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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

A HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING: A CASE STUDY OF A

PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE ORGANIZATION

by

PATRICIA ELLEN BEATRICE VALENTINE

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND

RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR

THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL 1988

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The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled A HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING: A CASE STUDY OF A PREDOMINANTLY FEMALE ORGANIZATION submitted by PATRICIA ELLEN BEATRICE VALENTINE in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY.

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ABSTRACT

This case study described and analyzed, using grounded theory, aspects of the organization and the administration of a Canadian hospital school of nursing. The one general question to which this study was directed was: Do women nurse educators bring unique orientations to the workplace that have relevance for the administration of nursing organizations, in particular, predominantly female organizations in general, and administrative practice in any organization?

Utilizing the concept of a "female world," initially it was shown that the world of nursing evolved along with the evolution of the female world. Two aspects of the female world were applied in interpreting the data gathered in the school, i.e., the *Gemeinschaft* orientation and the love-and/or-duty ethos. These aspects were apparent in the culture of the school and in the behavior of the instructors.

The five categories generated from the data supported these two aspects. Two categories, food and social events, acted as facilitators for promoting group cohesion and for resolving conflict. The essential nature of support mechanisms, a third category, was readily acknowledged as a necessary ingredient in the school. All participants indicated that a supportive colleague at work was essential. Meetings as cohesion builders, a fourth category, were meant to facilitate the implementation of the curriculum but also were opportunities for "co-relating." The fifth category, consistency as a necessity in the treatment of students, was a constant topic for discussion at meetings. It represented a pull-between dependence and independence, another example of the striving for cohesiveness.

The administrative processes were approached by all teams in a similar manner. Decisions were usually made by consensus. Questions and comments were usually additive in nature and reflected the collaborative type of relationships team members tried to establish. Conflict resolution was handled using three methods: 1) by ignoring

it and the instructors involved usually quit talking to each other; 2) by discussing it openly; and 3) by planning social events with the hope that through the intermingling of faculty and the eating of delicious, home-made food, the conflict would be ameliorated.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

have to call me "Doctor" when I graduated. This degree has truly been a long-distance family endeavor.

Sixth, I would like to acknowledge my female friends who have always believed in the "female world," especially to my friend Lynne, who read my first draft and made suggestions for revision. Lynne has always been there when I needed someone. She is the epitomé of the positive aspects of the female world.

And finally, I would like to acknowledge two Deans (Dean MacPhail and Dean Wood) and the Faculty of Nursing at the University of Alberta. There has been a keen interest and sincere concern expressed over the completion of this endeavor. One feels a strong supportive network in this faculty that has so many women involved in the same process.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Most of the theorizing about organizations reflects an aspect of the social world that has been dominated by men. Research into the administration of organizations has generally been carried out by men, in settings where men are the majority of actors, using strategies which are meaningful from a male perspective. Only recently in the organizational and the administrative literature has the idea been acknowledged that women may bring distinctive views of the world to the workplace. The ways in which those views might influence the nature of culture which emerges in an organization has not been explored in research. A specific arena in which the influence of a female perspective might be best examined is in an organization that is staffed largely by women.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to describe and to interpret specific aspects of the organization and administration of a hospital school of nursing. The major objective of this study was to determine whether women nurse educators bring unique orientations to the workplace that have relevance for the administration of nursing organizations; in particular, female-dominated organizations in general, and administrative practice in any organization.

The questions to which this study was directed were:

1. Do women nurse educators bring unique orientations to the workplace?
2. How are those orientations reflected in the culture of the organization?
3. What are the distinctive characteristics of administrative processes in such an organization?

1

4. Are characteristics of a women-dominated organization consistent with the conceptualizations of the "female world?"

Need for the Study

A basic foundation of this study is that the world is viewed through the eyes of single sexes but that most administrative knowledge deals predominantly with the male sex. Shakeshaft's (1981:24) major conclusion when she analyzed the dissertation research on women in educational administration from January 1973 to January 1979 was that "the dissertations emerg[ed] from a framework primarily male defined" (Shakeshaft, 1981: 24). She (1981:24) maintained that "the research on leadership and effectiveness in educational administration originate[d] from a paradigm that [was] male and that attempt[ed] to determine whether women 'measure[d] up.' "

Generally, males "have assumed implicitly a kind of sexual symmetry" (Bernard, 1981:14), i.e., everything that exists for males also exists for females. For example, two instruments that, in the past, have been frequently used in educational administration research, the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire (LBDQ) and the LBDQ-XII are both sexist in theory and construction. "Using the male pronoun throughout and validated with men, these instruments have been used to judge the performance of female administrators" (Shakeshaft, 1981:22). There has been little attempt to adapt these instruments to female administrators.

Kohlberg (1981) assumed sexual symmetry in his cognitive development model of moral reasoning which is largely based on a study of 84 boys whose development was followed for 20 years. He assumed that his findings could be generalized to girls; however, Gilligan's (1982) and Lyon's (1983:125-145) research findings concluded there was a difference in the moral development of girls and boys.

In referring to sociological investigation, Daniels (1975: 346) suggested that women were excluded from consideration in research studies because male scholars

believed that what women did was trivial and, thereby, unworthy of scientific exploration. This point could also be made of administrative investigation. For example, most research in educational administration has either left females out of the sample but generalized the findings to both genders or has included females and attempted to account for the effects of gender (Shakeshaft, 1987a: 162). However, the research results are biased by the androcentrism of the original research (Shakeshaft and Nowell, 1984:200). Spender (1981:162) contended that: "[t]he scale on which women have been omitted from educational consideration is massive." For example, in surveying the sociology of education literature in Britain, Acker (1980, cited in Spender, 1981:162-163) documented the absence of women. Of 184 articles published since 1960, 58 percent of the articles purported to be studying both sexes, but 37 percent had exclusively male samples while only 5 percent had all-female samples. Often these female samples were used to study the influence of mothers on their children because the researchers assumed that women's only vocation was motherhood.

Knowledge of females, for the most part, is limited to how they impinge on males. The neglect of the study of women, including women in organizations (Gould, 1980:237), imposes limits on our intellectual horizons. As Gould (1980:237) stated, "[r]egrettably absent are descriptive case studies and interpretative analyses of roles women play as creators or innovators of organizations." Hannah (1981:42), who studied the administrative behavior of Canadian university nursing deans and directors, concluded there was a "dearth" of research on administrative behavior of university nurse administrators. Dimond and Slothower (1978:4) suggested there was a general lack of research on nursing leadership due to the low worth placed on leadership by the nursing profession.

Since most administrative research presents men and the male model as the norm, women and the female model are usually seen as deviations from this norm

(Shakeshaft, 1981:24). Until recently, academic curricula reflected the male bias that only a major paradigm shift could overcome. Recently, female scholars and some men (Morgan, 1981:83-113; Tiger and Fowler, 1978; Wright, 1982:1-20) have begun to actively study women, including women administrators (Charters and Jovick, 1981: 307-331; Fishel and Pottker, 1975:110-117; Marshall and Heller, 1983:31-32; Neuse, 1978:436-441; Shakeshaft, 1987a; Shakeshaft and Nowell, 1984:186-203), believing that this endeavor is worthwhile.

According to Bernard (1981:3), "women and men do indeed experience the world differently but also ... the world women experience is demonstrably different from the world men experience." Bernard (1981), a prolific writer and a well-respected sociologist, whose writings have spanned the years from the 1940's to the 1980's, has spent a great deal of her intellectual life trying to define what she called the "female world" (Lipman-Blumen, 1979: 49-56).

This female world is evident in some studies which clearly show that females are different—e.g., Gilligan (1982); Hennig and Jardim (1976); McClelland (1975:81-122); Miller (1976); and Shakeshaft (1987a). However, Bernard (1981:14) concluded that "it makes little difference in studying the female world [whether it is] ... unique or the same as the male world." Rather, the female world has its own importance, not merely as the "other" world but as an autonomous field worthy of study (Bernard, 1981:14).

Since nursing in Canada is 98 percent female (Okrainec, 1986:16), and nursing is one of the oldest and largest female-dominated professions, a hospital school of nursing is an ideal setting for exploring administrative aspects of a women-dominated organization. Therefore, this study will attempt to reappraise old administrative theories, to concentrate on aspects of administration that may have been ignored or taken for granted and to encourage an alternative mode of thinking about organizations.

Men's conception of administrative thought will be expanded appreciably when

scholars integrate an interest in women into organizational and administrative theories.

Knowledge of administrative aspects of predominantly female organizations is also

important for nurses, but especially for nursing administrators, to enable them to

become more fully aware of the characteristics of these organizations and thus to correct

any false or incomplete picture they may have. This increased knowledge will help

them become more conscious of their female cultural heritage which will better

empower them to translate common nursing problems, associated with being women,

into political concerns.

The Context of the Study

Since the advent of the women's movement in the 1960's, there has been a

proliferation of literature on women and a movement toward establishing female

perspectives in carrying out research on women. Although some men authors (Tonnies,

1940:186; Veblen, 1953:2) have sometimes suggested there is another perspective, they

have, for the most part, generally ignored it. Women authors, and some men, have

alluded to aspects of this female perspective in their writings (Ackelsberg, 1984:242;

Beard, 1931:522; Bovenschen, 1985; Brittain, 1953: 224-225; Carlson, 1972:17-32;

Ellmann, 1968; Fox, 1985; Giele, 1978:17; Laws, 1979:321; Lorber, 1984:106;

Marrett, 1972:245; Miles and Finn, 1982:10-11; Mueller, 1984:156; Sassen, 1980;

Sherman and Beck, 1979:11, 14, 26; Tiger and Fowler, 1978; Turkle, 1984).

However, it was not until Jessie Bernard's book, *The Female World* (1981), was

published that this world was first conceptualized in any detail in the literature.

Bernard and other authors' conceptualizations of the "female world" were used as

the background for this study. Although some scholars may argue that the female world

is limited to middle class women of the industrialized western world, Bernard (1987;

1981:43-69) would argue that it has more wide-ranging relevance. She gives examples

of the female world in women African agricultural workers, female textile workers in the 1830's in England and the "poverty bound orders of 'poor Clare' " convents in 12th century England, France, Germany and Ireland (Bernard, 1981:48). Since there are limited data on any aspect of the female world, an exploratory study was warranted using a qualitative approach. This case study was conducted from the point of view of the participants involved, using a "multi- instrument" approach (Pelto, 1970) that led to the generation of major categories. Questions about administrative processes were posed to six key participants. The participants either disconfirmed or corroborated the data that were generated.

Therefore, an understanding of specific administrative aspects in a hospital school of nursing, as revealed by women nurse educators, would:

1. Provide rich data on the world of nurse educators;

2. Build on the conceptualizations that Bernard (1981) and other researchers have developed;

3. Focus on specific aspects in the administration and the organization of a women-dominated nursing organization; and

4. Provide information that would be useful to administrators.

Delimitations

This study was delimited to:

1. a twelve-month period that extended between July, 1985 and June, 1986;

2. the data collected during tape-recorded interviews, observations in the school and information available in documents collected during the period of inquiry;

3. the women nurse educators in the hospital school of nursing; and

4. the internal organization of the school. Although the area of external adaptation, for example, the school's relationship with the hospital, did surface from time to time, this was not included in the study.

Limitations

This study was limited to:

1. studying the instructors in the school rather than on the hospital units with the students where the male power structure (physicians) would have been influential;

2. this group of nurse educators and, therefore, the data can only be generalized to the group and related to the relevant literature; and

3. nurse educators in a hospital diploma program. The nursing literature quoted in this study often fails to distinguish between the various levels of nurses, i.e., nurses with diplomas, baccalaureate degrees or graduate degrees. The investigator is aware that there are significant differences. However, since the nursing research literature often fails to make this distinction, the investigator has also followed this pattern.

Definition of Terms

The following terms were utilized throughout the study and require clarification.

Category: "A conceptual element of the theory that in empirical terms would be called a variable" (Simms, 1980:358).

Female World: "A system of beings with some common characteristic that is considered a unity" (Bernard, 1981:23). The common characteristic is femaleness. Also, a "sociological entity with a characteristic demographic structure (age, marital status, education, income, occupation), a status and class structure and a group structure, a sociological entity with a characteristic culture" (Bernard, 1981:23).

Feminism: "A world view that values women and that confronts systematic injustices based on gender" (Chinn and Wheeler, 1985:74).

Organizational Culture: "[A] pattern of basic assumptions—invented, discovered, or

developed by a given group as it learns to cope with its problems of ... internal

integration—that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to

be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation

to those problems" (Schein, 1985:9).

Organization of the Thesis

The first chapter introduces the study by giving the purpose, the need and the

context of the inquiry along with the delimitations and limitations and the terminology

used throughout the thesis. The second chapter contains a description of the

development of the female world while Chapter 3 relates this development to the world

of nursing. Chapter 4 describes the inductive approach in this inquiry and the

qualitative methods used to collect, to analyze and to corroborate the data. The fifth

chapter contains a description and analysis of the structure of the school, the three

teaching teams and the relationships between faculty and students. Chapter 6 describes

the world of nurse educators with a description of the female culture and the five

categories that emerged from the data gathered in the case study. The seventh chapter

describes two administrative processes. Chapter 8 includes a discussion of the findings

while the last chapter is limited to the summary, conclusions and implications of the

findings.

CHAPTER 2

THE FEMALE WORLD

The chapter commences with several conceptualizations of the female world and a characterization of the female world using polarities that describe specific characteristics of both the female and the male worlds. Out of these polarities, two aspects of the female world are developed.

Conceptualizing the Female World

Bernard's definition of the female world provides the starting point for the conceptualization of this world. Bernard (1981) used one definition of "world" from the *Oxford English Dictionary* (Murray, Bradley, Craigie and Onions, 1970:302): "a group or system of things or beings associated with some common characteristics (denoted by a qualifying word or phrase), or considered as constituting a unity." The "common characteristics" refer to those of the female gender. The unity does not mean solidarity or undifferentiated homogeneity (Bernard, 1981:19). Simply put, "female" refers to the female sex.

There are many other ways of conceptualizing the female world. One of the simpler conceptualizations is on the basis of biology where the male world is equivalent to the male sex and the female identical with the female sex. Another conceptualization links sex and gender to environmental factors. Other conceptualizations that have been used are: "place," culture, occupation, "sphere," and ethnic group (Bernard, 1981:19).

Nature theorists, "biological determinists" or "essentialists" see women as representatives of nature, and thereby, excluded from culture (Ortner, 1974: 71-73). They agree that "all and only women are 'feminine' and all and only men are 'masculine' " (Vetterling-Braggin, 1982:33). Men and women are defined strictly on the basis of biological characteristics; however, there is considerable variation in how

9

"masculine" and "feminine" are defined. For example, some nature theorists assume nurturance and supportiveness denote femininity, thereby ignoring other traits, while other theorists emphasize intuitiveness and sensitivity but pay scant attention to nurturance (Vetterling-Braggin, 1982:33-34).

Sex differences are accounted for by nurture theorists or "accidentalists" who posit a link between sex and gender that is explained by "environmental," especially social conditioning factors. These theorists define "masculine" and "feminine" on the basis of traits selected as "masculine" and "feminine" by the society under study (Vetterling-Braggin, 1982:36-37). The nurture theorists disagree on what environmental conditions cause sex differences in any given society.

Women's "place," one of the more common conceptualizations, is usually used in reference to the male world. This designation often leads to the use of categories developed by males to describe women's position, for example, class, caste, minority group, marginal group or "an encapsulated enclave in the male world," a phrase that summarizes a description developed by Simone de Beauvoir (Bernard, 1981:19-20).

The use of the term "women's sphere" can be traced back at least as far as 1891 when Wollstonecroft (1891:vii) suggested this was a "separate" sphere that had about it a sense of roundness, an enclosure that was "cosy, protected, safe" (Bernard, 1981:80-81). The ideology of women's sphere helped to support the belief that women were not intrinsically inferior to men but their sphere had to be kept in a subordinate position in the interests of the national welfare. Women's sphere also had a major contribution to make to society in the running of households and the raising of children. Women's sphere was a place for nurturance against the outside world and was responsible for transmitting moral standards to society. It was believed that the home, along with moral and charitable activities, was "the natural, normal and only concern of women's sphere" (Bernard, 1981:91).

Home was also supposed to be a place of cheer and comfort with women as the major comforters:

> One of the most important functions of woman as comforter was her role as nurse .... The sickroom called for the exercise of her higher qualities of patience, mercy and gentleness as well as for her housewifely arts. She could thus fulfill her dual feminine function— beauty and usefulness. (Welter, 1966:163)

The ideology of women's sphere was not easy to put into practice. Although this ideology was a "realm of the heart," "women had to foster the 'bonds of womanhood,' the sisterhood, the support systems that were its essence and made it bearable in a world not always congenial or supportable to women" (Bernard, 1981:91). Because women were prohibited from any significant involvement in the polity or the economy and were excluded from any equal partnership with men, they survived by deriving sustenance from and giving sustenance to other women (Bernard, 1981:91). Although this ideology no longer suits the current scene, a consensually acceptable ideology that would replace it has not yet evolved despite "an enormous amount of research and thinking devoted to the question" (Bernard, 1981:113).

Another conceptualization of the female world is that of culture, a term that defies any definitional consensus (Bernard, 1981:21). One cultural conception focuses on sex roles (Lee and Gropper, 1974:369-410). In this approach, female culture is viewed as a product of the female role just as the male culture is a product of the male role. These cultures contain elements such as "rituals, roles, dress customs, gestures, communication patterns, reference groups ... [and] visible properties and practices of sex role as it is reflected in everyday life" (Lee and Gropper, 1974:371). Bernard (1981:22) believes that recognition of the female culture as part of the female world, independent from the male culture and world, will have considerable benefits for female understanding. Jacobson (1982:47-61) concurs with Bernard, indicating that until

recently, culture-specific data on women has largely disappeared from the record because such information was considered of little interest.

Female culture encompasses institutions that are different from those in which men participate (Bernard, 1981:22; Jacobson 1982:47-61). For example, there is occupational segregation by gender (Blaxall and Reagan, 1976), i.e., nurses and secretaries; marriage is experienced differently by both genders (Bernard, 1972:28-58); women's "culture" has rules or norms different from those of men's culture whether legislated or crescive in nature (Bernard, 1981:371-514). The existence of separate cultures is supported by these observations.

Hefner (1975, cited in Bernard, 1981:23) views the female world as analogous to ethnic groups. This conceptualization introduces to the study of women the broad areas of the psychology of prejudice, the sociology of segregation, solidarity, pluralism, assimilation and melting pot. He believes this ethnic analogy is worth exploring because both groups have "characteristic cultures—customs, traditions, mores—[and] consciousness of kind" (1975, cited in Bernard, 1981:23).

Bernard (1981:23), however, finds both Hefner's conceptualization and the cultural conceptualization lacking in dynamism. According to Bernard, the female world is constantly changing "[in concert with] its own tempo, its own style, its own logic" (Bernard, 1981:31). Thus, she describes the female world as "a system of beings with some common characteristic that is considered a unity" (Bernard, 1981:23). Furthermore:

> [Bernard] views the female world as a sociological entity with a
> characteristic demographic structure (age, marital status, education,
> income, occupation), a status and class structure and a group structure,
> a sociological entity with a characteristic culture. (Bernard, 1981:23)

These depictions suggest that there have been a variety of ways of conceptualizing the female world, all of which have major implications for women.

Characterizing the Female World

Characterizing the female world is difficult. For example, the polarities used by male social thinkers to explain the transition from the rural, preindustrial world to the urban, industrial world in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were not based on gender differences and predated the female world conceptualization. Nevertheless, Bernard (1981:24-32) is able to relate these polarities to both the female and the male worlds. For example, in 1861, a British jurist, Maine, contrasted societies by distinguishing between those in which relationships were based on status and those in which relationships were based on contract. Relationships that are based on status are characterized by ascription and affectivity. Duties, obligations and privileges are assigned to certain positions in society. Everybody's needs are taken care of to the best extent possible. Relationships based on contract, however, involve duties, obligations and privileges that are specified and agreed to by the involved parties (Bernard, 1981:24). The former describes the female world, the latter the male one.

In 1887, Tönnies used the words *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* to describe the changes that occurred in social relationships as societies evolved through various historical stages. The former designation is usually interpreted to mean the psychological or social aspects of a community or the "social relationships that involve the whole of the person and are conceived of as 'real and organic life' " (Glennon, 1979:214). The latter term "implies relationships that involve only those fragments of self that are relevant for joining with others in this type of relationship and may be conceived as an 'imaginary and mechanical structure' such as business firms and professional associations" (Glennon, 1979:214). Bernard (1981:28-29) posits that family and friendship relationships or kinship and locale-based groups that constitute *Gemeinschaft* are more representative of the female world while the fragmentary, calculated relationships that characterize *Gesellschaft* have a closer affinity with the male world.

Tönnies also described two forms of human will as the basis of all social relationships. The first is "natural will" which is the basis for *Gemeinschaft*. Natural will spontaneously expresses the human's inner wishes and demands and sees affiliation with others as an end in itself. Rational will, the second one and the foundation of *Gesellschaft*, denotes deliberation or calculation of both means and ends, viewing both these conditions as separate. Tönnies described the basic differences between these two polarities as follows:

> All intimate, private, and exclusive living together, so we discover, is understood as life in *Gemeinschaft* (community). *Gesellschaft* (society) is public life—it is the world itself. In *Gemeinschaft* with one's family, one lives from birth on, bound to it in weal and woe. One goes into *Gesellschaft* as one goes into a strange country.... There exists a *Gemeinschaft* of language, of folkways or mores, or of beliefs; but, by way of contrast, *Gesellschaft* exists in the realm of business, travel, or sciences. (Tönnies, 1940:37-38)

The economist Boulding, contrasted the economy with the "integry." The economy is described as a world in which monetary exchange acts as an intermediary in human relationships, a description more akin to the male world. The integry is defined as "that part of the social system which deals with such concepts and relationships as status, identity, community, legitimacy, loyalty, love, trust" (Boulding, 1969:4). Boulding defined the integry as "a distinctive segment of the social system with a dynamics of its own, and strong interactions with other elements of the social system" (Boulding, 1969:4). Bernard (1981:26) characterizes this dynamics as one of love and/or duty, an integrative function that is usually associated with the female world.

Although these male theorists did not distinguish between male and female gender in the development of these conceptualizations, they did not completely ignore gender-related aspects. During the nineteenth century the world of industry and politics was seen to represent the male values and virtues including "harsh striving, ... conflict and

competition" (Bernard, 1981:28) while the female world was described by the values of

love and support, a much needed contrast to the male world (Bernard, 1981:84-87).

Aspects of the Female World

Gemeinschaft

Out of these polarities, Bernard (1981:28) developed two primary characteristics of

the female world. The first is the kinship and locale-based or *Gemeinschaft* nature of

the structure of the female world (Bernard, 1981:28). In 1887, Tönnies identified

Gemeinschaft with the female world—"the realm of life and work in *Gemeinschaft* is

particularly befitting to women; indeed it is even necessary for them" (Tönnies,

1940:186). In 1899, Veblen discussed the gender-related aspects of society by stating

that women

> live under a regime of status handed down from an earlier stage of
> industrial development and thereby they preserve a frame of mind, and
> habits of thought, which incline them to an archaic view of things
> generally. At the same time, they stand in no such direct organic relation
> to the industrial process at large as would tend strongly to break down
> those habits of thought which, for the modern industrial purpose, are
> obsolete. (Veblen, 1953:21)

Scheppele (1977, cited in Bernard, 1981:28) supported Veblen's observation by

pointing out that the transition from *Gemeinschaft* to *Gesellschaft* generally bypassed

women. In the movement from the rural to the urban areas, women lost the productive

duties they had performed on the farm. They lost the active working partnership with

their husbands. This was replaced by a division of labor where the wife became a

housewife responsible for the house and children while the husband went out to the

world of work. Women's immediate world changed much less than did that of men.

They did not establish relationships with groups of people who were not likely to know

each other. Instead they lived predominantly in *Gemeinschaft* (1977, cited in Bernard,

1981:28) where women have always maintained a pivotal role in sustaining

relationships among relatives and upholding family traditions that have been the mainstay of *Gemeinschaft*. Bernard (1981:28) points out that the portrayal of the female world as *Gemeinschaft* rests on "evidence from a respectable research literature which documents ... that the world of women has indeed been a kin- and locale-based world—a world of *Blut-and-Boden* [blood and soil] that performs an integrating function."

Bernard (1981) does not view this integrating function as obsolete as did Veblen who viewed it exclusively in the industrial context. Nor does she accept this function as a kind of "social retardation" as Scheppele did from her perspective of the industrial context or as Tönnies seemed to in a more sentimental vein. According to Bernard (1981:29), *Gemeinschaft* can encompass being "gentle," "kind," "supportive" and "protective," as well as qualities such as hurtfulness, cruelty, lack of support, racism, bigotry and provincialism. All the characteristics described above led Bernard (1981:29) to conclude that the female world is "an integrating system with as much conceptual validity as say the economy or the polity."

Although this integrating system, like other aspects of the female world, has not been carefully researched, it is apparent from the above description that it was recognized as a part, perhaps a somewhat invisible part, of society. As society has evolved, so has the traditional *Gemeinschaft* world of women, along with its integrating function.

Female friendships exemplify this integrating function. In the past, female friendships have often been devalued and this has led to a neglect of the scientific study of this phenomenon (Bernard, 1981:290; Orbach and Eichenbaum, 1983:149). Orbach and Eichenbaum (1983:151) stressed that so much emphasis has been placed on couples, marriage and dating that women's relationships with each other have largely gone unnoticed. "These relationships themselves take on a second-class status

reflecting women's second-class position in society" (Orbach and Eichenbaum, 1983:151).

The studies that have been done report that women show intimate styles of interaction. For example, in the nineteenth century "friendships were an indispensable source of sustenance for women" (Lenz and Myerhoff, 1985:41). "Friendships among women provided a support system that bound them together through the biological cycle of frequent pregnancies, child birth, child rearing, menopause, and old age" (Lenz and Myerhoff, 1985:41). Smith-Rosenberg's (1975:1-29) research on diaries and letters from nineteenth century women showed numbers of women who preferred the company of female friends to that of their husbands. Booth (1972, cited in Bernard, 1981:291) found that female friendships tended to be "richer in spontaneity and confidences exchanged than men's."

Other research has shown that women provide the "mental hygiene" function in marriage for men more than men provide it for women (Blood and Wolfe, 1960, 175-220). This finding is corroborated by Blau who concluded that "[m]en satisfy their needs for intimacy largely within marriage, but women must seek gratification for such needs with their own sex" (Blau, 1973:73). According to Warren's (1975, cited in Bernard, 1981:292) research, women provided emotional support to their husbands twice as often as they received it from their husbands. Since men fail, for the most part, to provide emotional support to their wives or female friends, this leaves women with a void that other women usually fill.

Research conducted during pregnancy for both traditional and modern females found that women friends were more important than kin and husbands for modern women (Gladieux, 1978:292). Bell's (1975, cited in Bernard, 1981:292) research findings found that of the three persons women would most like to be with, a girlfriend (or female friend) was given by 98 percent, the mother or daughter were given by 67

percent of the subjects, the husband by 64 percent of the subjects and other kin by 38 percent.

In a study in which 22 female college students were interviewed, Hodge (1978, cited in Bernard, 1981:292) found they equated female friendships with male friendships. Supportive relationships were seen as very important "to the point of actually needing or preferring this support type of [female] relationship over that of the male social relationship."

A researcher who studied the friendships of 210 male and 296 female college undergraduates found that women were likely to emphasize "personalism, self-disclosure, and supportiveness" in their relationships, that they reacted to all their friends in a "holistic and undifferentiated" manner and that they were more concerned about the "affective quality" of their friendships (Wright, 1982:19).

Oliker (1985:3070A) found in her study of women's friendships and marriage that

> contemporary close friendships between women are deeply affectionate, intimate and committed. Close women friends conduct a distinctive exchange of mutual intimate self-disclosure, empathy, and recognition and support in "women's sphere." They also exchange unparalleled support for each other's ambition and autonomous achievements. Women friends engender and reinforce interdependent individual identity.

In a study of seven Canadian feminists, Bain (1986:161-162) found that the relationships these women had with other women were described as "soul sisterhood." She indicated that

> [a]n easy connection was felt with other women, a deep knowing that had to do with understanding and feeling understood, being located similarly in the world, meeting with women as an extension of one's own being-in-the-world. When women spoke of their relationships with women friends there was a sense of coming home to a known place and a familiar language, the stepping out of being a stranger in a strange land .... In their bonding with other women these participants found a deep confirmation of their own unique selves — "women are my grounding"—"women keep me sane."

Orbach and Eichenbaum (1983:153-154) suggest that modern women's friendships are a mutual exchange where they count on one another for "emotional support" and empathy. There is a mutual sharing of domestic experiences; "their identifications with one another make for rich human contact and interaction" (Orbach and Eichenbaum, 1983:153). However, these authors go on to say that women's relationships with each other are "multi-faceted and complex" and also involve disappointment, anger, competition and envy.

Several authors have noted the significance of "social networks or webs of relationships" (Ackelsberg, 1984:243) in the lives of urban women (Cockburn, 1977; Cott, 1977; Ryan, 1979; Saegert, 1980; Ulrich, 1980). Raymond (1986:39) suggested that women often turn to female relatives or friends during critical periods in their lives. They usually find solace in these female relationships that gives them the strength to carry on. "[I]n comparing the social networks of traditional and modern women,... friends were [found to be] more important than relatives in modern women's social networks, as contrasted with the pattern among traditional women" (Bernard, 1981:292). According to Bernard, as the traditional kinship networks are waning, they are being transformed from those of blood relatives to friends, often work associates. These social networks appear to be "loving, or at least affectionate" (Bernard, 1981: 285). In other words, female labour force participation has not had a negative impact on female friendships. Research findings indicate that female friendships in the work setting serve a supportive function (1975, cited in Bernard, 1981:293).

The research findings on 21 female university administrators' definitions of "team player" led Gips, Navin, Branch and Nutter (1984:1-12) to conclude that women's needs for affiliation caused them in many instances "to structure their work behavior... to meet those needs." The meaning of the term team player for 21 women in managerial positions in colleges and universities was researched by Gips et al. (1984:1-12). Their results produced fairly consistent terminology; the most common response (65 percent

of the sample) was that team players signified "cooperation toward the achievement of group goals and the university mission." They reported that all participants "felt the support of group action and the achievement of group satisfaction were the primary descriptors of the term" (Gips et al, 1984:7). All the women administrators perceived themselves to be team players who were viewed as such by all their colleagues. Being a team player meant being "cooperative and supportive of others. They saw themselves as working to promote unity, helping others, [and] consulting with others" (Gips et al., 1975:8). Gips et al. (1984:6) cited Chapman's (1975) research which indicated that "women's work behavior [was] affected by their needs for affiliation and loyalty among friends within the workplace."

Bernard (1981:285) suggested that we need to more fully explore the effect of this attempt to replace the warmth of family ties with that of female friends. Bernard concluded by (1981:293) stating that

> [d]espite the relative neglect of female friendships in the research
> literature, it does seem essential in any discussion of the structure of the
> female world to pay attention to their place in it .... And the part they
> play not only in the lives of women but also in the structure of the
> female world is incalculable.

The previous research findings suggest that the female world is *Gemeinschaft* in orientation, that is, kin- and locale-based, and that women function as major social integrators in society. In this female world, female-to-female friendships provide an important support system for women. Although the literature is scant in this area, it appears that these female friendships carry over to the workplace.

Love-and/or-Duty Ethos

The second characterizing aspect developed by Bernard to describe the female world is the love-and/or-duty ethos. The role of mother is based on the love-and-/or-duty ethos and plays an important part in shaping the female character (Bernard,

1981:164). The mother is expected to nurture her child out of love-and/or-duty. Reproduction is replete with norms, attitudes, beliefs and lore about this ethos. Since women strongly invest in the reproductive process, it comes to be viewed almost exclusively as a female function, often as *the* female function. In fact, O'Brien (1981:52) suggested that men "experience themselves as alienated from the reproductive process" (O'Brien, 1981:52). She identified ten moments of reproduction, eight of which men are excluded from (O'Brien, 1981:19-64).

The tendency to view women almost exclusively in terms of their reproductive role has produced several results. In the nineteenth century, this resulted in women being discouraged from seeking higher education because it was believed that education would interfere with their reproductive capacities. Later this same argument was used to "protect" women from higher paying jobs.

Another result is that the socialization of young girls is designed, explicitly or implicitly, to prepare them for the expected role of motherhood. Most women will indeed become mothers; the willingness or unwillingness of women to become one or not has become a major political issue. Nevertheless, the birth of the first child means increasing involvement in the female world. "Pregnancy and childbirth constitute a uniquely female core of the female world" (Bernard, 1981:165).

The association of women with the love-and/or-duty ethos relates to their role as major integrators of relationships in society. For example, Sorokin (1969:21) in his studies of altruistic love in American society found the integry inhabited almost exclusively by women:

> Non-institutionalized kindness and unselfishness ... seem to be
> stimulated mainly in women .... In girls and women ... these
> tendencies, in moderate and conventional form, are encouraged and
> stimulated. They begin to practice them early in the home with
> neighbors and members of the family; and they continue to do so in
> various forms during their adult age.

Fifteen years later, Samuel's (1975:9) review of the literature on working-class women revealed that the predominant values of these women were "duty, sacrifice, repression, denial of self-interest, self-expression and self-gratification."

Just as the values of working-class women suggest a strong orientation to relationships with others, women's speech patterns also exemplify this orientation. Verbal communication among women has some unique characteristics:

> Women have their own language, comparable to the argot of the underworld and professional groups ... there are words and idioms employed chiefly by women. Only the acculturated male can enter into the conversation of the beauty parlor, the exclusive shop, the bridge table, or the kitchen. (Roszak and Roszak, 1969:135)

Although women's speech has been considered to be inferior to men's because they tend to speak tentatively, "to use qualifiers, to hedge, to avoid strong assertions and to speak correctly using hypercorrect grammar" (Tetenbaum and Mulkeen, 1987:11), these speech patterns are in keeping with women's focus on maintaining relationships. Pearson (1981:62-68) contended that these speech patterns actually facilitated discussion, enhanced consensual decision making and avoided conflict.

Gilligan's (1982) research on women's need to maintain relationships, and their strong need for interdependence also supported differences in communication styles among women. Berman (1982, cited in Tetenbaum and Mulkeen, 1987:10) and Kmetz and Willower (1982:62-78) found that women principals spent more time communicating with others, that is, more time in meetings, both scheduled and unscheduled, and more time on the telephone than men principals.

