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**A STUDY INTO THE VARIABLES THAT PREDICT POWER AND
AUTHORITY IN A CHILD WELFARE AGENCY**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA IN THE PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK**

SUBMITTED

BY

TERRY LEJKO

DECEMBER, 1997



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**A STUDY INTO THE VARIABLES THAT PREDICT POWER
AND AUTHORITY IN A CHILD WELFARE AGENCY**

BY

TERRY LEJKO

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree
of
MASTER OF SOCIAL WORK**

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ABSTRACT

“ A Study into the Variables that Predict Power and Authority in a Child Welfare Agency” is a thesis examining the results of a survey completed by the management staff of Winnipeg Child and Family Services. The purpose of this study was to highlight the factors that contribute to individual sources of personal power as well as the authority managers perceived was theirs as a result of their management positions. Since the literature suggests that power is demonstrated in the decision-making process, the study examined the involvement of managers in strategic and operational decision-making. The independent variables examined were gender, age, career interruptions, family status, level of education and mentors. The dependent variables of the study were power, authority, involvement in a number of strategic and operational decision areas, involvement in the stages of the decision-making process and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

The results of the study were then discussed using Hasenfeld’s (1983) theory of political-economy as a frame of reference.

The results of this study showed that male and female managers within Winnipeg Child and Family Services have similar levels of power, authority, involvement in the stages of the decision-making process and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

A significant association was found between gender and involvement with the majority of the strategic decision areas. Significant associations were also found between gender and career interruptions, as well as gender and level of education. Level

of education was found to be significant in relation to four of the strategic decision areas. Age and involvement in the development of the agency's volume management programming were also found to be significant. Career interruptions were also significantly associated with the start-up stage of decision-making and the development of volume management programming. Finally, having a mentor was found to be associated with one strategic decision area and with involvement in the restructuring of an area's service delivery system.

Some suggestions are made on how to increase women's participation in the strategic decision areas.

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STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

INTRODUCTION

Child welfare is a major employer of women. It is estimated that at least 70% of front line work is performed by women (*Callahan 1993:173*). Women provide the foundation for the work of child welfare. Child welfare service delivery systems are organized as traditional bureaucracies. However, at the strategic apex or the executive core of most child welfare organizations, those with power and authority are most often male (*Zunz 1995:~2*)(*Odewahn & Ezell 1992:52*). The primary purpose of this thesis was to develop a greater understanding of the variables that lead to the acquisition of power and authority within a child welfare agency's organizational structure. More specifically, the hope was that a set of guidelines could be identified that will assist women to take a prominent role in the leadership of child welfare agencies in the coming years. I have spent more than 17 years in child welfare. I am committed to continuing to improve the quality of services in the community. Given my personal investment in this field of practice, I look forward to a greater understanding of how at least one child welfare agency operates. My personal learning goals as a MSW graduate student included:

1. a desire to further my direct experience in the development and implementation of a research project;
2. to expand my knowledge base in the areas of organizational behavior and structures and how they effect the individuals who labor within them;
3. to understand the impact of power and authority in our everyday work lives;

4. to enhance the profession's understanding of what child welfare can do to expand the potential of all of its human resources.

Historically, the absence of women in positions of power and authority within social service organizations was not the norm. Chambers (1986) in her article "Women in the Creation of the Profession of Social Work" describes the period between 1890 and 1930 as a time when both men and women shared positions of influence and power in the developing field of social work. From the beginnings of charity work in the early 19th century, women were seen as uniquely qualified to carry out the mission of attempting to alleviate the suffering of the poor and disadvantaged. The prevalent belief was that women were, by reason of their gender, feminine nature, and inherent moral superiority, better able to provide the nurturing and care required by the poor. Emotional labor which refers to the work of managing emotions in others was seen as a particular talent found in women. This belief allowed women from privileged families to leave the private domain of their homes and enter the public sphere of work. While this belief, labeled in the literature as the cult of domesticity or maternal feminism, was restrictive and narrow, it did offer opportunities not previously available (Chambers 1986)(Baines 1991). The focus of the various organizations that women become involved with generally followed three streams. Evangelical enthusiasm motivated some women to organize services for the spiritual and physical needs of the poor and disadvantaged. A combination of altruism and self-interest led to the formation of organizations whose purpose was to educate and train young women in the domestic skills required to work in upper class homes. The settlement house movement developed in response to the needs of the

massive waves of immigrants arriving in North America. The work of the charity organizations and the settlement house movement led to the development of the profession of social work.

In 1915, a survey conducted in New York City identified that approximately 70% of the practitioners in the social service field were women. At this point, men outnumbered women in executive positions by a ratio of approximately six to four, while women in supervisory positions were found to outnumber their male counterparts three to one (*Chambers 1986:7*). However, as time went on proportionately fewer and fewer women obtained positions of power and authority in the various arenas of social work practice. Chambers (*1986*) believes that a number of factors contributed to the elimination of women from executive positions. As time passed, the unmarried female pioneers of social work were replaced by women who chose to marry and who, given the then prevalent belief that a woman's place was in the home, opted to leave paid employment. Even if a woman chose to continue working outside of the home, there were limited opportunities to attend any higher educational training and the interruptions in employment that child bearing and child raising caused, adversely effected her seniority within the profession. The belief that the status of the profession and the salaries it paid would increase in proportion to the number of men in the field resulted in proactive attempts to recruit men. The male business and professional elite's in charge of the various funding bodies looked with more favor upon requests for financial support from agencies with male executives. The 1930s brought the Depression and a strengthening of the feeling that the limited employment opportunities which were

available should be bestowed upon men. The advent of World War II briefly increased the number of women in the general work force and did allow some women into the upper echelons of social work agencies. However, the increase in female participation in the work force had little to do with the recognition of a woman's right to work. It was seen as simply the fulfillment of an obligation to support the war effort. The expectation was that at the end of the war women would return to their subordinate roles within both the family and their employment (*Pierson 1986*). As the men returned home from the war, they replaced women in positions of organizational power. After the war years, the 1950s again reinforced the belief that "stay at home moms" were a requirement of a happy functioning family. Beginning in the 1960s, the number of women entering the workforce continued to rise. Despite their increasing numbers, women were and continue to be largely excluded from positions of significant power and authority. Most of the gains that have occurred have been in the lower level management positions (*Gaskill 1991*). In 1997, an examination of who sits at the tables where major decisions are made confirms that very little has changed over the last four decades. The executive core or strategic apex of most social service agencies is primarily male (*Zunz 1995*). The purpose of this thesis is to examine the reasons why this continues to be true.

PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY

The purpose of this study was to identify those variables that predict the possession of power and authority within a child welfare agency. The role of decision-making in the exercise of power and authority will be examined. Further, the results of

this study will be analyzed using Hasenfeld's (1983) political-economy theory in hopes of determining the factors that have kept women from assuming their rightful positions as leaders in child welfare. Finally, strategies will be identified for women to increase their access to power and authority in a child welfare agency. The agency that will be studied is Winnipeg Child and Family Services. It serves a primarily urban area but its catchment area does encompass some rural communities. The clientele of most child welfare agencies can best be described as primarily First Nations and ethnic minority families living in poverty (Callahan 1993). Nevertheless, families from a wide range of ethnic communities and socio-economic levels are recipients of the services of Winnipeg Child and Family Services.

Appendix I provides a description of the structure of Winnipeg Child and Family Services. The organizational chart of the agency shows a traditional bureaucratic structure. The highest point in this chart represents the position of the Chief Executive Officer who is responsible to a government-appointed Board of Directors. The Chief Executive Officer of the agency is male. The next level of the agency hierarchy is the top management level which reports directly to the CEO. This small group of managers occupies the highest levels in the hierarchy. Under the direction of the CEO, top management formulates policies and determines the overall direction of the agency. This top management level can be sub-divided into service and administrative functions. There are four Area Directors on the service side. They are responsible for the provision of services as mandated by the Child and Family Services Act. Of the four top management positions on the service side, one is occupied by a woman. The

administrative side of the top level of management includes the Chief Financial Officer and the Director of Programs and Planning, who are both men, and the Director of Management Services and the agency's in-house counsel, who are women. The responsibilities of the Director of Management Services seem to be fairly wide ranging but the position lacks a clear job description. The agency's in-house counsel serves in an advisory capacity only. The duties of the Chief Financial Officer and the Director of Programs and Planning appear to have greater clarity. To clarify, of the eight positions at the agency's top management level, three are held by women and five by men.

The middle management level of Winnipeg Child and Family Services is occupied by the Directors of Service. This slightly smaller group of managers links top management with lower level managers or supervisors. All of these managers supervise people who in turn supervise other people. The middle management managers are responsible for ensuring that the agency's policies, objectives and programs are appropriately implemented by lower level managers. There are six Directors of Service, three male and three female. At the next level of the hierarchy are the Supervisors, who make up the lowest level of the management hierarchy. This is the largest group of managers in the organization. Supervisors manage individuals who are not part of the management structure and those who are responsible for the provision of services. There are a total of 40 supervisory positions within the agency, of which 22 are filled by women and 18 are occupied by men. At the front-line non-management level of the agency the ratio of men to women is startlingly unbalanced. Utilizing the September 1996 telephone lists from each of the four areas as the basis of the count, the total number of front-line

workers equals 334 individuals. This count does not include clerical positions, students or the South West area's night duty casual staffing. Of the 334 individuals employed by the agency at this level, 275 are female and 55 are male. Because of their unisex names, the gender of four workers was not known. A number of factors might be responsible for the overwhelming numbers of women at the front-line level. The majority of graduates from B.S.W. programs are women and child welfare agencies tend to employ many new graduates. It is only logical that the majority of new graduates employed would be women. However, since the majority of the individuals currently occupying agency management positions were promoted from front-line positions from within this same agency, it would seem reasonable to believe that the percentage of women in management positions should be greater than current numbers reflect. And while it is true that the majority of low level management positions are held by women, at this beginning level of analysis it certainly would appear that women should be better represented within all levels of the agency's power structure. The results of this overview begin to lay the foundation for the belief that a gender bias exists within Winnipeg Child and Family Services. It is my belief that there are the forces that limit the ability of women to assume positions of power and authority within this agency. It is the goal of this thesis to identify to identify those forces.

This study sought to examine a number of research questions:

1. Is gender significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
2. Is gender significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?

3. Is gender significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
4. Is gender significantly related to the stages of involvement in decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
5. Is gender significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
6. Is age significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
7. Is age significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
8. Is age significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
9. Is age significantly related to stages of decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
10. Is age significantly related to level of involvement in decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
11. Are career interruptions significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
12. Are career interruptions significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
13. Are career interruptions significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
14. Are career interruptions significantly related to the stages of the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?

15. Are career interruptions significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
16. Is family status significantly related to power within Winnipeg child and Family Services?
17. Is family status significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
18. Is family status significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
19. Is family status significantly related to the stages of the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
20. Is family status significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
21. Is level of education significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
22. Is level of education significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
23. Is level of education significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
24. Is level of education significantly related to stages of decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
25. Is level of education significantly related to level of involvement in decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?

26. Is having had a mentor significantly related to power within Winnipeg child and Family Services?
27. Is having had a mentor significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
28. Is having had a mentor significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
29. Is having had a mentor significantly related to the stages of the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?
30. Is having had a mentor significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?

I believed that this study would confirm that the management positions that most women occupy have limited access to power and authority. Further, I believed that the majority of women in management positions are allowed only limited participation in strategic decision-making. I expected that men and women would have similar sources of individual power but that forces exist, within and outside agency, that limit the impact of women's' power in agency and thereby support the continuation of a male domination at the highest levels of the organization. Given that these ecological factors and predispositions are all part of a patriarchal society that dominates and oppresses women, I expected that an examination of the agency's decision-making process would confirm the relative powerlessness of female managers as compared to their male counterparts. It was my expectation that female managers would have their greatest involvement in the implementation phase of decision-making and that male managers will have more

significant involvement in the start up or initiation phase. It was my belief that in the process of strategic decision-making, female managers' level of involvement would be greatest at the first three level of the influence - power continuum, the levels where little real power is exercised, that is 1) no or minimal information, 2) provision of information, and 3) opportunity to give advice will define their involvement. Further, I believed that an examination of the phases of strategic decision-making i.e., start up, development, finalization and implementation, would show the involvement of women managers to be concentrated in the implementation phase: making it happen after the decision is made. It is my belief that there exists, superimposed over the organizational structure and decision-making process, a gender biased power structure that despite all things being equal puts women at a disadvantage. It was the objective of this thesis to explore the exercise of power and authority expressed through the decision-making process. It is my belief that the results of this study will supply a blueprint for the future, a future where women have a greater role in the direction and provision of child welfare services. It was suspected that this study will confirm the existence of a gender bias in the agency's power structure and provide guidelines for individuals and agencies to address this bias and allow women to assume their rightful positions in this field of practice.

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

THE CONCEPT OF POWER

As previously outlined the objective of this study was to identify the variables that predict the possession of power and authority in a child welfare agency. Power is an extremely difficult variable to operationalize. Most of us believe that we are able to

recognize the more overt forms of the exercise of power but would agree that the subtle use of power may not be recognized, if at all, until long after the fact. Power is generally viewed as a most desirable commodity but no single definition of the concept exists. Part of the difficulty lies in the reality that the concept of power is used both to describe a relationship as well as a process which, depending on the context of the relationship, may have very different outcomes. Power can be conceptualized as domination and control of one person or a group by another, or as power to; the concept of personal empowerment. Personal empowerment is one of the key concepts of feminism. Empowerment has to do with having control over one's own thoughts, feelings, and behavior, in contrast to individual power over, which focuses on controlling others (*Yoder & Kahn 1992:384*). Power can be general and pervasive across a number of areas or it can be specific to an individual in a specific situation. The sources of power can flow to the individual from the organizational position in the hierarchy they hold. Alternatively, power can be generated by a person in and of themselves.

