricting. Olivia wears it very comfortably, never fussing or adjusting. She neither notices nor much cares that she's wearing it. Visually, the emphasis will be on the "inner form" of the second layer.

The second layer consists of a form fitting, flesh coloured body stocking which has been completely covered with tattoos. These images, like tattoos in general, are highly individual and symbolic statements, which have "become one" with the wearer. They are designs that cover the body and reveal the wearer's identity yet, unlike clothing, they cannot be put on and taken off. They also suggest a rebellious streak. None of Olivia's tattoos will extend beyond the collarbone, wrists or ankles. Her "subversivness" is largely hidden, worn under her clothes rather than displayed outright. Olivia knows they are there and that's all that matters.
These tatoos will include:
-   a **hamsa** (hand of Fatima) in the middle of the chest;
This ancient symbol, still popular in North Africa and the Middle East, depicts an eye in the middle of an open hand (some attributing it to the hand of Fatima, the revered daughter of the Muslim Prophet Mohammed.) It is used to ward off evil spirits and ensure the safety and good fortune of its owner. The eye and hand metaphor has also been explained as the "power of knowledge and vision through doing".
-   a **soaring owl** on the left upper arm;
The owl has long been associated with wisdom and knowledge; a soaring bird with a sense of and respect for freedom. Both are hallmarks of Olivia's power identity.
-   a **heart and roses** on the right forearm;
This tattoo represents Olivia's identity as a mother and a woman.
-   a **serpent**, wound around the right leg;
The serpent represents the inevitable barriers and opposition Olivia faces as a leader.
-   A leaf covered **vine** winding up the left leg, around the hips and torso, and up, over the right shoulder.This represents Olivia's organic, evolving power identity.

The character is barefoot and sports a highly stylized beehive hairdo. Both the hair style and the character's pose in the sketch will be reminiscent of *Sarasvati*, the goddess of learning and bestower of knowledge, wisdom and memory. She is held in high esteem in India (Bhattacharyya, 1983). This reference mirrors Olivia's role as an educator, whose emphasis is on knowledge, learning and transcendent, energic principles.

The "elegant" style of the figure as well as the watercolour medium serve both to represent Olivia's ephemeral power identity and suggest her "typically" feminine approach to power. At the same time, these elements contrast sharply with Olivia's irreverent and idiomatic speech, underlining the fact that no "feminine stereotype" can be taken for granted.

Set:

Olivia's quilted backdrop resembles a large, circular kaleidoscope image comprising several interlocking pieces and spheres. This backdrop represents Olivia's constructed world of "multithings"-- her many, multifaceted interests and endeavors that make up her career's work. The circular form also alludes to Olivia's "web-like" approach to communication and leadership. More generally, the quilting evokes the metaphoric, historic and feminist links between quilts/textiles and women's identities.

The costume and set designs have been presented together as one image to illustrate Olivia's intimate connection to the structures that comprise her "multithings".

Lighting will consist of two spotlights (left and right) each focussed on the character, centre stage. The spotlights are equipped with continuously rotating gels, of various hues and colours. A third, smaller spotlight is aimed at a mirrored (disco) ball, installed in front of the stage's proscenium arch. The reflected light from this ball will diffuse out, into the audience, "touching" each audience member.

Throughout the monologue, words and phrases will be projected randomly on and beyond the backdrop as the character delivers them (see script). These images will each remain for 5 seconds, then spiral toward the center of the backdrop and fade away. This effect will highlight and give emphasis to words having special meaning. At the same time, as words start appearing, swirling and overlapping, it will convey a slight sense of disorientation and "getting lost" in the truncated words and ideas that are popping up all around. These random words contribute to Olivia's "contradictory" Power Identity "Puzzle".

Olivia's Playwright Notes

What I hear is...

- humour, idiomatic expressions, spunk, a hint of irreverence, whimsy, a freespirit
- candor
- wisdom
- stream of consciousness, analysis, thinking things through
- contradictions
- truncated speech, divergent thoughts, lots of fillers (umm's, yeah's, well's, etc)

Olivia is not entirely sure how to approach a discussion re. "this stuff on power"... pauses, tentative statements, backtracks, revising and revisiting, etc... kind of "puts things out there" but doesn't seem married to a particular definition or idea. Having said that, specific words and phrases are very telling, within context (eg "cajoling") and should be highlighted to provide emphasis and flow (without being too structured).

Power is "something and nothing", "relevant but not"... in that she knows it's pervasive, but doesn't concern herself with thinking about it. It doesn't affect her own, centred self or world view.

Speech is divergent with thoughts and themes being revisited throughout. Try to unify the themes into chunks of text (with quotes from various places) in order to highlight important elements ... become more unified (and easier to follow without the framework of interview questions) while still allowing the spirit of Olivia's thought processes to come through.

Her terminology is idiosyncratic; she doesn't use terminology found in the power literature very often. It "isn't her".

Need a form that will honour her bent for story telling, infused with wisdom and peppered with irreverence and humour. That displays her multi faceted views and ability to approach things from different angles, "try things on for size", accept, reject, reinvent... without coming across as "monkey brained" ie) undisciplined ... because she *does* think about things deeply ... a lot of things at the same time. Her delivery is spontaneous, often uncensored and true.

She illustrates with stories; educates with references; sustains interest with humour and, well yes... she cajoles the listener into staying with her.

Olivia's web-like (collaborative, inclusive) approach comes through as she includes me in her interview. Monologue should capture that "You know? Wouldn't you? What is that?"etc

FORM:
Series of little stories punctuated by questions, comments and pithy insights directed at the audience. Wisdom almost like fairy dust... refreshing, spontaneous... it "touches you" without any grand pronouncements.

Last line "I assume I can be contradictory..." (laugh over shoulder and walks off)... power to leave, to let you come up with your own judgements, to keep her own analysis open to development...many things in one person)

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Profile II: Lorraine

Lorraine's Power Identity Profile

> *Me:* Look Mom... The remake of Joan of Arc is on TV. The one with
> Milla Javovitch, or whatever her name is...
>
> *Mom:* Oh... You watch it if you want. I don't really like the story of Joan
> of Arc.
>
> *Me:* Really?! But it's such a great example of Woman Power! How
> could you not like it?
>
> *Mom:* I don't know... I just find it so unsettling...
>
> > *Conversation with My Mother. June, 2002*

> *... I went to see this therapist once who said "Oh Lorraine. You're a
> sheep in wolf's clothing. And I thought "Oh my God. What does that
> mean-- a Sheep in Wolf's clothing?" I found it very disturbing. So that
> didn't work...*
>
> > *Excerpt from Lorraine's interview transcript*

Lorraine's power identity reveals the "double bind" experienced by professional women and articulated by Jamieson (1995). A women suffering because of her strength is unsettling; yet *not* to be considered strong is disturbing to power-minded women. Nowhere is this bind more dramatic than the *her*story of Joan of Arc where the legendary "Maiden Warrior" donned the armour, mission and role of men and fought her way from uneducated, pastoral obscurity to gendered victory (or infamy, depending on your point of view)... only to be branded a witch and heretic and burned at the stake. It is an image I could not keep out of my mind while analyzing Lorraine's interview transcripts. On both a metaphoric and literal level, the connection between these two women's power identities is striking.

I certainly had not anticipated the connection of Joan of Arc with Lorraine in my mind. Once established, I was still hesitant to make the association between Lorraine's power identity and the iconic figure, particularly seeing she never made the connection herself. But, try as I might, I could not keep the image at bay.

> *Now the flames, they followed Joan of Arc*
> *As she came riding through the dark*
> *No moon to keep her armour bright*
> *No man to get her through this dark and smoky night*
>
> *Leonard Cohen, 'Joan of Arc' from* Songs of Love and Hate, *1970*

Lorraine's identity is defined and driven by her perception of and need for power in its various forms. She sees power as confrontational and inevitable. "So my whole life--- and certainly my career-- has been a series of power struggles. Some which turned things around for the better and others for the worse". She frames and speaks of power in traditional, militaristic terms, equating it with "combat" "struggle" and "confrontation" and admits to having been conscious of and motivated by power from an early age "probably since I was about 15, or something". Hers has been an uphill battle, fought consistently, furiously and alone.