In a study of 150 managers randomly selected from nine organizations, Baird and Bradley (1979:108-109) found that the language of women managers reflected a concern for others—"warmth ... affiliation, helpfulness, ... Women managers communicated more with subordinates than men managers, supplied more information and were more receptive to the ideas of subordinates (Baird and Bradley,

1979:108-109). Women managers focused less on impersonal facts and more on relationships with others, on emotional and personal issues (Baird and Bradley, 1979:108).

Barron (1971:21-42) found that women's speech tended to be more integrative, that is, women tend to use language to add to rather than challenge each other's statements. Bardwick's (1974:60) research concluded that communion was characteristic of speech patterns of females as contrasted with separation, a more common theme in the speech of males.

Collaborative, supportive speech seems to be more prevalent in the female world which is characterized by intimacy while the male world is represented by "sociability" (Best, 1983:88-105). Hirschman (1975:288), found that women more than men indicated support, attention, understanding or agreement by using the response of "mm hmm." This characteristic was more common between women than between men and women or mixed-sex groups. In conversations among women only, they usually spoke and listened equally and usually did not try to compete with each other for attention (Fields, 1985:57).

In studying consciousness-raising "rap groups," Kalcik (1986:3-4) found women were far less likely than men to show off or receive deference but often began and ended talking periods by apologizing for either talking too long or talking at all. They showed support by way of comments during and after a story with questions being of the type that exhibited interest as much as to get answers. In studying the speech patterns of females and males, Eble (1972, cited in Bernard, 1981:382) found that women used more supportive terms while men used more hostile ones. These studies support Bernard's (1981:383) conclusion that the use of language in the female world reflects a "characteristic style of bonding, [a] collaborative rather than [a] combative or competitive" type of speech.

According to Lenz and Myerhoff (1985:27), women usually display support in the form of body language such as facial expression and gestures. They found that women "express their affiliative need throughout their communicative style: They talk in a soft voice, lean toward each other [to] establish heightened eye contact" (Lenz and Myerhoff, 1985:27). Exline (1963:1-20) found that women engage in more eye contact than men, especially in interactions with other women.

Women actively participate through body gestures and facial expressions even when they are not talking (Lenz and Myerhoff, 1985:27). "[N]onverbal behavior seems to play an especially important part in women's lives; many studies have found women to be more sensitive to nonverbal cues than men are" (Henley, 1977:13). According to Lenz and Myerhoff's (1985:27) research, women are better able to interpret body language whether it emanates from women or men. "Both verbal and body language, then, constitute a basic and all-pervading component of female culture, profoundly influencing if not determining, all other aspects" (Bernard, 1981:390).

Vinacke (1959:343-360), Vinacke and Bond (1961:61-65), Vinacke and Uesugi (1963:75-88) found that in games of strategy men play a more aggressive game and women a more collaborative one. That is, "females [were] more oriented towards working out an equitable outcome, as satisfactory to all the participants" (Vinacke, 1959:359). Just as women use collaborative strategies in games, they also employ an interpersonal model for achievement (Bardwick, 1971). Stein and Bailey (1973) discussed an affiliative motive in achievement which "suggest[ed] that women [sought] relational styles of achievement" (Webb, 1983:72). In a sample of students from urban, rural and inner city schools, Farmer (1970, cited in Webb, 1983:73) reported significant sex differences in achieving styles of girls and boys in the 9th and the 12th grades. Girls were more likely to use a collaborative achievement style than were boys who were more likely to use a competitive achievement style.

According to Bernard the love-and/or-duty dynamic of the female world includes three Greek categories of love based on *philos, eros,* (Bernard, 1981: 94-117, 257-275) and *agape.* The first type of love is friendly, the second sexual and the third humanitarian. *Philos* has been discussed in a previous section.

The *eros* or sexual type of love in female culture has posed a paradox for women because sex and sexuality have tended to be negative values in North American female culture. In this context, *eros* is viewed sociologically in relation to another basic component of the female culture, the quest for beauty. Beauty remains a strong value in the female world (Bernard, 1981:475). "[W]omen attach great importance to attractiveness" (Roszak and Roszak, 1969:135).

Clothes, an important aspect of beauty in the female world, are given as much attention as the bodies of the women that display them (Bernard, 1981:477). Women spend considerable time on fashion, e.g., watching fashion trends in magazines, attending fashion shows, discussing clothes with other female friends and participating in "shopping sprees," often with other women. "Whatever the complexity of the world of costume, beautiful clothes remain an important value in female culture" (Bernard, 1981:478).

Women appreciate clothes on each other and success in dressing well is generally rewarded in the female world. It has been argued that women dress for other women, not men (Bernard, 1981:478). Dressing well is a form of competition like many others that provides its own sense of intoxication. This concern with appearance is centred on self rather than other, somewhat of a paradox in the female world. Although there have been many theories to explain this preoccupation with appearance, there is no doubt about the importance it plays in the female world.

The third category of love is the *agape* type of love. Bernard (1981:481) indicated that towards the end of the nineteenth century the "*philos*-oriented form of the love-and/or-duty ethos moved in the direction of *agape*" or towards humanitarianism in its

broadest sense. One reason for this movement was that more university women became exposed to radical new ideas and began to work for female suffrage. This ethos was activist in both a political and nonpolitical sense, sometimes reformist and increasingly sophisticated as larger numbers of college women were exposed to radical new ideas.

One aspect of this *agape* ethos led women to the "professionalization of social activism" (Bernard, 1981:481). Academic women began to make this kind of work into a career that helped them enter the cash economy, even though a significant amount of women's voluntary work was still carried out for humanitarian reasons rather than for money. The philosophy of *agape* helped to gain political equality when other arguments failed to do so. Only when American women argued that the vote would make them better wives (Freeman, 1975:19), help them to reform the world and/or "clean up" society was the idea of suffrage finally endorsed (Bernard, 1981:482). These same arguments were used in Canada to attain female suffrage (Mahood, 1972:30; Stoddart, 1973:92).

Some of the early feminists, who believed that women were morally superior to men, believed this redemptive function was important in the polity. They were so concerned with fighting other people's battles—for example, trying to abolish child labor, to eliminate the sweat shops, and to encourage prohibition—that they were unable to contemplate fighting their own battles.

Although equal rights was a goal of the women's movement, "equality as a general principle has not been a salient value in female culture" (Bernard, 1981:484). The ideology of women's sphere helped resolve the concern of inequality by asserting that although female subordination was essential for societal stability, it did not mean female inferiority. Women seemed to accept this position; however, the ideology that spurred the feminist movement did not incorporate this stance. The movement wanted complete equality, legally, politically and economically. The implications of this type of equality are still being worked out today.

McCormack (1975:24-25) studied another aspect of the *agape* ethos, the political culture of women. She found this culture was very different from that of men, and as a result, women interpret the political world differently. "Kept out of power, they bring other criteria to bear on public issues and persons in public life" (McCormack 1975:25). McCormack described the *agape* nature of female political culture in the following manner: "[T]he responses of women are more moral than pragmatic, status-oriented rather than class-oriented, and concerned with continuity rather than with change ... with the legitimation and normative uses of power as distinct from the acquisition of power" (McCormack, 1975:26). McCormack concluded that the differences between female and male political cultures were differences in kind as well as differences of degree.

Although avant-garde women at the turn of the century recognized that the love-and/or-duty ethos was exacting a high price on women, attempting to change it has proved to be a difficult task. The love-and/or-duty ethos is nonegalitarian, demands a serving role and expects those following it to be compliant and constantly serving others. "Stroking," a term that is sometimes applied to the "expressive" behavior described in Bale's (1950) study of task-oriented groups, best describes the behavior called for in the love-and/or-duty ethos. Stroking refers to "giving, supportive, compliant" (Bernard, 1981:374) behavior such as "showing solidarity, raising the status of others, giving help, rewarding, agreeing, concurring, complying, understanding [and] passively accepting" (Bernard, 1981:502).

These are the behaviors that women are socialized to engage in but such actions may also open the way to exploitation of women. The *agape* ethos is handicapping in both the polity and the economy because it discourages the acquisition of the kind of power used in the male world. Although individual women may achieve power, the love-and/or-duty ethos precludes the acquisition and exercise of power that predominates in the male world:

> Thus although power does not necessarily contravene the love-and/or-duty ethos, the love-and/or duty ethos may contravene the use of power, for if one is constrained to deal with others on a love-and/or-duty basis, it is difficult to attempt to control or to coerce them against their will. (Bernard, 1981:502)

Men historically have been associated with power while women have not been. "In the traditional sense, men have been the norm, making women the 'other,' or the opposite of men" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982a:23). While men have been seen to be forceful, virile, competitive and interested in money, power, and making it to the top, women have been portrayed as weak, intuitive, compassionate, and interested in ethical altruistic goals (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982a:23). Men have been interested in profits while women have been interested in people.

Men's peer relationships, for the most part, have emphasized competition and male decision making based on a hierarchical structure. Women in public service administration, according to Neuse's (1978:440) research, were less committed to formal hierarchy but instead were more willing to submerge their personal power in order to get better participation in decision making. Women teachers resisted hierarchical ranking and "[were] more apt to develop lateral relationships and cross-relationships" according to Ortiz and Marshall (1988:138). Fairholm and Fairholm's research findings concluded that (1984:72) women school administrators tended to favour tactics such as "coalition building, cooptation, and [the] use of their personalit[ies]" to get the work done.

Charters and Jovick (1981:3), Fishel and Pottker (1975) and Meskin (1974) found that women principals stressed cooperation in interpersonal relationships that resulted in a nonstructured, participatory style of decision making that encouraged inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness (Kanter, 1977:68). Women's consistent desire for consensus in decision making was supported by Dumas (1985:98).

According to Shakeshaft (1987a:187), several studies found that "women [were] perceived as being more democratic and participatory than [were] men." For example,

Hemphill, Griffiths and Frederiksen (1962:333) found that women principals involved more teachers at all levels as well as outsiders in their in-basket problems while Hines and Grobman (1956, 1987:100), in their self-reports of principals, found women principals to be more democratic than men principals. One conclusion of Charters and Jovick's research (1981:322) was that "[m]ore participatory decision making appeared in female-managed schools."

Berman's (1982, cited in Shakeshaft, 1987a:187) observational study of meetings found that women high school principals used more cooperative planning strategies than men high school principals while Fairholm and Fairholm (1984:68-75) found that women school principals used coalitions much more than men to reach their desired goals. An examination of female superintendents' administrative styles found women did not dominate discussion in meetings, thereby, increasing the participation rate of others. "In addition, women [superintendents] seemed to use meetings with subordinates as a forum for considering possibilities" (Pitner, 1981:293).

"Women have rarely defined the nature of conflict nor defined the issues. The subject of conflict has been taboo for them" (Bernard, 1978:297). Although substantial literature on conflict resolution based on gender differences is lacking, Gilligan's (1982) theory of moral development of women enhances our understanding of this area. According to Gilligan (1982), women base their thinking about conflict and choice on their understanding of responsibility and relationships. Gilligan's research indicated that conflict presents a dilemma for women because conflict can potentially disrupt relationships, a major concern of women. Thus, women view conflict as fearful and bad.

Miller (1976:125) described women as "Mother Earth" "... [—]the quintessential accommodators, mediators, adapters, and soothers." These two opposing views cause women to frequently withdraw from conflictive situations (Hughes and Robertson, 1980:8). However, according to Bendelow's (1983:2620-A) study, when women

engaged in conflict resolution with staff members in schools, they were evaluated as more effective than men because they tended to use compromise and conciliation as conflict-resolving strategies. Women's ways of resolving conflict is through talking, setting up coalitions and strengthening bonds based on the circumstances of the situation.

"Historically, males have had virtually total control over the formal and material manifestations of power; whereas, the feminine power domain has largely been informal, psychological, and interpersonal" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982a:23). The male domination of females has led to certain personality traits and behaviors in females that have helped to perpetuate this dominance. Women's lack of access to social, economic and political resources has helped to keep them in this subordinate position. "Consequently, women typically have exerted power by using the influence methods of manipulation and ingratiation, as opposed to employing the direct means of assertiveness and aggression used by males" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982a:23).

Cultural factors explain some of the reasons for the nonparticipation of women in power while role constraints are also highly related. Lockheed and Hall (1976:111-124) reviewed the literature on mixed-sex small groups. They discovered that women worked successfully as equals only when they were quiet and inconspicuous: (1) men initiate more verbal acts than women; (2) women are more likely to yield to men's opinions than vice versa; and (3) men spend a larger percentage of their interaction time making suggestions and giving orientations and opinions to the group, whereas women spend the larger percentage of their interaction time agreeing with or praising others in the group (Lockheed and Hall, 1976: 112-114). Aries (1974, cited in Ortiz and Marshall, 1988:138) and Safilios-Rothschild (1979) found that interpersonal relations, intimacy and concern were traits more commonly associated with all-female than all-male groups.

Gilligan's (1982) research suggested that women's orientation to power results from a conception of morality that is different from men's perspective. Women develop a different sense of social reality than men. Where men strive toward individuation, women seek interdependence (of self and other both in love and work); where men move toward separation, women search for attachment (as the path to maturity); where men seek achievement and power, women associate achievement with insensitivity, and power with a lack of caring. These traits (insensitivity, not caring) suggest a loss of femininity which, in turn, produces a major moral dilemma.

Although women do use power, it is defined to fit with their role as nurturers. Miller (1976:83) indicated that women's sense of identity is bound up with the need for others, so the prospect of being powerful with the resultant loss of the need for others suggests a loss of self: "Threat of disruption of an affiliation is perceived as not just a loss of a relationship but as something close to a total loss of self" (Miller, 1976:83). Power defined in the masculine sense threatens such a loss and with it the fear of the destruction of relationships women need for their existence. Therefore, women are comfortable with the use of power to foster the growth and development of others; however, they are reluctant to use power on their own behalf. "[W]omen ... prefer to feel they are enhancing rather than limiting the power of others" (Tetenbaum and Mulkeen, 1987:6).

The costs of the love-and/or duty-ethos are high in producing anger, resentment or guilt. The duty component of the female world's ethos can be emotionally crippling and can generate guilt. The kin-oriented female world can be especially guilt-producing when the violation of role prescription occurs. For example, professional women are guilt ridden when they spend considerable time at work, constantly feeling guilty if they are not with their family and vice versa. "Women have so many—sometimes cross-cutting—obligations, responsibilities, and loyalties that no matter what they do there is plenty of room for guilt" (Bernard, 1981:503).

Bernard found that even though women who work outside the home work in the *Gesellschaft* world they, nevertheless, continued to perform the "heart" functions. They continued to be emotionally supportive (Bernard, 1981:525). One study that attempted to test the masculinization of the female personality found that college women's activity patterns were increasingly becoming like males' previous patterns but that in personality variables women were still high on the female affiliation dimension (1978, cited in Bernard, 1981:525). On the power-motive dimension, "women scored higher than men ... in 1964, but lower in 1978," (Bernard, 1981:525) suggesting a resistance to masculinization.

A more recent example is Gilligan's (1982) study of the moral development of females. Gilligan (1982) found that female subjects viewed morality as helping and pleasing others. A moral problem was conceptualized as arising from conflicting responsibilities that required for its resolution a mode of thinking that was "contextual and narrative rather than formal and abstract" (Gilligan, 1982: 19). Morality in this context was concerned with caring activities that related to the understanding of responsibility and relationship (Gilligan, 1982:19). "Women's place ... has been that of nurturer, caretaker and helpmate, the weaver of those networks of relationships on which she in turn relies" (Gilligan, 1982:17).

Now that nearly all women will spend some time in the work force and approximately half will be working at any given time, the consequences of the impact of *Gesellschaft* on women requires serious consideration (Bernard, 1981:523). Women are increasingly becoming aware of the disadvantages of the female world in a harshly competitive, profit-based system that is predominantly motivated by self-interest and controlled by the patriarchy.

In general, the impact of the love-and/or-duty ethos of female culture on the female world continues to be powerful but is slowly beginning to be questioned as increasing numbers of women enter the work world. For example, the proportion of Canadian

women entering the labour force increased from 38 per cent in 1970 to 53 per cent in 1983 (Government of Canada, 1985). This increase in the proportion of women in the work force suggests that the ethos of the *Gemeinschaft* world will begin to be challenged by the ethos of the *Gesellschaft* world. The *Gesellschaft's* ethos demands self interest, the basis for both the economy and the polity. Female confrontation of the male world calls for a reevaluation by the female world. The impact of *Gesellschaft* on the female world is just now beginning to be seriously dealt with and reevaluation continues to go on in the 1980's.

As women confront the *Gemeinschaft* nature of the work world, they will make changes. These are inevitable, but Bernard questions whether the only alternative women will choose is to become increasingly like men. For example, in recent years the upsurge to a new orientation among women that stresses recognition of their own issues and of female input into all issues does not mean that the other-oriented approach will necessarily be lost because one fundamental reason for more female input into policy issues is to produce a better world for everyone (Bernard, 1981: 489-490). Bernard stated that women will change "but in their own way" (Bernard, 1981:525).

One of these ways of changing is to expect a salary for the kinds of activities that women have previously given freely or for a low salary. "In brief, the caring services until now performed on the basis of love-and/or-duty in the integry have increasingly moved into the economy where they have become saleable commodities" (Bernard, 1981:527). Slowly, the caring of children, of the handicapped, of the elderly and of other helpless people is moving into the cash economy.

However, according to McLaughlin (1979:76-86), the theology of the medieval period that associated caring with voluntary female services continues to be a pervasive part of our current philosophic ideologies. Two religious and societal beliefs of this period were: (1) that it was deemed inappropriate to associate payment with caring services; and (2) that by reason of the natural order, women were assigned the role of

oaregivers. Collière (1986:95) stated that in the nineteenth century the discouragement of women's ability to write led to the development of "an ideology of care based on dedication to the poor and salvation of the soul." This ideology eventually resulted in care being considered "menial work, worthless, requiring no ability, no knowledge and therefore socially and economically unrecognized" (Collière, 1986:95) while cure was strongly valued. These beliefs resulted in social policies that opposed the recognition and the reward of caring services so that caring services became devalued in comparison with more aggressive, external achievements (Saiving, 1979:35). These beliefs caused Bernard (1981:527) to question whether it can be defined as caring, if a monetary recompense is involved. That is, the motivation behind caring should be altruistic with no expected return of any kind.

Bernard and other authors' depictions of the female world suggest that any attempt to characterize this world simply means that "the norms—legal, conventional, moral whatever—prescribe, permit or at least tolerate this behavior" in females (Bernard, 1981:30). It does not mean that all female members conform to every item described because, to date, there are insufficient data from which to develop a comprehensive and unified portrait of the female world (Bernard, 1981:30). "[Neither does it] imply that all the women in it are angels or saints or loving, serving goddesses or embodiments of the 'true womanhood' celebrated in women's sphere in the nineteenth century" (Bernard, 1981:504). Still, it cannot be denied that whatever the cost, a large proportion of women conform, or at least try to conform, to the requirements of this ethos.

Summary

Several conceptualizations of the female world were described. One important conceptualization, women's sphere, ascribed to women the roles of homemaker, child rearer and volunteer. Women were to be the major comforters in society.

Polarities were delineated that characterized the female world. These polarities described the changes that occurred in social relationships as societies evolved through various historical stages. Two polarities, *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* were described. *Gemeinschaft*, associated with the female world, involves the psycho-social aspects of relationships and includes a holistic orientation.

Two aspects of the female world, the *Gemeinschaft* orientation and the love-and/or-duty ethos were elaborated on. The *Gemeinschaft* or kin-orientation assigns to women the major responsibility for initiating and sustaining relationships with family, relatives and friends. Thus, women act as the major integrators in society.

The love-and/or-duty ethos includes emphasis on the reproductive role of women, the friendships between women, the different styles of communicating, decision making and conflict resolving that women practice. Power is also handled differently in the female world. Women's approach to their appearance is also an important aspect.

The impact of the *Gemeinschaft* orientation and the love-and/or-duty ethos suggests that women's orientations to the world are strongly based on their needs for affiliation, i.e., relationships constitute such an important part of women's world that they have major implications for all other aspects of their lives.

CHAPTER 3

THE WORLD OF NURSING

Research on nursing has not produced a complete, coherent picture of the world of nursing. Nevertheless, an overview of the literature on nursing will help to determine the degree to which it has an affinity with the female world as described by Bernard and other writers. The following chapter will demonstrate that nursing evolved with the evolution of the female world. The intent is to show the relevance of the conceptualization of the female world for the development of nursing and nurses. This chapter will document that nursing, a female-dominated profession, clearly reflects the conceptualizations of nature/nurture and the women's sphere, along with the *agape* ethos and an uneasiness with feminism. The relationship between the world of nursing and the female world will help to provide the basis for exploring the question of whether nursing brings distinctive views to administration.

The Nature/Nurture Approach

The nature/nurture or essentialist/accidentalist approaches provide the basis for relating the development of nursing to the female world by viewing nursing as exclusively women's work. Nursing is viewed as women's work along with assumptions such as innate maternalism, passivity and the acceptance of male domination.

The "essentialists" define women and men on a biological basis, linking femininity to either nurturance and supportiveness or intuitiveness and sensitivity (Vetterling-Braggin, 1982:33). On the other hand, the nurture theorists or "accidentalists" explain the link between sex and gender as due to environmental factors, especially social conditioning that produces definite sex roles.

One role, the motivation to care, has been socially assigned to women. For example, in 30 cultures studied, the folk health systems tended to separate caring and curing roles and linked caring responsibilities to women, while curing responsibilities were associated with men. According to Leininger (1984:50), "[i]n non-Western and Western societies, most male cure-givers were in the field of medicine" while caring behaviors were mainly provided by female professional and nonprofessional caregivers, such as nurses.

Nurses have come through different phases, from being identified with whores to an association with "ministering angels" (Muff, 1982:119). The extremes of the stereotypes of nurses have been depicted in early fictional work such that nursing was often described as marginal work performed by marginal women. "Criminals, prostitutes, intemperate and immoral women were common among the ranks of those calling themselves nurses" (Hughes, 1980:60). This portrait of nurses is best illustrated by Sairy Gamp, a nurse, in Dicken's book, *Martin Chuzzlewit*. Sairy is described as frequently drunk and failing to make any distinction between a birth and a death: "[I]t was difficult to enjoy her society without becoming conscious of a smell of spirits ... she took to [her profession] very kindly; insomuch, that setting aside her natural predilections as a woman, she went to a lying-in and a laying-out with equal zest and relish" (Dickens, 1944:292).

"The portrayal of nurses' sexuality might also be interpreted in the larger cultural dichotomy posed in the images of the Virgin and the Whore; like other women, nurses appear either as saintly angels or as degraded creatures of the flesh" (Melosh, 1983:170). This dichotomous image, whore/virgin, supports the notion of nurses being seen as representatives of nature. The healing assumption associated with women and, thereby, nurses meant that, as early as 1883, very little training was considered to be necessary for nurses since it was commonly believed that all women could nurse (1883, cited in Hughes, 1980:59). According to Hughes (1980:59, emphasis added),

"[t]he public assumed that all women had a *natural* affinity for nursing work and that providing care for the sick came as second *nature* to any woman." Thus, nursing has historically evolved from a tradition of women as natural healers and nurturers. "Woman is an instinctive nurse, taught by *Mother Nature*." (Ehrenreich and English, 1973:35-36, emphasis added).

Women have always nursed sick children and relatives (O'Brien, 1987:13; Reverby, 1987:2):

> Women have always been healers. They were the unlicensed doctors and anatomists of Western history .... They were midwives, travelling from home to home and village to village. For centuries women were doctors without degrees, barred from books and lectures, learning from each other, and passing on experience from neighbor to neighbor and mother to daughter. They were called "wise women" by the people, witches or charlatans by the authorities. Medicine is part of our heritage as women, our history, our birthright. (Ehrenreich and English, 1973:1)

During the fourteenth to the seventeenth centuries in Europe, these female healers eventually declined because they were hunted down by the Church and the state as witches. This witch hunt partly resulted from the fact that these healers were autonomous women and partly because of the empirical nature of their practice "which contravened both the Church's anti-materialism and the hocus-pocus practice of university-trained physicians" (Coburn, 1974:127-128). The church approved of male physicians and often used them as authorities during witch trials (McNab, 1979:16).

In Canada, women were the major healers from the beginning of the first French settlement in the early seventeenth century to the late nineteenth century. It was not until the nineteenth century that advances in medical science put the physician ahead of the self-taught female healers, leaving them with the role of "serving those with the scientific knowledge. This was called nursing" (Coburn, 1974:128). At this time, women were prevented from entering medical schools. In fact, Canada's first female

physician, Dr. Emily Howard Stowe, who graduated in 1868, had to go to the United
States for her medical education (Cleverdon, 1974:19).

Canadian nursing had its origins in French nursing sisterhoods such as the
Augustian Sisters who arrived during the French regime and moved west with the
frontier (Coburn, 1974:129). Many other nurses came from wealthy French families
such as the famous Jeanne Mance, unlike many English nurses who often came from
the servant class. Along with this French ecclesiastical heritage came "a strong tradition
of subservience and sacrifice" (Coburn 1974:129), especially to men, a behavior
pattern that was to become a dominant part of Canadian nursing.

This behavior pattern was a strong part of the behavior accepted by women as part
of women's sphere.

Women's Sphere

According to O'Brien (1987:14), "[n]ursing was still very much a domestic art in
the mid-nineteenth century. To practice it in the home was to fulfill the calling of 'true
womanhood.' To practice it for a wage kept one within the domestic sphere, a world
where the only pertinent analogy was to the 'chambermaids.' " Around this time
(1860's), the "new" profession of nursing was established in England by Florence
Nightingale who insisted that women from the upper classes could make a respectable
career out of nursing. These "new" nurses were required to have medical instruction, a
subject previously regarded as taboo for Victorian women; "[t]o promote the
respectability of their actions, nursing was extolled as the epitome of a women's
nurturing, serving role —it was not to be regarded as an occupation like others [rather]
… emphasis was to centre on *high moral character*, not skills" (Coburn, 1974:136,
emphasis added). Nightingale, who also encouraged the myth that women's work
outside the home was not considered "real work" but merely an extension of work in

the home, also insisted that "nurses [could not] be registered or examined any more than mothers" (1960, cited in Coburn, 1974:156).

It must be remembered that at a time when Nightingale was urging well-bred, respectable women to consider nursing as a vocation, society was dictating that women should stay at home and develop "ladylike" behavior. To ameliorate these two conflicting ideologies, the myth of the compatibility between marriage and nursing developed (Hughes, 1982:162). In the early twentieth century, nursing allowed achievement-oriented women to work outside the home by bringing the private sphere to the public arena. "That is, by staying within the confines of the authoritarian (male) system of health care and playing out the extended maternal role, nurses were able to carve out a niche in the world outside the home" (Church and Poirier, 1986:107). However, subservience to the system was the price they paid for this choice.

The roots of nursing derive from the home, the domestic sphere. "Historically, the source of nursing status and prestige has been the manner in which nurses have been able to link home and hospital" (O'Brien, 1987:16). Stinson (1968: 382) viewed the period when nursing was practised in the home setting and nurses were independent practitioners as the halcyon days of nursing. In North America, early in the 1900's care of the sick began to be institutionalized. A different type of nursing practice emerged which was based on an organizational model with physicians (Twaddle and Hessler, 1977:193-194) and later lay hospital administrators, both usually males, in the power positions.

Nightingale's philosophy influenced these hospitals and had an impact on the French nursing orders in Canada. Part of this philosophy was the absolute adherence to authoritarian values that resulted in strict subservience to physicians (Coburn, 1974:139). "The 'ideal lady' transplanted from home to hospital was to show wifely obedience to the doctor, motherly self-devotion to the patient and a firm mistress/servant discipline to those below the rung of nurse" (Coburn, 1974:139).

Nightingale's system was a female hierarchy where orders were passed down from the nursing superintendent to the probationer (O'Brien, 1987:7).

Since hospital nursing, like other forms of women's work, was viewed as merely an extension of the type of work women performed at home (Church and Poirier, 1986:104; Fitzpatrick, 1977:821; Wolff, 1977:18), the role of nurses was one of caring for the "hospital family." "Through service and self-sacrifice, they were to work continuously to keep the 'family' happy" (Ashley, 1977:17). Nurses were expected to meet the needs of the men (physicians) who, although they did not reside in the home (hospital), nevertheless retained (and still do) most of the authority for the functioning of the household (hospital).

While Roberts and Group (1973:318) indicated that nursing pioneers emphasized that hospital work required "the wifely virtues of absolute obedience, the selfless devotion of mother, and the kindly discipline of a household manager," Coburn (1974:155) pointed out that the public sector, as a major employer of women, took advantage of this stereotype of the female (nurse) role. "It was hardly necessary to justify low wages for nurses when their work was considered a public service and similar to unpaid work in the home. Like housework—nursing the ill ... [was] 'esteemed' as [a] familial labour of love" (Coburn, 1974:155).

At this time career commitment was not a strong expectation for nurses. One of the advantages of nursing as a career, according to the 1916 Report of the Ontario Commission on Unemployment, was that it prepared women to be better fitted for marriage (Coburn, 1974:155). This idea was reiterated in 1928 by Doan, a physician, who stated that "[t]he profession of motherhood is certainly benefitted by the information, the knowledge, which nurses secure" (Crow, 1971:59). "Both physicians and hospital administrators repeatedly argued that nurses could make their main contributions to society by becoming wives and mothers" (Ashley, 1975b:1467). Hospital regulations reinforced this attitude along with public pressure that prohibited

women from staying in the profession after marriage (Coburn, 1974:156). Nurses who trained in the 1940's and 1950's were repeatedly told that nurses made the best wives and mothers (Melosh, 1983:174). This sentiment was reiterated over and over again in novels about nurses (Melosh, 1983:174).

Nursing has been strongly influenced by the "bourgeois ideology of femininity" or "feminine domesticity" that determined that women's (nurses') work outside the home was simply an extension of women's work inside the home, along with the expected "set of acquiescent female attributes" (Coburn, 1974:155). Low wages and poor working conditions were accepted because nursing work was considered a public service "labour of love," merely a supplement to the primary duties of housewife (Coburn, 1974:155). "Nursing was to be, therefore, a woman's duty not her job. Obligation and love, not the need of work, were to bind the nurse to her patient. Caring was to be an unpaid labor of love" (Reverby, 1986:6).

This altruistic image of nursing was supported by research carried out by Kalisch and Kalisch (1982d:605-611) who documented nursing's image in 204 English-speaking films released between 1930 and 1979. They found the films released between 1930 and up until the end of World War II portrayed nursing in a positive light with nurses recognizing the value of their own contributions. "[M]ost motion picture characters chose nursing for such altruistic motives as caring for others, engaging in a worthwhile activity and serving one's country" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982d:605).

For a short period during World War II, nursing skills and authority exceeded the acceptable bounds of women's work (Melosh, 1983:175), and nurses were portrayed as women who exceeded appropriate role behavior for their sex. For example, nurse characters in films were portrayed as having "a high level of independence and even aggressiveness" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982d:609).

Following the war, films sought to return women and, thereby, nurses to their "rightful place" at home with their children. The characterizations of nurses in most

films of the late 1940's and 1950's featured nurses seeking "romantic, marital and domestic fulfillment" that resulted in their careers being terminated when domestic stability was established (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1982d:609). However, some post-war depictions portrayed nurses as competent and, thereby, questionable as women. "Once shown as the embodiment of idealized female character, nursing increasingly appears as work that would pervert or unsex women" (Melosh, 1983:170). Many forms of literature portraying nurses reflected the new impression of the conflicting demands of work and womanhood. "The common stereotype of the head nurse or supervisor showed nurses with authority as frustrated single women, battleaxes who might be respected but were not loved" (Melosh, 1983:171).

The lack of commitment to feminism and the feminist movement's lack of support of nurses caused them to respond to the depictions of nurses overstepping the bounds of traditional female behaviour by maintaining that nursing was compatible with "the feminine mystique" (Melosh, 1983:175), the title of a book written by Betty Friedan. This book had a profound impact on the female world. According to Friedan, the feminine mystique was a belief that women found their destiny in life through childbearing and rearing. The housewife-mother became the prototype for all women:

> The feminine mystique says that the highest value and the only commitment for women is the fulfillment of their own femininity....
> The mistake, says the mystique, the root of women's troubles in the past is that women envied men, women tried to be like men, instead of accepting their own *nature*, which can find fulfillment only in sexual passivity, male domination, and nurturing maternal love. (Friedan, 1963:37)

Ashley (1975b:1465) believed this same myth was responsible for fostering male dominance in the health field and for discouraging nurses from competing economically with men for monetary recompense.

In struggling to resolve the contradiction between the ideology of women's sphere and working outside the home, just as Florence Nightingale had done in the mid-

nineteenth century, the same argument of women's special propensity for nursing was revived. As Lucile Petry, an American nurse educator, so aptly stated in 1946, "[s]ince it is women's part to create and heal and comfort, nursing is one of the most rewarding vocations open to women .... Preparation for nursing is more than preparation for a professional career; it is preparation for living as an intelligent citizen, as wife and homemaker" (Densford and Everett, 1946:iii). So at a time when there was a shortage of nurses and nurse's work was becoming more skilled, autonomous and further removed from the domestic domain, arguments were revived of the special fit between nursing and "proper women's work" (Melosh, 1983:174).

Kalisch, Kalisch and Scobey's (1983b) research supported these arguments. They chronicled and analyzed the development of the image of nurses on television in the 1950's. Nurses were portrayed as sympathetic women and good nurses but the qualities they were most frequently lauded for were "intuitive, sympathetic, empathetic, self-sacrificing, self-effacing, generous, and comforting .... Nurse characters often gave up their profession for marriage and family" (Kalisch, Kalisch and Scobey, 1983b:16).

A column in the 1959 issue of the American journal, *Nursing World*, exemplified the impact of this myth by suggesting that the education of nurses and the subsequent rise in the acquisition of skills was moving nurses in the direction of the "masculine principle" and warned that "[w]hen the feminine side is overwhelmed and pushed into the background, the prevailing symptoms are depression, general dissatisfaction, and lack of zest." This author suggested that nurses had to carefully balance the "male" work and the "female" personality (1959, cited in Melosh, 1983:174). Thus, nursing evolved along with the ideology of women's sphere. Nursing was one of the few professions open to women. Nurses were able to work outside the home as long as they carried the values of home and hearth into the workplace.

Part of women's sphere included a humanitarian orientation, or the *agape* ethos.