In Lasswell and Kaplan's (1950) analysis of influence, power and authority the foundation for the work of many subsequent authors can be found. For Lasswell and Kaplan, the study of influence, power and authority are the necessary building blocks required to understand any group of people; be it the society we live in or the functioning of an organization. Power and authority must be understood at both the macro and micro level. Power is both a process and a relationship based in a particular context. Power can be studied as a polarity, such as power or no power, or seen as existing on a continuum, from powerless to powerful. Lasswell and Kaplan feel that conceptualizing

power along a continuum offers the potential for the clearest analysis. The premise that will be explored in this thesis is that power exists along a continuum and that individual power can be obtained from a variety of sources that can be combined in a power index. The greater the number of power resources available to an individual the higher their power rating in the index.

The concept of influence provides the starting point for Lasswell and Kaplan. It can be thought of as both a noun and a verb. Influence is viewed as issuing from the desire to affect a particular event. The exercise of influence, or the influence process consists of affecting the policies or the goals of others. The motivation for the desire to influence is found in a certain value base. Other authors have viewed influence in a slightly different light. Bell (1975) defined influence as a communication intended to affect action in the absence of sanctions. Lasswell and Kaplan would certainly agree that one of the major differences between influence and power would be the issue of sanctions. For them, only power comes with the ability to sanction. Bell felt that influence could be based in organizational position, or as a reflection of the individual's personality. He also felt that influence could also arise out of the perception of debt or obligation. Heller, Drenth, Koopman and Rus (1988) link influence to the decision-making process. Influence can be exercised through the simple act of giving advice. The advice may or may not be accepted but if it is, influence can merge into power. For Heller (1971), a person has influence if as a result of direct or indirect intervention, his/her preferences are considered in the decision-making process. Lasswell and Kaplan

view influence differently. Unless the influence is reflected in results its effect is non-existent.

For Lasswell and Kaplan, the two major sets of human values are welfare values and deference values. Welfare values are those required to maintain the physical activity of the individual. Well-being, which concerns the health and safety of the individual; wealth which includes any source of income; skill, which is proficiency in any practice or profession; and enlightenment, which includes knowledge, insight and information make up the welfare values. Deference values are those taken into consideration in the relationship of the individual to others. These include power, respect, rectitude, and affection. The relationship of values to the study of power has been highlighted by other authors. Dornbusch and Scott (1975) suggest that to obtain an understanding of how power works in an organization three factors must be identified:

1. the nature of the groups or organizations goals;
2. the values held by the individual group members; and
3. the distribution of the valued characteristics within the group.

Lasswell and Kaplan define power as the capacity of the individual to modify the conduct of other individuals in the manner he/she desires (Lasswell & Kaplan 1950:75). Pfeffer (1992) defines power as the ability to get things done, despite opposition. Kipnis (1976) states that power is the attempt to influence others, to shape outcomes for others, while Kanter (1979) identifies power as the ability to mobilize resources to get things done, the access to resources, information and supports necessary to carry out a task, and the ability to gain co-operation in doing what is necessary. Astin and Leland (1991) see

power as energy, not control. By example, a leader can engage in activities which empower others, thus sharing power.

For Lasswell and Kaplan the exercise of power can be described as having three major properties:

1. The weight of power is the degree of participation in the making of decisions.
2. The scope of power consists of the goal or event whose shaping and enjoyment are controlled.
3. The domain of power are the persons over whom power is exercised.

(Lasswell & Kaplan 1950)

Effective power or effective control is the pattern of power practices available to an individual because of their particular qualities and circumstances. This dichotomy is sometimes articulated as the difference between formal power and interpersonal power *(Dornbusch & Scott 1975:37)*. The outcome of the exercise of power of either type is a decision.

It is apparent that power is derived from many sources. French and Raven (1959) view power as being vested in a social agent. A social agent can be either another person, a role, a norm or a group or part of a group. The authors identify five bases of power:

1. reward power, based on a person's perception that the social agent has the ability to mediate rewards.
2. coercive power, based on the perception that the social agent has the ability to mediate punishments.

3. legitimate power, based on the perception that the social agent has a legitimate right to prescribe behavior. There are three foundations for legitimate power, cultural values, social structure, and designation by a legitimizing agent.
4. referent power, based on identification with the social agent.
5. expert power, based on the perception that the social agent has some special knowledge or expertise.

It is clear that French and Raven's work has incorporated much of Lasswell and Kaplan's framework. The definition for legitimate power closely parallels Lasswell and Kaplan's definition of authority. Expert power fits with the welfare value of enlightenment. Reward and coercive powers combine elements of both authority and effective power. Finally, the deference values of respect and rectitude speak to the concept of referent power.

Greiner and Schein (1988) conceptualized a framework for the study of power. The framework identifies three primary bases for power:

1. Power can flow from the position within the organizational structure. This type of power allows an individual to hire, fire, evaluate, reward and sanction others. This description of power matches the concept of formal power or authority as identified by Lasswell and Kaplan.
2. Individual power bases, consisting of three sub-areas:
 - a) knowledge, made up of expert knowledge, information and tradition. Tradition refers to being historically knowledgeable about the organization. This power

base parallels Lasswell and Kaplan's welfare value of enlightenment as well as French and Raven's expert power.

- b) personality, made up of charisma, reputation, and professional credibility. Lasswell and Kaplan's welfare value of skill and the deference value of respect are reflected in this power base.
- c) support of others, made up of political access which refers to the ability to call upon a network of relationships outside of the organization; and staff support. Lasswell and Kaplan's deference value of affection and French and Raven's referent power are related to this power base.

1. Departmental power bases. This basis consists of,

- c) the ability to cope with uncertainty facing the total organization.
- d) low substitutability.
- e) centrality in the work flow of the organization.

These power bases appear to have more to do with the authority structures of an organization, although the ability to cope with uncertainty may have more to do with the make-up of the individual in possession of effective power or control. However others have identified coping with uncertainty as one of the characteristics of a political power system (*Hult & Walcot 1990:6*).

Some theorists contend that in order to assess the power available to an individual you must be able to estimate,

- a) what would happen in the absence of the exercise of power.
- b) the intentions of the individual attempting to exercise power; and

- c) the effect of actions taken by that individual on the probability that what was desired would in fact be likely to occur (*Pfeffer 1981*).