Admitting she watches power "like a hawk", she goes on to share a plethora of images, anecdotes and analyses that reveal her near obsession with the manifestations of power, as evidenced in her own life.

Despite her acknowledgement of an ideal "negotiated, collaborative sharing " model of power where "everybody's happy... and feels powerful. For sure, or, including myself especially" the metaphor she ultimately equates with her own definition of power is a survival situation where she is "self sufficient. Being very capable of looking after the self, being a survivor. Being able to live in a challenging environment... let's say surviving a week in the forest all alone, foraging for yourself and achieving, sort of, a

sense of peace, I think. Knowing you can survive and hike and climb and forage and hunt…and do all these things alone."

She said "I'm tired of the war
I want the kind of work I had before
A wedding dress or something white
To wear upon my swollen appetite".

Leonard Cohen, 1970

Lorraine's understanding of power is experiential and visceral. She knows that her experience of power is "very energy consuming. And very, to some extent, unhealthy". She acknowledges "nearly [having] had nervous breakdowns in the past" and the need for professional as well as social support in order to deal with the negative aspects of ongoing professional strife. With disarming candor, she refers to her undercurrent of self-doubt and vulnerability, wondering if she's "putting out the right image of, you know… "Trust me. I can do this" and feeling depressed when she "doesn't carry off [her] power persona like [she feels she] should".

Lorraine admits to being "plagued with self doubt from time to time" (almost, it seems, like a voice in her head that she can choose to listen to or not). She links her feelings of insecurity with her need to overcome the negative image of being "a poor farm kid" with little support. Yet her feelings of powerlessness and inadequacy always seem to be short lived, balanced by a fierce determination to move forward and succeed. The foundation of Lorraine's strength and ambition takes the form of "decrees", developed while she was still a teenager: to not get married before she was financially independent; to never get "trapped" by domestic life and unwanted pregnancies; to attain a graduate level education and to secure professional positions that would afford her autonomy and a sustained, comfortable standard of living.

"Well I'm glad to hear you talk this way
I've watched you riding every day

A "doer" who "doesn't take no for an answer", Lorraine is fiercely goal oriented, conceding that she "is not a waiting type person". Her style is to "knock on doors", present herself and her accomplishments in order to secure jobs and better positions, to "summon up the courage and challenge" her superiors when she is dissatisfied, and to "fight back" when colleagues "ride her", "undermine" her and treat her poorly. "I decided even if I have to risk losing this job I have to stand up for my rights". Her strategy as a person and a professional appears to be in line with the "strategy of the hierarchy", defined by Helgesen (1990) being "preoccupied with targeting position ("I need a very big position"); climbing the ladder ("...as I've climbed up the ladder it has gotten more complicated"); knocking out the competition, ("I fought him sooooooo hard the place was shaking"); playing factions against each other ("I got involved in a lot of pretty high level jockeying and risk taking, but it worked out. I was offered a great job at another organization"); and achieving an objective by manipulating the chain of command ("Well, I didn't let him stop me. I went over to personnel and I managed to land a job at the same level as this guy.") She is a "doer" who "doesn't take no for an answer". She attributes all of her success to her "ability to find [good jobs]... to suss them out and persist and fight for them...without any backers, without, you know, 'Put a good word in for Lorraine', you know what I mean?"

> *"And who are you?" She sternly spoke*
>
> *To the one beneath the smoke*
>
> *"Why, I'm fire", he replied*
>
> *"And I love your solitude. I love your pride".*

Leonard Cohen, 1970

Listening to Lorraine speak, you realize that the conflict leitmotif is far from a superficial metaphor based on image and terminology. Virtually every theme and aspect of power

she addresses is inherently conflictual. She views power sharing as the ideal, yet is both determined and compelled to fight battles on her own. She defines success in terms of autonomy "which I interpret as respect and power" and independence "I can...do...and say anything... to anybody", yet feels a need for domestic support "no wonder all of the men in the "Big League" have wives to support them and share the load...I guess I need a wife", connection and validation from others "I'm looking for interaction...I'm also really looking for affirmation that I'm doing OK. That, yes, you're successful and powerful, but you're doing OK. I still seem to seek that". She sees herself "as having a very powerful presence" yet concedes "that can be good ('when you connect in spirit, as you sometimes do') and bad ('I push buttons. I don't even have to speak')" and is perplexed by the negative effects it has made on her professional relationships. She frames her power and success in terms of position and authority, needing "that sense of voice, that sense of power, that sense that what I have is an important position, a recognized position" yet fights with issues concerning intrinsic self-worth and inner peace "is that the issue of power that we are all groping with? To achieve, or arrive at a sense of self power and self worth? I don't know". She believes in her ability to "get things done" and "make things happen" yet is continually confronted by "inefficient... ineffective... obstructionist-type people" whom she sees as being "threatened" by her and who see her as "some sort of bone in their craw". She admits to "wanting to be liked... I know, I KNOW. I've accepted it and I hate it" which means that she suffers "an enormous amount of stress and visiting therapists" and is often "devastated" when colleagues go out of their way to "root her out", "undermine" and "destroy" her.

Her life has been a series of "trials by fire".

> *"Well then, fire,*
> *Make your body cold.*
> *I'm gonna give you mine to hold"*
> *And saying this she climbed inside*
> *To be his one, to be his only bride.*

> *Leonard Cohen, 1970*

Throughout the interviews, Lorraine spoke very emotionally and candidly about specific episodes in her life that, presumably, have marked her and contributed to her understanding of power and power relations. It was interesting that she always seemed to return to those episodic anecdotes and made very clear links between these experiences and her power identity. The key issues leading to her power conflicts concern *territorial* aspects " he nudged me out... I was too 'in the way'"; *positional* aspects "If he had been the boss I probably would have been OK. But we were two people at the same level. And he obviously didn't want me there"; *physical* aspects "He seems quite insecure about his height-- that is definitely an issue. But I'm short. My God... if I were tall how would I be perceived? A mountain...?; *personal* aspects "I have problems when I get caught being too powerful. I am just too strong, have a voice, an opinion and they're not always welcome. You have to do what you're told, not say what you think" and *gender* related aspects "I would say this male/female power dimension has had a serious negative impact on my career in some ways. It started as a very powerful image for me in my life and has gotten extremely complex and challenging in a professional sense... as I've climbed up the ladder it has gotten more complicated and more difficult and more challenging. In workplace environments, for the most part. And even, sometimes in social situations...it's partly in relation to men's own confidence levels. Or people's confidence levels, perhaps is the issue. Because, yeh, I think I've had trouble with women as well..."

> *Then deep into his fiery heart*
> *He took the dust of Joan of Arc*
> *And high above all these wedding guests*
> *He hung the ashes of her lovely wedding dress.*

Leonard Cohen, 1970

Apart from her admission to having brought some of her problems on herself "I know that, in some cases I have contributed to these conflicts... At one point in particular I could say I had an attitude problem because things weren't working out", Lorraine seems genuinely perplexed "How could this have happened so often?" and wonders, "Why

can't everyone see that all I want to do is do a job and do it well and be supported?" Although she does sometimes recognize when a clash is about to occur (Oh oh. This was a bad idea. He's very insecure. Oh, oh, oh...) Lorraine reports "Not [being] conscious of [her tendency to 'push buttons'] when I'm in the situation so much as when I look back".

> *It was deep into his fiery heart*
> *He took the dust of Joan of Arc*
> *And then she clearly understood*
> *If he was fire Oh, she must be wood.*
>
> *Leonard Cohen, 1970*

As part of her need for a sense of power, Lorraine ultimately accepts what "goes with the territory"—the "inevitable confrontations" with people who resent strong, productive women whom they perceive as a threat. Despite the turmoil she experiences, Lorraine rarely voices the need to modify her behaviour or approach, preferring to "stand up for herself" and deal with the consequences.