The *Agape* Ethos

According to historians, nineteenth-century women in Canada and the United States had a strong propensity for cooperating with each other in voluntary organizations (Coburn, 1974:133; Lagermann, 1983:14; Shaw, 1957:37-75). These female groups started out as pioneering religious and benevolent groups of the 1810's and 1820's and progressed toward the end of the century to more controversial organizations aimed at reforming society and changing women's position. These voluntary organizations provided women with chances for companionship, self-development, social service and collective advancement. "One reason for this proliferation of women's groups was the sense of a special female identity created, or at least intensified, by the gap between men's and women's experiences and responsibilities in an increasingly specialized urban and industrial economy" (Lagermann, 1983:14). The success of these organizations emphasized their sense of a shared female identity. "[W]omen felt a positive relationship with all women. They felt obliged to be the protectors of women whether they were the heathen in foreign lands or the women within their community" (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976:224).

One of the most important Canadian national women's organizations was The National Council of Women of Canada (National Council) which was established in 1893 with the Countess of Aberdeen, the wife of the Governor General, as its first president. At this time, "[t]he proper sphere of women was not politics or economics, it was the home, the nurturing of family life and values. The formula of the National Council ... with its aim of 'mothering', indicated that even the more reform-oriented women's clubs were not going to upset the established system" (Cook and Mitchinson, 1976:224). The National Council expressed its official aim in the belief that "the best good of our homes and nation will be advanced by our own greater unity of thought,

sympathy and purpose, and that an organized movement of women will best conserve the highest good of the Family and the State" (National Council of Women, 1975:241).

The National Council supported many public health causes such as crusades for safe water and milk supplies, the reduction of infant mortality and the development of a mental hygiene program. Local Councils of Women were established in cities throughout Canada (Shaw, 1957:39). The National Council, mostly composed of upper class women, established the Victorian Order of Nurses (VON) in 1887 with Lady Aberdeen as the first president. Within two years there were three training centres in Montreal, Toronto and Halifax (Shaw, 1957:39). The VON became federated with the National Council in 1900. At that time it was reported that the VON had branches in 20 districts (Shaw, 1957:40). A symposium on the care of the sick was held at the first annual meeting of the National Council. After the 1920's, nursing organizations in North America relied less on philanthropic women although the National Council showed some involvement with the VON well into the 1940s (Shaw, 1957).

In 1901, Lady Minto, an honorary member of the National Council and the wife of the then Governor General, inaugurated the Queen Victoria Memorial Cottage Hospital Scheme. These "cottages" were small hospitals set up in Canadian frontier towns to provide nursing and medical care for settlers. These hospitals were established by many Local Councils in the provinces (Shaw, 1957:40).

In 1905, the newly formed National Association of Trained Nurses (NATN), forerunner of the Canadian Nurses Association (CNA), requested that the National Council support the movement for establishing registration for nurses because at that time anyone could practise nursing "no matter how inefficient the training, obtained in many cases through correspondence schools" (Shaw, 1957:40). In 1912, the National Council resolved to "cooperate in securing adequate and uniform acts of registration which would set training standards, and shortly afterwards announced that Manitoba

had adopted a registration bill which required that nurses be fully trained in order to be eligible for registration" (Shaw, 1957:41).

A committee on nursing was set up by the National Council in 1914 with Miss Ard Mackenzie, chief superintendent of the VON, as chair. In 1949, when the Yale School of Alcohol Studies offered the Ontario Council three scholarships, one was given to a faculty member at Queen's University School of Nursing (Shaw, 1957:59). In 1950, the National Council requested that the Department of National Health and Welfare's special health grants being authorized for the expansion of hospitals also be used to expand nurses' residences (Shaw, 1957:59).

According to Shaw (1957:157) the "Council staunchly support[ed] the interests of Canadian nurses in war service, as in peacetime." In turn, as a patriotic service, the NATN offered to obtain fully qualified nurses from whom the Militia Department could select the number needed. However, when the appointments were made, the identified nurses were not selected. This situation prompted an immediate protest from the National Council members some of whom eventually interviewed the Prime Minister over this matter. After this interview, he assured them that he would take precautions to see that this did not happen in the future (Shaw, 1957:158).

Another example of the cooperation between women's groups and nurses occurred in Ontario where women's charitable organizations financed a significant number of hospitals in which nurses made up the largest portion of the staff. "Women, with their traditional responsibility in the area of health care, were to prove very useful to the state. In their roles as inexpensive benefactors, organizers and health-care workers, as well as mothers, they were to provide the state with a healthy labour force" (Coburn, 1974:133). Similarly, public health services were organized to meet the local health needs through women's groups in communities in both Ontario and later in Saskatchewan (Coburn, 1974:148). Early on in Canada, trained midwifery was incorporated into the public health nursing program and was controlled by a coalition of

upper-class women reformers, the provincial governments and the medical profession (Coburn, 1974:150).

As has been exemplified above, a common female heritage led to an alliance between Canadian nurses and philanthropic women that flourished during the first two decades of the twentieth century. Women philanthropists' liaison with nurses helped to illustrate how "[p]rogressive-era women's entry into the political process was precipitated by issues that had special resonance [for women] because [these issues] touched on women's opportunities and their already sanctioned duties [which included responsibilities for health]" (Armeny, 1983:33).

These examples also serve to illustrate the relation between the world of nursing and one aspect of the female world, the *agape* ethos or humanitarianism. The nursing élite befriended and were befriended by philanthropic women on the basis of social service concepts espoused by these volunteer women starting in the mid-nineteenth century. Nurses' alliance with women's groups was based mainly on the precepts of the *agape* ethos or "a sense of women's solidarity in good works" (Armeny 1983:33), rather than women's rights. The ideology of women's sphere supported the notion that female subordination was necessary for societal stability even though this did not mean female inferiority. As Bernard pointed out (1981:484), "equality as a general principle has not been a salient value in female culture," nor has it been a pronounced feature of nursing.

This lack of concern with equity issues has meant that nursing has experienced an uneasy relationship with feminism.

Nursing and Feminism

In the United States, the Popular Health Movement of the 1830's-1840's was initiated by women and resulted from a distrust of the professional élitism of the medical profession. This movement promoted the continuation of traditional community

medicine (Coburn, 1974:133) and coincided with the rise of the first women's movement in the United States (Ehrenreich and English, 1973:24). Feminists in the early women's movement were convinced that women's rights were inseparable from the need for women to have better, more humane health care and for women to have access to medical schools. Rather than challenging nursing as an oppressive female role, late nineteenth century feminists supported "the newly recognized role of the nurse-mother" (Archer and Goehner, 1982:29).

Vance, Talbott, McBride and Mason (1985:281) noted that "[f]eminist women and nurses have historically had an uneasy relationship." Chinn and Wheeler (1985:74) wrote that "[t]he relationship between nursing and feminism is obscure. The profession has been notably absent from the women's movement, and with few exceptions, nursing literature has not incorporated feminist thinking and feminist theory." Webb (1982:29) stated that "nurses show little interest in feminist activities." These observations are supported by Allen (1985:20-22), Vance et al. (1985:282) and Breen (1986:16). With few exceptions, nurses have not identified with or allied themselves with the women's movement.

An American study based on in-depth interviews about the nurse practitioner's perception of her role, along with issues concerning health care and social change, found that "while the women's movement has been acknowledged, its impact [has] remain[ed] limited" (Simmons and Rosenthal, 1981:372). Another study, carried out in the mid-seventies of a sample of 68 nursing students from a Canadian hospital diploma program found that 75 percent of the subjects did not "embrace the goals of the women's movement" (MacLeod, 1976:iii). MacLeod's study concluded that "[a]s a group of women, nurses have not become involved in the women's movement to any extent." Generally nurses have been shunned by feminists because of the view that nursing, a traditionally female profession (Fitzpatrick, 1977:818; Howe, 1975:168; Kushner, 1973:77; Opie, 1985:174; Simmons and Rosenthal, 1981: 371), is one of the

female ghettos from which women should be encouraged to escape from (Edelstein,

1971:294; Vance et al., 1985:281):

> Nursing tends to epitomize a constellation of characteristics and
> problems from which many women are attempting to dissociate
> themselves. Consequently the efforts of the women's movement during
> the past several years have promoted the entrée of women into male-
> dominated, higher-status professions but have scarcely helped the
> nursing profession. (Fitzpatrick, 1977:818)

For the most part, Canadian women who wanted to become doctors at the

beginning of the twentieth century were ardent feminists. Because they were pursuing a

profession that was seen as inherently masculine, they were freed from the feminine

mystique. In contrast, nurses became confused with feminine duties which "forc[ed

them] to repress their discontent behind the two-fold image of silent nurse and

sacrificing mother" (Coburn, 1974:156). The motto of the first Canadian training

school for nurses was "I see and am silent" (Coburn, 1974:140).

Ashley (1975b:1465) posited that at the turn of the century nurses were the most

conservative of professional women and with rare exceptions were nonfeminists.

"Early [nursing] leaders overlooked their second-class status as women and identified

with limited movements, such as the development of hospitals as businesses" (Ashley,

1975b:1465). Ashley believed that the failure of nurses to identify with feminists led to

the failure of the nursing profession to liberate both nursing education and practice.

Instead, both areas were coopted into hospital management and nurses were exploited

politically and economically while other groups, especially physicians, prospered at

their expense (Ashley, 1977:26; Church and Poirier, 1986:106; Lovell, 1981:25-40).

Cleland's 1971 (1971:1544) statement that "sex discrimination is nursing's most

pervasive problem" was supported by two other nurse authors (Keller, 1979:1585-

1586; Levinson, 1976:426-431). Cleland indicated that nursing leadership was "weak"

and "unimaginative" between the 1940's and the 1960's because of the growth of the

"cult of women as sex symbols." Her observations were supported by a study of

motion pictures from 1930 to 1980 that sought to determine how often nurses were depicted as sex objects. Using content analysis to document the nurse's image in 191 motion pictures featuring 211 nurses as significant characters, Kalisch, Kalisch and McHugh (1982b:147) found that 73 percent of the roles portrayed nurses as sex objects and that this stereotype rose significantly in the 1960's and 1970's. Using the same methodology, these authors researched the image of nurses in romance novels and found that novels written by physicians "displayed a predilection for presenting nurse characters as sex objects" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1983a: 22).

Ashley (1975b:1466) maintained that most nursing leaders failed to realize the impact of male dominance in the health care field and the long-term effects of female subordination. In the United States prior to and following 1910, physicians adamantly protested that nurses had gone beyond their prerogative by establishing nursing as a profession regulated by female nurses (Ashley, 1975b:1466). Torres (1981:3) noted that, initially, nursing education was controlled by nurses but eventually came under the jurisdiction of physicians in the last decade of the nineteenth century until the mid-twentieth century.

Dock, an American nurse feminist (suffragette), was aware of the danger of the consequences of male dominance in health care delivery and warned nurses against it. As Dock said in 1903, "[nursing] has not made itself a moral force; is not a public conscience; takes no position in large public questions; is not feared by those of low standards; allows all manner of new conditions and developments in nursing affairs to arise, flourish, succeed, or fail" (1904, cited in Ashley, 1975b:1466). However, nurses failed to heed her warnings, and in the second decade of this century American nurses accepted the position of nonvoting members in the American Hospital Association. Early nurse practice acts focused mainly on restricting nurses' actions rather than providing protection and privileges for nurses. This reinforced the myth of female dependency and perpetuated the myth of medical (male) supervision.

The hospital setting has always been typically characterized by "a gender-based hierarchy [consisting of] the dominant, male physician and the submissive, female nurse" (Lewin, 1977:89). Just as housewives, who are usually responsible for the expressive functions of their families, occupy the pivotal positions around which other family members revolve, nurses are the professionals who remain on the hospital units while other health care personnel move about freely. Thus, nurses perform the integrating functions of informing the health care team, especially physicians, about other health care workers' activities and of generally acting as the "mother" of the health care family.

This relationship is similar to the patriarchal marriage that predominates in North American society (Archer and Goehner, 1982:44). Nurses have always played the "traditional subordinate role of wife to the medical husband, dutiful, overworked, underpaid" (Bullough, 1977:27). This symbolic marriage is based on the traditional sex role conception of the female world, the nurse being the wife-mother.

According to Colwill, Con and Lips (1978:265), "the marital roles provide us with an interesting microcosm of our general sex-role structure: men in our society protect, create, initiate, and decide, and women care for and defer to others." Cleland (1971:1546) stated that this sex role behavior was also apparent in academia where "[t]he acquiescing behavior of nurse directors and deans is often 'wife-like' toward the male hospital or university administrator like housewives asking for grocery money."

The patriarchal environment that pervades most health care institutions, especially hospitals, produces certain stereotypic role relationships that get acted out in a phenomenon called the "doctor-nurse game" (Stein, 1968:101-105). In this game, the cardinal rule is that nurses always defer to doctors by making suggestions in such a way that they appear to be the doctor's recommendations:

> The doctor-nurse game, of course, is in reality not a "game" at all. It is a
> particular expression of the broader contradiction between men and
> women, between the masculine monopoly on authority and the
> consequent feminine struggle for power, which characterizes the
> structure of the wider society, and which permeates all its institutions,
> especially those which emphasize gender-based hierarchical
> organization. (Lewin, 1977:93)

Physicians assume the "instrumental" or goal-seeking, curing functions while

nurses are assigned the "expressive," caring functions, one of which is to keep the

physician-nurse role set in harmony (Johnson and Martin, 1958:375). Or put another

way, physicians (male) have the primary active intellectual role (diagnosis and

prescription) while nurses (female) have the primary passive nonintellectual role

(nurturance and compassion) (Muff, 1982:113-156; Roberts and Group, 1973: 304).

"[Nurses] ... are selfless mother-substitute[s] provid[ing] nurturing care for patients

and physicians" (Passau-Buck, 1982:204; emphasis in original).

During the 1960's American television pictured nurses as playing very minor roles

in health care delivery (Kalisch et al., 1983b:18-40). By the 1970's, television

programs ignored the role of hospital staff nurses and placed more emphasis on the

development of medical technology and surgical techniques. "The doctor heroes ...

frequently perform[ed] nursing tasks and provide[ed] the major source of compassion

and comfort for their hospitalized patients. Nurses were left to perform such duties as

carrying trays, pushing wheelcarts, and answering the phone" (Kalisch et al.,

1983b:59).

From the 1960's to the 1980's nurses' good moral character was put in question

and nurses were often defamed in overstated ways in the movies (Kalisch and Kalisch,

1982d:610) while

> the 1970s showed the lowest point for the appearance of nurses
> providing emotional support to patients and their families, acting as a
> professional resource, carrying out nursing process activities, and
> providing physical comfort to patients. (Kalisch and Kalisch,
> 1982d:611)

As the 1980's are coming to an end, Kalisch and Kalisch's research (1987) shows that the various stereotypes of nurses portrayed by the mass media show nurse characters as less important and capable. "[Nurses] are viewed less positively by other characters; they are portrayed as if they make far fewer contributions to patients' well-being, and as if they are incapable of autonomous judgement. Furthermore, physicians are shown to place little value on their nurse colleagues" (Kalisch and Kalisch, 1987:182).

Feminist theory documents that women are oppressed. If nursing is viewed as an oppressed group, nurses' lack of awareness of the domination of health care by males is more easily understood. Roberts (1983:27) listed three undesirable effects of oppression in nursing: "divisiveness, the low level of participation in professional nursing organizations, and a lack of effective leadership in nursing." Nurses fail to recognize these traits as arising from a self-perpetuating oppressive system. This system results in the tendency to reject that which the dominant system devalues (women and nurses), even if this includes one's own group. "It is as if to align with other nurses is to align with other powerless persons—something that has been shown to be unwise" (Chinn and Wheeler, 1985:76).

Roberts (1983:26) argued that although nurses were once an autonomous group in the last century, strong societal forces such as bureaucratization along with the establishment of a male hierarchy, i.e., physicians and hospital administrators, have combined to produce an oppressed group. Nurses find it difficult to recognize this situation because they have become so acculturated to this structure. "Nursing in its utter isolation from all vestiges of power except in its own group, can be likened to the exploitation of American Negroes in our culture. With women, as with Negroes, dominance is most complete when it is not even recognized" (Cleland, 1971:1543). For example, nurses in academic settings have been rewarded for taking on the characteristics of the dominant male group and, thereby, are rewarded for being

marginal (Benoliel, 1975:22-27; Rober~~~ 1983: 21-30; Torres, 1981:1-16, 14;). That is, nurses are rewarded for being "intelligent, decisive and showing no emotion rather than warmth, nurturance and sensitivity" (Roberts, 1983:27).

Another trait of oppressed groups is lack of knowledge or complete denial of the group's own culture. This situation has led to a lack of pride in the profession due to disinterest and, thereby, a general ignorance among nurses about their own history and culture, which encompasses the history of women. The history of Canadian nursing has not been considered a priority until recently. For example, in June, 1987 (Canadian Nurse, 1987:43) the first Canadian Association for the History of Nursing was formed and the first national nursing history conference is scheduled for June, 1988 (Canadian Nurse, 1988:49).

Until very recently nursing history generally failed to document the nursing leaders who were feminists. Nevertheless, there has been some feminist thinking in nursing. Before working in the Crimean War, Florence Nightingale (1979:25) wrote: "Why have women passion, intellect, moral activity—these three—and a place in society where not one of the three can be exercised?" Her famous book Notes on Nursing (1946: foreword) was motivated by her belief that the education of Victorian women did not include knowledge about women's bodies and the basic knowledge needed to care for the sick. Although Nightingale joined the English suffrage society and was an annual contributor (Nauright, 1984:8), she refused to actively participate in the women's movement because, according to Connors (1982, cited in Chinn and Wheeler, 1985:77), she felt powerless to change women's situation. "Nightingale was a believer in women's emancipation though not in women's rights" (Showalter, 1981:411). Also, it can be speculated that her upper-class position allowed her easy access to the world of male power and action.

Fenwick, another British nurse, "devoted her life to the struggle for equality for women and the advancement of nursing as a profession" (Anderson, 1981:32). Her

statement that "the nurse question is the women question" (Dock and Stewart, 1938: 254) is as relevant today as it was in 1887.

On two occasions Dock, an American feminist, who devoted twenty years to the cause of suffrage (Christy, 1969:73), expressed her humiliation with nurses regarding the women question. The first was in 1908 when the American Nurses' Association Alumnae failed to endorse the Women's Suffrage League (Kramptiz, 1985:12). The second was in 1951 when, at the age of 93, she expressed her disappointment in the American Nurses' Association's failure to endorse the equal rights amendment to the Constitution of the United States. She referred to this decision "as ... a slap not only to American women but to those of the whole world" (Christy, 1971:292).

Margaret Sanger, another American nurse feminist, was a "champion of women's well-being—their own and that of their families" (Ruffing-Rahal, 1986:246). Sanger, who described herself as "the protagonist of women who have nothing to lose but" (1923, cited in Ruffing-Rahal, 1986:249), openly confronted political and social institutions. She was a nurse midwife and a strong birth control advocate who opened the first birth control clinic in the United States (Ruffing-Rahal, 1986:248).

Prior to 1913, the *American Journal of Nursing's* position on suffrage was one of neutrality with both points of view usually published in the same journal. However, in 1913 the Association endorsed female suffrage (Wheeler, 1985:30). Data to date suggests that *The Canadian Nurse Journal* did not embrace suffrage and has not developed any definite policy about feminism. It is interesting to note that the Canadian Nurses' Association's (CNA) Library in Ottawa has no subject index for "feminism." When the investigator attempted to look up articles on any aspect of nurses and political activity, there were only two references listed under "Nurses-Political Activities" and one each under "Women in Politics" and "Women-Political Activity." According to the editor, although the index of this journal contains no subject category termed

"feminism," articles with a strong feminist slant started to appear in *The Canadian Nurse Journal* around 1984-85.

Administrative officers of the CNA belong to feminist organizations in Ottawa in an official capacity. However, they are there as observers rather than as free standing members. Although the CNA has not embraced a feminist stance, it has been involved with issues involving "justice," such as nurses being depicted in a denigrating fashion. At the CNA biennial meeting in Regina in June, 1986, one of the resolutions was "to respond to the negative portrayal of nurses on television serials and to establish mechanisms for portraying a more positive image" (*Canadian Nurses' Association*, 1986:20).

Data on women who were leaders in the Canadian women's movement early in the twentieth century suggest that nurses were not actively involved in this group (Cook, 1974:xi). However, one issue that nurses shared with feminists was the fight for higher education. "Acceptance of a university programme for nurses [in Canada] was won only after a great deal of public relations and organizational work by many women" (Coburn, 1974:153). Although the University of Toronto graduated its first nursing student in 1836, women were not officially admitted to the university until 1884. The first degree program in nursing was started in 1920 at the University of British Columbia and a second one followed shortly thereafter at McGill. However, these programs and others, such as the University of Alberta's first nursing program were not fully funded by the universities and had to rely on funding from organizations such as the Red Cross (Coburn, 1974:153).

Although nursing practice is now based on theoretical models and educational preparation has been upgraded considerably over the years, "nursing practice typically occurs in the oppressive, reductionistic milieu of the patriarchal order—the hospital—which does not foster, tolerate, endorse, nor approve nursing based on nursing's own theories and values" (Chinn and Wheeler, 1985:76). As Bullough and Bullough

(1975:226) so aptly stated, "[n]ursing, probably more than any occupation except housewifery and prostitution, reflects the stereotyped role of women."

Kalisch and Kalisch's (1982c:1224) research supports this stereotype. In romantic novels during the 1960's and 1970's, they found that nurses were inevitably portrayed as "submissive women never, or rarely, daring to question the authority of physicians, even when the physician [was] wrong." According to Vance et al. (1985:283), this depiction of nurses being handmaidens to physicians still persists today. As a result, society does not value women's (nurses') work as highly as men's (physicians') work (Vance et al., 1985:283).

As has been demonstrated above, health work is and always has been women's work. In 1981, in Canada, 80.6 percent of health workers were female (Government of Canada, 1981) while 46.8 percent were nurses. "Nursing is the largest of the health occupations" (Allen, 1986:1). However, female health workers have been under the control of men from the end of the nineteenth century up to the present. Thus, nurses' skills based on the stereotype of females in society are not seen as autonomous but merely supportive of physicians' skills.

Summary

Thus, the world of nursing has developed in concert with the female world. Nursing has been identified with the nature/nurture approaches that define women as natural healers who serve others, especially men.

The ideology of women's sphere or special place in a world dominated by men strongly influenced the development of nursing. This ideology prescribed that the only legitimate role for women was that of nurturers who were responsible for the running of households and the raising of children. The home was a refuge against the outside world; the "homemaker" was responsible for transmitting moral standards. In order to try to bridge the gap between this "cult of true womanhood" and the work world of

nursing, the fit between nursing and women's special sphere was developed. That is, nursing was portrayed as merely an extension of women's nurturing role at home along with the passive attributes associated with it.

The association between philanthropic women and nurses was based on females' strong identification with each other due to the gap between women's and men's experiences. Health care was a sanctioned duty of women. Therefore, nurses and women joined together as partners in acts of humanity.

The "dis-ease" or discomfort between nursing and feminism stems from nurses' affinity with nature/nurture, the identification with women's sphere and the association with philanthropic women. Since nursing has not strongly embraced a feminist perspective, nurses have been stereotyped in the traditional female role and, for the most part, nurses have been portrayed as assistants to physicians rather than autonomous practitioners.

CHAPTER 4

CONDUCTING THE INQUIRY

In this chapter is described the process of conducting a study of specific aspects of the organization and the administration of a hospital school of nursing. A description of how the investigator gained entry to the school is followed by a description of the processes of data collection and analysis. The techniques for testing reliability and validity, essential aspects of any research endeavor, are also delineated.

Approach to the Inquiry

As has been established in Chapter 2, our knowledge of the female world is limited. One way of overcoming this limitation was by doing an in-depth study of women's behavior at work, especially in a female-dominated setting. Such a study could not be carried out using traditional quantitative methods such as questionnaires and standardized interviews. Instead, a case study was deemed to be the most appropriate method for studying these complex phenomena.

Case studies are used to uncover and to describe the interpretations the participants have of a situation as well as the interpretive processes they utilize. Case studies are a way of understanding and interpreting human events that take place in a context where the investigator must become familiar with the situations, activities, artifacts and conversations that are part of, or take place in the setting and the participants one is observing.

The study was conducted from the point of view of the participants involved. A grounded study or "a strategy which utiliz[ed] the 'multi-instrument' approach" (Pelto, 1970) to generate a thesis or picture of certain processes (Battersby, 1981:93) was used. This study was "an elaborate venture in thick description" (Geertz, 1973:6). Case studies are used "when there is *virtually no knowledge or very limited knowledge*

about a phenomenon" (Leininger 1985:39, emphasis in original). For example,
interviews with participants, field notes from meetings, minutes of meetings,
curriculum materials, other school documents, general field notes and tape-recorded
interviews with key participants were utilized.

Gaining Official Entry

A hospital school of nursing was chosen because it represented the more traditional
form of delivering nursing education where the organization was not strongly
influenced by a male power structure, unlike most college and university nursing
programs. This setting was the closest to having an encapsulated female nursing
organization that the investigator could find. The investigator and some feminist
researchers with whom she consulted thought the absence of a male power structure
would more readily permit the development of a female perspective, one not strongly
tainted by a paternalistic power structure. The faculty were female with a female
administrative structure. The particular school was originally funded under the
operating budget of the hospital with which it is affiliated but it is now financially
independent of the hospital.

As Schatzman and Strauss (1973: 18-33) have indicated, gaining entry and
establishing rapport proved to be a crucial stage. The investigator obtained access to the
school after one meeting with the director during which she gave her an overview of the
study and the reasons for choosing that particular school. The director responded
promptly to the request and the investigator's first day in the field occurred three weeks
after the initial contact. The simplicity with which the investigator was able to gain entry
into this organization suggests that the power structure was clearly within the school.
Also, the investigator's background in nursing education no doubt facilitated her
speedy entry into the school.

At all times, with one exception, the investigator was welcomed to observe any activity in the school. On one occasion, the director requested that the investigator write down the activities that she wished to attend. When it was explained that this was difficult to determine so early into the study, the director accepted this explanation and made no further requests. The only event the investigator was not permitted to attend was the annual faculty retreat held at the beginning of the term. The assistant director explained that the retreat was a place where the instructors could "let their hair down;" therefore, they wanted only "insiders."

Participants in the Study

The study, which included all faculty members in the school, consisted of 40 women when the research started and remained close to that number. There was some turnover, however, mostly after December, 1985 when six new instructors joined the faculty. The ages of the instructors ranged from 30 to 50 years old. The marital status was: 21 married, 3 divorced, 12 single and 1 who described her living arrangement as "cohabiting."

Faculty members were asked to volunteer to serve as key participants, and five instructors responded. The investigator asked an additional faculty member to participate. She was a full-time member of one particular team, married with children, two aspects not fully represented in the self-selected sample.

The key participants varied in age from 30 to 43 years and had diverse characteristics. One was married with two children, one was a single parent, one was divorced and the other three were single. These participants were representative of all teams. One participant represented the faculty support services.

The educational background of the six key participants was as follows: three hospital diploma graduates, two college diploma graduates and one generic nursing baccalaureate degree graduate. The participants had university education in other non-

nursing disciplines. Five had worked for several years in a variety of hospital nursing units before returning for their post basic baccalaureate degree in nursing. Four were currently enrolled in university courses toward a master's degree.

The rest of the faculty was included to the extent that all were members of the three teams or served on committees in which the investigator observed. The investigator sat in on meetings of the three teams, all the full faculty meetings from August to December, two committees' meetings, two one-hour classes and one small group discussion with students. She often spent time in the faculty lounge where team members, along with those who had various administrative functions such as the counsellor or the professional development officer, had coffee or ate lunch. She attended two social functions.

The role of the six key participants was crucial. Initially they shared important information about the organization and administration of the school and helped the investigator focus on vital data. During the second set of dialogues, they confirmed or disconfirmed the findings of the investigator. The key participants inadvertently acted as supporters of the research endeavor. Throughout the study they, along with a few other faculty members, expressed interest in the progress of the study even after the investigator was no longer collecting data in the school.

When an instructor volunteered to serve as a "key participant," the study was explained, indicating the commitment and what the role would involve. The appointments were arranged at the participants' convenience. Prior to starting the tape, the participants read the consent form (see Appendix A) and were given the opportunity to ask any questions before signing it.

The investigator had two interviews with each of the six key participants lasting from 60 to 90 minutes. Although the interviews often continued after that time, it was decided that when the tape recorder stopped that would mark the end of the dialogue to

be formally transcribed. These interviews were carried out in an office in the school that had been assigned to the investigator.

The first set of interviews introduced the investigator to the participants and included the educational background and nursing experience of the participants. The questions posed in these semi-structured interviews were very general and were a means to establish rapport with the participants. For example, one question asked the participants about the major decision-making process[es] while another question asked about the management of conflict in the school.

The participants were considered colleagues of the investigator, i.e., they were nurse educators like the investigator. Therefore, she tried to make the "interviews" into more of a "dialogue" between two peers, one of whom was an expert (participant) on this organization and another (investigator) who was knowledgeable about nursing and other nursing organizations. The term dialogue seemed to more appropriately describe these interactions. As Oakley (1981:41) stated: "the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of interviewer and interviewee is non-hierarchical and when the interviewer is prepared to invest her or his personal identity in the relationship." Jourard (1971b:231) found that "the degree of liking" for the investigator correlated substantially with the amount of disclosed information, especially in the case of women.

The first dialogues differed somewhat from participant to participant because the investigator was exploring several areas to pick up on points for further investigation. These points were then raised in the next dialogue with a participant. All the points were eventually discussed with each participant. The second set of dialogues, conducted some six months later, was used to confirm the categories that had been derived from the field notes and to further explore areas raised during the data collection period.

There were approximately 220 nursing students enrolled in the school. Although the investigator did not directly study the students, their presence was always apparent during the team meetings and the dialogues with participants. However, small numbers of students were present at some team meetings. For example, the third-year team had students attending the meetings in a preceptor capacity, and two students started attending the second-year's team meetings in March after the team decided that students could be official team members. The investigator attended two classes and one small group session with students but decided these venues did not appreciably add to the data collection process.

Data Collection

The investigator started the field study in July, 1985, by attending six days of orientation, four of which were all-day sessions and two were half days. All three teams' meetings and one full faculty meeting were held in August. During September when most of the faculty and students spent all day in the school, the investigator spent a part of every day, five days a week in the school. After September, the investigator was usually in the school two to three days per week up until the second week in December. From January to June, 1986 the investigator spent most of her time with one team and attended a few other meetings which involved part of one to two days per week.

Process of Data Collection

Consistent with the investigator's qualitative research strategy, it was decided that the process of data collection should evolve rather than be rigidly determined in advance. However, the investigator did come to the field with the knowledge, the skills and the repertoire of investigative procedures and techniques that could be utilized as the situation demanded.

Data were chiefly collected in three forms: documents made available to the investigator (which included all the documents handed out to the faculty), transcribed audio tapes and field notes. The field notes included personal impressions, recorded observations during the large number of meetings the investigator attended and informal conversations in the lounge or other areas of the school. This triangulation of data sources was meant to create as accurate a picture of the organization as possible. Jick (1979:603) advocated the triangulation of data sources:

> Triangulation, however, can be something other than scaling, reliability, and convergent validation. It can also capture a more complete, holistic, and contextual portrayal of the unit(s) under study. That is, beyond the analysis of overlapping variance, the use of multiple measures may also uncover some unique variance which otherwise may have been neglected by simple methods. It is here that qualitative methods, in particular, can play an especially prominent role by eliciting data and suggesting conclusions to which other methods would be blind. Elements of the context are illuminated. In this sense, triangulation may be used not only to examine the same phenomenon from multiple perspectives but also to enrich our understanding by allowing for new or deeper dimensions to emerge.

Documents

All curriculum materials, memos, directives or handouts of any sort which were distributed to the faculty were also made available to the investigator. The investigator read the bulletin boards often and duplicated any material that seemed relevant.

Although many of these documents contained details about curriculum content that were not directly relevant to the study, many documents proved to be invaluable. Firstly, they provided data that supported the observations made by the investigator and corroborated information supplied by the participants. If the investigator missed a meeting, as happened on two occasions, she always received an agenda and minutes. Since the school was always a "beehive of activity," these documents kept the investigator aware of the various meetings and events that she should attend. Secondly,

they added important data that might otherwise have been missed. Finally, if the investigator was uncertain about a date or some aspect of school activity reported in her field notes, she could check the documents for corroboration or disconfirmation.

Field Notes

The field notes were a composite of notes on all the meetings the investigator attended, conversations in the coffee room, hallways and main office, as well as general impressions formed by the investigator. These notes were made during meetings and as soon as possible after other encounters (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Glaser, 1978; Guba and Lincoln, 1981).

The notes were transferred on to a computer disk each evening while the investigator's memory was still fresh and sometimes elaborated on as the investigator contemplated the happenings of the day. Any insights gathered, "gut feelings," and further questions were recorded at that time (Bogdan and Biklen, 1982; Glaser, 1978; Guba and Lincoln, 1981). The process of recording the data collected also facilitated the "conversation with one's self" that Junker (1960:17) considers so valuable in "exploring and mapping a new social terrain." The field journal helped the investigator reflect in a different way on happenings in the school since some of the processes were familiar to her but needed to be viewed in a different light. For example, when the investigator began to realize that food seemed to be a strong part of this culture, she tended to dismiss this as trivial because she has been socialized to either trivialize women's values, not see them (Oakley, 1974), exclude them (Smith, 1978) or be silent about them (Olsen, 1980; Spender, 1982).

At first, the investigator attempted to keep a personal diary; she later found this to be unnecessary and time consuming. She found that as she transferred her field notes to a computer disk each evening, she was able to mull over the day and add any comments

at that time. However, this transference process also proved to be very time consuming.

Although Junker (1960:17) wrote about maintaining a balance between being a participant (person) and an observer (investigator), the investigator does not think that her personhood or her ability to be an astute observer needed to be so sharply demarcated as Junker suggested. The person part of the investigator seemed more appropriate when studying women colleagues whose styles of interaction tend to be more intimate (Lenz and Myerhoff, 1985:41).

The recording of field notes, one of the major sources of data collection, was, as Schatzman and Strauss (1973:109) suggested, a "systematic development of theoretical notes [that could] be thought of as a preliminary analysis."

Interview Protocol

The interview protocol consisted of two dialogues with six participants. The first set of dialogues was conducted in October and November and the other four in December, 1985. The final set of dialogues was carried out during the first two weeks in June, 1986.

The first set of dialogues was interspersed across three months for the following reasons. First, the investigator was waiting for instructors to volunteer. Second, the first volunteer, Cecile, volunteered late in August and the investigator was anxious to get started and wanted to test the use of the room, the recording equipment and the interviewing process. Also, she wanted to take advantage of Cecile's enthusiasm. Cecile had previously worked in a male-dominated environment and felt the contrast was substantial. Third, these women were very busy and arranging a 90-minute period of time when they were available was difficult.