Be that as it may, Pfeffer (*1981*) has suggested a number of options to facilitate the study of power:

1. to consider only those instances in which preferred actions or choices are in conflict for they are the only cases in which relative power can be observed. Lasswell and Kaplan would support this position. For them the outcome of the exercise of power either formal or effective power is conflict which ultimately results in a decision. On the other hand, some feminist writers reject the concept of power being defined by conflict. For them, limiting the definition of power in this fashion supports the patriarchal constructions of power (*Miller & Cummins 1992:416*).
2. to identify how much of the various determinants of power the unit under study possesses. Examples of determinants of power could include but are not restricted to levels of expert knowledge, control over financial resources, ability to reward certain behaviors and sanction others, the ability to bestow prestige and legitimacy. Again, these determinants could be seen as a compilation of Lasswell and Kaplan's welfare and deference values; expert knowledge flows from enlightenment a welfare value, prestige from respect a deference value.
3. to assess power by its consequences. Examples of the consequences of power include budget distributions, the allocation of positions within the organizational

structure, and the process of administrative succession. The ties to the decision-making process are clearly outlined. Power is expressed through decisions.

4. to assess power by its symbols. Examples of symbols that could be indicative of power include the size of an office, the quality of office furnishings, the amount of natural light in an office, and the ability to submit an expense account. This symbolic status is reflected in the deference value of respect.
5. to simply ask people where the power lies in an organization.
6. to identify representational indicators. Who sits on the committees and who is absent.

ORGANIZATIONAL POWER STRUCTURES

Mary Guy (1994) describes organizational architecture as a term to refer "to all systems, structures, management processes, technologies and strategies that comprise the modus operandi of an organization. The architecture includes the formal structure, position classification system, design of work practices, effect of the informal organization on operating style, the processes for selection, socialization and development of personnel. Thus, the term encompasses aspects as intangible as culture and as concrete as individual members of the work force (Guy, 1994:78).

Congruence is a key part of organizational architecture. The term relates to the degree to which the needs, demands, goals, and structures of one component are consistent with those of another. Guy suggests that it is often women who do not fit in to the male vision of a manager. A caveat to her assertion is that the greater the congruence

between the conventional roles for women and the work of the organization, the greater the proportion of women in management. Guy suggests that women are most likely to achieve upper level positions in organizations such as human service agencies.

House (1991) proposed a theory of power that varies power as a function of organizational characteristics. Power can be based in the position or in the person depending on the degree of: (1) formalization, (2) specialization, (3) standardization and (4) status stratification found within the organization's management structure. The greater the level of these four characteristics, the more power that will be based in the authority of the position. The less the impact of these elements in the organization's structure, the more power resides in the individual's abilities. This theory can be viewed as offering support to the belief that authority comes from hierarchical position and power from the individual

House's (1991) theory articulates how power and the exercise of power within complex organizations will vary as a function of the general and task environments, the organizational form and the personal characteristics of organizational members. The general environment is made up of a number of conditions that by and large, are unaffected by the actions of a organization but which have major impact on the functioning of the organization. These would include the economic, socio-demographic, cultural, political-legal and technological conditions of the society that the organization operates within. Depending on the organization's claim of domain, the task environment is made up of the providers of financial resources, the sources of legitimation and authority granted to the organization, the source of customers or clients, the sources of

complementary and competing organizations and the ultimate consumers and recipients of the organization's products.

House describes two basic types of organizations, the mechanistic and the organic. House believes that regardless of the organizational form, organizations must respond to the task environment around them. Organizations operating in a stable environment tend to become mechanistic with an emphasis on order, control, efficiency and predictability of the behavior of organizational members. Mechanistic organizations are bureaucratic and are characterized by policies, procedures, rules, and a clear hierarchy. In mechanistic organizations, higher level positions are usually filled from within rather than through recruitment from the outside. Strategic decisions are centralized and almost all of them are made by the executive core. Operational decisions tend to be decentralized. However, the decentralization of operational decisions tend to be limited by policies, procedures and formal rules.

Organizations formed and operating in unstable environments tend to become organic in their organizational structure. They emphasize adaptation to the task and general environments and value flexibility and innovation. They are minimally formalized, more loosely coupled and their decision-making tends to be decentralized.

House (1991) does acknowledge that for large organizations with complex administrative structures, the mechanistic-organic distinction is not as easy to make. In a large complex organization you can have sub-units of both types.

House notes that when tasks are complex and task demands are ambiguous or are not well understood, mechanistic practices cannot effectively control their performance.

This situation produces a loosely coupled organization. And loose coupling permits multiple routes of resistance by lower level members of the organization. Hasenfeld(1983) speaks of human service organizations as loosely coupled systems where work units maintain considerable autonomy and identity and respond to each other in a "circumscribed, infrequent, slow, or unimportant manner" (*Hasenfeld, 1983:150*). He also believes that personal sources of power are more important than the authority of position in loosely coupled organizations.

House suggests that members of an organization exhibit political behavior under conditions of uncertainty in the task or general environment. In mechanistic organizations, political behavior emerges in respect to those issues not reducible to quantitative or objective policies.

Mechanistic organizations insulate management from changes in environmental demands and from the consequences of their own mistakes. Given the dominance of powerholders in such organizations, re-organization can take place that does nothing to change the status of the powerholders. The power of position or authority is seen by House as more important than personal sources of power in a mechanistic organization. The more power is institutionalized within an organization the more likely that organization will be out of phase with the reality it faces.

Pfeffer (1997) states that through the process of self-selection, the selection of others, and socialization, individuals within organizations become highly homogeneous with respect to their attitudes, values and predispositions. The relatively long tenure of

managers favors the maintenance of the status quo. An argument can be made that the maintenance of the status quo ensures being out of touch with reality.

Atwater's (1995) study looked at the relationship between types of power used by supervisors in mechanistic and organic type organizations. Atwater's findings supported the view that the legitimate reward aspects of position power were greater in more mechanistic organizations. Referent power was also more important in more formalized organizations. Atwater also found that position and personal powers co-existed amongst the supervisors studied.

Yukl and Falber's (1991) study of three large companies confirmed the distinction between position power (authority) and personal power. These findings suggest that professional effectiveness has related more strongly to personal power as opposed to position power. Yukl and Falber found that the respondents in their study rated legitimate power, expertise and persuasiveness as the most important sources of influence, referent power, control over information, and personal charisma, as being of intermediate importance; and viewed coercive and reward power as the least importance sources of power.

Kvande and Rasmussen (1995) suggest that as the structures of organizations vary and their environments vary, the structure of opportunity in those organizations may vary as well. It is their belief that women will find greater opportunities in the bureaucracies of public organizations. In their study of male and female engineers, they found that men had higher management positions than women and that women appear to stagnate at the

level of supervisor. Further, they found that men had greater career opportunities than women in organizations characterized by hierarchical structures.

For Kvande and Rasmussen (1995) organizational structures are not gender neutral. The centralized pyramid structure of a static or mechanistic organization ensures the continual reproduction of the existing organizational culture. The authors view dehierarchization as an important measure in increasing women's career opportunities.