> *I saw her wince; I saw her cry*
> *I saw the glory in her eye*
> *Myself I long for love and light*
> *But must it come so cruel? Must it be so bright?*
>
> *Leonard Cohen, 1970*

Leonard Cohen suggests that Joan of Arc's power quest proved both her legacy and her undoing-- a view not uncommon in the literature on women leaders. As Nicolson (1996) asserts "The decision for a woman to enter a profession, and to distinguish herself in some way from other women, has ensured either a 'fight to the death' or an opting out (which may in fact be the same thing)" (p. 68). We get the sense that Lorraine would never consciously choose the latter.

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Lorraine's character is undoubtedly strong and her motives forthright. But her power identity is conflicted, a reality that seems to be augmented by an antagonistic view of power that somehow doesn't completely fit... as if she has adopted a traditional/male model that she perceives as the right one, but that conflicts with other aspects of her gender and identity. She herself concedes there are "definitely lots of issues" including "gender, personality culture... all of that" and that she is "still trying to sort...and map them out". She wants to make it in a "man's world" but finds that "the men don't want me. It's true. And I'm sorry, but it's hard." Her biggest conflict, therefore, may be *internal* as she battles with her own private demons and expectations in an effort to *portray* an unflinchingly power*ful* power identity.

Have Lorraine's problems been because she herself is confrontational... or because she simply refuses to back down and "be taken advantage of"? Would a man have had the same experience? How much of how we view Lorraine's power identity (or indeed how Lorraine views her own) is marked by gendered stereotypes and expectations? Do we, as individuals and a society, still tend to be ambiguous over such strong, deliberate, "non-feminine" power identities in women? As Barstow (1986) muses with respect to Joan of Arc's power legacy, "Did [she] copy male patterns of success, or does her life offer women a model of autonomous female action?" (p. 121).

Just as history has yet to settle the riddle of Joan of Arc's identity: "Heroine or heretic?" (Williams, 1963) Lorraine's power identity is haunted by ambivalence. She has achieved everything she set out to do as a young girl and is comforted in the fact that "now, in my job, there are very few power struggles, which is just living in heaven on earth. Really. I just can't believe how peaceful it is". What she still seems to seek, however, is the most illusive power of all: peace of mind.

Power Suit Costume

Lorraine's costume is imposing, bold and dramatic. At first glance it is militaristic: a suit of armour. But the armour is not complete and, peeking out from between the pieces of metal are glimpses of contemporary women's attire.

The symbolism, like Lorraine's power identity itself, is blatant. She wears her armour as both a means of defence and offence. An impenetrable barrier to ride out any battle. But the pieces of armour are just that: pieces. And it is hard to tell whether Lorraine is in the process of suiting up or suiting down... maybe she just keeps those pieces on all the time. Perpetually ready any scuffle that may arise.

The contemporary garments between the armour are jarring, in the sense that you wouldn't expect them to be there. At least, not with armour. They are natural, ordinary things for a woman to wear: a bra, flowered skirt, a watch... but don't quite "fit" the medieval, military style. They are more or less obvious, depending on how Lorraine stands and moves. Tied to her standard pole is a man's silk tie, a symbol of Lorraine's desire to "be one of the Big Boys". A pearl necklace represents her desire for financial gain. And a large wrist watch belies her frantic concern for success within specific time frames.

I have chosen two items with red: the shoes at the base of the "pillar" and the flowered skirt, to evoke the "flames of conflict" alluded to so often in her discourse on power.

This sketch employs *découpage* as a medium to visually reinforce the dissonance inherent to Lorraine's power identity. Photocopies of Ingres' study sketches of the armour worn by Joan of Arc, reassembled and juxtaposed with women's garments from the Sears catalogue produce an oddly coherent yet conflicting image. The costume is presented as an overlay to the set, suggesting Lorraine's power identity and the power structures within which she works are not ideally matched.

Set

The set is stark, with one square pillar erected, centre stage. The pillar represents the vertical, hierarchical structures and systems within which Lorraine works, as well as her own views of ascension and success. (Some audience members may associate it with phallic imagery).

The pillar is slightly menacing, reminiscent of the stake to which Joan of Arc was tied and burned as a heretic. The red pumps at its base evoke the flames. For Lorraine on stage, the pillar is a constant presence, looming over her and casting long, black shadows from different directions, with every switch of the spotlight. The final spotlight is situated at the base of the pillar where Lorraine is standing, shining upwards, illuminating her facial features like a flame of light. Another blatant reference to Joan of Arc's final "trial by fire".

On close inspection, you see the pillar is actually encased in a dark, quilted design, evoking the metaphoric, historic and feminist links between quilts/textiles and women's identities.

The speaker, from which Lorraine's "inner voice" is broadcast, is situated high up, behind the all-black backdrop.

Lorraine's Playwright Notes

What I hear is...

- militaristic imagery, terminology
- uses the word "power" a lot
- overt references to conflict
- visceral, honest
- choppy, truncated speech
- seems to think in images
- recounting of dialogues, thoughts and feelings
- strong, deliberate speech interspersed with moments of self doubt, questioning, wistfulness
- extremely candid
- evidence of self analysis
- divergent, image laden speech; lots of "throwing ideas out there"
- fairly consistent in terms of definitions, images
- fiercely goal oriented, driven

Very up-front about her perception of power as a struggle, combat. One that has consumed her from a very early age. Yet, despite this , she struggles to define what it is exactly-- even her discourse becomes a battleground, rife with militaristic terminology metaphors... very clearly defined and drawn sides... and evidence of psychological, emotional and even physical conflict-- with herself as well as others.

Lorraine uses the word "power" a lot; subscribes to it, likes being identified with it

Synthesize the various power elements and episodes she refers to throughout. Use as themes to organize script.

FORM:

Main text interspersed with secondary voice in italics (her inner voice? conscience? driving force?... link to "God's" voice in Joan's head)

Profile III: Kate

Kate's Power Identity Profile

Kate's power identity is balanced and consistent; the most recent chapter in a long history of lived and analyzed experience. Her discourse on power belies her professional persona as well as her analytic nature, offering a thorough, well-developed and remarkably articulate summary of power in all of its forms. Seeing it "at this stage in [her] life" as "the ability to influence individuals...and decision making...and to effect change", she offers insights into the practical as well as the theoretical aspects of power, having both "lived" and "studied" power intimately over the course of her career. She admits to having been "more preoccupied" with power previously than she is now and speaks of power primarily in terms of her professional and organizational positions.

Inasmuch as Kate defines power as the ability to influence, it is important to note that her own style is to "develop more authority, more influence as I build longer term relationships in a place for a longer period of time"). As her discourse reveals, she is not someone who "makes an immediate impression" but rather impresses people as a matter of course with her quiet but professional and wise ways and her evolving, thoroughly developed and substantiated ideas. She "doesn't really know why" her power presence is so slow to impress, but feels it is "true for a number of women".

The thing that characterizes Kate's discussion of power is her inherent professionalism. She models the ideals she equates with the ability to influence including: the ability to communicate effectively, to be thorough and prepared, to look at things from multiple perspectives, to emphasize and facilitate group process, to have a sense of humour and to present herself well. She is able and willing to reflect on her own shortcomings as well as her strengths and admits to making an effort to control "gut reactions" in order to live up to her "intellectual beliefs".

Kate is comfortable talking about power and, while she stops short of considering herself power*ful* ("Am I a powerful person? You know, it's a good question and I don't want to be coy about it... I really don't know"), she acknowledges that her position and authority do heighten her ability to be taken seriously, be listened to ("You know, you can say something till you're blue in the face. And then, when you become the director ... people listen") and to influence change ("I'm the one who forces a decision to be made because I am the Director"). She admits she "sort of like(s) being in charge" and, at this stage, "could be effective" in a hierarchical organization if she were "near the top".