All dialogues were tape-recorded using a Sony cassette recorder TCM III, with an extension microphone. Prior to each interview, the tapes were tested, dated, numbered

and initialed with the participant's initials. Each participant signed an informed consent form prior to each interview (see Appendix A). The tape recorder was placed between the investigator and the participant on either a chair or a high stool and rested on a pad to muffle the noise of the recording mechanism. The high stool produced better transcripts because the microphone was closer to the participants. There was no attempt to subtly hide the microphone because the investigator's previous experience with tape recording suggested: (1) that this was unnecessary; and (2) that participants' voices often tended to be very low and, therefore, difficult to record.

To ensure the anonymity of key participants, they were assigned the names of Cecile, Janine, Martine, Odile, Simone and Thérèse. All but one of the dialogues were conducted in the investigator's private office, an office behind one of the classrooms, away from all the other offices in the school. One dialogue was held in the investigator's apartment because it was more convenient for one participant who was attending university classes.

The investigator discussed the problems of anonymity with the director and pointed out that it would be difficult to keep the site of the study completely anonymous. The director agreed that complete anonymity would be unlikely. For example, on a few occasions faculty members from other nursing programs were present at the school and immediately guessed that the investigator was carrying out her research there. The investigator's name appeared in the minutes of all meetings, and at one nursing event a faculty member inadvertently mentioned that the investigator was carrying out her research in the school.

Interviewing Techniques

In order to study the characteristics of this female-dominated organization and the administrative processes associated with it, and in keeping with the ethnographic approach, semi-structured dialogues were deemed to be an appropriate method of data

collection. The interview, according to Bogden and Biklen (1982:135), is used to "gather descriptive data in the subject's own words so that the researcher can develop insight on how subjects interpret some piece of the world." Das (1983:308) believed the aim of the in-depth interview was to "identify a respondent's attitudes, motives and behaviour by encouraging the person to talk freely and to express his or her ideas on the subject matter under discussion."

The first set of semi-structured dialogues started by asking the participants to chronicle their educational background and work experiences. After that, broad questions were posed such as: How are decisions made? What forms do power and authority take in the school? What processes are used for stress management in the school? What are the faculty-student relationships like? The investigator did not necessarily ask all these questions during the first set of dialogues. The investigator picked up on aspects of the participants' responses and used these as questions for subsequent dialogues.

Although the original questions posed prior to the collection of data proved to be useful in getting interviews started, as potential categories became apparent in the field notes, the investigator questioned the participants more rigorously about these categories. Thus, these dialogues consisted of the investigator posing a question followed by a response by the participant. From time to time, the investigator would verify or clarify facts or elicit a more detailed response. Often the investigator paraphrased the participant's response to better elicit the meaning or to gather further details. Frequently a new insight was divulged in the response and the investigator would investigate this further. If it proved fruitful, she would query the other participants about this matter. For example, during a dialogue with Odile, she mentioned that she thought "the caring, nurturing aspects of nursing led nurses to feel more aware of a need to get along in their peer working group." This comment was transformed into a question for the other five participants.

Simone, a new faculty member, often had insights on matters that were taken for granted by the other participants. During the dialogues with her, she frequently raised issues that the investigator further explored with the other five participants such as the strong need for supportive relationships among these women.

Sometimes, participants came back to the second dialogue with a more fully developed response. For example, Janine indicated she had been counting the number of times she used the word "kids" to refer to the students, after talking about this issue in the first dialogue. Thérèse revealed that she had been thinking about an issue discussed in the first dialogue about which she gave a more precise explanation during the second dialogue. After reading her first transcript, Thérèse augmented one of her responses during the second dialogue.

Occasionally, the investigator would play the role of "devil's advocate" to stimulate further discussion. For example, she pointed out the discrepancies in responses, e.g., when the participants discussed the use of the term "kids" to refer to the students (see Chapter 5, pp. 111-11 nce the investigator had established rapport with these women, she felt comfo le using these techniques.

Because the investigator was asking the participants to respond to questions or categories that were taken for granted, often the responses were long and drawn out. This process seemed to be necessary for the participants to better clarify their thoughts.

The Transcribing Process

The tapes were transcribed verbatim by the investigator using her Macintosh computer. In total, over 372 single-spaced typed pages of dialogue were transcribed. Three copies of each transcript were made for coding purposes. All the copies were kept in the investigator's apartment.

As this was the investigator's first experience with transcribing, the first set of six transcriptions proved to be a monumental task. It took the investigator about 30 hours

per transcript because she had not used a transcriber before, was using a computer for the first time and had not typed for several years. However, the benefits to the investigator were several: she did not have to worry about the confidentiality of the data; listening to the transcripts several times facilitated her analysis; she was able to complete the transcripts according to her time line and had no major expenses for transcribing since the transcriber was available on loan from the University. However, there was the annoyance of having the transcriber break down on weekends, holidays or at night when the investigator was unable to contact the technicians who repaired equipment.

The second set of dialogues was completed in about half the time, i.e., 10 to 15 hours, partly because the dialogues were shorter and because by then the investigator was more experienced. The lack of grammatical structure to the responses meant the investigator had to edit and to punctuate the transcripts, to some extent; however, she was careful not to alter the basic content.

In the letter to the participants that accompanied the first set of transcripts, the investigator mentioned that their somewhat convoluted responses were normal. The participants indicated this helped to reassure them. The investigator would recommend this tactic to other researchers because failing to point this out may inhibit subsequent responses. Two illustrations of participant reactions to the transcripts were: "How incredibly inarticulate people sound;" "Just that it was very garbled."

Both sets of transcripts were returned to the participants with an accompanying letter that asked them to check them over and make any corrections. No corrections were made to alter the basic content, but a few corrections were made to help to better understand a response; rephrasing and punctuation corrections accompanied a few of the transcripts.

Questions in the Semi-Structured Dialogues

Some questions posed in the semi-structured dialogues were formulated before the investigator started her field work, while others arose during the data collection process. Since the original research questions were largely meant to act as guides, it was assumed that other questions would emerge during the data gathering process that would have more significance for the research findings.

Some questions that were formulated prior to the data collection period were discarded because the answer came out during the discussion of another question, e.g., the informal aspects of the organization. Other questions were eliminated, e.g., the processes used for managing stress because other questions seemed more relevant. Several questions arose as a result of responses participants gave to other questions or as clarification of observations that the investigator made, eg., the alienation of one faculty member and the strong focus on professional image by instructors. Other questions were used to substantiate and to clarify the categories that were evolving.

Process of Data Analysis

Data analysis began with the first recording of field notes and continued long after the data collection period was completed. As Bogdan and Biklen (1982:56) stated: "Although the most intensive period of data analysis occurs at the later stages, data analysis is an ongoing part of the research."

The approach to data analysis of Turner (1981); Glaser and Strauss (1967) and Bogdan and Biklen (1982) were modified for this study. The grounded theory method was mainly utilized for analyzing the field notes and developing categories. This method was based, to the extent possible, on Glaser and Strauss' (1967) "stages in the development of grounded theory." The stages are as follows: (1) develop categories; (2) saturate categories; (3) abstract definitions; (4) use the definitions; (5) exploit the categories fully; (6) note and develop follow-up links between categories; (7) consider

the conditions under which the links hold; (8) make connections where relevant to existing theory; and (9) use extreme comparisons to the maximum to test emerging relationships. The final stage was not used in this study due to constraints of time and resources.

The following four stages best approximate the process the investigator went through during data analysis.

Stage One

Each transcript was dated and numbered; the name of the key participant was also noted. The transcripts were typed on two-thirds of the page to leave room for analysis of the data. The investigator underlined any verbatim quotes which were later transferred to another computer file, run off separately and referred to as direct quotes. quotes were later used in the descriptive section of the thesis. Three sets of transcripts were run off. Carbonized computer paper allowed two copies to be run off at one time. When the first set of dialogues were put on one disk, a back up disk was copied. At first, the investigator's field notes included considerable detail on the curriculum content discussed in various meetings, but later on this detail was eliminated and there was more concentration on the process of the meetings.

Since the investigator was present at so many meetings, some of the categories started to emerge as she transferred the data from her field notes to a computer disk each evening. For example, the consensual style of decision making became apparent as she sat through the meetings of the three teams, the full faculty and the various committees from September until December, 1985. This was further verified when she continued on with one team until June, 1986.

During the first set of dialogues with key participants (October-December, 1985), the investigator was able to probe categories that seemed to be evolving, e.g., food, professional image and supportive relationships. The investigator did not need to ask

about the school's informal structure because discussion about it arose when the participants were talking about other issues, e.g., power and authority, the need for support and decision making. In other instances, discussion with key participants supported categories that were beginning to appear in the data or helped to explain major categories that were already apparent. The second set of dialogues (June, 1986) helped to further confirm the categories and to pick up on the emerging questions that may not have been asked of specific participants during the first set of dialogues.

For example, when the investigator asked about the lack of a feminist orientation in the school, the responses to this question provided insight into the key participants' perceptions of feminism and also into other issues such as nurse-physician relationships and men in nursing. When the study commenced, the faculty were all female; however, a male instructor was hired in December, 1985. Initially he worked part-time. Nevertheless, his presence was felt immediately in various ways.

Stage Two

The investigator started analyzing the data in March when the largest part of the data collection period was completed. Each sentence or, where appropriate, groups of sentences were analyzed and the emerging category was noted in the right hand margin along with the noting of minor categories, e.g., the number of times compulsory attendance came up or the number of times students were mentioned. The left hand margin was used to note methodological questions or other reminders to the investigator (misunderstandings, need for further clarification, notation that the data might be used in the description of the organization).

The data were then summarized onto another file in the computer. The sheets from this summary of the field notes were further analyzed using round, color-coded self-adhesive 5/16" data dots to identify the various categories. Three sets of summary sheets were run off with one set kept intact. Two sets were used to cut up and to staple

the various categories onto 8 1/2" by 11" sheets of paper. As each piece of data was stapled on, the page number from the summary sheet was noted. This method proved to be invaluable in writing up the analysis when the investigator needed to clarify a point or to gain further elaboration on a piece of data. Often, the investigator went back to both the summary sheets and to the original field notes for clarification.

At the same time that the investigator was analyzing and sorting the data, a set of file cards was developed to write down random thoughts, methodological issues or questions that occurred to the investigator. The acted as reminders of the issues that needed to be further investigate description of the organization.

St

The field notes, summary of field notes and category files were reviewed. The transcribed tape-recorded typed data that supported the categories were cut up and stapled on to 81/2" by 11" sheets and filed in labelled manila file folders. Sometimes data from either the participants' dialogues or the field notes were used for two categories. Thus, there was a need for three sets of participant transcripts and summary sheets of field notes as well as the original intact field notes. The categories were reviewed with the data from the participants' transcripts. Nine categories emerged from the field notes.

At this time, a decision had to be made about which categories were considered major and which categories would be used for descriptive purposes. After discussions with the thesis chairperson, other committee members, and the key participants it was determined that five of the nine categories were major categories; the other four categories were more appropriate for the descriptive part of the study. The categories were then related to the theory where possible. Since the theory is sparse in many of these areas, this was not always possible.

Stage Four

Since grounded theory is based on the discovery model of theory development, "the grounded theorist maintains a cautious and skeptical attitude about the literature throughout the study" (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986:44). However, this should not be interpreted to mean that there is no literature reviewed in such a study. Rather, the purposes behind such a review and the way the review is carried out are more relevant (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986:44).

. In developing her proposal, the investigator initially reviewed selected literature "to identify the scope, range, intent, and type of research" (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986:44) that was to be carried out. The second review, carried out while the investigator was analyzing the data and writing up the study, was to use the literature as a source of verification and of elaboration of the categories (Chenitz and Swanson, 1986:45).

Trustworthiness

"The value of scientific research is partially dependent on the ability of individual researchers to demonstrate the credibility of their findings" (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982:31). Campbell and Stanley's (1963) "tests of rigor," internal and external reliability and internal and external validity are usually regarded as the *sine qua non* of the traditional research community. However, LeCompte and Goetz (1982:32) argue that qualitative research requires different techniques to test for credibility and reliability, because data gathering precedes hypothesis formulation and the data include the subjective experiences of participants. While LeCompte and Goetz (1982) and Miles and Huberman (1984:23-28) have also attempted to describe the techniques for demonstrating credibility in qualitative research, the techniques described by Guba (1981:79-91) and Lincoln and Guba (1985:289-331) were judged to be more appropriate because they better fit the naturalistic form of this study.

Guba and Lincoln (1981:103) stated: "For naturalistic inquiry, as for [rationalistic], meeting tests of rigor is a requisite for establishing trust in the outcomes of the inquiry." Thus, aspects of "trustworthiness" are major concerns of any naturalistic research endeavor. Guba (1981:79-80) suggested that there are four major concerns relating to the trustworthiness of findings: "truth value" or confidence in the "truth" of the findings for the participants; "applicability" or assurance that the findings have meaning in other contexts with other participants; "consistency" or confidence in the replicability of the findings; and "neutrality" or assurance that the findings are free of investigator "biases, motivations, perspectives and interests" (Guba, 1981:80).

Guba developed four "naturalistic analogues" for the tests of rigor in the rationalistic approach. The four techniques are credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability. Each technique has steps that can be taken both during and after the inquiry to establish the trustworthiness of the findings.

While designing the procedures for data collection and analysis, the investigator carefully considered techniques that would enhance validity and reliability to better ensure that the findings from the current study could be viewed with credibility or "trust." Four techniques for testing for trustworthiness will be discussed together with the application made of them in the collection and the analysis of the data.

Credibility

In naturalistic inquiry, researchers try to account for the array of "interlocking factor patterns" by dealing with them in their entirety but taking certain actions to try to account for these complexities. Steps for ensuring credibility are as follows:

1. Extended period in the field and persistent observation. The investigator spent 12 months in the field as a participant observer and spent at least 72 hours attending various team meetings. The school's director indicated that the faculty were comfortable with researchers and the investigator found this to be true. Nevertheless, a

considerable period of time was spent in the school to allow the participants to adjust to the investigator.

To test the impact of the investigator on the participants early in the data collection period (August,1985) the investigator asked two different teaching teams if they felt her presence altered their behavior. On both occasions she was told "definitely not." One instructor confided that she had not intended to say anything during one meeting but had, nevertheless, spoken as much as she usually did. Because she tended to be a very vocal team member, the team members responded to her confession with general agreement exemplified by laughter and the nodding of heads. Another instructor who had not been at the full faculty meeting when the investigator had first been introduced, indicated that she had never questioned the investigator's presence. At the end of the year (June, 1986) when the investigator repeated this question to the team that she had observed for 10 months, the response was in the negative signifying that she had not appreciably altered their behavior. At this time, one instructor who had been away on leave during the first term asked the investigator what her research was about. Apparently she had not questioned the investigator's presence either.

On another occasion, a team coordinator suggested the investigator was such an integral part of the team they did not notice her presence. However, after the investigator stopped attending these meetings, on two separate occasions team members indicated that they missed her and had been talking about her, wondering where she was.

2. *Triangulation of data sources and methods*. As has been indicated previously, data were gathered in many contexts, largely by attendance at meetings and by engaging in participant dialogues, but also by mingling in the faculty lounge, hallways, the main office, classrooms and by reviewing school documents. At coffee breaks and lunches, the investigator informally discussed some of the categories with faculty members other

than the six key participants. However, all findings were either confirmed or disconfirmed by the key participants.

3. *Peer debriefing.* At intervals, the investigator discussed her findings with her thesis chairman, other committee members, other graduate students and nurse colleagues. These discussions were fruitful and helped to confirm the development of the categories raised other questions that needed to be addressed. For example, the category of food was obvious to one committee member when she read over the field notes. When this category was discussed with a nurse colleague, she later confirmed that it was valid. She had been testing out this category during the interval between meetings.

Transferability

Since researchers using naturalistic strategies believe that it is not possible to develop generalizations because social/behavioral phenomena are context-bound, "one must be content with statements descriptive or interpretative of a given context— idiographic or context-relevant statements" (Guba, 1981:86). Steps which were taken to assure transferability were as follows:

1. *Theoretical/purposive sampling.* Theoretical/purposive sampling is meant to "maximize the range of information uncovered" (Guba, 1981:86) and establish relevance (Glaser and Strauss, 1967:48). Since the receptivity and rapport between the investigator and the six key participants were important considerations, the investigator asked for volunteers who were interested in the study and, therefore, would disclose information. Initially, five instructors volunteered. As has been explained previously, one instructor was asked to participate. The investigator felt she had good rapport with the key participants. Although these volunteers acted as key participants, the entire faculty were participants since the investigator observed in meetings which included all faculty members.

2. *Thick descriptive data.* The transcribed dialogues of the key participants totaled

some 372 typed single-spaced pages. The field notes included some 254 typed single-

spaced pages. There also were a substantial number of documents such as minutes of

meetings, curriculum materials and memos. As will become clear as the study unfolds,

the data were abundant and very illustrative. Numerous excerpts from the dialogues

with key participants are found throughout the thesis.

Dependability

Although dependability concerns the stability of the data, allowances must be made

for instabilities that arise from the "different realities being tapped" or because of

changing insights gained by the investigator. Steps that can be taken to ensure

dependability are:

1. *Overlap methods.* These methods are one kind of triangulation whereby different

methods are used in tandem (Campbell and Stanley, 1963; Webb, Campbell, Schwartz,

and Sechrest, 1966). Categories were validated by the key participants and by using

several data sources (Denzin, 1978:472-475) where possible, e.g., minutes of meetings

and school documents. For example, the consensual form of decision making was

confirmed in the field notes taken from all types of meetings, in the formal minutes

from these meetings and by the key participants.

2. *Establishment of an "audit trail."* The process of conducting this study was

supervised by a thesis committee and the investigator has written up the study in such a

way that replication is possible. The use of the grounded theory method which included

eight stages is theoretically replicable. Since the investigator has all the data on

computer disks and the data that supported the development of the categories in labelled

file folders, an auditor could access this data. However, it must be remembered that the

qualitative research is somewhat "personalistic" and human behavior is never static so

that exact replication is impossible regardless of the methodology employed
(LeCompte, and Goetz, 1982:35-36).

Confirmability

This refers to data and "interpretational" confirmability. One step used to attain this
is triangulation of data sources and methods. These techniques have been discussed in
the section on credibility and dependability. Also, as will become clear as the study
unfolds, the key participants corroborated the data and the categories as they evolved.
One statement that lends credibility to the investigator's interpretations occurred at the
end of the second set of dialogues. The investigator asked whether the individual
participants thought the investigator had missed any relevant areas. Five out of the six
replied "no" while Martine's response was: "Actually no, I think you have got the place
down in a nutshell." Although the investigator tried to ensure the trustworthiness of the
data, Guba's statement needs to be reiterated. "Naturalistic theory of trustworthiness is
an incomplete one—one cannot muster evidence that will compel another to accept the
trustworthiness of the study but only of its relative trustworthiness" (Guba, 1981:88).

Although Guba (1981) and Lincoln and Guba (1985) do not explicitly deal with the
investigator's status in the group, or the extent to which investigators are members of
the groups studied, other researchers such as (Bruyn, 1966; Junker, 1960; LeCompte
and Goetz, 1982) consider this to be an important issue in naturalistic research. Since it
was not known exactly what position, both formally and informally, would
be accorded the investigator, the investigator's role evolved as she worked in the
setting. The investigator was aware, however, that the type of data collected was
strongly influenced by the relationships that the investigator built up during this
with the group being studied (LeCompte and Goetz, 1982:38). It seemed to the
investigator that the participants accepted the investigator as a person with a scientific
mandate and a publicly accorded right to receive information both public and private.

Junker (1960:37) described four different roles that the participant observer may assume depending on the design and the purpose of the study. "Observer as participant" was the role that seemed suitable to this particular study. This role involved "catch[ing] the process as it occur[red] in the experience of the studie[d]" (Bruyn, 1966:13). Observer as participant involved both detachment and personal involvement (Bruyn, 1966:13-20). The investigator endorsed personal involvement, an aspect more strongly associated with the female mode of inquiry. The investigator did not feel detached from this group of nurse educators but instead felt a collegial bond with them. Part of this bond could be attributed to homophily. As Rogers stated: "A fundamental principle of human communication is that the transfer of ideas occurs most frequently between individuals who are alike, or homophilous." Since the investigator and the key participants shared common beliefs, values and a mutual language, the interaction between them was more likely to be effective (Rogers, 1983:274-275). However, homophily also has limitations. That is, a non-nurse investigator might have been more sensitive to data that the investigator might have missed due to the common background shared by the participants and the investigator.

The investigator's activities were made known at the outset and were publicly sponsored by the school's administrators. Access to a wide range of information was readily available. The investigator received all the information that other faculty members received. Although she was excluded from the annual faculty retreat, she received all the information emanating from it.

Junker (1960:37) indicated that in some cases secrets may be given to the fieldworker when she (he) becomes known for keeping them as well as for guarding confidential information. Personal information bordering on secrets was shared with the investigator, some of which was not included in the report of the study. Therefore, the question of professional ethics becomes crucial in this situation.

Ethical Considerations

Cassell's (1980:31) two principles—that fieldwork is based upon human interaction and that fieldworkers are their own measuring instruments—have ethical consequences. For the most part, field work interaction is a reciprocal process with interaction flowing smoothly in two directions; however, at times, the participants have strong control over the research context.

The investigator experienced little difficulty in gaining the cooperation of the participants. As has been mentioned earlier, the investigator was not granted permission to attend the annual retreat. Also, initially there was minor difficulty in being able to delineate the activities the investigator would attend because the investigator could not be specific herself. Arranging suitable times with the key participants was difficult since these women were very busy but, nevertheless, very cooperative. Perhaps this cooperativeness relates to the newness of the thrust in nursing research or the participants' need to be helpful. The key participants in this study were genuinely interested and said they enjoyed the dialogues because it stimulated them to think about issues they had previously taken for granted.

The ethical framework used in carrying out this fieldwork was the Kantian categorical imperative of "respect for individual autonomy based on the fundamental principle that persons always be treated as ends in themselves never merely as means" (Kant, 1969:127). This, however, is not an easy principle to apply. The investigator did try to be as open as possible without breaking confidentiality. Since the investigator felt a sincere bond with the participants, she felt she did not treat them strictly as ends. However, the investigator often contemplated whether the pressing need to collect data and to document her findings with dialogue would not cause some concerns after it was written up and later when she tried to publish the results.

Although all but one of the key participants volunteered and all signed consent forms (see Appendix A) that clearly stated the conditions of consent, the investigator

questions whether participants can fully determine the extent of the conditions of informed consent. Her experience in health care settings suggests that it is impossible to fully understand what implications these conditions might have. However, certain conditions were met, such as that only the investigator and her committee members read the key participants' transcripts; to the extent possible, identifying information was removed from the excerpts and the participants reviewed the transcripts and made changes where appropriate. It would seem that ethical dilemmas will always be present where this type of research is concerned. The investigator can only claim that she attempted to come to terms with these concerns.

CHAPTER 5

A HOSPITAL SCHOOL OF NURSING

The purpose of this chapter is to describe, to analyze and to interpret the school's administrative structure and functions to provide the background for the evolution of the major categories in Chapter 6. The investigator used her field notes and dialogues with the six key participants to develop a description that reveals the similarities and differences in each of the school's three teaching teams. The faculty's relationship with students is described in detail.

Overview of the School's Structure

The school consisted of 40 female faculty members who were prepared at the baccalaureate level, with three faculty members who also had a master's degree. When the field work began, the administrative structure consisted of the director, the assistant director, two coordinators and two other faculty members with administrative duties. One was responsible for admitting and for counselling students; the other was responsible for professional development and research.

The school had a management team that was responsible for the administration of the school. This group was composed of the director, the assistant director and two coordinators. This structure changed during the period the investigator was studying the organization. When the assistant director resigned, her position was phased out. A curriculum coordinator who also acted as a team coordinator was appointed to take over her duties.

The committee structure of the school consisted of an evaluation committee, a social committee, an "up group," a curriculum committee, an information committee, an inservice committee, a student services committee and a quality assurance committee. All committees reported to full faculty meetings. There was usually considerable

exchange between committees and the three teams before decisions were made. For example, the examination committee worked from policies set up by the full faculty and the evaluation committee usually heard about the implementation of suggestions after the fact. According to Thérèse, these committees made decisions: "I think committees do make a lot of the decisions in the organization ... and those decisions are honored."

The teaching of the curriculum was carried out by three teaching teams. Most of the activity in the school revolved around these teams. Teaching was practiced in large groups, small groups and during supervised clinical experience on the hospital units. One team taught the first-year, another the second-year and a third team taught the last four months of the program which was referred to as the third-year.

Team meetings were held twice a month and lasted from 90 to 120 minutes. These meetings were chaired by the coordinators and minutes were taken by faculty members on a rotating basis. At these meetings, the previous week's teaching was discussed and evaluated and the content for the ensuing two weeks' classes was elaborated on, with any instructions given out and handouts distributed. The number of handouts distributed at meetings or in the mail boxes was enormous. All instructors attended these meetings where there was considerable discussion. Suggestions were often made for improving the curriculum content, especially for the following year.

All team meetings and faculty meetings were held in one particular room. The importance of the facilitation of communication among instructors was portrayed by the arrangement of tables which was the responsibility of the team's recording secretary. The tables were arranged to produce equal space between team members and to promote good eye contact. The table arrangement varied from a circle to an oval or a square depending on the number of instructors attending the meetings. If the tables were not arranged appropriately, on at least five occasions they were rearranged when team members arrived.

The investigator attended all three teams' meetings from August to December, 1985 and continued to attend the second-year team meetings until the end of June, 1986. The investigator observed the third-year team for its four months of operation and the first-year team for half the year. However, the investigator had access to the minutes for the entire year.

When the investigator first discussed the possibility of observing only one team's meetings with one of the administrators, the administrator pointed out that each team tended to have a "distinctive personality." The reference to the definite personalities of each team proved to be true. With this in mind, the investigator decided to attend meetings of the three teams. The following description will depict the similarities and differences among teams and hence "the unique personality" of each team.

Similarities Among the Three Teams

The similarities among the three teams indicates the conformity to a certain administrative style. There were similarities in the following areas. Most team decisions were made by consensus. For example, at third-year meetings, to ensure consensus, the coordinator usually asked instructors to comment if they failed to remark on issues. Since student representatives had recently started attending the second-year team meetings, it was suggested that they attend the curriculum revision meetings for the next year. When the coordinator asked: "Is the feeling of the group that we want to invite the students? Do we want to vote?" the answer to the second question was "no." Thus, the decision in favor of student representatives was made by consensus. At one first-year team meeting, the coordinator asked team members: "Would everybody be happy with ... ?" when referring to three particular suggestions.

The dispensing with formal motions further demonstrated the use of the consensus mode of decision making. For example, in the third-year team, there were only three

motions passed over the four months they worked together. In the first-year team, seven motions were passed while nine motions were passed in the second-year team.

"Goal-setting" meetings for individual faculty members were common to all three teams. Each instructor was expected to set personal career goals for the ensuing year. These goals were discussed with the coordinator at the beginning of the term and at year-end. All three coordinators requested faculty members to schedule goal-setting sessions.

The approach to curriculum development was similar for all teams. That is, the first part of each team meeting consisted of "feedback" where instructors received feedback on content that had been presented during the previous two weeks and the second part was "correlation" where instructors who would be teaching the content or were responsible for arranging for guest lecturers, overviewed content that was to be presented during the ensuing two weeks of classes. All meetings consisted of previewing or reviewing content areas, asking faculty members for their comments and concerns, and giving consideration to students' comments and concerns.

Almost every page of the summary of the investigator's field notes contained feedback from faculty members on various aspects of the teaching process. For example, in the third-year team, there were ten entries on the preceptorship experience for students while in the second-year team, there were 20 comments from faculty regarding a particular quiz and during a ten-minute discussion about the level of one examination question, all but three faculty members commented for a total of 35 comments. In the first-year, there were 12 comments on one lecture.

The types of questions raised in the three teams had strong similarities; they were mainly used to determine if there was consensus or to get further information or for clarification on issues. Emotional words that showed a concern for interpersonal relations were frequently used in posing questions. The questions often included reference to *feelings*, were phrased to encourage "community building" (Bernard,

1981:381, 383; Shakeshaft, 1987:181), often referred to meeting the affiliative needs of instructors (Kahn, 1984) and showed "courtesy, gratitude, respect and appreciation" (Shakeshaft, 1987:181). As Shakeshaft (1987:181) stated: "Women show respect for their audience through listening, echoing, summarizing, polite speech and nonantagonistic responses."

Examples of questions posed at the third-year meetings were: "Well, what do you want to do?; How are things coming?; Anything else?;" Is timetabling going the way you want it?; Any other questions about [names a content area]?;" "Are you *feeling* any better now?; Does that *meet our needs* ?; "This approach was used for the entire seven meetings from August to December, 1985.

Examples of questions that were posed in the first-year team were: "Would everyone be happy with...; I am wondering how you would *feel* being at the front of the class for introductions?; Is that all right?; I don't know how the group *feels* about it?; Do you *feel* comfortable with the level at which we are doing this?; Would that *meet the needs* and expectations of everyone?; This approach was used for all the meetings from August to December, 1985.

Examples of questions posed in the second-year team were: Would you *feel* more comfortable if the words were in...?; Are we all clear on the process?; "What's the *feeling* of the group?;" "How do you want to deal with this?; Give me ideas on how we want to handle this in our [team] and *meet our [team] needs* ?;" "Does that sound ok to everybody?; "Questions, Comments?;" "What is the *feeling* of the group?; "Is there a *feeling* of general concern?;" This approach was used for all questions from August, 1985 to June, 1986.

In all three teams, faculty members tried to be supportive of each other and readily offered assistance to one another. When a new faculty member's lecture was discussed in the third-year team, the coordinator requested her permission before other instructors were permitted to attend the lecture even though it was normal practice for faculty

members to attend classes. Another faculty member volunteered to help this new instructor with a student assignment.

In the first-year team, when the sign-up list for secretarial duties was passed around, one instructor mentioned that another team member served on two teams and, therefore, should not be required to take minutes for both teams. Although the faculty member concerned indicated that she was willing to act as secretary, her name was stroked off the list by her colleague. When one instructor indicated that she had a concern, two faculty members immediately volunteered to help her.

In the second-year, while reviewing the practice objectives, a new instructor maintained she was unable to meet one of the objectives in her clinical area. Five faculty members immediately responded with suggestions of how this objective could be addressed.

As has been demonstrated above, the teaching teams had many similarities, however, they also had significant differences. The differences will be discussed next.

Differences in Teams

The teams will be discussed in the following order: the third-year, the first-year and the second-year. This ordering was determined by the amount of time the investigator spent observing these teams. The third and first-year teams were observed for four months while the second-year team was observed over a 10-month period.

The Third-Year Team

The third-year team consisted of nine instructors and a coordinator, and was responsible for the final four months of the program. The investigator attended all seven meetings of this team, a total of approximately 11 hours. In the meeting room, the tables were arranged into a round shape to accommodate ten instructors.

During faculty orientation, the team coordinator made it clear that she saw both faculty members and students as individuals; she emphasized this fact to third-year students during their orientation session. This emphasis on individuality branched out into a collegial concern for each other that was readily expressed among team members.

The first meeting was opened with a greeting welcoming team members back from holidays, followed by a discussion of the sequencing of coffee breaks to accommodate the increased number of smokers on the team. The coordinator indicated that she had not allotted specific times for each agenda item because she wanted the team to determine the amount of time it wished to spend per item. These examples further demonstrated the team's emphasis on meeting individual instructor needs within this team.

When individual team members failed to remark on issues, the coordinator would often directly address comments to them. For example, after asking if team members wanted to know how other instructors handled evaluations, the coordinator turned to one instructor on her left and moved around the whole group encouraging individual instructors to respond to this question. She emphasized there was no right way to do these evaluations. Her final remark on evaluations was, "[f]ind out what you are comfortable with." This philosophy of individuality applied when guidelines for a case conference were handed out. She indicated they could be used in any way the instructors wished, but they must be used. According to Martine, the coordinator did not expect consistency among the instructors; she believed in individuality. Simone concurred with this statement.

Team members had requested an hour with their student groups at the beginning of the term which had been arranged. According to the coordinator, the purpose of these sessions was for students and faculty "[to] get to know each other." In the same vein, near the end of this rotation, the coordinator indicated a need to look at "ways to enhance the *relationships* between students and ourselves and [to] try to decrease

stress." This concern for effective relationships among team members and between instructors and students was a strong third-year team value.

Individual student concerns were not raised during team meetings but were discussed individually with the coordinator, while issues that were likely to affect the entire student group were discussed at team meetings. Martine confirmed this: "If it were something .... where students were working on the weekend and having terrible patient assignments, that could be discussed because very likely that's happening with more than just one unit, but specific problems as such, the complaining, is done individually."

During the four months the investigator observed the third-year team meetings, conflict was not apparent in this team. Martine concurred with this observation. This team appeared to be a cohesive group with no apparent cliques. This observation was confirmed by Simone and Cécile.

Food, an important symbol in the school, was a significant value that was given some acknowledgement in this particular team. For example, when the investigator arrived at one meeting, a cake that was obviously meant for coffee break was conspicuously displayed on a table. At another meeting a new instructor indicated that she had brought in home-baked cookies in appreciation for the "support" team members had given her. While planning a coffee party for hospital nurse preceptors, the question arose as to whether team members were baking or whether the school would be supplying the food. At the final team meeting, the coordinator mentioned that she had not brought in any "goodies" because the team was going out for lunch. Two popular recipes were handed out to team members at the end of this meeting.

At the last team meeting of the year, the coordinator, who had recently submitted her resignation, expressed her appreciation to team members for working "so effectively with her." She indicated that she had grown "closer" to this group than previous ones and was finding it increasingly difficult to leave.

When discussing this team, Simone's comment was that

> [t]he people generally liked the meeting and looked forward to seeing the group together and were concerned about them and had a good time.

When answering another question about this team, Simone said she felt comfortable with this team "simply because it isn't 'cliquish'." When discussing stress in this team, Simone commented: "Well, ... it seemed like it was copeable stress. It was a good type of stress, it made you work a little harder, and I felt like I learned a lot, even under a bit of stress, and the people around me talked about their own stress a lot and were very, very supportive."

Cecile indicated that when she joined this team, the faculty "were not stressed ... I found them very calm, good people that handled most crises very well." Later she admitted that "last year was a very close group, we got a lot of support from each other ... I think we tended to stick around with people that we felt comfortable with."