THE CONCEPT OF AUTHORITY

Weber (1947) described three types of authority on the basis of their legitimacy: (1) legal-rational authority, which is based on the legality of the commands; (2) traditional authority, which is attained through inheritance and is sanctified by tradition; and (3) charismatic authority, which is based on the personal appeal and exemplary qualities of the leader. Bureaucratic authority rests on a basis of accepted laws and social norms and is supported and endorsed by subordinates within the organization (Weber 1947 cited in Hasenfeld 1983:160).

Lasswell and Kaplan's deference value of power can be broken down into two primary forms: formal power and effective power or control. Formal power is tied to position. It is power which has been legitimized and is viewed as having a symbolic status. An example of formal power is the authority granted to an individual for no other reason than their occupation of a position within an organizational hierarchy. This would parallel Weber's legal-rational authority. Formal power or authority is the same no matter who occupies the position. Authority is attached to the position in the

organizational structure and defined by the written rules of the organization. Several authors have described four key aspects of the authority structure that should be examined in any analysis of power within an organization:

1. differentiation, indicated by the number of hierarchical levels in an organization;
2. management overhead, measured by the proportions of managerial and staff personnel;
3. span of control of managers; and
4. decentralization of responsibilities as measured by the level at which a variety of decisions are made (*Blau & Schoenherr 1971*).

The concepts of centralization and configuration within the formal authority structure are also highlighted as important variables to examine. Centralization refers to the points in the organizational structure where the authority exists to make particular decisions, while configuration refers to the shape of the structure and includes variables such as the height of the hierarchy and the span of control.

Palmer (1983) defines authority as the established right to make decisions on certain issues. Recognized authority includes the committed consent of the other person (*Palmer 1983:120*). She goes on to describe five types of authority: (1) legally constituted authority, (2) institutionally constituted authority, (3) authority inherent in a position, (4) authority of expertise, and (5) authority inherent in the person. Most authors would view the last two to be more appropriately listed as sources of individual power. Johnson (1994) defines formal legitimate authority as a type of power associated with occupying a formal position in an organization and the resources and status that come

with it. It is the right to dictate another's compliance within the scope of that authority. It is the obligation of subordinates to obey. It includes the right to allocate tasks, direct performance, set criteria, inspect and evaluate performance, and allocate sanctions based on performance (*Johnson 1994:123*).

For other authors, the degree of authority each position contains can be differentiated from other positions within the hierarchy by the degree to which they reflect the following characteristics:

1. the number of staff they are directly or indirectly responsible for.
2. the size of the budget the incumbent is responsible for and has decision-making authority over it.
3. the handling of tasks in which errors have more serious consequences for the organization.
4. the responsibility for making decisions for which there are fewer precedents and for which outcomes are harder to predict.
5. the handling of tasks that require co-ordination of more independent entities

(Bayes & Col 1991).

Lasswell and Kaplan (*1950*) would view this delineation of authority as only being relevant for the first two descriptors. They would see the last three conditions as more appropriately describing an individual's effective power or control. If power is conceptualized as existing in the individual and authority as being attached to a position in the organizational hierarchy, I would agree with Lasswell and Kaplan.

ORGANIZATIONS AND AUTHORITY

Hasenfeld (1983) feels that the relationship between the formal authority of position and the individual's exercise of power is partial at best and should be examined against whether the organization is tightly or loosely coupled. As previously identified a loosely coupled organization is one where "rules are often violated, decisions are often unimplemented, or if implemented have uncertain consequences, technologies are of problematic efficiency, and evaluation and inspection systems are subverted or rendered so vague as to provide little information. The internal structure of a loosely coupled human service organization depicts a system in which work units preserve considerable autonomy and identity, and respond to each other in a circumscribed, infrequent, slow, or unimportant manner (Hasenfeld 1983:161)". Staff in a loosely coupled agency exercise a considerable amount of discretion in their day to day activities, generally in situations that lack effective monitoring or evaluation mechanisms. Generally, there are weak or multiple systems of authority within the organization. In response to the organization's inability to monitor the staff's work with clients, tightly coupled organizations develop systems of authority and accountability around the tasks and activities that directly affect the procurement of resources. So while the organization may not be able to impact on the professional activities of staff the expenditure of the public's money is minutely recorded in order to satisfy the providers of fiscal resources. Hasenfeld recognizes that there are other sources of power available that are independent of the authority of a position and these sources acquire greater importance in a loosely coupled organization.

Studies of social stratification increasingly emphasize the role of organizational hierarchies and workplace social relations such as mechanisms for producing and reproducing inequality. Jaffee (1989) looks at three forms of workplace differentiation: (1) conceptual autonomy or the extent to which employees exercise self-direction and discretion over the execution of their job tasks; (2) decision-making autonomy; and (3) supervisory authority.

Jaffee believes that sex differences in power and resource control are examples of gender inequality in organizations. He further believes that males in female-dominated occupations experience more rapid rates of advancement and are generally more influential than their female counterparts (*Gans, 1983, as cited in Jaffee, 1989:378*).

Jaffee theorizes that while human capital theory emphasizes the supply side of the labor market, demand-side explanations allow for a focus on the discriminatory actions of employers as the source of gender inequality. In this view, employers prefer to allocate males to positions of authority and autonomy because of their own biases, the biases of their employees, and/or the assumed statistical association between sex and other job relevant behaviors.

Jaffee's study found that men possess greater levels of autonomy and authority than women. The differences between the sexes are statistically significant in all three areas, i.e. supervisory, authority decision-making, authority and conceptual autonomy. The largest gap was in supervisory authority and the smallest in conceptual authority. He also found that women even after the powerful effects of education, occupational status, and occupational sex composition were controlled for women were significantly less

likely to possess decision-making authority. Jaffee's study is particularly relevant to the findings of this study.

Using census information, Jacobs (1992) studied the trends in income and authority among male and female managers from two theoretical perspectives; (1) Kanter's (1977) perspective that as women's numbers increase in organizations and as their political strength and social support networks increase, the result will be an increase in the number of women in positions of authority, and (2) Blalock's (1967) resistance to threats hypothesis that maintains that resistance to minority groups (women) increases as their numbers increase. This perspective would suggest that an increase of female managers could be reflected in a decrease in the authority granted to the positions they occupy.

Jacobs found that men are much more likely than women to be found in the higher levels of management, and that women managers had less autonomy than male managers.

Wolf and Fligstein (1979) in their examination of sex and authority in the workplace provided two categories of explanation. They felt that women were restricted from positions of authority because they were less qualified than men as a result of (1) their training, (2) their discontinuous patterns of employment, (3) their lack of sufficient tenure and commitment to their employer, and (4) the restrictions on their geographic mobility as a result of their family responsibilities. Wolf and Fligstein also suggested that employers might restrict women's advancement into positions of authority because of a belief that women could not adequately perform in such positions. Finally, Wolf and

Fligstein postulated that some women may not view themselves as competent to assume a position of authority.