Kate makes very clear links between her experiences (as a person and a professional) and her views and understanding of power. Having been brought up in a traditional home with a strict and critical father ("Which just solicited, for me, a lot of anger") she rejects overly authoritarian structures and approaches to leadership but admits that when the decision making lines in an organization are unclear, organizational confusion results. Her experience in an organization with a "weak" director led her to explore the negative aspects of having an exclusively non formal power structure and to accept that "there are times (as a leader) when you have to be authoritarian (and) make tough decisions" even when it's uncomfortable to do so.

In some respects, Kate's power identity embraces the traditional power bases offered by French & Raven (1959). She very clearly sees herself as the leader in position and role ("It's true! I don't see myself in the middle with my authority radiating out... I am still up here"). As spokesperson for her organization, she acknowledges that she must be seen to be an expert in her field; as the head of the organization, she admits that she is privy to information where others are not and is able to interact with high ranking people of authority; she is very clear about her legitimate responsibilities as leader of the organization and the reality of having the ability ("theoretically") of providing both rewards and sanctions. The important distinction, however, is that, while Kate sees her role as influencing change, she never speaks of the need to "induce compliance" and "influence the behaviour of others" (Hersey & Blanchard, 1988, p. 217). In theory and in practice, she values the contributions of the entire staff ("I try to operate with a team

mentality") and admits that she is "not the one with the best ideas" but rather the one who synthesizes and brings together the achievements of the collective whole. Moreover, she never quantifies her abilities in terms of her own power but rather sees them as "natural" aspects of positional leadership and aspects which must be contextualized and used in a thoughtful way. Her focus is balanced between her responsibilities as a leader and the holistic as well as practical needs of the organization and its members.

Interestingly, Kate has actually changed the organizational culture within which she works. Citing the problems of poor communication as well as a lack of clarity, good planning processes and effective human resource policies, she eventually saw the need to move from a hierarchical structure with a centralized locus of control to one where "people really do take responsibility" and work as a collaborative team. The resulting organization is "a pretty female environment" that is "family friendly" and places an emphasis on "doing a good job" as opposed to "just getting ahead". The reality is that it is quite literally a female environment-- out of a staff of 21 people, only five are men-- ("I'm not opposed at all to having men on staff...but, I mean-- I like working with women because of their attention to detail and follow up...other people have said it makes a difference too—and it works well, it works well...").

Kate is very aware of and interested in the gendered aspect of power and leadership. She wonders whether women leaders are inherently more "moral, collaborative and cooperative (working) in a society which doesn't necessarily support that". She believes that, while her "default position" is a "smart alecky persona" (which she has developed as a means of "hardening herself up" and which may make others uncomfortable), like many women, she is concerned about the wellbeing of her colleagues and perhaps cares too much about whether or not people like her. She identifies with women who, despite having a more extroverted role as spokesperson, have introverted personalities-- a situation she feels "takes a lot of energy" and "takes a toll".

Kate does speak of the need for affirmation and validation of her effort ("a sense of making a contribution, of being important, of being noticed") and finds it, for the most

part, in her work. She tells of situations that "give her a buzz" such as heading up a high level lobby campaign, but says that her thresholds of stress, like her confidence levels, fluctuate. The most difficult aspect of her role comes when it is necessary to lay off staff, a negative reality that causes her acute physical as well as emotional discomfort.

While Kate has achieved considerable success in her career, she has "never thought... in terms of gaining power or climbing the ladder". As a child, she had both a natural affinity and opportunity for leadership roles and achieved them "without having to seek them out so much". Speaking of her success as a professional she says "it just kind of happened". As she nears an age where she could start thinking about retirement, she seems happy with her accomplishments as a professional, but also worries that her emphasis on a career has prevented her from developing other equally important aspects of life-- ("I can't even knit, you know!... But seriously...I think it's a lack")-- things that could occupy her time and interest when she doesn't have "the framework of a job". Within this context, Kate brings up the idea of succession, her pride in her work ("I think I've done a good job here and I think the organization's in good shape") and the need to re-evaluate both personal and organizational goals ("I think for me personally... and for the organization too, it's not a bad idea to have somebody else come in and re-evaluate its vision and its role. It's time").

And so, for Kate, another chapter of her power identity is about to begin...

Kate's Designer Notes

Power Suit Costume

Kate's Power Suit has classic elements (the silhouette and blue, pin stripe fabric) as well as individualized ones (the asymmetric cut of the jacket and accessories). Overall, the suit becomes less traditional and more complex as you notice the understated but "clever" details and accessories. Like her own power identity, Kate's suit impresses with time and attention, rather than making a dramatic impact at first glance.

Kate wears her power suit well. She appears comfortable yet professional, availing herself of all the discreet but handy features incorporated in her suit's design.
- White gloves, to handle delicate matters as well as to "dig in" and do unpleasant jobs when necessary;
- Deep pockets from which she draws necessary supplies throughout the monologue;
- A wide belt holding a cell phone, beeper, electronic organizer... in order to stay connected with staff and member organizations;
- Large glasses in order to read the details and fine print in her work;
- Sensible black pumps, to go from meeting to meeting within her organization, or from her organization to external functions;
- Draped fabric attached to her belt to adapt as needed: a shawl for warmth, an updated look for an important meeting or function.

Her hairstyle is simple, yet regal in a slightly outlandish way... brushed straight up from her face, giving her a look half-way between a librarian (analytic, studious, sincere) and Queen Elizabeth I (strong, independent, and in charge).

The medium of the sketch is pencil crayon and marker-- practical and versatile with clean lines.

Set

The set is divided into four quadrants, representing the "Four Dimensions of Power" (Power over; Structural; Power through/with others and Personal). One prop is in each quadrant: a desk in the "Power over" section; a filing cabinet in the "Structural" section; a water cooler in the "Power through/with others" section; and an armchair in the "personal" section.

Each section is equipped with natural looking but slightly different coloured lights, and as Kate walks from one to the other the lighting sequence follows.

Kate's backdrop comprises four distinct quilted squares, mirroring the four quadrants on stage. The quilting evokes the metaphoric, historic and feminist links between quilts/textiles and women's identities.

<u>Kate's Playwright Notes</u>

What I hear is...

- balanced
- pragmatic
- analytic
- insightful
- structured
- consistent

Kate is very comfortable talking about power; she has experienced and analyzed it during her career. Obviously very clear about her understanding, yet open to discussion.

Her definition and views of power are clear, concise and thoughtful. They are also extremely consistent throughout the interviews. She uses terminology and refers to concepts found in both the traditional and feminist power literature.

As a speaker, Kate is articulate and well organized. She presents her thoughts in a clear, logical sequence with very few pauses or fillers. Everything she says seems insightful and important. Very professional yet down to earth and accessible.

While her speech is not dramatic or idiomatic, it is infused with laughter and personality. She both inspires and awes the listener in a confident, yet unassuming way.

FORM:

Long, well developed and organized narrative. Straight text without gimmicks or special effects. Like her power identity, her speech becomes more noteworthy and impressive with time and attention. Hers is the quiet voice of reflective wisdom and experience...well worth taking the time to listening to and learn from.

Issues of Representation

Below is a summary of issues I had to contend with while analyzing, developing and representing the women's power identities:

1) Balancing voices: the women leaders' and my own
Oscar Wilde writes:

> *Every portrait that is painted with feeling is a portrait of the artist, not the sitter. The sitter is merely an accident, the occasion. It is not he who is revealed by the painter; it is rather the painter, who, on the coloured canvas, reveals himself. The reason I will not exhibit this picture is that I am afraid that I have shown the secret of my soul.*
>
> Oscar Wilde, *The Picture of Dorian Gray*

Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis (1997) surmise that portraiture is a "paradoxical paradigm" where the researcher's voice is everywhere—"overarching and girding the text, framing the piece, naming the metaphors, and echoing through the central themes"(p. 85). But, as a researcher, my voice could never overshadow the participants' voices. I knew that my voice had to be "premeditated, restrained, disciplined and carefully controlled" (p. 85). The challenge was to take full advantage of the insights of personal vision (that is, the researcher as instrument) without caving in to personal prejudice (that is, research as self expression).