When the investigator asked Cecile why the group was so cohesive, she replied: "It was our leader ... and her ability to individualize and yet recognize everybody's potential ... she took the effort to get to know the people and it was a smaller group too ... only eight or nine of us ... and we were all coming from basically the same frame-of-mind." Martine and Simone concurred with this.

Simone talked about a rumour in which a certain instructor was thought to be joining this team "and there was a big uproar because it was believed that this person would destroy the cohesiveness of the group, that it would be very detrimental to group process." Several team members discussed the issue with the director; the outcome was the instructor did not become a team member.

As has been illustrated above, food played a significant role in the third-year team. However, it was not emphasized as much as in the first-year team which will be discussed next.

The First-Year Team

The first-year team consisted of 11 instructors plus the coordinator. The investigator attended nine meetings for four months, totalling about 21 hours and received the minutes for the rest of the meetings. In the meeting room, the tables were arranged in more of an oval shape to accommodate the size of the team.

The major purpose of the first six-hour team meeting was the discussion of problems before regular meetings and classes commenced and the arrangement of social "get-togethers," with each purpose having equal significance. Since the second purpose was emphasized in this team, it will be elaborated on in detail below.

At the first meeting, the coordinator announced there were no time allotments on the agenda for discussion of various items because it depended on the "needs of the group." This exemplified the initial emphasis placed on individuality in this team which was further illustrated by the "buddying" of new faculty members with more experienced members. This idea had been implemented the previous year and was to be continued. At the first meeting, several people volunteered to act as buddies. The buddy's role was to help new instructors develop appropriate teaching strategies, to determine the expectations of students and to deal with any other concerns.

At a later meeting, when a new instructor discussed her first lecture, the coordinator informed the group she would not be able to attend, but the instructor's buddy would be there. After the names of replacement faculty for resigning instructors was announced, it was added that these new instructors would need a lot of "support" and someone to act as a buddy to them.

The issue of instructors making individual decisions versus the team making team decisions for all members to follow was discussed frequently. There was a great deal of ambivalence expressed over this issue; the coordinator exhibited some of this ambivalence. Martine pointed out that there was more of a "we have to be consistent business" in the first-year team.

During the four months the investigator attended the first-year's team meetings, conflict was apparent sporadically. For example, one conflictive situation involved two instructors who had been team teaching together. At one meeting, one instructor announced that from that time on they would be teaching separately. This announcement was received in silence. Martine recounted that she got the impression that it was not going be discussed any further. Odile said it was not a new situation but had come "to a head because it hadn't been effectively dealt" with by the coordinator. Janine concurred with her. Martine and Odile indicated that this team generally did not discuss conflictory situations but ignored them and the instructors concerned simply quit talking with each other. Janine pointed out that conflict increased during the second term.

Social events and food were frequent subjects of discussion. For example, at the first meeting, one instructor asked whether "goodies" would be served or whether instructors would have to provide them for a faculty-student coffee party. At this same meeting, the coordinator divulged with some glee, that three instructors had brought "goodies" for coffee break. A pot luck luncheon was discussed as a means for "terminating relationships" with two staff members who were leaving.

In the afternoon, there was some discussion about the kinds of homemade "goodies" that would be provided for a farewell party for a student who had worked for the school during the summer. Another suggestion was that team members' birthdays be celebrated by instructors drawing names from a hat and baking a cake for that faculty member's birthday. Details such as one team member's allergy to chocolate cake and another member's wish not to have her birthday celebrated were given due consideration. An upcoming faculty barbecue, a coffee party for the first-year students and the annual student awards night were announced at the same meeting.

At two meetings, the fact that there were no goodies for the coffee break was noted with considerable disappointment. The annual hospital tea for new students was

brought up at one meeting while at another meeting the graduation tea and the women's auxiliary tea were both announced, the latter with the rider that there would be "lots of homemade goodies."

At another meeting, a cake was served at the coffee break to celebrate the coordinator's birthday. During one morning meeting, the director popped her head into the room and asked, jokingly, if the group had stayed all night and if so, were they serving bacon and eggs? At this point the coordinator disclosed that there were goodies for the coffee break. The Christmas tea was discussed, along with a request to bring food. At this time, an invitation to the student graduation dinner and dance was announced.

At one meeting, the following events were discussed: the date for the team's Christmas party, a "roast" for an administrator who was leaving and the students' Christmas party. At one break, a team member jokingly remarked that one criterion for being on this team was to have excellent culinary skills. She added that whenever they had pot luck meals, team members were upset if there were less than three desserts available.

Participants' comments help to round out the description of this team. For example, Martine's comments about the first-year team were:

> There seems to be a lot of chronic complainers in it ... people do do a
> good job there, it's just that everyone thinks that the way they do their
> good job is much better than the way everyone else is doing their good
> job. I think there are a few weak links there.

Martine indicated that concerns were not discussed openly.

Janine's comments about how the team dealt with conflict were:

> [If] there was a lot of stress or conflict ... we would have a get-together
> of some kind ... this year they [social events] have been a lot less
> frequent than they have [been] in years past ... there have been more
> interpersonal conflicts in first-year but they have been dealt with more
> on an individual basis and people just simply quit talking to each other
> ... probably having a social event is a constructive way to deal with

them ... in the past we've been able to maintain a friendly relationship
where this year that hasn't always been true.

Janine continued saying there was "less cohesion as a group, more little groups [or

cliques] in existence."

The first-year's strong emphasis on epicurean delights and social events was also

reflected in the second-year team, the last team to be discussed.

The Second-Year Team

The investigator attended 20 second-year team meetings over 11 months for

approximately 40 hours. Since this team was the largest in size totalling 15 faculty

members, the meeting room tables were arranged in more of an oval shape.

At the first team meeting, after introductions and a welcoming of team members

back from holidays, the coordinator outlined her beliefs and values by saying that she

saw herself as being able to "help [faculty] do the best job you can," that she viewed

herself as a "facilitator" for the team and saw them as "professionals" who should be

"involved in the decisions that affect your life." She pointed out that she needed to be

apprised of concerns before they became full-blown problems, that the instructors were

either to speak to her about individual problems or if it was a group problem, bring the

concern to team meetings.

The intent to meet the needs of individual faculty members was apparent when the

teaching facilities were discussed. This team had to use the gymnasium as a classroom

because there had been such a low drop-out rate of students that the usual classrooms

could not accommodate the whole class. The concern with excellence in teaching and

the impact of classroom facilities on this objective served as the impetus for the

discussion of the disadvantages of using the "gym" as a classroom. Suggestions of

how to better deal with these disadvantages, were to come up on at least four

occasions. At one point, the gym was re-organized to better facilitate the teaching

process. When asked to comment on the new set-up, two team members concluded that it was better because it allowed for better eye contact with students, but others complained that the chairs were too close for examination purposes. It was reorganized to suit both groups.

The need for consistency provides a second illustration of this concern for individual faculty members that came up at least 11 times in the second-year team meetings. Simone, who was a new faculty member in the second-year team, found the goal of striving for consistency to be very strong in this team.

Conflict was also a prevalent characteristic of this team. Conflict was such an underlying feeling in this team that it had an impact on all team activities. For example, for one meeting, the investigator's field notes indicated that it lagged and team members exhibited considerable frustration while the coordinator experienced difficulty putting her points across. When the coordinator was confronted with issues, she usually reverted to another level of administration, rather than dealing directly with them. The investigator's impression, which was supported by three participants' comments, was that many faculty members were very dissatisfied with her leadership style. Although the coordinator and the team members expressed concern for each other and tried to be supportive, these gestures were to no avail because of the constant underlying conflict in this team.

During many second-year team meetings, signs of underlying conflict became manifest when team members started talking in dyads or when some instructors made subtle, sarcastic remarks about the team leader's style of conducting meetings or on one occasion when several instructors individually got up and left the room, only to return a few minutes later. Other signs were instructors working on other projects during meetings, for example, filling in an engagement calendar or marking examinations. On occasion, eye contact and facial expressions among certain individuals indicated uneasiness with the way the team business was being conducted.

Another example where conflict was evident occurred at the only meeting that went more than 30 minutes overtime at which team members discussed faculty evaluations done anonymously by students. A new procedure for collecting and compiling these evaluations had recently been implemented. The anonymity issue was very contentious for this team. One team member commented that "students do not have to be responsible for what they put down on paper, whereas faculty have to be very responsible." Three instructors agreed with her. This issue was discussed at length during an evaluation committee meeting to which a second-year instructor brought the team's negative feedback about the new procedure.

Another concern that emerged during one meeting was that curriculum plans for one part of the instructor group did not fit with the other half of the group who taught in specialty areas in the hospital. This issue was discussed for 25 minutes with no final resolution, only that they should come up with other alternatives. This polarization was a constant irritant in this team for 10 months and had apparently been a school issue for longer. As Thérèse and Simone explained, most of the instructors from the speciality areas formed one clique while the rest of the team members formed another clique. Simone said that when she joined this team she: "perceived a lot more stress ... it's almost like a competition between [names some of the specialty areas] ... rather than supporting each other it's like a camp, they don't sit together in classes. [T]here is just so many small cliques."

A course on professional nursing came up frequently and caused considerable concern that was never satisfactorily resolved during the year. There were problems with group process, an important aspect of the student assignment in this course. One reason for this problem was attributed to the lack of familiarity among students within the groups. The student group only met once a week, which further prevented them from becoming acquainted. Since these students were not part of the instructors' usual clinical groups, the instructors did not know them either. In raising the problems of

group process, one team member declared: "[We] didn't get to know the students," a sympathy expressed by two other team members.

The coordinator reiterated problems with the group process during a January meeting and inquired "What can we do to help them with this?" Three instructors made suggestions and finally it was moved that the clinical groups and the groups for this course be the same the next year. This change meant that for the next year both instructors and students would be well acquainted with each other, an arrangement that was deemed to be important by most of the instructors.

At the next meeting, the coordinator asked for comments from instructors about the directions given to students in relation to the professional nursing course papers, especially the criteria used for grading them. This comment sparked off a 20 minute discussion that included at least nine team members, some of whom commented on more than one occasion. All instructors expressed a great deal of frustration about not knowing the students on a personal basis. At one point, several team members shared their methods for handling this assignment. One instructor stated: "As long as we are consistent." Several team members described how they would deal with this assignment the following year.

The use of the marking guide for this course ignited another discussion that lasted 15 minutes. The problem concerned a student in a group project who was not pulling her/his weight. Every team member commented, several suggesting how to better deal with this dilemma. Some instructors suggested that it was a student problem because they were supposed to be learning about group process. Other instructors were concerned about the use of the marking guide, while two instructors related the problem to the fact that they were marking papers of students they did not know. Several team members indicated that they were in the same position. After considerable discussion and many suggestions, the final outcome was that they were unable to resolve the issue this year but they could better address it in student contracts the following year.

When the "group dynamics" that resulted in faculty members "gossiping" and "name calling" with very little "support" in the teaching groups was raised by a team member at a meeting in early February, it was acknowledged by most instructors and discussed for 15-20 minutes. When several instructors made suggestions for resolving this conflict, they all took the form of some type of social event.

After missing one meeting, at the next meeting, the investigator was quickly apprised of the fact that the student counsellor, who did not regularly attend team meetings, had talked with the team about the handling of the professional nursing course, especially the grading of it. According to some team members, the counsellor accused them of being unfair in grading student papers. From the team's point of view, the counsellor had been very negative and had sided with the students. Team members discussed this issue and their feelings toward the counsellor for 25 minutes. One instructor pointed out that what "bugged" her most was that team members were already aware of the problems raised by the counsellor.

At a subsequent meeting, the team discussed for about 10 minutes without arriving at any definite conclusions whether the counsellor's job description included being a student advocate. At the end of the discussion the coordinator expressed her appreciation for the positiveness with which team members "express[ed] feelings and concerns and [were] not negative about the situation."

Another episode of conflict surfaced when the coordinator made a mistake in scheduling team meetings. This misscheduling error resulted in faculty arriving one half hour late for a faculty-student meeting especially set up to discuss students' concerns. By the expression on some instructors' faces and the general feeling tone, many team members were very angry about this error, even after the coordinator apologized for it. One instructor's response to this apology was a very sarcastic "thank you."

On another occasion, the coordinator changed the time for a scheduled meeting which meant that individual faculty members had to rearrange their timetables. Three

team members vehemently protested the rescheduling of the meeting, while another member implored them to "leave it alone."

Food was an important team symbol that was often used to try to ameliorate conflict. At an early September meeting, one instructor brought in a cake for coffee break while at another meeting homemade "goodies" were mentioned to encourage instructors to attend the retirement tea for a hospital nurse. At one October meeting, it was suggested that since there were few human support structures in the hospital units and team members were isolated from each other on these units, an informal luncheon should be arranged at a nearby restaurant to try to provide needed emotional support.

At both a November meeting and an April meeting, the food to be served at two forthcoming baby showers for colleagues was discussed in some detail. At another meeting when team members discussed the reviewing of a teaching film, it was suggested they make popcorn and go to one instructor's home to view it. When the presence of underlying team conflict was raised by one team member and subsequently discussed at one February meeting, all suggestions for conflict resolution were social events involving food; for example, lunch at a restaurant during one March all-day workshop. At the end of the term when an instructor offered her home for a team barbecue, she asked team members to bring steak, "booze" and lawn chairs. However, the instructors insisted on bringing more food which caused one team member to proclaim that they always ended up with excess food.

Participants' comments about this team were:

> **Thérèse:** [T]he [team] manager ... believes in that *laissez faire* type of administration and would like decisions made [by the team] ... There is a lot of dissension ... because the style of management possibly has changed but it's a personality conflict ... there is possibly two or three people that are strong in the opposition or in the dissension, there are a few people that ... are upset with the dissension and a lot of fence sitters that are either aye or nay.

> **Martine:** [Power struggles are] very definitely there. There are some powerful personalities and a pretty weak leader ... in essence the problem in second-year is several leaders and a real leader who isn't a leader.

> **Simone:** [T]here are so many strong personalities in that group who don't believe strongly in compromise that anyone would have a difficult time leading that group ... There are probably things she [coordinator] could do that would make it a bit easier... [however] they turn on you very quickly so there isn't a lot of options .... A lot of them are too outspoken and don't care about the group as a whole and aren't supportive of the group process.

> **Cecile:** She [the coordinator] wasn't meeting their [instructors'] criteria for the coordinator, little things were not being done for them ... [that] they felt was the coodinator's job so there was a lot of complaining about that and ... [it was] just allowed to build up.

Although the instructor and the teaching teams were major foci of this study, the relationship between instructors and students was also an important aspect of this organization of nurse educators. The importance of these relationships will be described next.

Relationship with Students

The job description for the school's faculty members included the following expectation: "The nursing instructor is expected to establish and maintain an effective *instructor-student relationship*" (Document, dated August, 1983). At one third-year meeting, the coordinator emphasized the need *"to enhance relationships between students and faculty."* The second-year coordinator reminded team members to focus on *"getting to know [students]"* at their first meeting with student groups. A 1984 study that examined the learning environment of the school found the most frequently mentioned strength given by 92 out of 108 student respondents was that the faculty were perceived as "supportive, approachable and caring" (MacKay and Elliott, 1985:27).

Goals developed at the annual faculty (1985) retreat indicated that students were given a high priority in this school. The five goals were:

> 1. *to enhance relationships with students*, peers and administration,
> 2. to identify key concept[s] of content and [to] teach the nursing application to both instructors and *students*, 3. to decrease [*student*] stress associated with clinical experience, 4. to enhance consistency of instructor expectations of *student* performance, and 5. to monitor the *student* stress level and learning environment within the school (Faculty Minutes, October 7, 1985, emphasis added).

The concern for students was evident at all meetings the investigator attended. The summary of the investigator's field notes indicated that students were mentioned frequently during school meetings.

The keen interest in students was further supported by Thérèse's comment about the rationale behind small group work: "I think the theory behind why we have gone to a lot of small group work ... is that if students don't understand, it is much easier for them to speak out ... when there is only eight of them ... than ...120." At one meeting, small groups were described by five instructors as "good facilitators" that encouraged student participation.

Student "feedback" was a predominant theme in the investigator's field notes. Feedback referred to the process of reviewing students' comments and concerns about any aspect of the teaching-learning process. Faculty constantly sought students' comments, either verbally or in writing, on curriculum content, techniques of teaching, guest lecturers and clinical experience. Student input was noted in the investigator's field notes at least 43 times. Thérèse confirmed the emphasis on student input:

> Students have a much stronger input every year ... they have strong input into decisions and my understanding is that this has changed, that this didn't used to be the case. I get that more from instructors who seem to be upset ... that the students have that much voice, that much power to influence curriculum.

Odile confirmed that in faculty workshops they talked about giving students more choices, "shar[ing] decision making." Although these two participants indicated

stronger student involvement in decision making, not all team members shared this opinion or applauded its implementation.

An example of student influence occurred during one second-year meeting when three faculty members maintained that according to student feedback, the content was being presented too rapidly. After considerable discussion, the final outcome on this issue was a decision to have a special class meeting to discuss this situation with the student group. The results of this special class meeting were discussed at the next team meeting and included comments such as: the faculty had displayed "openness, receptivity, a willingness to talk to the students" and "a caring attitude, " all important values of this group of instructors. However, they felt only individual student problems were brought forward rather than class problems. Instructors concluded that they had done the best job they could, that students gave mostly positive feedback and perhaps team members were exaggerating student concerns.

Student comments, where possible, were reported at all team meetings when faculty were reviewing content that had been taught the previous week. Most student suggestions were accorded serious consideration and were often implemented as soon as possible. For example, when instructors implemented student feedback by slowing down on content delivery, highlighting the important points on the overhead projector and leaving enough time for student questions, the coordinator reported that the students "were amazed that they had been listened to and thrilled." The instructors were pleased with this response. When one group of students and four faculty members considered certain content on ethical issues to be repetitive, they decided to wait until all student evaluations were collected before making any final decisions about this content.

When students expressed concern about one of the content areas, the second-year faculty set up a special session for questions and answers. The fact that only three students showed up out of a possible 120 caused considerable consternation that led

one instructor to comment: "So that shows what a crisis it is!" However, the team did agree to expand the time used for this particular content area.

At one second-year team meeting, student concerns about the grading of individual students on the group process part of an assignment were discussed for 15 minutes by all team members. Not being well acquainted with the students was one major concern expressed by several instructors. The discussion culminated in two recommendations that aimed to alleviate student concerns.

On at least one occasion, however, the second-year team did not support the students. This occurred during the discussion of anonymity of student evaluations faculty members which this team did not agree with.

Policy concerns about individual students often came up and were openly discussed in all teams without specifically naming the students. For example, the policy regarding students being late for examinations was queried. The instructors discussed failing students who seemed unsafe to practice. The problem of students giving gifts to faculty members was discussed at some length. Also, the problem of students smoking in uniform while walking between hospital buildings was brought up and discussed along with the lack of appropriateness of street clothes some students wore to classes. The issue of students working in specific hospital units being counted as hospital staff rather than the usual practice of students being considered supernumerary was also raised.

Faculty expressed concern when students failed to attend classes, even though these classes were not compulsory. This issue surfaced during at least seven different second-year team meetings. This issue was also raised by Cecile in connection with the third-year team:

> Let me say that classes are not compulsory here, but it is an expectation
> that they attend classes ... and [the coordinator asked] ... them to phone
> her if they were not attending the class, but I don't think that's
> happening .... [T]hey are a mature group ... and you can't treat them

"like children and say thou shalt be in class ... so maybe we aren't treating them like adult learners.

Martine who taught in both first and third-year, also commented on mandatory attendance and how low attendance always produced concerned comments in team meetings that usually led to discussion about various strategies for increasing attendance. She went on to say that when the coordinator told the class that it was very important that they attend classes, she thought this was "very unfair."

Students were considered important enough to have a full-time counsellor who was responsible for the admission and the counselling of students. She arranged stress management sessions for students, brown-bag lunch sessions for both mature students and for male students and was responsible for counselling individual students over the "rough patches."

One faculty concern, raised in early September, was the increased levels of stress students experienced as the year progressed. Since one of the school's goals set at the August retreat was to try to decrease stress levels among students, several ideas were suggested for stress management. For example, there was considerable discussion about students' perceptions about whether one examination in the second-year was too difficult and, if so, would there be loss of student "trust"?

Near the end of the year (June), the issue of consistency among instructors in the teaching and the evaluating of students reappeared in an hour-long discussion that encompassed the three years of the program. "How to please an instructor" was seen as one of the major stressors for students. When this issue was discussed during one second-year meeting, one of the two student representatives who had joined this team in March (Minutes, March 25, 1986) pointed out that students became upset when student groups were not treated similarly, for example, when one student group had a two-hour conference while another student group got by with 15 minutes.

When the investigator asked Odile about student-faculty relationships, she gave the following response:

> The majority are good.... [S]ome of them really are excellent and others need some improvement. Those that need improvement haven't changed a whole lot ... since I have been here ... *we try to focus on relationships as well*. All you have to do is look back on the kinds of workshops that we've been having ... motivation, adult learning. (emphasis added)

Another workshop focused on "the continued development of effective relationships at all levels of the organization." The other five participants' responses were:

> Martine: I have quite a good relationship with my students; I am quite relaxed, I expect them to care about what they are doing but I don't expect them to be perfect .... My impression though ... is that there are some instructors who are very difficult to get along with, very unreasonable and quite rigid—there is almost an adversarial relationship.

> Simone: Fairly formal. I know they call the instructors by their first names ... but its all very set down what you are expected to do ... it is probably pretty stressful. It's very easy to pick out which instructor students think highly of and which is kind of "iffy" .... They [instructors] are very picky about small details. They expect an awful lot.

> Cecile: [T]he people I've been around have a very good relationship with their students ... they are student advocates, basically, they enjoy working with the students. They get a lot of rewards ... and are very forgiving of the students' behavior ... there are a few [instructors] that the students don't like ... the authority is not too hard, I can think of one in particular last year where a student was causing a lot of problems and the faculty member agreed she was causing problems but in the end was very supportive of her .... Other examples are [when hospital nursing] staff members ... pick on students ... and the instructor will support and defend the students ... [or] when a student comes to an instructor and says I can't get this assignment done, the instructors ... give them an extension quite willingly ... basically the instructors bend over backwards trying to accommodate the students.

> Thérèse: The relationships seem positive and there is some negative ... but generally ... instructors ... try to do things ... to please the

students and for the students' welfare ... they respond to student input
... there may be some antagonism that we make the rules ... and the
students shouldn't be telling us what to do .... There is a lot of
interaction ... positive ... joking and laughing ... [the] students feel
comfortable enough to do those kind of things ... that's a very positive
environment for learning .... With some instructors ... the relationship
isn't positive.

Janine: Overall faculty see students from a positive point of view, ...
Sometimes ... we expect too much of the students ... Informally we
have a lot of power over students when we make little comments about a
particular student in a group meeting or in the coffee lounge [such as]
"this student is always really well prepared." We are giving her a very
nice halo effect. Or "the student is a disaster." Well that's picked up as
well .... Sometimes faculty are afraid to be really honest with students. I
sometimes have the feeling that faculty want to be liked by every student
and don't take the risk of giving a negative evaluation or failing a
student.

Later, during this same dialogue, Janine stated: "I feel that the student-instructor

relationship [should be] friendly ... , not necessarily best friends, [it] is really important

... it helps to develop trust with the students." After discussing the need to attend

faculty-student social events, Janine contended that she "got to know them better, not

just as an instructor and a student but sometimes on a social or a casual basis where

they can just feel like they can come and say hello."Janine stressed the importance "...

[of] hav[ing] a very good relationship with the students" when the investigator asked

about getting to the top in the organization.

The subject of students reappeared when the investigator asked five of the six

participants about the content of informal conversations at coffee or over lunch. All

comments, except for Janine's, apply to conversations in the hospital cafeteria. Martine

and Simone agreed that it was students "a good proportion [of the time]." Thérèse and

Cecile felt there was a tendency to talk about problem students although Cecile added

"and the students who are excelling." Janine who predominantly used the faculty

lounge said that "occasionally it [was] about students."

The use of the word "kids" to refer to students was a common practice in all three teams' meetings, as well as in the orientation sessions the investigator attended. The term "kids" was used interchangeably with the term "students" by many faculty members, while it was used almost exclusively by other instructors. The investigator's field notes were replete with references to "the kids." For the investigator who observed the students in the corridors, this seemed somewhat contradictory, since a substantial proportion were mature adult women. When the investigator discussed this phenomenon with three participants, they referred to it as a "habit" or "tradition" that related more to when the majority of students admitted were younger i.e., 18 to 20 year olds. They stressed that it was not meant in a "derogatory" way. Participants' comments were:

> Martine: [P]art of it is habit, part of it is just the way they behave ... they are child-like .... I know it's a term that I use a lot and I don't mean it in a derogatory way, whatsoever ... when you are working with [students] who have never seen anyone in pain or ... a naked body or ... an incision or ... anyone dying ... they are quite child-like and the term kids seems to suit them. I don't think it's a maternal feeling, ... they are naive.

> Odile: I see it as negative myself and I try to use the term students because then it applies to everybody.

> Simone: Habit probably more than anything partly reflected in their attitude toward the students. I know I do it myself and when I hear someone else do it I don't like it ... it is slightly negative, it puts them on a different level ... children rather than adults ... a lot of the students are older than me.

> Janine: I don't see it as a derogatory type of comment ... those are probably used quite interchangeably by faculty .... It may be setting yourself apart from the students as a separate entity ... or ... does it really carry back to the very traditional aspects that we have had in nursing ... where students didn't call instructors by their first names ... it's sort of a group label ... the greater majority are more than kids.

During the second dialogue, Janine said: "I still don't know which I use more frequently. In fact after I talked to you, I have been monitoring it and it came out about

fifty fifty." After the investigator shared some of the above explanations, Janine's response was: "That makes sense, it does seem to fit and I could see using that type of rationale for the use of the word kids."

The discussion of the term "kids" lead to further comments about the perceptions some instructors had about their relationships with students:

> Simone: When you talk about your group you say "my kids" ... that
> you are taking care of them ... they belong to you for that period of time
> and that whatever they do ... that's a reflection of [you] personally ....
> When they have gone through another instructor ... you ask about "how
> are my kids doing?" ... it causes quite a bit of friction in the faculty that
> an instructor will say so and so is doing very, very poorly .... and you
> say "I didn't have any problems" and then you begin to question
> yourself. Well maybe I wasn't looking close enough; maybe they had
> these problems and I missed them or it might be something that you
> don't see as a big problem but another instructor does and you can
> become quite defensive about it.

When the investigator suggested that the progress of students seemed to be taken very personally, Simone replied: "Yes" while Cecile concurred: "You are right there" she elaborated:

> I don't know ... you become attached to them ... you only spend six
> weeks with them ... and they come to you with their problems and their
> concerns ... it's a term of endearment ... perhaps it's the mother instinct
> or the nurturing instinct [or] ... nursing qualities ... the caring attitude
> and the concern for other people and ... they are sort of like your kids
> even though they are forty years old or older ... I have just become
> *attached* to them. (emphasis added)

Outside the main office individual pictures of students with their names under them, arranged by class, were hung on the wall while individual pictures of faculty and staff were exhibited close by in a display case. In the fall when individual instructors' pictures were taken, a group picture of the faculty was also taken at faculty request.

When the investigator asked the participants about the meaning of these pictures, for the most part, they were not sure but after giving this question further consideration they responded: "to identify who so and so is;" for students and faculty to "become.

familiar" with each other; "a getting to know you [instructors]; "to help faculty learn some of the names of the students and vice versa;" getting to know the instructors "on a personal basis;" and "to see instructors and students together on a basis other than strictly professional." When the investigator added, "[t]o give the students the impression that instructors are not only nurses, but they are human beings that have other things in their life, ",Simone replied: "Yes."

Summary

The school was made up of three teams whose main role was the organization and the teaching of the curriculum. However, the teams' roles extended well beyond that. They acted as major socializing units, support groups and integrating mechanisms for team members. The teams encouraged instructor participation.

The maintenance of effective relationships that promoted cohesiveness in the work group was a major focus in the school and was emphasized in their social events, in the arrangement of the tables for meetings and in their relationships with their colleagues and students even though the second-year team's relationships were fraught with conflict. It was also exemplified in the strong focus on students by faculty members who affectionately referred to them as the "kids"; four of the five school goals developed at the annual retreat were aimed at students while feedback from students was given high priority in team meetings; problem students dominated instructors' informal conversations. Knowing the students personally was an important objective for most faculty members.

Decisions were usually made by consensus after considerable discussion and feedback from colleagues and students. Questions and comments, usually phrased in such a way that they tended to add to rather than challenge statements, reflected a bonding, collaborative style of colleague interaction that was apparent in two teams but was only given lip service in the third team. The need for instructor consistency in

teaching and evaluating students was a constant dilemma for two teams, while individuality in the treatment of students was stressed in the third team. Conflict was not apparent in one team, was sporadic in another team over a four-month period and was a constant underlying current that impaired team functioning in the third team.

Food and social events, a strong part of the culture, were used as cohesion-building, conflict resolving mechanisms in all teams but were emphasized more in the first and the second-year teams where conflict was more apparent. The development of both collegial and effective faculty-student relationships were two objectives all teams strove for, even though the second-year team failed to accomplish the first one.

CHAPTER 6

THE WORLD OF FEMALE NURSE EDUCATORS

This chapter will describe and analyze the organizational culture of the school. Initially the world of nurse educators will be described by outlining their culture with its values and symbols. Using the grounded theory approach, there is an elaboration on five categories that were generated from the field notes. These categories were corroborated by the six key participants.

General Description of the World of Nurse Educators

The following is a description of the nurse educators' work world. It includes a description of their surroundings, the significance of childbearing and rearing for their lives, and the importance of a professional image.

The Surroundings

When the investigator first entered the school, she quickly became aware of a feeling of high energy and dynamism in the air, mixed with some nervous tension. The strong sense of the female gender became apparent as the investigator stood in the halls with predominantly female students milling about, chatting with each other in groups and moving up and down the corridors to the classrooms. A poster hanging in one of the faculty member's offices reinforced this perception of femaleness: "When God created men, she was only kidding." Outside the main office, individual pictures of predominantly female students, faculty and staff further complemented this feeling of a strongly female domain.

When the investigator initially entered the faculty lounge, a main area where she was to interact with the total faculty, she was greeted by a group of mostly slim, well dressed, youthful-looking women. This lounge was a small cozy room with couches

arranged into three conversation areas, one of which was a segregated smoking area with an air ecologizer. Another area included a counter and sink with a board above it, on which hung an assortment of coffee mugs in various shapes, sizes, patterns and colours that hinted at the heterogeneity of the faculty. The coffee maker was close by. Upon opening the refrigerator door, the investigator was greeted by shelves overflowing with brown bag lunches and often a cake or some other "goodie," a major symbol of this group of women it was later learned. The magazines that were scattered around the lounge were female-oriented magazines such as: *Homemakers, Western Living, Chatelaine, The Magic of Scarf Fashion, Reader's Digest, Working Women, Wedding Bells* and a *Tupperware Catalogue.*

To the left upon entering the lounge, was a bulletin board that was usually filled with clippings of nursing articles from newspapers or magazines, often a requested recipe from some social function and frequently a sign-up list, for either bringing in food or for selecting from amongst a variety of restaurant menus for an upcoming social event.

The surroundings were like those of many hospital schools of nursing of the 1950's era; they reflected an encapsulated enclave surrounded by a large metropolitan hospital. The faculty lounge was like a homey kitchen where is seemed natural to talk about domestic concerns.

Childbearing and Child Rearing

It became readily apparent that childbearing and child rearing were a significant part of this female culture. For example, in introducing herself during the July, 1985 orientation, one administrator spontaneously mentioned the ages of her children and told anecdotes about them. The new staff members followed her lead and mentioned their family or lack thereof. One new instructor prefaced her remarks by declaring that she was obviously the oldest person in the group and then mentioned she had two

sons, adding that she could not pursue any further education until they were older. Another instructor disclosed that she had obtained her baccalaureate degree with reluctance, and her husband would need to be convinced before she could pursue further studies. She added that their dog was "their child." A staff member who was obviously pregnant announced when her maternity leave would start. The youngest instructor in the group declared she was not married and had no plans to marry in the immediate future.

The administrator announced that student registration had been arranged in the afternoon to allow both students and faculty to attend the first day of school with their children. She named the various faculty and staff who were currently on maternity leave and those who would be going on maternity leave that term. The investigator's field notes included an observation that these women appeared to weigh their careers equally with their family and outside life. Later on, Cecile, one key participant, indicated that family and/or friends were given first priority by most faculty members.

During the first term the investigator observed in the school, pregnancy and child care were frequent topics of conversation. It was obvious that three faculty/staff members were pregnant. As a result, aspects of pregnancy often came up in conversations: e.g., one pregnant person being "large with child" and not having an adequate coat to cover her expanding abdomen, two other pregnant faculty members looking forward to upcoming maternity leaves and pondering whether they would return to work, one of them trying to predict the sex of her baby by the amount of movement in the uterus.

Along with the concerns of expectant faculty members came the concerns of those instructors who had children at home. For example, the costs of child care, the problems of having a precocious 3 1/2 year old daughter who terrorized the 18-year-old babysitter, the difficulties of managing two sets of twins, ten months and 3 1/2 years old, the concern about whether an 11-month-old baby was sick or merely teething, the

problems of entertaining children on an acreage where there were no other children to play with, the dilemma of a mother with a very young daughter who insisted on playing hockey with her older brother when she could barely be fitted with skates, the reactions of children to a recent break-in that had occurred at one instructor's home, one instructor's son's "disastrous" first day at school and various instructors' experiences with their children on Hallowe'en. One instructor was "frantic" one morning because there had been a car accident on the highway that her son and his family had travelled over the previous day and she had been unable to reach him by telephone that morning. At the end of the first term, two faculty members quit due to the pressures associated with trying to work and to care for several young children at home.

Ill children were taken seriously. Faculty members often shuffled timetables to accommodate instructors who had sick children at home. For example, one day the timetable was rearranged so an instructor with a sick child could teach at the beginning of the day and then go home. Another day, a faculty member arrived late for a meeting because her child became sick overnight, and she had to make other arrangements for him in the morning. This was accepted without question. When she arrived, the coordinator's first question was about her child's health.

All faculty members' births were announced immediately with details on the length and the type of labour and delivery. For example, when the investigator arrived one morning, she was told that one instructor would not be in because she had gone into premature labour. Another day, the investigator was greeted with the news that a staff member had delivered her baby daughter that morning. At another meeting, the team was planning a baby shower for another team member who had recently had a baby. It was common practice to have baby showers for new mothers.