The study looked at three aspects of position authority:

- (1) the authority to hire and fire;
- (2) ability to influence or set the rate of pay received by others; and
- (3) supervision of the work of others.

(Wolf & Fligstein 1979:240)

The results showed that regardless of the aspect of authority, women had much less authority than men. They also found that the lower the organizational position, the more egalitarian the process of acquiring that position of authority. The statistical interpretation of the data suggests that years of experience or tenure has its greatest impact on acquiring positions of lower authority. This finding was more significant for women than for men.

It was the opinion of these researchers, that the behaviors and policies of employers were much more important in the restriction of women from positions of authority than any differences in human capital between men and women.

Reskin's and Ross' (1992) study, "Jobs, Authority, and Earnings Among Managers: The Continuing Significance of Sex", found that female managers were concentrated in the lowest levels of the hierarchy, and that they tended to supervise workers of their own sex. Further, even if education, experience, type of employer, and organizational level are the same, being a woman reduced the scope of the manager's authority.

The definition of authority in Reskin's and Ross' research parallels this research. The concept of authority is operationalized by looking at hierarchical level, number of supervisees, whether supervisees have subordinates, and involvement in seventeen decision areas.

Reskin and Ross (1992) found that men and women tend to work for different kinds of employers. Women are almost twice as likely as men to hold public sector positions. They found that female managers specialized in support services, whereas men specialized in revenue generating activities. The gender authority gap was greatest in the areas of hiring, firing and authorizing promotions and raises

It was their finding that the more "female" an occupation, the more extensive was the female manager's authority. It is interesting to note for the purposes of this thesis that occupational segregation creates opportunities for women to supervise other women, but not to supervise men. However, this finding does not negate previous research that "token" men do well in female occupations. It was Reskin's and Ross' feeling that the barriers to a managerial title were more easily breached than the barriers to organizational authority.

Acker (1990) contends that male employers deny women authority in order to preserve men's control of organizational power. Spaeth (1985) found that women managers had fewer subordinates, less discretion, and less monetary and organizational control than men.

Mueller, Kuruvilla and Iverson's (1994) study into Swedish professionals and gender inequalities was premised on the belief that economic equality between the sexes

should be more apparent in Sweden than in North America. Sweden is a “corporated” society, in which the market is characterized by the institutionalization of centralized bargaining among government employees and labor generally. They contrast their society to North American labor markets where unions are weaker and employers, with government support, perpetuate labor segmentation and the freer operation of market forces. The researchers believe that parity between the genders has a greater chance of occurring in a country with a corporatist society.

Their research focused on access to supervisory authority and income, a task made easier in Sweden than North America as a result of their union structures. Their research revealed that Swedish professional women have only 68% of the supervisory positions that men have and 77% of the income of men. It was Mueller’s et al position that the major factor explaining these gender differences was occupational segregation. However, even when men and women were equalized in occupation, men were still found to have greater access to authority and to achieve higher income levels than women. Of particular interest is the finding that male social workers have greater access to authority than their female counterparts.

Mueller et al offered a number of explanations for their findings. Their study found that women had less human capital investments that qualify them to assume positions of authority than men. They also found that women’s human capital variables were not being translated into positions of authority at the same rate as their male counterparts. This finding would support the Slow Burn theory that it takes women longer to achieve an equivalent position to men. Mueller et al found support for Becker

(1985) and Polachek's (1987) position that women are more likely than men to be in professions where there are relatively few positions of authority.

It is the opinion of these researchers that some other force is at work preventing women from assuming their rightful share of the positions of authority. Using the data from their research, Mueller et al suggest that 21% of the gender gap is due to women's lower levels of human capital variables as well as a woman's family status. Another 10% of the gap can be attributed to the smaller proportion of women than men in private sector employment, and that 26% of the gap results from the fact that women are more likely than men to be in professional occupations where relatively few positions of authority are available. For Mueller et al, the unaccounted for 42% of the gender gap is the result of discrimination against women. Sherman, Ezell and Odewahn (1987) in their study of decision-making and accountability, hypothesized that female subordinates were perceived to have less authority in decision-making than their male counterparts. Their findings supported this hypothesis.

DECISION-MAKING

It has become apparent that central to any discussion of power and authority is the question of decision-making within the organization. If the results of the exercise of power can be seen in the decisions made, it is important to understand the process of decision-making. Who is part of the decision and who is not; who can exercise influence and contribute to the process and who does not; and who has the ability to put items on the agenda for discussion or keep items from being discussed are all questions that must

be asked and answered before an understanding of power in an organization becomes clear. Decisions are made within a system of rules, some formally spelled out and some not. They may be well known or unknown until they are violated. Whatever the decision, power works within rules that the exercise of power frames. However to understand the rules of the game an analysis of the playing field must be obtained.

Winnipeg Child and Family Services' organizational chart could be described as a traditional bureaucracy. Weber defines a bureaucracy as a form of organization that emphasizes clarity, reliability and efficiency, achieved through the creation of a fixed division of tasks, hierarchical supervision and detailed rules and regulations. A bureaucracy has clear definitions of authority and can be described as task oriented and operating on the principles of rationality. Structural functionalism views the management of a bureaucracy as being fundamentally concerned with rational decision-making in order to facilitate goal attainment within the structurally and functionally differentiated organization (*Miller, Hickson & Wilson 1996:293*). According to its organizational chart, Winnipeg Child and Family Services appears to function as a classic example of a traditional bureaucracy and as such, a description of its process of decision-making would be based in a rational choice model; i.e. a problem or issue is identified; information is collected and sorted around alternative solutions; the various solutions are compared against pre-determined criteria; the solutions are arranged in order of preference; and finally the best solution is chosen for implementation.

However, an alternative model of decision-making and organizational functioning exists that is worthy of examination. The political model of decision-making and

organizational structure recognizes the fundamental importance of power in organizations and openly acknowledges that power and not always reason can be the motivating force behind the process of making crucial decisions (*Miller, Hickson, & Wilson 1996*). Ferguson, (1984) a radical feminist would agree with this assertion. She views bureaucracy as the quintessential male dominated power structure. Ferguson sees bureaucracies as both a structure and a process that reveals persistent patterns of dominance and subordination that parallels power relations between men and women. Greiner and Schein (1988) describe a political organization as, being made up of a number of different interest groups: viewing conflict as inevitable and a normal part of the way things are done: containing coalitions everywhere: an organization where power and political behavior are dependent on a wide range of people outside the formal authority structure in order to get decisions made and the work accomplished: and competing for scarce resources (*Greiner & Schein 1988:17*). Hult and Wacott (1990) describe an organization's structure as political when "they have to do with making choices, allocating benefits and burdens, generating commitment and legitimacy (among members and constituencies), and coping with conflict, complexity and uncertainty" (*Hult & Walcott 1990:5*). Anyone who has had involvement of any type with a child welfare agency would recognize the fit of this definition. Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) declare that an understanding of the environment and any existing predispositions are crucial to the study of power, authority and their relationship to the process of decision-making (*Lasswell & Kaplan 1950:4*). Heller's (1971) model of decision-making supports the position that analysis must include factors outside of the organization. His model

outlines the various "ecological" factors that influence the decision-making process. The individual and their role perceptions, the situational and structural variables that make up the job environment, the technologies and structures of the organizations, and the socio-political-cultural ecology of the industry, area or country all impact on the decision-making process (*Heller 1971:7*).