In order to do this, I tried to identify and work with overarching themes, such as "learning experiences", "evolving definitions of power", and "recurring themes". A great deal of time was spent listening to and reading the participants' interviews-- from different vantage points and with a variety of approaches-- until themes resonated and ideas emerged. Whenever I thought I had "clicked into" something, I went back to the transcripts and sought corroborating detail.

Finally I sought to literally capture the women's voice by using nothing but their own words. In this way, I have allowed them to "sing the solo lines [while] supporting their efforts at articulation, insight and expressiveness"(Lawrence-Lightfoot and Hoffmann Davis, 1997, p. 85).

2) *Balancing the participants' unique voices*

At various times throughout the inquiry process I was concerned as to how the participants would be perceived-- by others and themselves-- when viewed through my artistic and analytic filter. I wanted to represent their distinct characteristics with integrity and honesty but without making any of them appear "better or worse" than the others. I was worried that Olivia's portrait would appear too scattered and theatrical, but didn't want to impose a structure to her monologue that stifled her spontaneous and serendipitous nature. I worried that Lorraine would appear too neurotic if I used all of her "confessions" but needed to show her inherent vulnerability at the opposite spectrum of her quest for power. I worried that Kate would appear too studied and less spontaneous (and therefore less "fun" or "dramatic") than the other two women. As a whole, I worried that, because the emergent power identities were "three perfect points of a triangle"... all part of the same culture with similar backgrounds, but with clearly distinct approaches, beliefs and perceptions, it would appear just TOO interesting in terms of contrast... too... staged. But Olivia's speech IS witty, contradictory and inherently engaging; Lorraine's speech IS dramatic-- with machine gun spurts of contrast and conflict; and Lorraine really DOES speak in well formulated, balanced and detailed "chunks" of thought-- as if she had written and rehearsed her script.

3) *Balancing the aesthetic/theatrical considerations*

As Day (1991) asserts, "the very forms, techniques, materials, methods of production, and display of visual images are not ideologically neutral, but rather have an established meaning in American society" (p. 4). As such, every decision concerning the aesthetic and theatric elements of the portraits (not to mention the literary ones) has the potential to "speak" to the reader/viewer/audience in not only different, but also unintentional ways. I have tried to choose elements including icons (such as Joan of Arc) metaphors (such as

the power suit), props (such as the office water cooler) and fabrics (such as the navy blue pinstripe) that have clear associations in our culture.

AFTERWORD

CHAPTER VI

Summary of Findings

This chapter summarizes findings and insights concerning: a) the women leaders' power identities b) studies on women and power and c) my own experience as an arts-based researcher. It concludes with suggestions for further research.

The Women's Power Identities

The findings of this study suggest that the three women leaders have diverse, individual ways of conceptualizing, talking about and relating to power. As the portraits illustrate, Olivia, Lorraine and Kate are very different in terms of how they *perceive* of power (whether they see it as positive, negative or neutral, the descriptors and metaphors they use to describe it); how they *identify* with power (how much attention they pay to it; whether or not they see themselves as "having it"; whether, as the literature suggests, it is or is "not them"); and how they *use* power (as women, as professionals, as leaders).

Olivia

Olivia's power identity is ephemeral and antithetical to the traditional, patriarchal norms and dictates concerning power. Of the three participants, her power identity could be viewed as the most "stereotypically feminine" in terms of her desire to avoid confrontation (Miller & Stiver, 1997) and her reticence to: "name power" (Griscom, 1992), admit wanting power (Miller, 1982), attribute power to herself (Lips, 1991) or to maintain a "power agenda" (Kearney & White, 1994). She reveals a distaste, not only for the words associated with traditional concepts of power (such as "hierarchy" and "boss"), but also for the "repugnant" idea of having "power over" others. In practical terms, she sees power as the ability to bring people together, to create things and "get things done" in a "cajoling" kind of way, finding the routine trappings of power "time consuming,

burdensome and annoying". In this way, power is both "everything and nothing"-- a contradictory view that permeates her discourse on power.

Olivia's priorities centre on her ability to work within and maintain a "moral ground". Her "way of being" is consistent with the feminist "web of connection" model (Helgesen, 1995) based on holistic, relational and collaborative world-views. Preferring "win/win" approaches that value everyone's contributions, her beliefs and approaches are consistent with the "Power To" model of empowerment (Wheeler & Chinn, 1991) as well as the "Personal", "Through/With Others" (Marshall, 1984), "Transformational" and "Transcendent" (Regan & Brooks, 1995) elements of the more inclusive feminist models.

Lorraine

At first glance, Lorraine's power identity appears to mirror the traditional literature on power. She identifies strongly with power at both a conceptual and individual level, exhibiting examples of what Helgesen (1990) calls a "strategy of the hierarchy". She uses the word "power" readily and frequently cites her need and desire to achieve powerful positions and achievements. Acknowledging there are "two kinds of power": a "healthy... collaborative and mutually empowering" model and another characterized by conflict, she identifies almost exclusively with the latter.

While at a practical and microscopic level Lorraine exhibits personal characteristics of the "power over" model-- including a dominant personality, motive and attitude (Yoder, 1992), her power identity is tempered and complicated by conflicting elements concerning gender, identity and self esteem. This is consistent with the feminist literature that attributes the androcentric nature of socialized ideals (Miller, 1982; Miller, 1984; Miller & Stiver, 1997) and organizational cultures (Halford & Leonard, 2001; Nicolson, 1996) to women's self destructive feelings and conflicted views of power (Gilligan & Brown, 1992; Wolf, 1993). While her goals are external (including achieving high positions and making a good salary), her focus is inward, concentrated on her own needs in terms of self-actualization, self sufficiency and acceptance by herself and others. She emphasizes the need to "feel" powerful as opposed to "be" powerful, a distinction which

is made repeatedly in her interviews: when she describes "the ultimate" aspect of power as being capable of "bringing everybody to feel powerful"; her image of a powerful person as someone who can survive alone in the forest, building self confidence and who, ultimately, achieves a sense of peace; her need to feel that she has accomplished her goals and gained the respect and recognition of her colleagues and family. In sharp contrast to the traditional power models where people strive to distance themselves from and control others (Wheeler & Chin, 1991) and define their success in terms of how well they have achieved that goal (Clinite, 2000), Lorraine's objective is transcendent. Her ultimate goal is not really power over *others* but rather power over *herself* (an aspect of the "power-to" model of empowerment, described by Bandura [1989] as the "control one feels over one's own thoughts, feelings and behaviours"), in order to achieve her self imposed series of benchmarks and "decrees".

It seems that, because Lorraine wants to be perceived as powerful in order to feel powerful herself, she has adopted vestiges of power that are not really "her", but rather reflect her perception of what society values as powerful (Miller & Cummins, 1992). This paradox is clearly revealed in an anecdote where she stopped seeing a therapist who called her a "sheep in wolf's clothing". She found his reference to her "gentle side" troublesome and upsetting. In this way, her external and internal "power images" collide, as she battles "psychological boundaries between self, social context and [her] sense of gendered subjectivity" (Nicolson, 1996).

Kate

Kate's power identity displays a consistent, balanced understanding and use of power as a multi-faceted concept which can be either positive or negative, depending on the context . Seeing power as a means or tool to *influence* without necessarily *dictating* change, she is conscious of her need to balance professional and personal ideals. Of the three women leaders, Kate is the most representative of the inclusive feminist power models, incorporating a balanced array of traditional as well as feminist "alternative" perspectives.