When a former faculty member poked her head in on one of the team meetings, her first question concerned the details of the labour, the delivery and the sex of the child of a faculty member on maternity leave. One day a faculty member recounted, with relish,

an anecdote about a couple with a perfectionistic husband who did not want to have children. The punch line was when his wife unexpectedly got pregnant. It turned out to be twins. When an administrator was discussing how two events had gone wrong that day, a newly married faculty member piped up that she could get pregnant to produce the third one.

It was not unusual for children to be in the lounge. One day when the investigator walked into the lounge, she found one of the part-time faculty members with a child in tow. The investigator had previously seen this child when the mother had an appointment with the director. Another day, the investigator found an eleven-month-old baby on the couch with his obviously pregnant mother bending over him, while she waited for his father to collect him.

Odile, one of the participants, told the investigator that on pay day, when faculty did not have commitments in the school or the hospital, they usually brought their children in. When these children were in the lounge area, most of the other activities stopped, and attention was focused on them. The fecund environment of this institution soon became readily apparent to the investigator. Cecile commented that she found it "really refreshing or different that the faculty were [so] involved in their families."

It was apparent from the instructors' remarks that faculty members with children were largely responsible for the care of their children and the management of their households. As Simone indicated: "[they] all take the majority of the responsibilities for their children, they may go to day care or a babysitter, you talk to most of them and they're the ones that make the arrangements, they are the ones that drive the kids and pick them up, arrange all the extra activities for their kids." This statement was supported when team members tried to arrange to meet after work for a drink and all the problems of having major responsibilities for meal preparation and child care surfaced. One Monday morning when one instructor commented on how tired her colleague

looked, the colleague replied that she had spent all weekend on household chores instead of taking time off.

The multiple expectations of these women were affirmed by Martine when she talked about the expectation of bringing home-made food in. "Women feel compelled to be successful in so many areas: they have to be successful in their job, they have to be wonderful mothers, wonderful homemakers, wonderful wives and [baking shows] what a wonderful homemaker you are."

When the investigator discussed with Cecile the multiple roles these women were expected to play, she pointed out:

> Yeh, it's amazing some of these women have two and three children at home, and they are working full time and yet able to contribute to committees as well, not just the fact that they have home responsibilities, but they have an outside life ... as well as their work life.

Simone, who was single, talked about the employment expectation that faculty members be prepared to obtain a master's degree. "If I find it tiring even thinking about it, when you think of marriage, small kids and the income that's needed and ... on top of that the expectation, that they start working on [a master's degree], that is going to take a lot of time, energy [and] money."

Two of the investigator's participants had children. When discussing career plans, Martine indicated that she would work for two or three years, perhaps taking courses toward her master's degree. When her child was older, she would attend university full time. She finished by saying "once he is in school, I think things will be better." Janine had two children and was taking a university course towards her master's degree.

When the investigator asked Martine about the dilemmas of not being home with her child, she replied:

I cannot tell you that I have not experienced that [guilt]. I know especially when he was younger than he is now, I felt badly at having to put him in day care. I had no choice though. I could not do that for 24 hours a day, I love him dearly but I wouldn't want to look after him 24 hours a day and I think he would be bored with me at home 24 hours a day as well. You aren't supposed to admit that you don't want to be around your kid all the time.

When the investigator queried about the day her child had been sick, Martine responded "Oh yeh, I do feel terrible then, you know that I don't have the option of just staying home and taking care of him." However, she indicated she had someone who was very "competent, loving and caring" looking after him which was "the perfect solution." Martine said that the meeting she came in for was a particularly important one, but under other circumstances she would not hesitate to make other arrangements so she could remain at home.

Janine discovered that she "couldn't stay at home full time." With her first child she stayed home two and one half years, but felt she "wasn't really wise the first time around." At that time she felt compelled to constantly remain at home, not use a babysitter or even attend courses because "after all [she] was a housewife." After having one child in day care, and finding out that he "didn't suffer all that much for the fact that I was working, and so I worked through a lot of guilts the first time around." However, she admitted that, at times, a comment from someone could still "stir up" guilt.

Both Martine and Janine acknowledged that they would not be able to work general duty in a hospital and raise their children at the same time. They admitted that flexible hours and being able to work at home when they did not have commitments in the school were "perks" that helped to assuage the guilt. Janine added that although "flex time" sometimes permitted her to go on a field trip with her child or to a Christmas concert, she also often worked at home in the evening and had to say to her kids: "Look I'm really sorry about this week, Mommy is really busy."

Martine admitted that instructors were expected to go to evening social functions but she "did not give up [her] evenings for her job." Because of her young child, she had not stayed overnight during her first school retreat but did during the second retreat when one administrator offered her daughter as a babysitter. Martine conceded: "It is a perfect job for me, perfect." She then revealed ambitious, long-term plans, that were modified to accommodate her son, but Martine did not feel that her child would deter her from her ultimate career goals: "No, I'm bright, I can do what I want to do."

According to Martine, the talk about pregnancy tended to be cyclical, depending on the number of expectant faculty, and was largely limited to the faculty lounge. However, since seven babies had been born in the previous 18 months, this fecund environment supported considerable "baby talk" during the 12 months the investigator was carrying on her study. The participants indicated that the faculty who ate in the hospital cafeteria did not usually talk about their children, especially if they were with instructors who were childless. For example, Martine, who was a single parent, said she never talked about her child with her colleagues because they did not have children. When she talked about her son, it was usually with people who had children.

All aspects of the maternity cycle were evident in this female domain. Childbearing and rearing played major roles in these women's lives that had consequences for their careers. These women played several roles with amazing dexterity. Maintaining a professional image was one of these roles.

Professional Image

When the investigator first entered this environment she was immediately struck by how slim, well dressed, whether in street clothes or uniforms, and well coiffed, this group of female professionals was. The investigator noted the faculty's svelte appearance several times in her field notes. Many of the instructors sported the latest hair styles and fashions. Others dressed with what appeared to be an acute awareness

of clothes. These instructors did not appear in blue jeans or other casual clothes. Silk
dresses and blouses were commonplace, as were stylish slacks and pant suits. Nail
polish and perfume were always evident. Many of these women were adorned with
jewelry, some classical, expensive pieces; others wore trendy costume jewelry. Some
of the faculty members were seamstresses who fashioned their own wardrobes.
Clothes were often discussed in casual conversations. Near the end of the school term,
faculty members brought in clothes they no longer wore to sell to one another.

As Simone put it, "It's a very image-conscious group." Since she felt "professional
image" better described this phenomenon, the investigator adopted this term. Odile's
comments about professional image were:

> I see the same people on faculty, who are in shape and presenting
> themselves well in street clothes, would also do the same thing in
> uniform ... [I]t is very much tied in with the professional image as well
> -as the role modelling which ... responsibility we have .... I don't think
> it is a negative image though, ... [but] very professional and very
> responsible behavior.... [I]t is very difficult for us to say one thing and
> do another and I am guilty, I am probably one of the least fit people
> around here.

When Cecile commented about professional image in the context of role modelling
for students, she suggested: "that comes from the professional part as well, that you
need to appear to be professional and dress respectably and look professional." Cecile
reported that the director and one of the administrators were very conscious of the way
people dressed:

> They like their staff to look professional and neat ... that sets the tone to
> a certain extent, and I guess there are people on faculty who are very
> clothes conscious, myself included. I enjoy wearing nice clothes and I
> guess maybe that has some influence on other people.

When I asked about the emphasis on professional image during my first dialogues
with the participants, Simone, who had recently joined the faculty, contended: "dress,
it's all very competitive, very status type of thing." She also suggested that it was a
covert competition with faculty who failed to measure up subtly being "put down."

Cecile agreed that there was peer pressure to pay attention "just by the appearance of other people working that are so attractive when they arrive [at] work ... that may make people be more conscious of the way they dress." This was reiterated by Janine on two occasions.

Martine acknowledged that the competitive attitude toward appearance was never verbally acknowledged, but instructors felt compelled to dress in a certain way. She contended that she felt out of place when she first joined the faculty because she had a "very inadequate wardrobe." Martine pointed out that administration had viewed appearance as sufficiently important to set aside one faculty inservice session for color draping and lines, a recent trend in women's fashion that determines what colors and styles look best on certain body types. This session had been unanimously endorsed by the faculty.

During the investigator's second dialogue with Martine, she remarked that instructors who had recently joined the faculty were feeling pressured to be fashionably dressed. She reported that

> [i]n particular two new people who are very nice, one of them in particular ... has remarked two or three times about it. It's just so unfortunate that you absolutely can't do anything about it, because it is a fact, it really is.

She continued: "Well I don't know... I suppose it's a theme when people start making a certain amount of money."

During the first dialogue, when the investigator mentioned that faculty seemed to be well dressed, Janine replied: "... yes, they are well-dressed and for some people, that's a pressure to keep up with ... if you are concerned about how you appear, compared to other faculty members, yes, I see that being a stress."

Janine indicated that new faculty members experienced pressure to "expand" their wardrobe, but indicated she did not think there was a "formal dress code in terms of street clothes ... [but] there certainly [was] in terms of uniforms." She concluded by

saying, "It probably ... is just keeping up with what is perceived as what other people are wearing as well."

The emphasis on presenting a professional image was a strong value in the school that caused the few instructors who were not slim, fit or fashionable to feel very uncomfortable. Another value was camaraderie.

Camaraderie

Although there was general mixing of instructors in the lounge area, it was apparent that there were certain groups or cliques who usually sat together and rarely mixed. The smokers, who represented all teams, congregated in the smoking area, while other faculty members seemed to mingle predominantly with fellow team members. A strong clique was apparent in the second-year team. This clique was identified by three key participants. According to Janine, other cliques formed in the first-year team during the second term.

Although there were cliques and some tension areas in this faculty group, there was also strong evidence of camaraderie. For example, one colleague brought another colleague a corsage as a token of friendship. After personal entertaining at home, instructors often shared the remaining food with their colleagues. One instructor offered to loan a roomy coat to a staff person when she became too pregnant for her own coat..

The promotion of fellowship was also the objective of the up group. According to Odile, the up group was a committee that had as its "mandate to act as a positive influence on students and faculty and to plan activities for facilitating this." She emphasized that the focus was firstly on students, then faculty. "Warm Fuzzy Week," planned by this committee and celebrated in mid-December, was an attempt to promote comradeship among this group of women. Each instructor was assigned an anonymous partner to whom she was to give a small, inexpensive present each day for a week. At the end of the week, the gift-givers were identified. The previous year, one instructor's

small gifts culminated in a live rabbit. When the investigator asked Martine why Warm Fuzzy Week was adopted, she responded: "To facilitate warmer relations between management and staff." Another mechanism used by one team to promote harmonious working relationships was the exchanging of small gifts at Christmas.

At the end of the year, during our second dialogue, when Cecile was feeling tired and a bit negative, she described the school's "atmosphere" as "quite positive ... there is a lot of support if you want to seek out that support, there is an opportunity to grow." Later in this interview, she elaborated: "when I think about it, I still enjoy working here, I still enjoy working with the students and ... with most of the faculty ... generally I think it's a pretty positive place to work." Janine maintained that it was "a very friendly atmosphere ... overall it's ... a good place to work ... it's a very supportive atmosphere in many ways in terms of meeting your own personal needs."

The surroundings of this world of nurse educators were home-like with women's magazines scattered around the faculty lounge. The talk was mostly "woman-talk" that often encompassed the dilemmas of working mothers. The pressure on maintaining a professional image was strong as was the emphasis on warm, harmonious relationships. This nursing culture provided the background for the generation of the following five categories.

Categories Generated by the Data

Categories were generated from the data using the grounded theory approach which included the use of documents, interview tapes and field notes. The following five categories were supported by the key participants in the first set of dialogues and were further clarified and elaborated on during the second set of dialogues.

Food as a Facilitator of Relationships

Food was a category that liberally peppered the 254 pages of single-spaced typed field notes. This category was thoroughly discussed during two dialogues with the six participants. Although this category was apparent from the beginning, the investigator did not initially consider it to be a category, let alone a dominant category. However, after considerable analysis it became increasingly apparent that food acted as a major facilitator for interaction.

The discussing, preparing, cooking, and eating of food were strong elements of this culture that often dominated conversations over lunch, coffee breaks and during meetings. Food was seen as the panacea for many situations. It was used for celebrating births, birthdays and marriages, for dealing with stress, for celebrating the departure of staff and faculty members, for expressing appreciation to a team for supporting a new instructor, for thanking hospital staff for working with students, for introducing new students to the school faculty and the administrators of the hospital, for celebrating the end of the term, for celebrating various graduation events, for rewarding a student who participated in a school project, for Christmas gifts, as the impetus for exchanging recipes with colleagues and as a reason for dieting.

After discussing the food category with Thérèse during the first dialogue, she was unable to come up with a satisfactory explanation for this phenomenon. However, after thinking about it, she elaborated on this category during the second dialogue: "I was thinking about that [food] again as I was driving over here —that lately for some reason the vehicle for facilitating is food at the [name of institution]."

She went on to say that at another hospital, in another city it had been TGIF (Thank Goodness It's Friday) at a local bar. She indicated that all the staff would go and "there was that sort of sharing and having fun and giggling and laughing and getting to know each other." Her comments suggested that, based on her experience, nursing organizations usually have some mechanism for facilitating relationships.

Food was seen as a lubricant for facilitating smooth colleague-colleague or faculty-student relationships. Initially, the investigator was struck by the number of times she arrived in the lounge or the meeting room, to find some kind of "goodie" on display. For example, at the coffee break of the first team meeting of the term, three homemade desserts were served to first-year team members.

The faculty did not see this focus on food as anything unusual, but took it for granted. For example, initially Odile remarked that she didn't think there was an "excessive amount" of food brought in but then she conceded that she never had to bring food in for other jobs (she had worked for many years). A few minutes later, with further probing, she added that faculty brought in food for "comfort, enjoyment," and then she conceded: "It goes with the territory." Finally, she admitted, "I haven't thought about it, quite honestly."

When the investigator initially asked Thérèse about the food phenomenon, Thérèse did not think the observation was accurate, but a couple of weeks later, after the entire faculty spent about twenty minutes discussing the menu for their annual Christmas luncheon, with ten minutes spent on the soup served at a particular restaurant, she admitted they were "obsessed with food." Martine's reply to the focus on food was: "you feel compelled to participate in it, ... you get directives [that] you have to bring in goodies for the tea and that's an expectation." Martine remarked: "there is an awful lot of food business" when explaining which social events were mandatory to attend. One faculty member admitted that she baked and froze desserts during the summer so she would have them available in the fall term.

Conversation often revolved around food. For example, the best buys in bulk food were discussed. Recipes were frequently talked about and exchanged among faculty members and staff and were often posted on the bulletin board in the faculty lounge. During one meeting two duplicated recipes were distributed to every team member, including the investigator. One team celebrated each team member's birthday with a

cake. At the beginning of the term everyone drew a name and baked a cake for that person's birthday. Faculty usually commented when there was no birthday to celebrate.

Often food such as cake, cookies and muffins were brought in for regular meetings. Other activities frequently mentioned in the context of food were: pot luck suppers or lunches, either for the whole faculty or for individual teams, a Christmas luncheon and an end-of-term party for the whole faculty, as well as team parties that heralded the end of the term and wedding or baby showers when they were appropriate. Some events were celebrated at restaurants, for example, the two end-of-term parties, but more commonly faculty brought in homemade food.

Food became the reason for faculty getting together in groups after work. Some faculty members met during the summer to can peaches and prior to Christmas to prepare poppycock and antipasto for gifts. Baking for Christmas was discussed by several instructors, one of whom brought in a sample of Norwegian cake that she served at Christmas. One faculty member who was taking a course on bread-making brought in samples of bread for her colleagues to taste. During one lunch hour, there was considerable discussion about how to make cabbage rolls. At another break, one instructor talked about making 600 perogies over the weekend. At another time the preparing of pastry from pig's fat from a colleague's farm, the making of both home-made pasta and yogurt, and the buying of fresh sausages from a farmer were discussed by four different instructors.

One day the investigator noticed a large poster on the bulletin board in the faculty lounge, with places to sign up for food for a pot luck luncheon. This poster was frequently perused and became the subject of endless discussion about the type of food instructors were bringing. In discussing the food served at this luncheon, Simone avowed: "[It was] almost childish ... like it was almost disgusting there was so much food and it was almost a competition of who could bring the most elaborate." When she was commenting about another social event, Simone described what happened as

follows: "Again the food was incredible, you think of 40 people each bringing a dozen little squares or something, that works out to about 400, it is amazing that most of the faculty are quite slim .... Most of the things weren't simple like cookies but fairly elaborate shortbread tarts."

Janine advised me that faculty members were unhappy if there were less than three desserts at any social function. She kidded that one criterion for membership on her team was to be a good cook.

Although bringing in food was a definite expectation, it was also a distinct inconvenience for some participants. For example, there seemed to be competition to produce the best food. Cecile commented:

> I don't bake so it's very hard — peer pressure. I guess coming from someone that doesn't cook very much or doesn't bake, I always feel inadequate .... They're fabulous cooks here ... I feel pressured ... and the expectation is it's sometimes a little bit much, always to be bringing in food.

Another instructor concurred saying that she disliked baking and resented bringing in "so much food." Martine admitted that she did not "bake things like that [cakes and cookies] and if they want to do that, that's fine .... I don't feel compelled to bake, I go and buy it." At the end of one meeting, after there had been considerable discussion over what type of food each instructor was bringing that evening for a baby shower, one instructor guiltily admitted she had not given much thought to it because she had been busy preparing a lecture for that day.

When a team member suggested a barbecue to celebrate the end of the term, she emphasized that the other instructors only needed to bring steak, "booze" and lawn chairs. However, the team members kept insisting on bringing more food until she finally relented. As one member put it: "No matter what you do in this group, we will end up with too much food."

Food came up in another context, that is, weight. For the most part the instructors were slim. However, weight and weight reduction were frequent topics of conversation. Usually someone was on a diet; others were attending weight watchers and/or aerobics classes and exchanging diets. One instructor purposely lost weight before Christmas, so she could indulge unabashedly during the holiday season. Odile acknowledged that "some people feel a subtle pressure in terms of keeping slim."

Martine revealed that she and at least three other instructors felt they had a problem with compulsive eating:

> Women ... in this society are concerned about food, in that it seems to
> be the thing women do, being very good cooks ... but at the same time
> they are also extremely concerned with body image and slenderness and
> I am as guilty as anyone about that .... I don't think that that is
> something peculiar to this place, I think that is women.

Another instructor, who was on a diet, brought in a chocolate cake for coffee break one morning. She admitted she had spent all weekend baking for her family, something she commonly does when she is on a diet.

During the dialogues, when the investigator asked the participants about the meaning of such emphasis on food, they replied:

> Odile: — Like it's a facilitator almost communication, socializing, everything from the organizing of it to the eating of it.
>
> Thérèse: Bringing food for their friends.
>
> Simone: I think that here it represents being social, bringing the group together, you eat together, you're friends, you break bread ... we are all really good pals, we get along so well.
>
> Martine: Well I think that's women .... [It is a way of] establishing camaraderie.
>
> Janine: As far as having any great significance the food ... it's a way of taking a few minutes out to do something that people enjoy and relax over .... it is a way of coping with stress.

> Cecile: [T]he underlying reason for suggesting a drink or lunch or a breakfast meeting ... it is more informal and if everybody made the effort of going and sitting beside someone that they didn't spend much time with, that maybe they would feel a little bit more comfortable with that person and, therefore, be able to express some feelings about working with them or be comfortable in giving constructive feedback.

Two other faculty members felt that food was used as a reinforcing mechanism; that is, each time instructors brought in food they got praise. According to them, it was a strong expectation of the director that faculty bring in food.

Food was usually combined with social events, the next category to be discussed.

Social Events as Integrators

Food and social events blended together and complemented each other. From the time the investigator started her field work, she found that the instructors were involved in many social events, some of which were informally considered mandatory, while others seemed to be optional, some were directly related to the students, while other events were faculty-related. For example, there were baby showers, a shower for an instructor who was getting married, parties for those faculty/staff who were leaving, a "roast" for an administrator who resigned, a coffee party for a student who had worked there during the summer and coffee parties for two other people who had resigned. Other events were potluck suppers for the various teams, a faculty-student barbeque, a volleyball tournament, a Hallowe'en party, a Valentine's Day party, numerous student-faculty events leading up to graduation, several functions to celebrate the Christmas season as well as coffee parties or teas for the hospital staff who helped with the nursing program and end-of-term parties for the entire faculty and staff as well as separate functions for each team.

During the 12-month period the investigator was in the school, she kept a count of all these social events which came to a total of 55 events. Although these events were not mandatory for all instructors, and some were limited to particular teams,

nevertheless, the faculty were expected to attend a large number of events, often after work hours.

When the investigator asked the participants about these social events they responded:

> **Thérèse:** [N]o, it's not in our job description, but that's what it is. A responsibility as a faculty member, it's sort of an unwritten responsibility that you are to attend these and show interest in them and there are certain social functions that if you are not there, you are reprimanded for not being there.

> **Martine:** It's expected that you go, yeh. I don't go, I am not interested in socializing with the people that I work with ... I go to the ones that you have to go to, [but I don't] give up my evenings for my job and I haven't really encountered a great deal of difficulty.

> **Simone:** I was told unofficially that you appear at the faculty tea ... that it would be very much noted if you were not there... that you might be able to get away with not attending other social functions but ... I really don't care about associating on a social level with the students .... I was told that, unofficially, you know you better attend a few of these things.

Odile felt there were social events that were mandatory and indicated that "a few heads rolled last year" when a large percentage of faculty failed to attend one faculty-student event. She contended that faculty events, such as the Christmas party and end-of-term parties were mandatory; there was a strong expectation that faculty attend team parties; showers were optional. Odile felt that most student-faculty events were mandatory because the director strongly supported these events: "She [the director] perceives that as a way of students getting to know us [faculty] in a different light and maybe being more approachable and that having some indirect effect on student stress."

Examples of comments from the participants that attempted to explain the meaning of this category were:

> **Janine:** The year I started ... we had a pot-luck supper or some kind of a get together among the first-year faculty. The stress level was really, really high ... we had a social thing about once a month. It seemed to be a time when we could have a laugh, we tried to minimize the work or

the shop talk, ... to get to know each other socially as well as at work
... [to] appreciate people as people, not just as a teaching partner or a
working partner ... , it's a way of sharing something with other people
in the group .... I think it's a socialization for them to help try and
reduce the stress somewhat, to get to know each other better.

Cecile: Well ... the social events that occur here bring the faculty closer
together ... you're always going to have cliques .... There is always
going to be people that you associate with and ones that you don't
socialize with outside of the work area and I think [all] the faculty or
even [team] parties or events do is bring the faculty a little bit closer
together, to know what happens in the first-year or to meet people to
converse and I think that's a good quality.

Odile: The reason that social events are planned is an attempt to help
establish happy relationships amongst faculty, ... that socially doing
things together is seen as a way ... of being ourselves, getting to know
people .... Certainly ... that's one of the things on the agenda at the
retreat every year and ... from my perspective that gets fostered.

Food and social events acted as mechanisms for promoting social interaction as did

support mechanisms, the next category to be discussed.

Support Mechanisms as Essential

Support mechanisms evolved as another category that characterized the school. The

word "support" appeared frequently in the investigator's field notes and in the

transcripts of dialogues with the six participants. *The Oxford English Dictionary's*

(Murray et al., 1970:207-208) definition of support is: "to sustain (the vital functions);

also, to keep up the strength of (a sick person)" or "the action, or an act, of preventing

a person from giving up, backing him [her] up, or taking his [her] part; assistance,

countenance, backing."

In the school it was not unusual to hear a faculty member ask for support from her

colleagues. For example, during one team meeting, the coordinator after talking about

how the stress level of faculty increased as the year progressed, added, "We need each

others' support." Another coordinator thanked all the team members for their "support

and assistance" when the team was short one member. She also discussed methods for

coping with the "minimal support" accorded instructors during the supervision of students on the hospital units. At one team meeting when a coordinator announced that she had agreed not to post certain examination results at the request of the students, she asked for team support on this decision.

Upon receiving a promotion to a higher administrative position, one coordinator's comment at a full faculty meeting was that "I will need your support." When discussing the resignation of an administrator who would be sorely missed, Simone revealed that she was "such a supportive person." She also described the people she worked with on a particular team as "very, very supportive."

All new instructors were assigned a "buddy" — a supportive person who would help to orient them to the school. These buddies helped them prepare lectures, attended their classes and aided them with any problems they experienced in the clinical areas. Also, senior students in the preceptorship experience were "buddied" with hospital nursing staff members.

Coordinators felt it was part of their responsibility to give support to new instructors as illustrated by a comment made by one coordinator when she was unable to be present at the first lecture of a new instructor. She insisted that she was not "abandoning" this new faculty member because her buddy would attend the lecture. At the next team meeting, when this new faculty member reported she mentioned that her buddy had been present to "support" her during her first lecture.

several occasions when an instructor revealed that she was unsure of how to do a certain task, one of the more senior instructors would readily volunteer to help her. Simone, a new rather independent instructor, disclosed that she felt pressure to request support, although she was confident in her work: "I felt ... I would get along much better and would be much more accepted if I ... played along ... and [indicated] I really need your support and you know I'm just so lost ... I really didn't need their advice or their support."

During another meeting, when a team member was dissatisfied with the approach she had used to teach her content area, she suggested alternate ways of approaching this topic. She indicated she "want[ed] feedback [on her ideas] more than anything." After discussing her ideas, her team colleagues made several suggestions. After listening to these comments, she asked: "What's the feeling of the group?" The group's comments were supportive with one instructor saying "Sounds time-appropriate and really creative." This instructor finished her presentation by saying: "Thanks for your support on my decision."

The quest for support was present during most team meetings, when the coordinators inquired about each team's progress. Examples of questions posed to the three teams were: "Do we want to review this again?; Does that sound OK to everyone?; Do you think the idea is generally a good one?; Is this what we want to do then?; Is that what everyone is doing?"

The coordinators often demonstrated support by validating marks on papers, helping with evaluations and generally aiding new instructors. A more seasoned instructor requested that the coordinator mark her papers to give her feedback (support) on her marking ability. A new instructor brought home-baked cookies in to thank the team for their "support." Comments made to support an instructor when she was receiving feedback on her class were: "great examples;" "enjoyed the class;" "a capital job," and, when one team was reviewing the year's progress, "I think we did well."

Support was given to mothers when their children were sick. On two occasions the teaching schedules were changed to allow the mothers to attend to their sick children at home. In one case, classes were rearranged to allow the mother to go home early, while in the other case, the mother arrived late because she woke up to a sick child. Another instructor volunteered to fill in for her until she arrived.

The supportive process was exemplified in correlation meetings, the main process for discussing the curriculum and the teaching process. During these meetings,

supportive comments often followed the content-reviewing process. When an instructor

reviewed the content she had taught the previous two weeks, feedback was conveyed

from the instructors who had either attended the classes or were relaying feedback from

their student groups. Usually the feedback was supportive. As Martine attested: "it

seems to me that we are supportive of each other and that it can't possibly be the

instructor's fault that the group of students is being bad." Janine added: "[The

correlation meeting] is used to a certain extent for that [support]. In some ways we

could use it to greater advantage to give support." Cecile concurred with Janine, saying

that the correlation meetings mainly produced "positive feedback."

The emphasis on support carried over to the students. For example, one faculty

member contended that, during a senior rotation when the students were relatively

autonomous and received very little faculty supervision, the students "mainly wanted

support." The male nursing students were paired together for "support."

When the investigator asked about the need for support in the work situation during

interviews with the key participants, they all readily agreed that if they did not have at

least one supportive colleague at work, they would feel very "isolated." Simone told the

investigator about a new faculty member who felt very alienated from the other

instructors on her team:

> And I am thinking of [names person] who started when I did, who
> really hasn't found very much of that support at all ... and is finding it
> quite difficult ... [E]ven though she says she enjoys working with the
> students and that is where she gets her support, I know she feels quite
> out of place in any social event or [meeting] where the whole group is
> together.

She related an anecdote where this instructor asked members of her team to wait for

her so she could sit with them during a particular student event but when she arrived,

they completely ignored her. This particular instructor, who did not measure up to the

body image and dress code expectations of this faculty, confided to the investigator that

she was feeling isolated from her team; she felt she was not part of the considerable "togetherness" in this group.

As Simone explained: "If you play the game, then they support you too." However, she failed to follow this creed when she indicated that she "[had] probably alienated the instructors from [her specialty area]; I really don't have any support at all." Because she had other school colleagues who were supportive, she did not find this situation devastating.

Janine commented that "as a faculty we sort of strive to develop more than just a working relationship but, to a certain extent, personal or friendships with each other that maybe don't necessarily go beyond the work setting but at least at work people are friendly with each other." She added that "some people find their support from their students. I think that's an important aspect as well, but I don't think you can always rely solely on the students."

Martine described the small supportive groups that formed within the faculty as a "very informal thing." There were people that she felt close to philosophically: "I do rely on them for support, but I don't think it's a formal thing."

During the second week of classes in September of 1985, an instructor who had been on faculty the previous year suddenly quit. Everyone seemed genuinely surprised. It seemed obvious to the investigator that she did not "fit" into the culture of the organization — that is, she seemed to be a loner with no supportive colleague, she did not fit the body image of the majority of the faculty and particularly the members of her team.

When the investigator asked Martine, who had been a team member with her, about the investigator's analysis of this situation she concurred: "I think you are 100 percent correct about that." Simone claimed that "it was a relief more than anything finally that she had made the decision to leave. Nobody really missed her." Cecile agreed she was

isolated and felt she had not "made the effort that she needed to ⬤ in order to get support."

When the investigator suggested that these nurse educators needed the support of at least one colleague, Martine responded: "Yes, women are generally like that in my experience." Simone replied: "A very strong person could probably handle it but the majority of them would find it quite distressful." To the comment that an instructor would feel very alienated if she did not have at least one work buddy, Martine rejoined: "Very definitely, yes, very definitely." To the idea that supportive relationships seemed to be an important aspect of this work environment, Simone affirmed: "Yes, I think that's one of the objectives" and went on to say that

> [y]ou find your own small group or ⬛ que, and you look to
> faculty for support or else you migh⬛ find support outside the
> group, but it is pretty hard in a facul⬛ to be without any
> support. You really have to find some support ... I don't think people
> outside understand all that well.

When the investigator queried the informants about whether they saw their colleagues after work, they replied:

> **Thérèse:** There are two people on faculty that I am friends with ... that I see regularly after work.

> **Martine:** Not often.

> **Odile:** A few and not as close relationships ... but I guess they haven't replaced my close friends ... certainly good acquaintances, if not good friends.

> **Janine:** [Names a colleague] I see her occasionally outside of work, but she would be the only one. [Names a colleague who resigned], I used to but those would be the only two.

> **Simone:** Well [names a colleague] was a friend before and one other.

In the second interview Simone indicated that she only saw this second person two or three times a year while Cecile's response was:

I socialize with only two outside of my work ... I know more about the
women here on a more personal level ... without socializing after work.

Cecile was comparing this situation with a prior job in a male-dominated organization

where she knew nothing about her male colleagues' personal lives and she shared none

of her personal life with them.

During the first dialogue, when we were discussing the focus on relationships in

the school, Cecile compared this situation to her job in a male-dominated environment,

commenting that when she joined the faculty, she came into an "atmosphere that was ...

calm, relaxing and very supportive"..."where ... people were very supportive." In the

other job, she said she didn't have the female friendships and "support" that she had in

the school; however, Cecile did recall her relationship with the only female in the office:

> There was one female that I worked with and we were so completely
> opposite and .... It was interesting how the two of us, even though we
> were completely different personalities and had completely different
> interests, that the two of us at work ... made the effort to get along ....
> We didn't socialize after work, but we certainly did at work.

Just as supportive relationships were a crucial aspect for these nurse educators,

meetings, the next category to be discussed, also acted as cohesion-building

mechanisms.

Meetings as Cohesion Builders

"Correlation" meetings were the major mechanism for getting the school's work

done. Although these meetings were mainly used as mechanisms for sharing

curriculum information, they also had other unwritten objectives. For all teams,

correlation meetings were held twice a month and usually lasted between 90 minutes

and two hours. The coordinators chaired these meetings and faculty members acted as

recording secretaries, on a rotating basis. Correlation is defined by Murray et al. (1970:

1016) as "The condition of being correlated; mutual relation of two or more things

(implying intimate or necessary connection)." This is an apt description for these team meetings.

The investigator attended the correlation meetings of the three teams from September to December, 1985 and continued on with one team until the end of June, 1986. The meetings usually started on time or within five minutes of the stated time and ended early or on time, only occasionally going overtime. It was understood that if meetings went overtime, certain instructors would leave because they had children to pick up at day care or to supervise after school.

All teams met in the same room where tables were always set up in a circle, oval, large square or diamond depending on the number of team participants. When the investigator asked the informants to comment on the arrangement of these tables, their responses suggested that this arrangement allowed for equality of space, i.e., two people to each table, eye contact and cohesiveness among the team members: "I think it's so everyone is in an equal position to speak;" "so everyone has a view of the others ... face-to-face;" "to promote eye contact among group members;" "again I think it has to do with cohesiveness and probably—when I speak with people I like to see who I am speaking to;" "the actual arrangement, to try to have everybody included." If the tables were unsuitably arranged, team members would rearrange them prior to the commencement of meetings.

The general format of these meetings consisted of instructors giving "feedback" on classes they had conducted the previous two weeks, highlighting areas well done and suggesting changes, where appropriate. At this time, team members responded with comments, especially if they had attended these classes. It was common practice for faculty members to attend each others' classes. Often instructors brought verbal feedback from student groups. When instructors distributed written evaluation forms, these would be reported in summary form.

"Feedback" sessions were followed by "correlation." During this part of the
meetings, the group of instructors who were presenting classes in the following two
weeks would give a summary of their presentations. This summary would include
instructions for other faculty members who may be teaching some of this content in
small groups, during laboratory exercises or on the hospital units. Handouts,
considerable in number, were circulated. These summary presentations always
stimulated comments and questions by team members. The investigator's field notes
indicated that the participation rate was very high. For example, at one first-year
meeting all but two instructors commented. At two third-year meetings, nine and seven
instructors respectively made comments out of a total of nine team members. At two
separate second-year meetings, all but two of the 13 team members participated in the
discussion.