Any examination of outcomes in an organization must accept that variables other than the exercise of power can achieve the desired results. Chance, precedent, and the application of rational decision-making processes can all be the source of a particular outcome within an organizational hierarchy. However, in the political life of any organization, the exercise of power is most often part of the decision-making process. The bottom line is very clear. Through the exercise of power, outcomes can be achieved that would otherwise not have been possible. Power is defined in terms of results. An argument can be made that Winnipeg Child and Family Services is a political organization where power over the process of decision-making is key in achieving any substantive outcomes.

Decision-making within organizations occurs at two levels; the operational or programmed level and the strategic or non-programmed level. Operational/programmed level decisions can be defined as the more routine or everyday decisions made primarily at the lower levels of the organizational hierarchy. These decisions do not require a novel response and their precedents have long been established. These decisions most closely resemble the rational model of decision-making. Strategic/non-programmed level decisions can be defined as decisions primarily made by individuals at the apex of the

organization's structure and generally come out of crisis situations or a plan for the organization to react in a new and different way. They are usually about the more significant areas of organizational activities and will often set a precedent. Their results will have major repercussions for the organization. It would be at this level of decision-making that the political model of decision-making would have most relevance (*Mumford & Pettigrew 1975*) (*Hickson, Butler, Cray, Mallory & Wilson 1986*). It could be argued that Winnipeg Child and Family Services is an organization that operates and makes decisions as a traditional bureaucracy for only the simplest of tasks and that when it comes to decisions of major importance the politics of power is the crucial variable in the decision-making process.

Regardless of the level of decision being made the process of decision-making goes through four phases:

1. start up or initiation which includes recognition of an issue, and definition of goals,
2. development, which includes the search for alternatives and creation of possible solutions,
3. finalization which includes evaluation of alternatives, choice among them and ratification of a decision,
4. implementation. (*Heller, Drenth, Koopman & Rus 1988:111*).

This articulation of the phases of decision-making process can trace its roots from Lasswell and Kaplan's policy process. The authors describe the policy process as starting with formulation of the policy moves to promulgation and ends with the application of the policy (*Lasswell & Kaplan 1959:71*).

Heller, Drenth, Koopman and Rus's (1988) development of a scale for measuring the impact of both individuals and organizational positions in the area of decision-making will allow for an examination of this issue. Though their influence-power continuum they provide a method for gauging involvement or degree of participation in the decision-making process; or as Lasswell and Kaplan would say the weight of influence or of power. As well, involvement in the stages of decision-making are highlighted. The continuum ranges from no or minimal information to complete control over the decision (*Heller, Drenth, Koopman & Rus 1988:66*). Using this continuum, the transition of powerless to powerful can be studied. The continuum states that access to the decision-making process is the basic requirement to the exercise of power.

DECISION-MAKING IN ORGANIZATIONS

The concepts of power, authority and decision-making are ultimately connected. Power and authority provide the basis for involvement in the decision-making process. The literature provides us with numerous examples of the effect of gender on decision-making.

Handley (1994) feels that while the literature on decision-making processes tends to be presented as gender blind, a pro-male bias runs through it. Handley's view is that the pervading impact of patriarchy on organizational decisions is conspicuously absent from the literature. For her, the theme of rationality or the rational man, who separates emotion from reason, supports the male vision of the separateness of these two concepts. It is Handley's position that there is no reason to separate emotion from reason.

Handley's study into women in academia and decision-making found that regardless of their organizational level, men perceived that they had a greater influence on decisions than did women. Men tended to believe that they received more information regarding decisions than did the women in this study. Men felt they were heard, women felt they were not. The women in this academic setting strongly felt that the gender composition of a meeting was a significant factor in limiting their influence within decision-making bodies.

Denton and Zeytinoglu (1993) looked at participation in decision-making at a university in Central Canada. They stressed that the perception of participation in decision-making is important as an index of actual participation, but also because perceptions may affect morale and career performance. Their research found that there was a strong negative relationship between being female and perceived participation in decision-making. Further, even after differences in various human capital investments were controlled for, gender still played an important role. Men perceived themselves as having greater levels of participation in decision-making process than women.

Havens and Healy (1991) suggested a theory of gender differences in how men and women go through the process of decision-making. In an examination of male and female political figures, Havens and Healy found that women were more likely than men to expand the membership of a decision-making group. They also found that women were more likely to seek consensus in their working groups, as opposed to men who preferred to use their working group as a place where information was exchanged but not a forum for decision-making.

Akaah (1989) found differences in the ethical decision-making of men and women. He theorized that the higher research ethics of women, as compared to men, might have its source in the ascribed sex roles and early socialization differences between boys and girls.

Galbraith and Stephenson (1993) take the position that differences in ethics mean that underlying value structures are different. In their study of decision rules utilized in arriving at a judgment, they found that males and females used the same types of decision rules 60% of the time. However, they also found that females in this sample used different rules for different ethical situations, while men used the same decision rules for different kinds of ethical situations. It was their feeling that even if the ultimate decision is the same, arriving at the same place using different paths may produce distrust and conflict between men and women.

The literature suggests that women are more concerned with relationship than men. For example, communion, the view of oneself in relation to others, has been defined as a feminine trait as opposed to the masculine trait of agency, seeing oneself as an individual (Barnett and Karson, 1989:748). Barnett and Karson (1989) studied male and female executives researching decisions involving ethics, relationships and results. In their interviews, they found that women tended to define themselves in terms of their relationships and the responsibilities they had to other people. The men interviewed did not speak of their relationships. Barnett and Karson suggest that women: (1) are more concerned about relationships than men; (2) define themselves through relationships, as opposed to men who define themselves by characteristics such as intelligent and logical;

and (3) make decisions or select actions in terms of supporting relationships and/or being approved of by others. The men followed absolute rules and principles that are separate from relationships.

Barnett and Karson also suggested that women are primarily concerned with the method used to accomplish a task, while men are more interested in the result of the task; process versus outcome.

So, an organizational structure is a power system within which decisions are made. It is also a status system involving the differential allocation of power and authority. Further, a hierarchy can be viewed as a vertical division of labor with different task assignments and finally as an organizational arrangement for grouping positions. Given that such a system is fulfilling all these functions, it is little wonder that the exercise of power, authority, and influence within an organization are difficult to quantify.