While Kate speaks in terms of traditional power and embraces some of the tenets of traditional power theory (such as the need for clear lines of communication and visible, formal leadership), she eschews the premise that, in order to be effective as a leader, she must be authoritarian in thought and practice. Like Regan and Brooks (1995), she sees a need for "either/or and both/and" behaviours, depending on the circumstances and demonstrates all three elements of the "Double-Helix Power Metaphor": Traditional, Transformational and Transcendent. Similarly, while she acknowledges there are "better and worse ways" to handle issues and while she reveals a propensity for certain approaches over others (admitting, for example that, while she's good at working "through/with others" she is "not a very good teacher and coach") she values almost all of the elements outlined in Marshall's (1984) "Four Dimensional Map of Power". Finally, Kate's profile is consistent with the "Emerging Female System" model (Schaef, 1981) where women trust their own ability to incorporate diverse approaches and understandings of power.

As we see, Kate's power identity is neither traditional nor anti-traditional; it is an example of the balanced, inclusive understanding espoused by contemporary feminist theorists such as Josefowitz (1980), Marshall (1984), Regan and Brooks (1995) and Wolf (1993).

The Three Women's Power Identities

Looking beyond the individual differences and distinctions between Olivia's, Lorraine's and Kate's power identities we see that what they have in common is an *inclusive* feminist view of power. When we really listen to what they *say* and what they *value*, we realize that, while they may accept certain traditional aspects of power, *none* of them speak *exclusively* in the terms defined by the traditional (male) theorists. Far from talking about power as a "limited commodity", a "top-down-model of control" or a means of distinguishing between success and failure (such that androcentric and patriarchal systems would have us believe) all emphasize recurrent themes common to feminist understandings. These include:

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The Importance of Identity (i.e. their sense of self in terms of gender, personality, culture, family, and generation); *The Importance of Learning* (especially the role their family life as girls and personal experiences as women in the workplace have shaped their understanding of power and identity); *The Importance of Context* (in terms of what is acceptable as well as what is reasonable to assume in terms of their own power identities); *The Relevance of Gender* (in terms of socialization, working relations and organizational culture); *The Promise of Equality* (in terms of people's inherent worth— including our own-- as humans and colleagues); *The Importance of Process* (with an emphasis on *how* things are done in terms of moral integrity); *The Importance of Connection* (as a means of working, communicating, achieving and receiving validation. They were also conscious of their connection to the historic and collective identity of women); *The Importance of Transparency* (in terms of working process and relationships as well as their own ability to self evaluate); *The Reality of Conflict* (in its various forms and manifestations including physical discomfort, psychological duress, emotional stress, particularly when their personal, gendered and ethical ideals were compromised); *The Importance of Wellbeing* (both for themselves and others); and *The Need for Standards* (in terms of both personal and organizational integrity and professionalism).

It is important to note that, while the three women's power identities are clearly feminist in terms of their values, they are not simply the antitheses of traditional and patriarchal models. Just as they do not fit prescribed dictates of an "anti feminist" view, they also don't fit with what Tong (1989) calls the equally bi-polar "matriarch's unitary truth". They portray identities not completely severed from our societal traditions and understandings concerning power, but rather could be seen to be grounded in the "best of both worlds"-- both traditional and feminist.

This study suggests, therefore, that power theory must expand beyond any model that is based exclusively on prescribed and binary views. Just as models representing only the male views and experiences are, at best, only "half of the story" and, at worst, immoral and wrong (Regan & Brooks, 1995) we see that binary feminist models excluding every

aspect of traditional power theory are equally limiting and non reflective of contemporary women leaders' views and experiences.

An Image of the Three Women's Power Identities

Because the intent of this study was neither to generalize nor isolate the women's realities, I struggled with a way of representing the women's power identities-- at once similar and different--without betraying this seemingly irreconcilable dichotomy. How could I summarize my findings succinctly when each of the women's identities are so admirably and necessarily complex? I finally resorted to an image I have long used to describe my two sisters and myself— three points of an equilateral triangle-- each remarkably different in terms of looks, character, skills, interests and priorities. Yet clearly and happily products of our shared contexts, history, and biology.

Here then, is my "imagistic summary" of the three women's power identities.

Three Points of a Triangle: The Participants' Power Identities
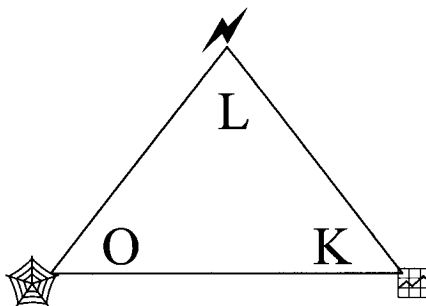
The triangular form "connotes an ancient symbol for both women and the Goddess" (Chicago, 1996, p. 10), and symbolizes inherent "Woman Power". The points are each adorned with an iconographic finial: Olivia's *Web*, representing her strategies of connection and creation; Lorraine's *Lightening Bolt*, representing her understanding and experience of power as conflict; and Kate's *Line Graph*, representing her balanced, analytic approach to positional power. While they are all connected, sharing similar histories, positions, gendered and generational identities and contexts, they are remarkably distinct , each with a particular vantage point, form and style.

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Studies on Women and Power

As a result of having undertaken this inquiry I have gained the following insights:

1) Framing studies with the 'women-power-representation nexus' filter allows us to understand not only individual women's issues but also the pervasive and, at times, insidious nature of sociological and aesthetic power ideologies in our culture.

2) In order to fully understand contemporary issues on women and power, we must study what has gone before. Thorough, separate reviews of the literature as well as interdisciplinary studies concerning women, power and representation make us aware of otherwise obscure factors and allow us to appreciate the complexity of women's relationship with power.

3) The nature and degree of our understanding of power as well as the emphasis we give the concept may be based as much on our own characters, gender and lifelong experiences as on our ideological perceptions and priorities.

4) In our society, power could be characterized as "a wolf in sheep's clothing". Despite its importance and connection to every aspect of social life, actually *finding* studies and stories on women and power was not as easy as one might assume. In my review of the literature as well as my analysis of the participants' interviews, I often had to infer when power was being discussed because of a certain reticence (at times by the participants, as well as more generally by feminist academics, sociologists and psychologists) to actually use the word "power". Similarly, by listening to the participants' power discourses, we see that what they *talk about* and what they *say* is oftentimes contradictory and in need of careful analysis.

5) Studies of power are inevitably complex because of the different conceptual, ideological, societal and experiential understandings people have. Like all of the "grand conceptual entities" (e.g. democracy, love, success), we feel we understand them more than we can concretely define them. The fact that we cannot finitely define it however, while frustrating in an empirical sense, also attests to its power of possibilities.

6) The "unexpected" and the "real" are sometimes one and the same. As Judy Chicago found in her work with women artists in the 60's, that which we expect to see from women may be what we have been conditioned or socialized to believe is true rather than what is inherently real.

7) While gender does not dictate how women identify with power, it proved to be an underlying qualifier in all three cases.

8) Similarly, while all three participants hesitated to link organizational conflict to issues of gender, all three acknowledged having had more problems with men than with women. Interestingly, in all three cases, the anecdotes they chose to illustrate the negative aspects of power all took place within what appear to have been patriarchal organizational cultures.

9) All three women mention the mid teens (specifically 15 years) as a pivotal age, when they became conscious of various aspects of power.

10) Throughout their lives and careers, the three women show a preference for creating their own opportunity instead of inheriting patriarchal realities. Olivia has always enjoyed creating her own "multithings" but experiences acute dissonance for the first time when she inherits a project from the "Old Boys' Club". Kate reports feeling a sense of satisfaction at having transformed a hierarchical organization into a positive, family friendly and "female" environment. Lorraine repeatedly creates her own opportunities, yet always works within large, hierarchical and patriarchal organizations. Perhaps not coincidentally, she reports having *always* been mired in conflict.

11) The long-held supposition that women are inherently and effusively nurturing may have to be qualified. While all three women showed a concern for others, they did so to varying degrees and did not concentrate on their need to support and empower others as a matter of course. Kate dealt specifically with this issue, saying it was the role of a friend rather than a colleague to attend to someone's emotional and psychological needs. She believes a sound human resource policy is both more appropriate and effective for these kinds of issues.