Throughout her attendance at these meetings—a four-month period for two teams
and an 11-month period for the third team— she pondered considerably over the
meaning this approach had beyond sharing curriculum content, because she was
familiar with similar approaches in other nursing organizations. When the investigator
asked the participants to explain the meaning of correlation meetings, they replied:

> **Martine:** On the surface it is informing instructors who don't
> necessarily attend the classes themselves, what exactly is being taught
> ... to make sure that we are all touting the same party line.
>
> **Thérèse:** [W]hen we discussed what was taught last week and how
> did the class go, usually there are general comments, what did the
> student have to say, do we need to make changes in it for next year and
> I think it is easier to do at that time because six months later ... it is long
> forgotten and so that kind of evaluation ... is more meaningful and then
> many of the faculty members go to some classes ... so they will
> comment also.
>
> **Janine:** It's done to keep everybody informed of what is being taught,
> different strategies that are being used in presenting that material to the
> students ... what types of strategies have either worked well or are
> being planned to be used .... [I]t was hoped that it would promote

consistency among faculty. If you know what has been taught in class, then you can check to see how students are performing as compared to what was taught.

Cecile: We do that because we need the feedback from the past lecture that we have given as to how to improve and what the student's need a bit more of or we need some positive feedback too if we did a good job …. [It] allows the instructor, who doesn't necessarily attend the lecture, to decide whether they should attend the lecture or prepare themselves in some way for the content so that they can work with the students.

Simone: [I]t was originally set up in order to get feedback on faculty to improve but I think now it's just disintegrated to giving information, because the comments made, usually someone will say "the class went well. I need more or less time."

When the investigator indicated that she thought it was an evaluation of self (instructors'), Simone responded: "That's a fairly human need, because you don't get a lot of [feedback] from the students, if you don't get it from other instructors, you probably don't get it at all."

When the investigator suggested to Martine that correlation meetings were used as integrating mechanisms, along with food and social events, she concurred: "I would agree with that." To the same statement Janine replied: "In many cases that is part of the purpose of those types of activities." Odile's response was: "I can't speak about the [team] meetings, although what you are saying makes sense, but yes I think so, some bonding, fostering of relationships, getting to know each other a little bit better because it gets to be a rat race around here … there isn't time or opportunity to do a lot of other sharing."

Often at correlation meetings there was discussion of the need for instructor consistency, the next category to be discussed.

Consistency as a Necessity

The instructors often referred to the problems of consistency or lack thereof among faculty members in particular areas of curriculum implementation. The investigator's

field notes indicated that on at least 14 occasions, the concern about consistency was raised and discussed. When the concern about whether the group should be consistent in response to an issue or whether the response should be made on an individual basis was raised, the final conclusion varied. Discussion in eight particular situations concluded on the note that individual faculty members were different and, therefore, should handle situations on an individual basis. Many other discussions ended with the plea for consistency.

The need for consistency came up as an issue on several occasions in the second-year team. For example, the use of certain criteria for evaluating students was discussed, with one criterion being interpreted differently by several faculty members. One veteran faculty member queried: "Can we ever reach consensus?" Apparently this criterion had been discussed for four years without reaching consensus. There were 16 different comments on this issue. The issue of faculty consistency was also discussed at a full faculty meeting and came up in the goals of the annual faculty retreat (Faculty Minutes, October, 7, 1985).

Near the end of the year, the issue of consistency reappeared in an hour-long discussion that encompassed the three years of the program. It was seen as one of the major stressors for students, that is, the inconsistency of expectations of faculty or "how to please an instructor." At the next second-year team meeting, when this issue was discussed again, one of the student representatives pointed out that students became upset when student groups were not treated similarly, e.g., when one student group had a two-hour conference while another student group got by with 15 minutes.

When faculty members handed out corrected examinations for students to peruse, some instructors collected them back while others left them with the students. There was considerable discussion over the inconsistency of this procedure, with the coordinator reassuring them that either strategy was acceptable.

Gift-giving by the students at the end of each rotation was brought up by the second-year coordinator at the request of a team member. Eight different team members made comments and suggestions about this practice. After considerable discussion, the coordinator's final remark was: "My feeling is that this is something that we have to deal with individually" and that was how the issue was left. Martine questioned why the issue of students giving gifts to faculty was even discussed instead of being left to the discretion of individual faculty members.

When the investigator asked Janine about the need for instructor consistency, her response was:

> Janine: One of the things that I think about is consistency among faculty members. We were asking for the same general types of things but some people are not maintaining consistency at all. They're not watching or perhaps not following the guidelines that have been set out for the students so the students perceive that there is an inconsistency.

During our second dialogue, Janine discussed this issue again:

> We can be individual in terms of teaching strategies and the way we present material but some things have to be consistent; for example, the way that we apply the objectives that underlie the curriculum in the clinical areas. We can use various strategies to present the content or provide experiences for students but the way you evaluate, for example, against those objectives needs to be very consistent ... so that papers are consistently and fairly graded. At their [clinical] conference or the way that they handle different situations, I think that can be quite individual.

Cecile's comments were:

> [W]e get a lot of feedback, especially in professional nursing, ... about the inconsistencies of marking and the students are feeling hard done by when they get a low mark, and they see that another group maybe got a better mark than them .... [T]here should be some consistency in the guidelines of what we are doing, but ... individuals ... value different things, so there isn't going to be consistency.

When the investigator asked if this related to the need for cohesiveness, Cecile replied :

> Yeah. It is a big topic of conversation that there should be more consistency in the marking and what we expect of the students .... The only reason that I would look at consistency would be in the marking

guide because I really don't want ... to be a carbon copy of my
colleagues ... I have different ways of handling things .... I'm not too
concerned with consistency.

Martine thought the expectation of consistency varied within the three teams. She

explained:

> I see that as being sort of a [team] specific thing. [The third-year
> coordinator] ... made it very clear that she had nine instructors who
> were all individuals and that there would not be consistency from one
> instructor to another and made that very clear to the students. In first-
> year, there is much more of that "we have to be consistent ...." You
> don't have consistency, but they seem to feel that they have to have that
> and I just don't know how they are ever going to get that.

After some discussion about both the need for consistency and the need for

cohesion that tends to characterize women's groups, Martine added: "[I]t seems to me

that women can't recognize that they are doing a good job and they don't have to be

doing exactly the same thing [as] everyone else."

Thérèse and Simone's comments about inconsistency were:

> **Thérèse:** Students will pick out the inconsistencies in the way they are
> treated .... They will say, "well so and so let me get away with that and
> so and so didn't," and the instructor gets upset, and so then it comes up
> as an issue in a correlation meeting. "You must be consistent, you must
> be consistent." A lot of it relates to the degree of self-confidence that the
> instructor has. Some of them feel that I have to do what everybody else
> is doing because I don't want to be criticized for having done something
> different.

> **Simone:** Yes, in [second-year] I have been basically told that this is the
> way we do things and we want consistency and, therefore, you follow
> us .... I feel the questioning within the group very closely. There is not
> that freedom to say there are different ways of doing things, not just
> right and wrong.

Later on during this dialogue, Simone discussed the need for consistency and

togetherness at the expense of separation from the work setting: "It's more of a feeling

of wanting to achieve individuality, not in sort of being sucked up—my whole life

being here."

Summary

This world of nurse educators was *Gemeinschaft* in orientation and included many aspects of the love-and/or-duty ethos. That is, instructors valued their families and considered them a high priority that strongly competed for their time and energy. Individual instructors were generally supportive of each other and the school atmosphere was variously described as "positive" and "friendly." The striving for camaraderie was amply demonstrated in the social activities organized to promote harmony. Professional image was a strong value that informally demanded compliance.

The categories generated from the data shed further light on aspects of this world of nursing. Food, a major symbol, was used to increase the socialization among faculty, as a reward for work well done, as a mechanism for resolving conflict and as a subtle form of competition among instructors. Food acted as a major lubricant for promoting social interaction. Social events were also used as mechanisms for "fostering relationships," for promoting cohesion and for developing relationships that were more intimate than most work relationships.

The key participants readily acknowledged the need for supportive relationships at work and built in mechanisms to encourage them. It was crucial to have at least one supportive relationship at work; some of these relationships extended beyond the work setting. The lack of such relationships could cause alienation and emotional pain.

Meetings which included collaborative, supportive dialogue had several purposes: to keep team members informed about curriculum issues, to provide positive feedback and to promote consistency among instructors. Correlation meetings were meant to provide not only for the integration of curriculum content but also for the promotion of group cohesion. At times, however, conflict was apparent beneath the friendly veneer.

Faculty consistency in curriculum implementation was a goal that two teams aimed for and the third team consciously discouraged. The striving for consistency was problematic for two participants who felt it interfered with achieving individuality. The

striving for consistency created some ambivalence, a pull between interdependence and independence.

CHAPTER 7.

ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESSES

This chapter discusses selected administrative processes that were derived by synthesizing the answers to two questions that the investigator posed to the six key participants. The questions concerned the main decision making process[es] in the school and the type and ways of managing conflict. These questions were formulated before the data collection process started. The investigator's field notes corroborated the key participants' answers.

"Administration is an integral and essential aspect of all organized activity" (Miklos, 1975:1). Viewing administration as a process initially provided the basis for theorizing about it. Historically, several authors have attempted to describe administrative functions or processes, e.g., Fayol (1949); Gregg, (1957); Gulick and Urick, (1937); Litchfield, (1956); Miklos, (1975); Newman (1950); and Sears (1950). Gregg (1957), Litchfield (1956) and Miklos (1975) list decision making as an important administrative process. Simon (1976:xi) stated that decision making was "the key to the understanding of organizational phenomena." For Simon (1976:1) decision making was synonymous with "managing" while Barnard (1938:189) viewed the process of making decisions as the essence of the executive's functions. According to Dill (1964:199), the major function of administration is directing and controlling the decision making process. Inevitably decision making leads to conflict.

Van Doorn (1966:111) stated that "social tensions and conflict have been a major preoccupation of sociologists since social science first came into being." According to Kelly (1980:548), "conflict is the central problem in organizational life." Hall (1977:229), Perrow (1979:158) and Porter, Lawler and Hackman (1975:463) noted that conflict pervades organizational life. When discussing communication and conflict, Ruben (1978:206) considered

> [c]onflict [as] not only essential to the growth, change and evolution of systems, but [also] as ... a system's primary defense against stagnation, detachment, entropy and eventual extinction.

Thus, these two crucial administrative processes were selected for investigation in this organization of nurse educators.

Decision Making

In her study of women in educational administration, Shakeshaft (1987a) indicated that the outcome of research on decision making approaches suggested that there was a difference between how females and males made decisions. The outcome of several studies was that "women are perceived as being more democratic and participatory than are men" (Shakeshaft, 1987a:187). For example, Hemphill, Griffiths and Frederiksen (1962:333) found that women principals involved more teachers at all levels as well as outsiders in their in-basket problems while, in their self-reports of principals, Hines and Grobman (1956:100) found women principals to be more democratic than men principals. One study's conclusion was that "[m]ore participatory decision making appeared in female-managed schools" (Charters and Jovick, 1981:322). An observational study of meetings by Berman (1982, cited in Shakeshaft, 1987a:187), established that women high school principals used more cooperative planning strategies than men while Fairholm and Fairholm (1984) found that women school principals, much more than men school principals, used coalitions to reach their desired goals. According to Neuse (1978), women in public administration were less committed to formal hierarchy but instead were more willing to submerge their personal power in order to get better participation in the decision making process. A study that examined female superintendents' administrative styles found women did not dominate discussion in meetings thus increasing the participation rate of others (Pitner, 1981). "In addition, women seemed to use meetings with subordinates as a forum for considering possibilities" (Pitner, 1981:293).

The investigator's field notes noted that decisions at all levels in the school (team, committee, full faculty) were usually made by group consensus. Moreover, most school decisions were made at the team level: "Decisions are made largely by the [teams]."

The participants agreed, for the most part, that decisions especially at the team level were arrived at by "group consensus." That is, issues were brought forward and discussed thoroughly by faculty members and usually resolved on the basis of this discussion or, on occasion, an issue was left hanging with no resolution. Although most of the key participants indicated that decisions were made by consensus, Martine contended that in some full faculty meetings, decisions were made "quite unilaterally" but she "believ[ed] there [was] an effort to change that and have decisions made more democratically." However, the investigator's field notes indicated that most decisions were made by consensus.

During the 12-month period the investigator was observing the teams, a total of 22 motions were passed in the three teams. For example, the first-year team passed eight motions. (Minutes of Meetings February 5, 19x2, June 5x3, 1986); the second-year team, 11 motions; and the third-year team, three motions. Most of these motions involved the disbursement of money, due dates for assignments and the assignment of examination marks. On one occasion, a secret ballot was used to elect two representatives to a coordinator selection committee.

During six full faculty meetings, five motions were passed. Three concerned the disbursement of money for professional purposes (Minutes, August 19, 1985, Minutes, December 2, 1985), one to determine the restaurant for the end-of-term luncheon (Minutes, May 26, 1986), and one to ascertain the instructor who would give the convocation address. This latter decision was made by a vote of hands after the two nominated candidates left the room.

Initially, when the investigator questioned the six key participants about the main method of reaching decisions in the school, they gave the following answers. Janine, a five-year veteran, first described a variety of decision making styles: administrative, total faculty level, team level, committee level. She stated, however, that most of the decisions were made by consensus either at the team level or by consensus by one of the committees that was then passed on to the team level where it was usually ratified: "I think the predominant mode of making a decision is probably a group decision as much as possible where the facts or the details are presented by a faculty member or by administration and the group discusses it and then tries to make a decision." According to Janine, in the past during a period when a new curriculum was being implemented, the process was more autocratic.

Martine described the decision making process as: "democratic. I have a lot of input into decisions [at the third-year team level], how material will be taught." There was "less freedom" in the first-year team of which she was also a member.

Thérèse agreed with Martine in saying it was a "democratically run organization where we all have a lot of input into decision making and ... in most cases that is the way ... but sometimes ... there is that little bit of influence where administration knows where they want the decision to go and they'll try and head it off in that direction." That is, decisions made at the top often end up being accepted because the instructors were manipulated into agreeing with the decision. For example, one decision that a significant proportion of the second-year team did not agree with and felt that administration had unilaterally foisted upon them, concerned anonymous student evaluations of faculty. During one meeting a faculty member commented that: "students don't have to be responsible for what they put down on paper, whereas faculty have to be very responsible." Three other instructors agreed with her. Although they were generally not opposed to having more student input on faculty performance, they were opposed to the anonymity aspect of the evaluation process. This issue was voted

discussed at one team meeting that extended for at least 30 minutes with no resolution and was raised on at least two other occasions. Thérèse's comment on this issue was: "They [administration] wanted that decision to come from the instructors; that's what they wanted but they couldn't get that ... so then they had to influence it themselves in order to get the decision." However, the decision was modified to some extent as a result of this team's response.

During the second interview, after reading her first transcript, Thérèse added that "committees do make a lot of the decisions in the organization ... and those decisions are honored." In one situation, she thought the director made "a lot" of the decisions because when Thérèse made several requests of her coordinator, she deferred these decisions saying she would get back to Thérèse: "I am sure that she has to go and check with [the director] and so I find that in the last two years as time went along [the coordinator] made fewer and fewer decisions."

Simone, who was a new member on faculty, revealed:

> Well, I don't have a lot of input into decision making except at a very
> personal level, like the decisions I make when I am on [the nursing
> units] with the students, any sort of management decisions. I don't feel
> that my input is very much requested or needed ... because I am not
> involved in committees that make any of these type of decisions.

She maintained that she did not feel powerless in this situation "because I don't feel that I have enough expertise that I want to be involved in those types of decisions. I don't want that responsibility yet."

During the second dialogue with Simone, the investigator indicated that although team decisions were made by consensus, some instructors failed to comment. When the investigator queried whether most instructors freely voiced their disagreements, Simone replied:

> If it was something that you felt quite strongly about the majority of
> people would say something. Some things just don't seem important
> enough to make that big an issue of so it's the stronger people or the

more talkative ones in the group that probably have the most input into the decisions.

Cecile described the situation in this way: "[H]ere it's more of a democratic process. We do have the figurehead and she uses her authority appropriately ... but she does try to get the input from the staff ... their input is valuable." Cecile felt her input was taken and utilized appropriately: "if I have some grave concerns, I can make these concerns known and maybe the input will be taken and utilized or judged — at least ... my input is not in vain."

Odile, who was not a team member, said that decisions were made "somewhat arbitrarily" but added: "there [was] a conscious attempt to move away from that, happily, to more consensus kinds of decisions." At another point in the dialogue she remarked: "Some things are very carefully voted on and other things sort of happen."

There was one situation where consensus was not reached that exemplified the strong value placed on this form of decision making. The categories for evaluating students were discussed on several occasions during the year at various meetings without reaching consensus. This situation prompted one instructor to say: "Can we ever reach consensus?" as if this was an ultimate goal. After further discussion, another instructor commented that this issue had been discussed for at least four years without reaching consensus.

A recent change in the process for selecting coordinators was heartily endorsed by the faculty. This procedure consisted of having team members elect representatives for a selections committee that was established to choose a new coordinator. The team determined the criteria to be used to select a new coordinator; then they elected two representatives who would screen and interview the prospective candidates and finally recommend one candidate. One instructor contended that she liked the idea of having some input even though it was limited. The director made it clear that she had the final word if there was a tie. Martine's comment on this particular decision making process

was: "Well, I think she made an absolutely brilliant decision .... If she gets a winner she looks good; if she gets a loser 'you people had input.' I think it's brilliant, brilliant." Odile recounted: "[The team] seemed to be pleased. It seems there were several people put up to be the representatives on [the selection committee] and it was voted on and they got two people and I heard some people comment on that very positively."

Having team representatives recommend a candidate for the coordinator position was part of a move to change the administrative structure. After the resignation of the assistant director there was a restructuring that flattened the hierarchy to three coordinators, one who also served in the capacity of curriculum coordinator. This new structure was to be reevaluated in June, 1987.

Just as decision making followed a typically female pattern, the approach to conflict resolution was a distinctly female process.

Conflict Management

According to Thomas (1976:890), "there is no consensus among researchers on a specific definition of conflict." In lieu of any agreement, Thomas offered the following definition: "The process which begins when one party perceives that the other has frustrated, or is about to frustrate, some concern of [her] his" (Thomas, 1976:891).

Although there is scant literature on conflict in female groups (Shakeshaft, 1987a:189), the results of three studies indicated that many female groups try to avoid conflict (Bendelow, 1983; Hagen, 1983:98; Hughes and Robertson, 1980) or they turn it inward where it is experienced as "stress," "low morale" or depression (Jordanova, 1981:95-114). Women "tend not to deal with competition and aggression issues, [instead they discuss] subjects such as loving others, home, and family" (Hagen, 1983:98). Bendelow, (1983), Hedlund (1982, cited in Smith, 1985:59) and Hughes and Robertson, (1980) suggested that women prefer a more co-operative mode of

handling conflict while Gilligan's (1982) study of the moral development of women found that women seek interdependence and attachment in their relationships.

Findings from Carlock and Martin's (1977) research indicated that in all-female groups, women did not compete strongly with each other but chose instead to try to work through this competition by talking it over. This was contrasted with the competition they expressed for male attention in mixed groups. Blagman (1985:220) found that the caring, nurturing characteristics associated with nurses do not readily permit the expression of conflict while characteristics such as dominance, assertiveness and autonomy that tend to encourage conflict are usually lacking in women. When viewing nursing from the model of oppression, the readiness to fight with one another rather than aligning to take the struggle elsewhere has been well documented (Delamothe, 1988:346). That is, the little conflict nurses allow themselves to express is usually directed toward other nurses. "However, the little that [conflict resolution] has been studied as well as the knowledge of female socialization have led to the speculation that women will tend to cool conflict out rather than heat it up. Women more than men, see conflict as negative" (Shakeshaft, 1987a:190).

In the school, the expression of conflict took several forms. Conflict was not readily apparent during the four month period the investigator attended the third-year team meetings. Martine agreed that conflict never surfaced in the third-year team. Conflict was present occasionally during the four-month period the investigator observed in the first-year team. Janine agreed with the investigator and indicated that team conflict increased during the second term when the investigator was not observing this team. Conflict was a constant underlying current in the second-year team during the 11-month period the investigator attended their meetings.

The First-Year Team

In the first-year team, the only example of overt conflict that the investigator observed occurred during the second month when one instructor announced that she and her teaching partner were "experiencing difficulties" which resulted in the decision to teach separately. Nothing more was said at that meeting. The investigator noted that there was no eye contact between the two instructors and only one of the pair spoke; however, a couple of weeks later when they were reporting separately on their classes, there was both eye contact and formal communication between them.

According to Odile, conflict in the first-year team was ignored, i.e., not "discussed," which resulted, in this particular instance, in the conflict being generalized to the whole team, instead of remaining between the two instructors. Odile affirmed "that [this] was not a new situation, it just happened to come to a head this fall ... because it hadn't been effectively dealt with." Odile added: "I think it became a team problem with interpersonal ramifications ... [the coordinator] didn't deal with it so it got to the place where that was the only way out." Martine indicated the first-year team never talked about conflict. She recounted that "the impression was given that we are not going to discuss that any further." When discussing conflict resolution in the first-year team, Janine contended that

> [social events don't] happen as often this year as [they have] in previous
> years where if there was a lot of stress or conflict or that type of thing,
> we would have a get-together of some kind. This year ... they have
> been a lot less frequent .... [T]he conflicts are still there.... Some ways
> more so than in other years there have been more interpersonal conflicts
> ... but they have been dealt with more on an individual basis and people
> just simply quit talking to each other.

The Second-Year Team

The expression of conflict had a definite pattern in the second-year team. During second-year team meetings, the underlying conflict became apparent when several

instructors started talking in dyads, thereby ignoring the coordinator. This situation recurred on at least 17 different occasions. The conflictual climate led to the rejection of the coordinator which became very apparent at one meeting when the investigator noted the coordinator was left with empty chairs on either side of her.

At another meeting the investigator noted that team members were getting restless; a few minutes later one of the instructors brought up the fact that a special student-faculty meeting had started one half hour before the scheduled time and, thus, many faculty members appeared to arrive late. There was a feeling of anger within the team even though the coordinator apologized for making the scheduling error. One instructor's response to this apology was a very sarcastic, "thank you." Simone reported that subtle things went on in these meetings such as "little sarcastic comments that aren't overtly sarcastic, [except when] you know the people and the circumstances." The investigator had noted this on two other occasions during team meetings.

At another meeting, when the coordinator was discussing points about evaluation, three team members disagreed with her. This disagreement was followed by considerable discussion, with three team members displaying disgust in their eyes; they looked at the investigator as if to try to coopt her into this silent conspiracy.

At another meeting, the coordinator forgot to tell the faculty about the rescheduling of classes, which resulted in many angry instructors because they had already arranged appointments in this time slot. Three team members vehemently protested this scheduling change while another member entreated them to "leave it alone."

Later on during this meeting several team members started talking in dyads; this behavior continued until the end of the meeting along with instructors walking in and out of the meeting, producing a general feeling of restlessness. One instructor even started to eat a muffin. At this point, the coordinator looked tired and harassed. Finally, she called for a ten-minute break. After the meeting had resumed, one dyad continued to chat until the meeting adjourned.

During one of the team meetings, the school's counsellor elaborated on major student concerns about the marking of a particular assignment. According to the team members, she thoroughly chastised them. At the next meeting, the team had a lengthy, highly-charged discussion about the counsellor's comments. The team discussed the counsellor's job description for some 15 minutes trying to determine if her comments were warranted. Comments from team members about the counsellor were: " [she was] defensive right off the bat, not empathetic; not one positive comment... ; I get the perception she has lost her neutrality."

During this discussion, it became apparent that the whole team was in agreement, that they had been reprimanded for something they were already aware of and did not need a further reminder. They felt they should not have been scolded in front of two students who had recently started attending these meetings. At this time, the team was cohesive; they were all in agreement about this perceived "outsider". Simone ratified this impression: "in that case the group wasn't divided in half." This situation produced the only team cohesiveness the investigator observed.

Although the team members did nothing further about this situation, many team members gave the impression that it was, at least, partially resolved. For example, Simone's response was:

> I thought it was probably handled fairly well. In that case [the coordinator] didn't let it get out of hand and afterwards a number of people complimented her on the way she handled the problem, that it was discussed rationally and that the group felt pretty satisfied with what happened.

However, one key participant reported that she was aware of at least one team member who felt it was unresolved. During the next team meeting, the coordinator announced that she appreciated the "express[ion of] feelings and concerns and not [being] negative about the situation."

During a February meeting, one faculty member asked to be added to the agenda. When her turn came, she revealed that she was concerned about the "group dynamics" that resulted in people "gossiping and name-calling with very little support in the teaching groups." She pointed out that the team had enough to contend with, without this extra stress. She added that this team had previously been "strong in support." At least six instructors agreed with her; there was some nodding of heads that signalled further agreement by other team members.

Another factor that contributed to the conflict was the polarization that occurred between two team groups, one a specialty group and the other a more general group. This split was exacerbated by the fact that one group had smokers and the other did not. One instructor noted that these instructors tended to associate exclusively with their various clinical groups instead of intermingling. Another faculty member insisted that was a normal state of affairs and she doubted whether this would change. Still another faculty member, who noted that smoking tended to segregate the smokers from the nonsmokers, declared that she would not smoke if she was situated between two non-smokers.

The usual method for trying to resolve team conflict was to plan a social event. In this particular situation, the first suggestion was to go out and have a drink together. Apparently this solution had helped to promote group cohesion in another hospital setting. This idea was ratified by the faculty member who first brought up the concern. Team members discussed this possibility for some time, trying to work out an appropriate time.

Another team member mentioned that when the team had gone out for lunch at a restaurant near by, she had enjoyed it. Still another instructor suggested they plan a breakfast meeting and noted that they had a volleyball game coming up. One faculty member remarked that she was not convinced these social events would resolve the conflict because she felt they had enough parties and showers. Nevertheless, the team

decided to arrange a luncheon for the next all-day workshop. As the discussion terminated, the initiator implored them "to make a commitment to each other" while another instructor added that "that was our strong point." The initiator was thanked by the coordinator.

The investigator's field notes indicated that only two people had been silent during this 20-minute discussion. Most of the suggested events, except for the luncheon, did not take place. Simone's comment on the luncheon was: "I remember that it was not an overwhelming success. People could still have sat in their little groups, ... it is probably pretty naive to think that if you don't like working with someone on a professional basis, that having lunch together [will bring you] closer."

When the investigator suggested that social events involving food seemed to be the major vehicle for trying to resolve conflict, three key participants replied:

> Thérèse: There is a general tendency that if we are not getting along let's go out and have a social evening and sort of sit down and talk about our kids ... and that will resolve the conflict. Let's ... get to know each other as friends and for sure we can work together [instead of] ... directly talking about the conflict.

> Martine: When there is the appearance of *disharmony* or poor management-staff relations [social events are] seen as one of the solutions—that we have to buy each other more. (emphasis added)

> Cecile: The underlying reason for suggesting a drink or lunch or a breakfast meeting is more informal and if everyone made the effort of going and sitting beside someone that they didn't spend much time with that maybe they would feel a little bit more comfortable with that person and, therefore, be able to express some feelings about working with them or you know be comfortable in giving constructive feedback.

Janine, as indicated previously, contended that there had been an increase in conflict during the second term but a decrease in social events on the first-year team.

Odile, Simone and Cecile summed up the dilemma created when nurses experience conflict. They related this dilemma to the contradiction between the nurturing aspects of nursing and the expression of conflict:

Odile: One of the reasons that we maybe don't deal with that [conflict] very well is because people see a contradiction there, that we are supposed to be, as nurses and ... as women, nurturing, caring, loving kind of people and that is the antithesis of confrontation and conflict and assertiveness and not integrating assertiveness with the rest of our traits doesn't allow us to deal with the conflict and confrontation very effectively.

Simone: [W]e want to be good role models for our students and that's really stressed and one of the comments about ... conflict that came up as far as cohesiveness is that we stand in judgement of the students in their group process.... we probably have a responsibility to superficially, at least, get along in order to be good role models and that has been missing 'til now and I don't think women as a group like conflict especially ... I think they find it quite distressful.

Cecile: I agree with that [the caring, nurturing aspects of nursing cause nurses to want to get along with people], there are people in this faculty, ... that I know I will never get along with and I don't make the effort with them any more and if I have to work with them, it will be a work type of setting, it certainly won't be a social setting at all or cohesiveness ... but I basically would like to get along with most people and have most people like me ... but I still believe that females generally want to be liked and don't want trouble or conflict within their environment.

Summary

Although there was not total agreement, the investigator's field notes indicated and the participants concurred that most decisions were made by consensus; a few decisions were voted on by the faculty. Three participants agreed that faculty members had considerable input into decisions, while a fourth one did not feel she had enough expertise to warrant a significant contribution. A new faculty member maintained that if instructors felt strongly about an issue, they would definitely express their concern.

Conflict was not apparent in the third-year team. In the first-year team, conflict was handled by ignoring it and the instructors involved stopped talking to each other. The second-year team used various covert strategies to deal with underlying conflict during team meetings but finally at one team meeting, an instructor brought the conflict out into

the open for discussion. During this discussion, most team members acknowledged the presence of conflict. After considerable discussion, several social events were suggested as ways of ameliorating conflict. A team luncheon was held but, according to one participant, it was not very successful.

On another occasion, the conflictive issue was talked out to the satisfaction of most team members. In this case, the second-year team members became a cohesive unit when they perceived the school counsellor had sided with the students against them. This was the only time the investigator observed cohesion in this team.

Three key participants' comments suggested that conflict for nurses and/or women presents a dilemma because the caring, nurturing ideology of nursing/women acts as a barrier that prevents free expression of conflict. Although the investigator used the word conflict in questioning the participants, one participant responded to the investigator's question by referring to conflict as "disharmony," a softer word whose meaning suggests a striving for harmony. Since this was the last interview, the investigator did not have the opportunity to explore this usage with the other participants; however, it does suggest that this word may be more relevant for the female world.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION

The original research question about whether women bring unique orientations to organizations arose out of my awareness of the cultural dissonance I experienced when I moved from a world mostly populated by females (nursing professors) to one almost exclusively dominated by males (professors) in the same setting (university). Because my graduate education was gained in male-dominated disciplines, I gradually became aware that I had adopted, to a large extent, a male perspective for viewing phenomena. As I reviewed the literature on women and observed in the school, I started to come to terms with this dissonance. That is, I became more aware of the female world and aspects of it that were apparent in nursing.

During the period in which I carried out the study, I began to gradually experience a change in consciousness that made me more aware of social reality as experienced by females. Since the world of research tends to be clothed in patriarchal garb, I struggled throughout the study to try to divest myself, at least partially, of the male perspective into which I have been so strongly socialized. Thus, I attempted to come to terms with a female perception of social reality that included, for example, not being too hesitant to rely on my personal feelings, senses and emotions to guide the research endeavor.

The use of intuition was another area that became better accepted by me. Although I have always trusted my intuitiveness in nursing practice, I tried to suspend it when I entered the research domain where intuition has not been highly valued. During this research endeavor I have tried to release this intuitive power that is so strongly associated with the female world (Jaggar, 1983:251). I have tried to encourage the emergence of those "gut level" feelings that have always been there. I believe I have not lost all, or perhaps any, rationality in this process but has instead been able to combine emotionality with rationality.

The methodology that was used, although derived from male researchers, was modified to suit the female world perspective. I, like Clegg (1985:83), believe that currently there is not a strictly feminist methodology in terms of "a coherent, unified set of practices and principles." She and other female researchers (Callaway, 1981:457, 471; Harding, 1987; Purvis, 1985:179-205; Stanley and Wise, 1983) believe, however, that there is a set of practices that is associated with feminist research but is not necessarily unique to it, e.g., reflexivity (Clegg, 1985: 91-92), nonhierarchical interviewing (Oakley, 1981), the type of questions posed and the interpretation of the results (Keller, 1979; Kelly, 1978). As Clegg (1985:94, emphasis added) stated: "[F]eminists have ... contributed ... [to] a commitment to reflexivity and the ability to raise a series of questions about research encounters which come out of specifically feminist understandings of *the relationship between women*, and between women and men."

For example, I felt the "interviews" with key participants were more dialogues than formal interviews; these dialogues were between two colleagues, two women who, to some extent, shared two cultures, one female and the other the predominant culture that has been created mostly by males. This sense of sharing between females is very apparent in nursing because nurses have a bond that facilitates dialogue.

In establishing relationships with participants, I did not assume the position of a detached observer. For example, when one instructor spoke to me about the alienation she felt in the faculty and then told an anecdote to suggest she also felt this with her husband and family, I did not respond as a distanced listener. That is, I listened and responded as a caring individual. I did not, however, include the details of this dialogue in my field notes.

In another situation when the recorded dialogue was over, I engaged in personal dialogue with a participant about the dilemmas of being single females. I do not think this detracted from the investigation. In fact, this is considered usual female behavior

and as Alpert suggested it "is based on what is best and strongest in women ...

empathy ... the ability to respond emotionally as well as rationally" (1973, cited in

Jaggar, 1983:97).

The gradual assimilation of the female world perspective caused me to investigate

the lack of a feminist orientation among most faculty members.

Lack of a Feminist Orientation

The question of a feminist orientation or lack thereof was arrived at somewhat

circuitously during the data collection period. Although I initially tried to be value-free

by not indulging my natural curiosity about this issue, my curiosity got the best of me.

In retrospect, this personal indulgence was an important aspect of the research process

because it provided insight into some of the possible reasons for the lack of a feminist

perspective in nursing.

As Chapter 3 indicated, feminism and nursing have experienced an uncomfortable

coexistence. The relationship between nursing and feminism has been variously

described as "uneasy" (Vance et al., 1985:281), "obscure" (Chinn and Wheeler,

1985:74), and lacking mutual interest (Allen, 1985:20-22; Breen, 1986:16; Webb,

1982:29). Generally, female-dominated professions like nursing have been ignored by

feminists because they are considered female ghettos to assiduously avoid (Edelstein,

1971: 294; Vance et al., 1985:281). It will be recalled that at the beginning of the

twentieth century, Ashley (1975b:1465) pointed out that nurses were the most

conservative of professional women and usually were nonfeminists. Dock, an

American nurse-feminist (1904, cited in Ashley, 1975b:1466), tried to warn nurses

against the consequences of male dominance in health care, but her warnings went

unheeded.

Feminist theory documents that women are oppressed and, therefore, views

nursing as an oppressed profession. Roberts, a nurse, (1983:27) believes this is one

possible explanation for nurses being unaware of the male domination of health care. Traits of oppressed groups that are relevant to nursing are "divisiveness, a low level of participation in professional nursing organizations and a lack of effective leadership in nursing" (Roberts, 1983:27). This results in the rejection of both women and nurses since the dominant system devalues them. Also, the lack of knowledge about nursing and its leaders has helped to perpetuate this attitude and has led to a lack of pride in the nursing profession.