12) Conflict associated with non Western cultural norms did not seem to be a significant qualifier and was rarely, if ever, discussed in terms of power. Only Lorraine made

any reference at all to cultural aspects, saying her "powerful presence...doesn't fit" with a lot of (non Western) male dominated cultures. This surprised me, as I had suspected that women leaders working within the context of international development would see culture as an extremely significant element. No conclusions may be made, but the fact raised by Olivia after one of our interviews (that Western development organizations still tend to embody Western mores and structures, to the extent where "bilateral" projects may still be perceived as "Western") could explain this phenomenon.

13) Great insight may be gained by placing women and women's voices at the heart of inquiries on power rather than by focussing exclusively on quantifiable data and external data sources.

14) Inquiries focussing on women's understanding of power reveal a wealth of information concerning issues related to, among other things, leadership, management, education and socialization.

Studies such as this that shed light on how women actually think and make sense of their work and lives are critical "pieces of the story" for, among other people, those involved with leadership development. As educators and academics we would be remiss to limit our representations of "truth" and "reality" to traditional male-centred studies that only represent half the population. As women continue to strive and succeed in taking their rightful places as leaders in organizations and society, we must actively search for and develop examples of what "powerful women" look and sound like.

The three women in this study illustrate the importance of diverse, individualized inquiry approaches in order to appreciate the nuance and contradiction inherent to women's thoughts and feelings about power. It supports the view that, as researchers, educators and members of society, we must move beyond limited, stereotypical and binary views of women and power. Moreover, we must resist the urge to define women's power identities in terms of what they are *not* (i.e. traditional, hierarchical, and male centred) but rather in terms of what they *are*: evocative, sometimes provocative and highly *individualized* female power identities.

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My Experience as an Arts-Based Researcher

I have long viewed moments of creative and aesthetic inspiration as 'mini miracles' because something always seems to come from nothing. But, increasingly, I realize nothing ever comes from nothing. Everything we do or think springs from our past, who we are, our needs, desires, taste... So now I realize creativity may not be about making something from nothing... but rather in having (or allowing) nothing to block the process... the process of finding and re-finding... presenting and re-presenting... our inherent will and destiny... and in so doing... we recreate ourselves.

Journal Entry, September, 2001

As a Master's student, this has been my first real attempt to "do" research. Like many of my peers I was a bit intimidated, not knowing whether I had "what it took" in academia. My story, like Lawrence Lightfoot's story of how her genre of portraiture developed "is a story that can only be told in retrospect because it seemed to evolve as much out of intuition, autobiography, and serendipity as it did from purposeful intention" (1997, p.3).

Piantenida and Garman (1999) reject the notion that new researchers "find" or even "choose" their topic. They have found that "...novice scholars have within themselves embryonic images that can be fashioned into credible and worthy studies. The task is not to look for or choose a topic, but rather to get in touch with these nebulous, inner images and to bring them into clearer relief" (p. 19).

For me, shaping my topic and approach was a lengthy but ultimately fulfilling process. I fluctuated from feelings of exhilaration to dread knowing that, in some sense, my Master's thesis could "define" my academic identity, my abilities as a graduate student as well as possible paths for the future. The "problem" was that what I sensed would be the "ultimate study" for me ideologically, conceptually and methodologically, didn't fit with what I thought to be "real research". When I connected with the literature on arts based

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research, however, everything "clicked". As Piantanida and Garman (1997) maintain, "Ultimately, it seems that the breakthrough occurs as students grapple with their own studies and begin to find literature and scholars with whom they resonate" (p. xvi).

My 'maiden voyage' as an arts based researcher has been long (many would say unnecessarily long) but overwhelmingly rich. In their edition on arts-based inquiries, Diamond and Mullen (1999) distinguish between the "research tourist" and the "research traveler", suggesting, "The tourist just wants the dissertation done" and not be terribly bothered by the process of internal change. In contrast, the traveler stays 'out there' on the margins, pursuing inquiry as a way of life" (p. 227). I now know that I did the study I *had* to do and, not surprisingly in retrospect, that I did it the same way I have done everything in my life-- as a traveler. In some small way I identify with Salman Rushdie who writes,

> *Our lives teach us who we are...Obviously, a rigid, blinkered, absolutist*
> *world view is the easiest to keep hold of, whereas the fluid, uncertain,*
> *metamorphic picture I've always carried about is rather more vulnerable.*
> *Yet I must cling with all my might to my own soul; I must hold on to its*
> *mischievous, iconoclastic, out-of-step clown-instincts, no matter how great*
> *the storm. And if that plunges me into contradiction and paradox, so be it;*
> *I've lived in that messy ocean all my life. I've fished in it for my art... It*
> *is the sea by which I was born, and which I carry with me wherever I go.*
>
> *(Rushdie, 1991, p. 8)*

Throughout this study I found inspiration and solace from the pioneering aesthetic inquirers who have gone before. Like Richardson (1992) who wrote about her experience of having creating a dramatic monologue from interview transcripts, I felt "transformed and more integrated" when my researcher self and artist self "found each other". I too found that, through art, I was able to "decenter [my] unreflexive self so as to create a space for [my] experiencing self " and was "left feeling both exhilarated and more

cautiously contemplative about what 'doing research' meant. It no longer seemed sterile, ritualized and narrowly conceived" (p. 53).

Among the lessons I have learned I realize:

1) *Our stories are powerful mediums for change.* Emphasis on the personal and the particular was more compelling and real to me than a generalized study. I identified with aspects of each of the women's power identities and was inspired not only by their success but also by their humour and humanity-- characteristics that rang throughout their monologues. Through their stories Olivia, Lorraine and Kate have taught me a great deal in terms of leadership strategies, the role of perception and the nature of learning and growth. Through their stories I see aspects of leadership, organizational culture and education in a new light.

2) *How we represent women's stories is critical.* It is all too easy to adopt "accepted" norms of representation in terms of power and women's identities, a practice which will continue to "dictate how organizational structure, design and language determine our definition of power, professionalism and success" (Clinite, 2000, p. 2). We must strive to not only undertake research *on* women but, equally importantly, research *for* women defined by Klein (1983 as cited in Adler et al., 1993) as "research that tries to take account of woman's needs, interests and experiences, and aims at being instrumental in improving women's lives in one way or another" (p. 57). Research representing women *as seen by other women* must become part of the equation.

3) *Language is important:* Researchers have a critical role to play in the perpetuation or cessation of stereotypes. I found myself equating "traditional" with "androcentric" and "patriarchal" when, in fact, they can and should be distinct. Like the word "power", "traditional" is, in itself, a neutral term-- neither good nor bad, but dependant on the context and outcome. While traditional views may indeed be both androcentric and patriarchal, they are not necessarily so. Similarly, the terms "feminist" and "feminism", which are often used (myself being no exception) as if

they have clear, monolithic and positive meanings and connotations may equally refer to elements and ideals as subversive as those enshrined in "patriarchy".

4) *The medium really* is *the message.* As Neitzsche (cited in Diamond and Mullen, 1999) suggests, "Striving to make meaning through metaphors and artistic shaping can be seen as not just a postmodern obsession but as the fundamental drive, which one cannot for a single instant dispense with... for one would thereby dispense with man himself" (p. 26). Aesthetic inquiries force the researcher as well as the reader/viewer/audience to question commonly held assumptions about research as well as the woman-power-representation nexus.

5) *We are all part of the research community.* As a new researcher, this inquiry has revealed the excitement and promise of inquiry within multiple contexts as a way of life. If we (as I think we must) regard artists... and educators... and *anyone* concerned with making sense of the world in order to represent it (or the other way around) *as researchers* then research becomes much more than something "mysterious" that a select few are "qualified" to do. We see that, as engaged members of *any* community, we *all* have a worthwhile role to play in our collective understanding of power.

In the final analysis, I do realize that this inquiry is as much "about me" as the participants' power identities. The topic, approach and end product have all resulted from my decisions which, in turn, were made based on my own subjective realities. Mirroring Oscar Wilde's insight, I hesitated to develop something which could "show the secret of my soul" and like Richardson (1992) I had moments of fretting over whether my study would be viewed as "Improper, bordering on Gauche and Burdensome"(p. 126). But the good will, sincerity and generosity offered by Olivia, Lorraine and Kate proved what feminists have been saying all along. We must share everything we are and everything we do so that others may benefit and move beyond perceived barriers, limits and ceilings. We must all eventually "suit up" and take our places centre stage in the ever-expanding story of Woman Power.

Suggestions for Further Research

As an exploratory inquiry, this study lends itself to many others in terms of sample base, methodology and findings. This research, which focussed exclusively on the perceptions of white, upper middle class women, could be replicated with members of marginalized or minority communities. A longitudinal study of girls' and women's power identities as they age would shed light on the importance of various elements such as socialization, education, the maturation process and lifelong roles. The effectiveness of this arts-based model could be assessed and analyzed by mounting the plays, analyzing the reactions and interpretations of the audience and studying the extent and outcomes of their understanding concerning the participants' power identities. Finally, analyses could be conducted to determine how aesthetic representations of women's power identities may enhance training and studies dealing with leadership, management and organizational dynamics.

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Appendix A:
CONSENT FORM

Dear Participant,

I am currently working on a research project for the requirements of my Master of Arts degree from the Faculty of Education at McGill University. This project, entitled *Power Suits Her: An arts-based portrayal of women and power,* is a qualitative study with an arts based / design element. As the title suggests, I am interested in exploring how women, who hold senior positions in development organizations, understand, perceive of and relate to power.

Until relatively recently, inquiry about power has been confined almost exclusively to males. This study is designed to explore power from women's perspectives. Through qualitative and arts-based approaches my goal is to understand and represent your own unique interpretation of power. I hope that this study will not only contribute to the existing literature on power, but also benefit you as a self-reflective professional.

Drawing on my own background in theatre and in the belief that art / design can effectively represent both cognitive and affective perceptions of power, I hope to develop a portrait of your unique "power identity" and represent it textually (as a Power Identity Profile), visually (as a *Power Suit* costume design) and aurally (as a dramatic monologue). Participants will not be required to engage in anything artistic themselves, but will be invited to feed back at all times during the design process.

Prior to the feedback process, your participation will entail two 3 hour interviews. All data collected will remain confidential and anonymity is assured. No interview transcript, in whole or in part, will be considered without your approval. Should you decline to answer any questions or decide to withdraw from the study at any point, your decision will be respected.

If you wish to confirm your participation in this study, kindly sign the Consent Form below. Thank you for your time and consideration.

Sincerely,

Michele Wright
Graduate Student, MA Program, Faculty of Education, McGill University

■■■

I, _____ consent to participate in the research project undertaken by Michele Wright entitled *Power Suits Her: An arts-based portrayal of women and power,* knowing that the process will involve two 3 hour interviews and at least one feedback session. I have been informed that interviews will be tape recorded, that no transcript in whole or in part will be considered without my approval, and that all information provided will remain confidential.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Appendix B:

Ethics Committee Approval

**MCGILL UNIVERSITY
FACULTY OF EDUCATION**

**CERTIFICATE OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY FOR
FUNDED AND NON FUNDED RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMANS**

The Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee consists of 6 members appointed by the Faculty of Education Nominating Committee, an appointed member from the community and the Associate Dean (Academic Programs, Graduate Studies and Research) who is the Chair of this Ethics Review Board .

The undersigned considered the application for certification of the ethical acceptability of the project entitled:

POWER SUITS HER: An Arts-Based Representation of Women and Power

as proposed by:

Applicant's Name _Michele WRIGHT_   Supervisor's Name _Dr. Charles LUSTHAUS_

Applicant's Signature _Michele Wright_ Supervisor's Signature _'_

Degree / Program / Course _MA, Integrated Studies in Education_ Granting Agency _____

The application is considered to be:
A Full Review   _____   An Expedited Review _X_____

A Renewal for an Approved Project _____   A Departmental Level Review _____
                                                                    Signature of Chair / Designate

The review committee considers the research procedures and practices as explained by the applicant in this application, to be acceptable on ethical grounds.

1. Prof. Ron Stringer
   Dept of Educational and Counselling Psychology

_____
Signature / date

2. Prof. Ron Morris
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

_____
Signature / date

3. Prof. René Turcotte
   Department of Kinesiology and Physical Education

_____
Signature / date

4. Prof. Ada Sinacore
   Department of Educational and Counselling Psychology

_____
Signature / date

5. Prof. Brian Alters
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

_____
Signature / date

6. Prof. Kevin McDonough
   Department of Integrated Studies in Education

_____
Signature / date

7. Member of the Community

_____
Signature / date

Mary H. Maguire Ph. D.
Chair of the Faculty of Education Ethics Review Committee
Associate Dean (Academic Programs, Graduate Studies and Research)

_____
Signature / date   _august 26, 2002_

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Interview Protocol #1

****

POWER! Close your eyes, say that word to yourself, and listen to what you feel. Stay with the feeling until you can describe it.
... Do you derive negative connotations from the word? What are they? Does it make you sad or angry because you feel powerless? Or does the word have a nice ring to it? Does it make you sit up with pride or strength?

Josefowich (1980, p. 3)
****

Question # 1
What are your immediate reactions to the quote I just read? Thoughts? Feelings? Memories?
Do you see power as positive / negative / neutral?

Question # 2
How would you define power? (This definition may change and expand as the interview progresses.)

Question # 3
What was your initial response when I asked you to participate in a study on Women and Power?
What do you think your response would have been 5 years ago? 10? 20? As a girl?

Question # 4
What factors have affected your current understanding of power?
Probes: -   family
             -      mentors / friends / colleagues
             -      education
             -      work
             -      life experiences

Question # 5
What power issues have you faced in your personal life?
How were they resolved?
What, if any, consequences did they have?

Question # 6
What power issues have you faced in your professional life?
How were they resolved?
What, if any, consequences did they have?

Appendix D:

Interview Protocol #2

****

In the first interview we began exploring what you perceive power to be and how your past may have shaped that understanding. You will have the opportunity to revisit issues, expand on your answers and develop your ideas more fully in your journal entries.

In this second interview, I would like to get a sense of how you perceive of power within your professional context. Just to clarify, I will refer to two potentially distinct spheres: that of the organization and that of the workplace. By "organization" I mean the project, agency or institute as an entity. Your "workplace" may refer to any setting-- both formal and non formal—where work is being conducted. I am interested in your work settings both within Canada and abroad.

****

Question # 1
Based on the definitions I've just given, what is your "organization"?
What are your various "workplaces" both in Canada and abroad?

Question # 2
What formal power structures exist within your organization?
Within your workplaces?

Question # 3
What non formal power structures exist within your organization?
Within your workplaces?

Question # 4
What power ideologies (philosophies, credos) would you say exist?

Question # 5
To what degree do you agree with existing power structures?
With existing power ideologies?

Question # 6
How do you contribute to these structures / ideologies?

Question # 7
How do you compensate for these structures / ideologies?

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Appendix E:

Permission to Use Quilt Images

| Reply | Reply All | Forward | inline text ▼ |

Prev | Next | Inbox

| Delete | - Choose Folder - ▼ | Move |

Mark as Unread

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Printable View - Full Headers

From: tn   ‹ Address | Add to Address Book
To: michele_
Subject: Permission to use images
Date: Mon, 22 Jul 2002 11:23:57 -0700

```
Dear Ms Wright,

Per our conversation last week, permission is granted to use three
different
images from
Andrea Balosky's book Transitions: Unlocking the Creative Quilter
Within as
backdrops for your "performances on paper".

This permission is granted for one-time use only.

Best of luck to you on your MA.

Sincerely,

Terry Martin
Editorial Department
```

Click a ☺ to send an instant message to an online friend

☺ = Online; ☺ = Offline

| Delete | - Choose Folder - ▼ | Move |

Mark as Unread

| Reply | Reply All | Forward | inline text ▼ |

Prev | Next | Inbox