As I observed and talked with instructors in the school, I developed the "gut level" feeling that there were few feminists in this group of 40 faculty members. One day I decided to test this out. I asked a faculty member if she knew of any faculty members who would be interested in attending a feminist lecture at the university. Initially, this instructor was hesitant. It was as if I had brought up a topic that was taboo. Finally, she gave me three names, adding that one of them was a feminist "in the right way." Circumstances did not permit me to get any elaboration on the meaning of this statement.

On another occasion, when the nursing union was being discussed, a mature faculty member commented that the wage increase the union was currently demanding was excessive, to which a younger instructor responded that her colleague's generation failed to understand the politics of negotiation. Simone felt that the controversies over the union were indicative of the lack of feminists in this nursing group. "We take what's given to us and we appreciate it, and we don't get up and fight." Janine also attested to this conclusion by suggesting that there were "two or three [feminists], maybe."

In responding to my impression that there were few feminists in the school, Simone's and Cecile's comments were:

Simone: Oh yes. Probably I think the amount of cooking that goes on is almost indicative .... Most of them have fairly conventional types of lives, they are married ... [and] would say their husband is the major breadwinner. They all take the majority of the responsibility for their children .... They have a very traditional view that if they get any help from their husbands that he is a wonderful person, that it isn't equally his responsibility and if the husband does help out it's like a favor .... If you have any discussion with them ... about feminist issues, probably because it would involve talking about personal experiences .... I don't think they would really comprehend .... [N]ursing is a caring profession and nurses ... view that they are there to serve and care and to put yourself second, not really to think that you are that important ... that comes out a lot with the controversies over things like the union, that [it] is perceived as being very feminist and nurses just don't do those type of things. We take what's given to us and we appreciate it and we don't get up and fight.

Cecile: Yes yes. It has a lot to do with the way we went into the profession ... with the idea that nursing ... wasn't career-oriented .... [and] around women, a lot of the time we don't need to be feminist. We don't need to be particularly strong, we can show some weaknesses.

During another dialogue Cecile again stressed that in this female world the instructors were

allowed some weaknesses and to show that you are caring out your family and have other general interests, ... in this particular institute, that family still is number one or/and friends come in there too ... not everyone here so career-oriented that nothing else comes first.

The other four participants' comments were:

Janine: Some people would [be feminists] but probably not most .... [M]ost women who work ... married or not married are probably feminists, particularly the women who work that have families. To a certain extent they believe that they have a life other than the home, that they should have a career if that's what they choose ... and work that out to the best that they can in their family situation ... although I see that some of those things are my rights, I might not have ... fifteen, twenty or thirty years ago. I'm not a bra burning feminist where I think that I have to go ... to the extreme ... [I] pick and choose what suits me best ..... We [nurses] look at more liberal roles for women but aren't the type of people or the personalities that go out and get super involved in women's rights and the women's movement .... I don't label myself as a ... rabble rouser.

Martine: I think there are [few feminists on faculty] .... I don't think nursing is a good place to be looking for feminists. There are people here that give lip service to feminism but they really aren't feminists .... Looking at nursing as a whole, ... the very educated nurses would tend to have a more feminist perspective, although ... that's [not] exclusively true. This group being all degree nurses there [are] a lot of them that really aren't [feminists]. In administration I know of some ... Well, I don't think that most women are [feminists] and it [nursing] is so exclusively a women's domain .... There are very few [feminists]. It [feminism] is felt to be unattractive.

Thérèse: [W]hen you say feminist, there is still that impression of the lady standing on the pedestal burning her bra, and so when someone asks you, are you a feminist that image comes to mind and you think no, I'm not, you know the radical female liberated person .... Equal pay for equal work, I can't imagine any female that doesn't think that anymore .... Work load ... the younger people that are being raised with that attitude are coming around to it. There is still a reluctance ... whether age or ... a certain background where the raising of the children and the caring for the home is the female's responsibility and you may ask your husband to do you a favour by vacuuming the carpet but it's still your responsibility to make sure it gets done.

Odile: Probably a number of reasons [for few feminists] ... that nurses have tended to, and still probably do, come from ... traditional, conservative backgrounds. I don't think that we do a lot in their [students'] educational process to influence that ... so they go and work with like-minded people ... but enough of us, through the educational process, are role modelling all those traditional values and beliefs that just reinforces where they are coming from. I don't think we forge women to do very much confronting of how they feel about conditions affecting women. Some of them ... because they have come to school as mature students particularly, are forced come to terms with probably not feminism *per se* but the ramification like unshared work at home and respect for each of your goals at home because they suddenly physically can't do everything they were doing before as well as being a full-time student.

Simone supported Odile's comments:

Our students aren't really encouraged to be anything but traditional types and it was interesting the majority of [third-year] students when I gave their evaluations, I asked about what they were planning on doing education-wise ... 75-80 percent ... "I'll probably get married in the next year or so and have some children and maybe later I'll go back to university."

Simone continued by saying that students were not ambitious, few saw themselves as contributing to the profession and were only planning to attend university when they got tired of bedside nursing. She felt their rationale was reflective of nursing as a whole: "nurses on the whole don't see themselves as contributing to anything more than the laying of hands on patients."

Feminism and the nurse-physician relationship were discussed by two participants:

> Martine: I agree with you [find it hard to believe nurses are not feminists because of physician-nurse relationships] .... [H]e's the one that knows what is wrong with the patients much better than I do and it is his job to tell me all these things to do; it is my job to do them ... I think that's a problem with both groups because I think nurses tend not to assert themselves.

> Thérèse: Yes, I would guess that a lot of nurses don't see physicians have dictated our role and [that] depends on what you mean by role, because there is a certain element where they do the orders and we carry them out ... and so that dictation was a normal part of nursing and they really don't see the correlation between that and the feminist movement.

Factors that the key participants thought contributed to the lack of a feminist orientation were instructors' attitudes toward ambition and power. Just as nurses, for the most part, fail to see the medical profession as oppressors, they also tend to experience difficulty with ambition in their colleagues. Martine concluded: "Ambition is not regarded as a positive quality, it is something that one [a nurse] never wants to admit to." Simone agreed that ambition and power were equated, that power was a "dirty" word, and that both had negative connotations: "I think, in fact, ambition is almost a dirty word among nurses. It's almost an insult, you talk about a nurse and say, oh well she's just more ambitious." Simone added that ambitious women were seen as undeserving of promotions. Ambition negated marriage and motherhood and suggested ambitious nurses were "very masculine and uncaring ... that if you are going to be very ambitious, you are going to walk on people and lose any sort of caring attitudes that you had before, that the two aren't compatible."

Simone indicated that if any nurse admitted to being ambitious, "it wouldn't be ... accepted, the majority [of faculty] would block that person ... you have to be ambitious in subtle ways." Cecile also admitted that ambition would be seen as negative, especially if a new instructor joined the school and initially disclosed that she was ambitious and wanted to advance quickly to an administrative position. She did, however, qualify this statement:

> If someone came in and started this fall and next year applied for [an administrative] position, people would look at it and say who does she think she is ... unless she was really a dynamic person. [I]t depends on the personality too and how she goes about trying to obtain that power or that position.

Simone contended that nurses usually advanced by seniority rather than

> fight[ing] for it .... [N]urses don't like to see these women get it [by being ambitious] because it's not the traditional way ... they have the attitude that simply by being caring and empathetic that we should be rewarded and those rewards should given to those people, the ambitious women or nurse that really wants and demands things doesn't deserve it because she's seen as uncaring, not very feminine, not having the qualities that a nurse should have.

In discussing power and authority, Odile felt that power and authority had negative connotations: "I think it's probably one that most female nurses don't relate to [power], or if they do it's a negative thing, like for instance me having to work with someone who was powerful, that tends to have a negative connotation." This conclusion was reiterated by Martine: "mm, hmm, having those qualities or in pursuit of them, definitely negative." However, when she spoke of one administrator that she admired, she did not see these characteristics as negative when applied to her.

Other factors the key participants discussed that contributed to a better understanding of the lack of a feminist orientation in these instructors were, for example, the lack of political acumen. Odile lamented:

> Women generally (and I certainly fall into this) are not astute political beings and I've resented that for all my career, having to play games—

but we [nurses and women] aren't good at that. We are up-front and open and honest to the last penny and maybe that's not the best strategy always.

Martine believed that there are basic differences between women and men: "Men and women think differently, like the actual process of thought is different." Martine also discussed the general passivity of nurses: "Nurses tend to think they have nothing to say. Is that nursing or is that women? ... passive behavior that's what it is." Martine also mentioned the lack of feminist role models, "I don't think [the Director] is particularly a feminist at all. [One administrator] is and she's a quiet one which is the kind that appeals to me."

The lack of understanding of the meaning of feminism came up in casual conversation with Thérèse who said that she was not sure if she was a feminist because she was not sure that it meant she belonged to a book club where abortion and feminism had recently been discussed but she still was unable to determine where she stood on this issue. The avoidance of nursing by feminists was brought up by Martine who quipped: "Yep, because probably we're an embarrassment to them."

Odile thought the lack of a feminist orientation was beginning to change:

> I think that's beginning to change and probably some are [feminists], that, for whatever reason, wouldn't label themselves .... [I]t's like feminist attitudes and beliefs and values are there, but if you asked them if they were a feminist they would say are you kidding? and yet when you get down to the nitty gritty, yes, indeed, they are.

The lack of a feminist orientation of most instructors in the school led to the exploration of the instructors' perception of the intrusion by male nurses into this organization of female nurse educators.

Male Intrusion

Although the previous chapters rarely referred to males, when I reviewed my field notes, it became apparent that the male world did, indeed, intrude upon this female-

dominated organization. At first, the intrusion seemed to be subtle; however, the hiring of the first male faculty member made the intrusion more apparent.

In Britain, 90 percent of nurses are female (Hutt, 1986:9). A recent study of senior nurse managers in England and Wales found "nearly half of the chief officers—and in one region 80 percent—were men" (Hutt, 1986:9). Hutt projected that if the country continued to appoint half females and half males, 60 percent of the chief officers would be men by 1999.

Another British study of women working in the National Health Service found that there was a large discrepancy in the time required by male and female nur██████████ their first nursing officer post. They were unable to explain the career ad█████████ by better qualifications or earlier entry. "Men appeared to break all the rule████ entered late, they went to the 'wrong' nursing s██████████ did not shine particularly in terms of qualifications held and yet they progr██████████aster than women" (Davies, 1986). This study also concluded that the male ca████dvantage was not explained by wome██████opensity to take career breaks (Davies, 1986).

In Canada, male nurses account for only 2 percent of the nursing population (Okrainec, 1986:16). However, in the school, males represented 5 percent of the student group. The 13 male nursing students in the school, were very noticeable in the hallways which were usually overflowing with females. This male presence became more conspicuous when the investigator surveyed a class that included eight male nursing students; the male faces stood out in marked contrast to the sea of female faces. When the investigator attended a small group session with eight nursing students, two male students were obvious amongst six females—four female students, a female instructor and the female investigator. The male students' lack of participation during this session was noted by the investigator and, no doubt, by the instructor.

The first reference to male students came early in the term when one team decided that the eight male students in the new class would be paired to act as "a g██████

support each other." This reference to male students caused one instructor to display a negative facial expression and to utter "boo" and later to lament that nursing was a "female-oriented job." Another comment was that good-looking males would distract the female students. One instructor interjected that she did not mind having good-looking males around. Another faculty member queried when they would hire a male faculty member, since the school was an equal opportunity employer. It was common knowledge that no male had ever applied.

When an instructor was giving feedback on her class she said she was pleased that the males had contributed as much as the females and compared it to another class where the two male students rarely commented. After one coordinator's report at the October full faculty meeting, a team member added: "the males were vocal." One day when I was in the main office chatting with one of the instructors she mentioned that one good-looking male student, who was receiving considerable attention from the hospital nursing staff, was unsure of how to handle it.

At one team meeting, it was reported that all the male students had left a lecture when oral contraception was discussed. Some team members suggested the male students probably thought it was not applicable to them, but other team members responded that male students required this knowledge for teaching mothers in Obstetrics.

At another team meeting, the coordinator read out a letter written by eight male nursing students, requesting that they be given experience in practicing bed bathing skills on females. The faculty member who had previously emphasized that nursing was a female-oriented profession, inquired with disgust: "What certain skills?" There was some discussion about whether the female students would feel comfortable having males practice bed baths on them. Three instructors commented on this experience. Three other faculty members remarked that the team should not make a big fuss about this issue. Instead, each instructor should deal with the issue individually. The

coordinator pointed out this would become less of a problem, when they had more male students in the school. At the next meeting, the coordinator reported that she had sent a reply to the male students and each one of them had been in to thank her for considering their request.

When it was announced in mid November that the director had hired a male faculty member, his credentials were listed in considerable detail, e.g., educational degrees, marital status, other talents. The announcement of his appointment was accompanied by the comment that this was a "historic moment" in the school. At the first meeting he attended, there was some talk about whether he would be "intimidated" by all the females.

The previous discussion about male nursing students was recounted by Martine:

> You know what I thought was curious, that at the first-year meeting the
> other day when [names coordinator] brought up the concerns of the
> male students. I couldn't believe ... that people felt that male students
> should only practice on each other ... I thought it was curious that no
> one said to [names male instructor], you have been in that position, how
> did you feel? ... do you think this should be handled?

She went on to say that the previous year there had been a shuffling of groups so that two male students could be together. Martine felt this was inappropriate. When she had two men in her clinical group, they chose not to work together but "each worked with two women."

When the investigator inquired about what impact, if any, the new male instructor had made, four key participants replied:

> I hear he gets treated differently by the secretaries ... that's
> discrimination or whatever ... rules get bent or whatever.

> Thérèse: Nothing that's rubbed off onto me ... he's in the other [team]
> and I haven't seen him more than half a dozen times since he has been
> here.

> Cecile: [None], I hardly ever see him.

Simone: None. No other than he is well liked, but he seems to be quiet and seems to listen much more than he joins in conversations.

Martine and Janine had more to say because they were team members with the male instructor:

> **Martine:** He is not horribly aggressive, he is very willing to say "I
> don't know," quiet rather than, he sort of fit in the way one would
> expect a new person to fit in …. If he had been irritably masculine there
> would have been some problems either in [him] being too aggressive or
> [if he had] behaved in a manner that would allow people to be
> flirtatious—but he was just himself …. I really don't think that things
> have been altered whatsoever. It quite amazed me, a very bright man …
> I get the feeling that he could have been an axe murderer and would
> have been hired anyway … She [director] … wanted a male faculty
> member because it looks very good and … she has more and more male
> students …. It has just worked out wonderfully well.

> **Janine:** Not in a formal way, informal things …. In terms of impact on
> the faculty group, who has just become full time as of March … but I
> don't think there has been any major changes as a result of having him
> in the group. I don't think that the structure of our meetings or the
> humour has changed … He is a quiet group member but he certainly
> adds to the group on occasion … No, he is not domineering. If he had
> a personal need to lead the group, then it may have had a very different
> impact …

Along with the reactions to the new male faculty member were general reactions to the impact that increasing numbers of male nurses might have on nursing. There was a concern that male nurses would assume the administrative positions based on their sex and sex role stereotyping rather than competence. Janine, Odile and Martine's comments on this issue were:

> **Janine:** [P]robably … as more men move into nursing … become more
> educated in terms of administrative degrees, nursing degrees … the
> competition will certainly become stiffer. Some of those men will be
> hired into those positions, perhaps not strictly on their abilities but
> because they are men because women traditionally have felt that men
> should lead [because] … traditionally men have taken on those
> administrative types of roles … in the future that could become a
> problem, if women in nursing administration … select [men] … because
> the men are the novelty or have traditionally been the leaders … not
> because of ability.

Odile: Now as more men come into the profession... there is almost an assumption that they will be the administrators, they will be the educators.

Martine: You know people always say that with men getting in [nursing], things will change, I don't think that's necessarily true ... [W]hat happens then is reverse sex discrimination.

She went on to relate how a former orderly who had been a registered nurse for about 18 months, despite being in competition with well-qualified female nurses, had obtained a head nurse position even though he had no administrative experience. Martine maintained that "... he got the job because he was a man, absolutely no doubt about it ... [and he was] assumed to be more stable ... I think it's because men are more ambitious and are more open about it."

Later during the same dialogue, Martine commented on where she felt male nurses performed well: "I still think they [male nurses] can do a good job of nursing if they fully understand what nursing is." She continued by suggesting that male nurses are better suited to certain hospital units where there is a fast pace, "an intellectually stimulating environment and the—lack of long term relationships, units such as emergency, the operating theatre, and intensive care."

Men came up in another context, the relationship between nurses and male physicians. Thérèse implied that she thought most nurses failed to think about the difference in the value to patients of nurses versus physicians. She added that she was trying to socialize nursing students to have less "reverence" for physicians:

> You don't stop and ask am I as valuable to the patient as a physician? If I am, why don't I earn the salary that he does? You are just raised with the idea that doctors make $100,000 a year and you make $30,000 ... and doctors will tell you that they make all the important decisions, and you know that that's not true, but you don't challenge it and you just think. Oh there goes another male chauvinist physician .... [W]hen I have post conferences with the clinical groups, I will point out to the nurses the attitudes that the physicians have, how detrimental sometimes they are to patient welfare ... so ... I certainly am not enamoured with physicians, and so ... hopefully the students ... are not being raised with that reverence for physicians.

Summary

Few instructors would refer to themselves as feminists, perhaps three out of 40 faculty members. Three key participants indicated that the bra-burning image of feminism was unattractive to most nurses; other explanations were the conservative orientation of nurses which makes them feel uncomfortable with the radical image associated with feminism. Although two participants thought that nurses believed in equal pay for equal work, to become actively involved in the women's movement to accomplish this goal would not be acceptable. Also, the educational process of nurses generally fails to include active socialization on women's issues.

Two participants commented on the nurse-physician relationship; they suggested that nurses were unaware of the oppressive relationship they had with physicians. Two participants referred to the caring, nurturing aspects of nursing, one asserting that because of this ideology, nurses viewed themselves as always caring for and always putting themselves in second place, while the other participant felt that nurses were unable to give up this orientation because it was almost an innate trait of women/nurses. The passive behavior of nurses contributes to the lack of a feminist orientation according to one participant.

Generally, faculty members displayed a "dis-ease" with feminism. Although the school was, for the most part, free of a direct male power structure and, therefore, typified an encapsulated female world, it has remained relatively untouched by feminism.

The impact of the male world was evidenced in this female-dominated organization. Male students received special attention because faculty members perceived they had unique needs that needed to be accommodated. They were, to some extent, treated as special students even though male students, in small numbers, have been in nursing for some time.

When the first male faculty member was hired, many issues were brought out into the open. Although some instructors thought it was timely that a male instructor was hired, it caused others to reflect on the impact increasing numbers of males might have on nursing. For example, the new male instructor received special treatment according to two participants.

Another concern was the preferential hiring of male nurses for administrative positions, whether they are competent or not, but on the basis of their sex. This was supported by examples where this had already occurred. There was speculation on the potential for this happening more often in the future, if men continue to enter nursing in larger numbers. One participant expressed concern about female nurses hiring men for these positions.

Male intrusion was becoming increasingly apparent in this female-dominated organization and reminded the nurse educators of the dual world they lived in. One question not well articulated was whether increasing numbers of males would appreciably change this female *Gemeinschaft* world to more of a male *Gesellschaft* world.

CHAPTER 9

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter summarizes the design of the study, presents the conclusions and suggests implications these conclusions have for the administration of organizations.

Summary

The objective of this study was a description and analysis of the organization and the administration of a hospital school of nursing to determine if female nurse educators brought unique orientations to the workplace. It was a case study conducted from the point of view of the participants involved.

The data were collected over a 12-month period in a Canadian hospital school of nursing. The school had 220 students and 40 instructors. During this period, the investigator attended meetings of all three teaching teams, full faculty meetings and other committee meetings and spent considerable time with faculty members in the faculty lounge during coffee breaks and lunches. Data mainly consisted of three types: copious documents distributed to faculty, transcribed audio tapes and field notes. Two interviews were conducted with each of six key participants, one during the first six months and the other during the last month of the study. The transcribed dialogues with the six key participants totalled 372 typed single-spaced pages while the field notes numbered 254 typed single-spaced pages. The results were confirmed or disconfirmed by the key participants. The grounded theory approach was used to analyze the field notes out of which were generated five categories that pertained to the organization and the administration of the school. Other data were used to describe selected administrative processes, the culture of the organization and the faculty.

The relevance of the female world concept for the world of nursing was delineated using four conceptualizations: nature/nurture, women's sphere, the *agape* ethos and

180

an uneasiness with feminism. Using these conceptualizations, it was shown that the world of nursing evolved in concert with the female world. Concepts drawn from the literature on the female world were applied in interpreting the data gathered in the school, specifically the *Gemeinschaft* orientation and the love-and/or-duty ethos. That is, the nurse educators transported parts of the kin-orientation and the love-and/or-duty ethos from the private sphere or home into the public arena or workplace. For example, although the main role of the three teaching teams was the implementation of the curriculum, they also acted as major socializing agents, support groups and integrating mechanisms for faculty members. Within the teams, the pairing of new instructors with more experienced ones and the willingness of experienced faculty members to volunteer to help those with less experience are further indicators of the relationship-orientation that was a strong part of the school. Even minor details, like the arrangement of tables for meetings, were directed toward promoting faculty integration.

Faculty concern with positive relationships also carried over into instructors' relationships with students. Students were commonly referred to as "kids," a term of "endearment" which symbolized the strong value placed on these relationships. One participant indicated she became quite "attached" to her students. At most team meetings, student feedback was seriously considered. Students were given high priority in the goals of the school, and all faculty members were expected to attain effective instructor-student relationships. Key participants revealed, nevertheless, that they were aware of a few faculty-student relationships that were "adversarial" in nature.

The *Gemeinschaft* nature of this female world and the expression of the love-and/or-duty ethos spilled over into other areas of the work environment. For example, the nurse educators had strong affective ties with their families, especially with their children. Their families were greatly valued and, according to one key participant, had a higher priority than their nursing careers. Considerable attention was given to childbearing and rearing. Pregnancy among faculty and staff was treated as a norm that

had considerable implications for staffing. Children and child-care were common topics of conversation in the lounge and formed a significant part of the life of instructors who had children, were planning to have them or were already pregnant. For those faculty members who were childless, it became an issue to the extent that some of them actively discouraged this topic in conversations.

There was a tremendous demand on the time of the nursing instructors. Arranging for child care was usually the responsibility of the nurse educators, as was the major responsibility for the running of their households. Many instructors were also involved in community and professional activities. Along with these activities was the increasing demand for further education, i.e., a master's degree in nursing. Nevertheless, they were expected to effectively manage multiple roles, in the process of which they often experienced guilt, according to some key participants. However, as two participants reported, nurse educator was considered one of the more ideal jobs for women with children.

Individual pictures of students, faculty and staff outside the main office were another attempt to encourage familiarity among staff and students and to give a more holistic image of the faculty. Even the faculty request for a group picture exemplified the need to record the "togetherness" of the members of the organization.

Conforming to a "professional image" was another important value in the school. This image encompassed being fashionably dressed, slim and fit. Being well-dressed, whether in street clothes or uniform, was a highly competitive aspect of this female milieu.

The five major categories that were generated from the data further exemplified the *Gemeinschaft* nature of an organization composed almost entirely of women and the presence of the love-and/or-duty ethos. Food and social events, two categories, served mainly as facilitators for interaction and as mechanisms for relieving conflict. Social events, usually accompanied by home-made food, were used to celebrate births,

birthdays and marriages, to mark the beginning and end of the school terms and to express appreciation for assistance given to the students. The preparation of delicious food was a source of satisfaction for those who were good cooks and a major concern for those who had few culinary talents. Food was also a dilemma for many of the nurse educators who were constantly concerned about gaining weight and were frequently dieting.

The essential nature of support mechanisms was another category. "Support" was a word liberally used by all instructors and was readily acknowledged as a necessary ingredient in the school. "Supportive" was a term used to describe both a coordinator and a particular team. Supportive relationships among faculty members were suggested as a solution for dealing with the stress and the isolation instructors often experienced on hospital units. Support was requested by one administrator after receiving a promotion. Being supportive was considered an important aspect of the coordinators' roles. It was assumed that all students required support during the educational process. One participant, an independent woman who had recently joined the faculty, felt pressured to request support when preparing a lecture even though she did not need it. The six key participants agreed that they needed at least one supportive colleague at work. These relationships were more than just working relationships; they strove to be friends. The nurse educators valued support and tried for the most part to be supportive of each other. Most participants agreed they had a supportive work environment, which they valued highly.

Meetings as cohesion builders, the fourth category, reflected the emphasis on facilitating the implementation of curriculum content. They were also meant, however, as opportunities for "co-relating." Meetings were used to dispense information, as a method for sharing teaching content and strategies, personal anecdotes or food, and as a mechanism for supporting team members. One objective of team meetings was to meld the teams into smoothly functioning units.

The fifth category, faculty consistency as a necessity in the treatment of students, was reflected in discussions at all team meetings and exemplified a pull between dependence and independence. For example, the need for consistency in grading students' assignments, in evaluating clinical performance of students and in the approach to the practice of gift-giving by students was discussed frequently by all teams. Two key participants felt that this need for consistency, which was translated by them into a need for "cohesiveness," infringed on their need for individuality. The dilemma posed by claims on one's individuality in a milieu where consistency was highly valued remained one of the unresolved issues. Three key participants felt they needed more independence.

All teams approached certain administrative processes in similar ways, e.g., the consensual mode of decision making, the approach to faculty evaluation, the general approach to curriculum development, the encouragement of feedback from faculty members and the collaborative style of questioning and responding to questions. The consensual process for decision making was the major process used to make decisions in the school. Motions in both teaching teams and faculty meetings were used infrequently to determine consensus on issues and were usually relegated to money matters, student assignments and examinations. All teams displayed a strong belief in collaborative decision making and in instructor participation. Rather than phrased as challenges, questions and comments were additive in nature; they were reflective of the collaborative type of relationships team members tried to establish. The differences noted in teams revolved around the resolution of the dependence-independence issue and their ability or inability to develop into strong cohesive units with minimal conflict.

The approach to conflict resolution was decidedly female in tone. Even the use of the word "conflict" was changed by one participant to the word "disharmony" which suggested that this softer word may be more apposite in the female world. Conflict management was handled in a number of ways. For example, one team usually ignored

it and the instructors involved simply quit talking to each other. In another team, the

instructors became a cohesive group and were able to resolve an issue when it pitted

them against the school counsellor. In this same team, the presence of constant, long-

standing conflict was raised by one instructor at a team meeting and was acknowledged

by most of the team members. After a prolonged discussion, the outcome was several

suggestions for social events. It was hoped that through the intermingling of fac

and the eating of delicious, home-cooked food, the conflict would be resolved. One

key participant's observation was that these events failed to eliminate conflict. Three

key participants thought the expression of conflict presented a dilemma for nurses

because the caring, nurturing ideology of nursing/women discouraged the expression

of conflict.

The data indicated that there were few feminists in the school. Various explanations

were given for the lack of a feminist orientation. According to one participant, one

reason was that, in an all-female environment, feminism becomes unnecessary because

women are able to reveal their "weaknesses"; they are able to openly demonstrate their

caring attitude towards their family and are free to talk about household and child-

related issues. Her perception was that feminism militated against being caring and

being overtly committed to one's family. Also, she felt that most women who entered

nursing did not initially think of it as a career but planned to marry and not re-enter the

work force, making the concern with feminist issues less of a necessity.

Another key participant thought all working women were feminists to some extent

because they had to work out child care and household arrangements with their

families; however, the data indicated that the group of nurse educators were ultimately

responsible for household and child care responsibilities. Because most nurses were

considered to be conservative and, therefore, not likely to be "rabble rousers," three

key participants felt the radical bra burning image strongly associated with feminism

deterred many nurses from wanting to be labelled as feminists. One participant thought

many nurses had "feminist beliefs and values" but preferred not to label themselves as feminists. There were few feminist role models among the administrators.

Initially, male intrusion into this female nursing organization was subtle, being visible only in the special attention accorded the 13 male nursing students in the program. However, male intrusion became more obvious when the first male instructor was hired. The participants' reactions suggested that his presence caused them to re-evaluate what implications increasing numbers of male nurses might have for nursing. They were especially concerned about whether male nurses would take over most of the nursing administration positions based predominantly on sex-role stereotyping rather than competence; males might be treated as special and there might be reverse discrimination carried out by female nurses. The dialogues suggested that the participants viewed the male world as different from the female world and that male intrusion may have negative consequences for this strongly female domain. Although it was never expressed in this way, the investigator wondered if this group of nurse educators were concerned about whether a *Gesellschaft* orientation might eventually take over this predominantly *Gemeinschaft* one, bringing different values, symbols and rituals.

Conclusions

The women nurse educators exhibited unique orientations to the organization and the administration of the school. The school had a distinctive culture that contained features that could be attributed to both the nursing and the female worlds. The case study method provided a rich data source on the world of nurse educators that is exemplified in the numerous participant narratives scattered throughout the study.

One aspect of the female world was reflected in the strong orientation to family. Child bearing and rearing were high priorities in the lives of the instructors. The emphasis was on the prescribed roles of wife, mother and friend rather than career.

Female culture that emphasized the importance of relationships was pervasive. Even details like the positioning of chairs during meetings was aimed at promoting social cohesion. Work patterns also stressed relationships. Food and social events, meetings; the necessity for social support and the need for faculty consistency in the treatment of students were aimed at promoting a supportive, harmonious work environment. Having at least one collegial relationship at work was crucial.

The administrative processes included a collaborative, consensual mode of decision making and a non-challenging style of questioning. Conflict presented a dilemma for the nurse educators; the existence of conflict runs counter to the caring, nurturing ideology of the nurse educators. Evasive techniques were generally used to ameliorate conflict although there was one example of openly discussing a conflictual situation.

The conceptualizations and characterizations of the female world described by Bernard and other researchers were useful for this study. However, Bernard's conceptualizations are very broad and need to be refined considerably. This study has contributed to these conceptualizations by building on aspects developed by Bernard and other researchers. That is, aspects of the kin-orientation such as the high priority assigned to family and friends and the love-and/or-duty ethos exemplified in the collaborative speech patterns were present in the school as were other aspects described in the literature such as the striving for cohesiveness among the instructors.

Implications

This study is one step in the direction of prodding organizational and administrative researchers into thinking differently about organizations. Another outcome of this research is the identification of the need for further elaboration of the female world concept, i.e., of refining Bernard's and other researchers' conceptualizations of the female world and of identifying other aspects of this world. For example, the strong emphasis on food needs further study as does the need for consistency. Such research

would expand the limited knowledge accumulated about women's orientations to organizations.

Since female culture has not been adequately recognized as an important aspect of administration, it should be carefully considered by administrators. Administrators need to seriously consider women's values like the importance women assign to relationships. For example, family relationships and friends are accorded high priorities. Childbearing and rearing are important aspects that need to be given special attention by administrators. The unequal sharing of family responsibilities needs to be seriously addressed. Organizations need to be more flexible to enable both men and women to share the responsibilities for child care and for household management. This would mean a significant change in administrative practices.

Another aspect of the relationship-orientation was the need for at least one close collegial relationship at work as well as the need to have effective instructor-student relationships. The emphasis on relationships needs to be addressed by administrators and means derived to facilitate these relationships.

The overall striving for cohesiveness in the organization — whether it was expressed in the need for effective collegial and student relationships, the arrangement of the chairs for meetings, the need for consistency among instructors, the use of food and social events as cohesion builders or the integrative style of questioning — suggests that these strong aspects of female culture need to be given serious consideration by administrators, especially nursing administrators.

Since administrative theory currently reflects a male-oriented world, there is a need for the incorporation of a perspective consistent with the female world. In the preparation of administrators, not only does the approach to theory need to be altered but the culture of preparation programs should be changed. For example, it should be recognized that women may take longer to complete educational programs or to climb

the corporate ladder due to the multiple expectations ascribed to them. It should be recognized that women may exhibit different career patterns than men.

There needs to be further research — more intensive studies of female-dominated organizations, e.g., girl's schools, women's colleges, other hospital diploma-nursing programs, college and university nursing programs, organizations in which the composition results in a "clash of male and female cultures" such as elementary schools and organizations where males dominate such as engineering.

In general, the principle implication for the administration of women-dominated organizations is that the female world needs to be accorded serious recognition by administrators. The implications for the literature on administration are that the female perspective needs to be integrated into this literature so it is truly representative of both women and men. Perhaps as a result of the better integration of the literature of the male experiences in organizations, there may be less inclination to give women administrators courses and books on how to behave more like men administrators and an increased emphasis on changing organizations to better fit the aspirations and the values of the female world. In the longer term, the female world perspective may be promoted by administrators as a way to improve the "health" of organizations.

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APPENDIX A

Department of Educational Administration

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Project Title: A Study of Administrative Aspects of a Female

Organization: A Hospital School of Nursing

Investigator: Patricia E. B. Valentine, R.N. , M.A.

Doctoral Candidate

Department of Educational Administration

University of Alberta

Phone: 439-3430 (Home) 432-3094 (Office)

Student Advisor: Dr. Gordon McIntosh

Professor,,Department of Educational Administration

7-104 Education North

University of Alberta

Phone: 432-3681 (Office)

Purpose: The purpose of this study is to explore, describe and

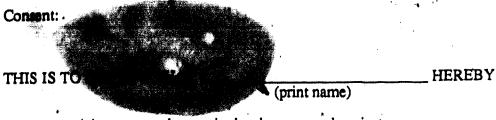interpret the female world in an administrative context.

Risk, Benefits: There are no known risks. The main benefit will be to

contribute to the literature and thereby, benefit nurses.

Procedure: At least three tape-recorded interviews will be requested.

220

Consent: .

THIS IS TO _____ HEREBY
(print name)

agree to participate as a volunteer in the above named project.

I hereby give permission to be interviewed at least three times and for these interviews to be tape-recorded. I understand that at the completion of the research the information may be published. For example, direct quotations from the interviews may be used at the researcher's discretion.

I understand that my identity will not be disclosed at any time, and that at the end of the project the tape recording will be erased. During the study the tapes will be stored in a locked file cabinet in the researcher's apartment.

I will be reviewing the transcribed copy of the interview for accuracy and to help . with the interpretation of data. I further understand that I may withdraw from the study, or refuse to answer any questions, without penalty.

I am free to ask the investigator any questions I have regarding this study, until these questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

_____   _____   _____   _____
Investigator   Date   Signature   Date

J.22/85   _____   _____
            Witness   Date