WOMEN AND ORGANIZATIONS

The topic of women in positions of organizational power has been explored in the literature for a relatively short period of time. Roseabeth Kanter's seminal examination of gender relations in the corporate power structures, "Men and Women of the Corporation" was published in 1977. Between 1970 and 1988 the proportion of Canadian women in the paid work force increased from 38.1% to 57.4% (*Statistics Canada 1990*). But despite the increase in their numbers the proportion of women in positions of organizational power have remained at less than 5% (*Gutek 1993:302*).

Certainly the majority of what has been researched in the literature has tended to explore the issues of men and women in the corporate world. As further research and writing occurred, it has become apparent that there were slightly more women to be found in positions of power and authority in public sector or government agencies (*Tharenou & Conroy 1994:27*) (*Reskin & Ross 1992:350*). It has been suggested that women achieved positions of power in these arenas as a result of affirmative action legislation which mandated the recruitment of women into these organizations, and the composition of many of these organizations being primarily female. In the context of Canadian women and child welfare these findings are not representative of the history of this field of practice. The application of affirmative action legislation has not been relevant to the Canadian scene with the exception of the relatively newly organized First Nations child welfare agencies. However, other research has found that in many female dominated professions women continue to be absent from positions of power. In 1981 women held 83% of elementary school teaching positions and 47% were high school teachers; however, only 18% were elementary school principals, 3% were high school principals and only 1% were superintendents (*Gutek 1993:303*). Further, research has raised questions around how much real power and authority are vested in the management positions women do achieve. Are they primarily positions that hold their incumbent responsible but provide little in the way of real power (*Reskin & Ross 1992:356*)? The problem of the "glass ceiling" has been described by a number of authors (*Kanter 1977*), (*Chernesky 1989*), (*Freeman 1990*). The "glass ceiling" has been defined as "those artificial barriers based on attitudinal or organizational bias that prevent qualified

individuals from advancing upward" (*Gibelman & Schervish 1993*). Do glass ceilings allow the illusion of power and authority but in reality form a barrier to actual power?

The sexual division of labor in the earliest family groupings, allowed for the domination of men over women as a result of the male's natural ability, physical strength. Mill (*1988*) theorizes that male dominance over females, established in family groups, is strengthened and solidified by other layers of social organization, including the workplace.

Numerous theories have been proposed to explain the discrimination against women because of their gender. In the context of organizational discrimination, Ferguson (*1984*) has suggested that the bureaucracy of organizations is simply another form of patriarchy oppressing women. Kanter's (*1977*) homosocial reproduction offers another explanation for gender biases in organizations. Men will seek to replace themselves with other men. Rational bias theory suggests that gender discrimination results from intentional bias in decisions by managers, acting in their own self-interest.

The values and biases of the powerful men who occupy the positions of authority perpetuate an organizational culture, whose norms and practices require that the right "man" be promoted to greater authority. "Work is the main social arena in which men act out their need for status, authority, power, influence and material rewards" (*Willis, 1990, as cited in Riggs and Sparrow, 1994:15*). As a result of this need, organizations are structured to protect male power.

Mills (*1988*) articulated the role of complex organizations in gender discrimination. She suggested that the cultural values associated with maleness are

avored characteristics in many organizations. The assumed differences of males and females in the traits of reason and emotion is mirrored in organizational processes which emphasize rationality and bureaucracy while seeking to suppress emotions connected to home and family. Mills further states that certain organizations, for example schools or child welfare agencies, play a direct part in the socializing processes in which people acquire gender identities. Finally, Mills suggests that organizational practices, recruitment, selection, promotion, more often than not, conform to and extend sex-biased values. She describes sexual discrimination as being embedded in the cultural values that permeate both organizations and the concept of the organization itself.

Powell and Butterfield (1994) suggest that gender discrimination need not be intentional. Unconscious biases resulting from fear of selecting an unacceptable candidate, personal attraction to the candidates similar to oneself and holding a stereotype of the ideal job candidate may distort the selection and promotion decision-making process. However, calling these processes unintentional does not negate the negative impact they have on women.

A strong belief still exists that the manager's role is a male role. Foster's (1994) study of male and female academics supported this belief system. Even more disturbing was the finding that females in this study did not make any positive associations between the characteristics of managers and the characteristics of women.

Riggs and Sparrow (1996) suggest that discrimination in selection and promotion procedures and decisions allows managerial jobs to be specifically designed for men. They view this discrimination as being the result of patriarchy which clearly imposes

limitations on women's participation in the paid labor force. The relationship between gender-stereotypes and patriarchal power places female managers in a contradictory position. As managers they are supposed to have the authority of their position, however as women they exist within a gendered social structure in which men are expected to hold power.

Burke's (1995) study into organizational biases revealed that both men and women felt that they had witnessed and experienced discrimination in the workplace. The most common areas of biased decision-making, as perceived by women in descending order were, job assignments, promotions, compensation, and termination. For men, termination and compensation were the two areas where the male respondents felt they had both witnessed and experienced organizational bias. In this study, women at higher organizational levels and women with longer organizational tenure reported more personally experienced bias. Interestingly, older men at higher levels of the organization, with longer organizational tenure, reported less personally experienced bias in organizational decision-making.

If Riggs and Sparrow's (1996) assertions are correct, both selection and promotion procedures and organizational structures are designed to protect male power, and as a result Burke's (1995) results are precisely what one would expect to find.

Baron, Davis-Blake and Bielby (1986) argue that career opportunity structures vary within organizations because promotion ladders vary according to positions that may be associated by occupation, skill or gender composition. Promotions have been shown to differ by gender. Stewart and Gudykunst (1982) found that women received more

promotions than men but occupied significantly lower positions in the organizational structure.

Johnsrund (1991) found in her study of promotion outcomes that gender is a disadvantage for women, but a resource for men. It was her belief that those making promotion decisions were discriminating on the basis of gender.

Ruderman, Ohlott and Kram (1995) suggest that women are prevented from taking on assignments that challenge them and develop critical management skills. The lack of these skills prevents them from obtaining promotions to the higher organizational levels. Women are assigned less critical positions than men. They are clustered in staff roles where they serve as specialists or experts. However, these roles do not give them access to the decision-making process. They suggest that the male decision makers in organizations experience a lack of comfort or fit with female candidates. Their study examined the promotion decisions made within a large corporation. This Fortune 500 corporation was known to have a strong record of affirmative action. The results of their study found that promoted men were described as having a high degree of comfort or fit with the decision maker. Attraction to the candidate increases the decision makers confidence in the candidate, a further example of Kanter's (1977) homosocial reproduction. Promoted women were described as having strength of character. The degree of comfort was not mentioned and none of the promoted men were described as having strength of character.

These results suggest that different dynamics are at work in the promotion of men and women. The subjectivity of the promotion decision makers allowed for personal and systemic bias to be practiced.

Although gender-biased selection decisions are a necessary condition for gender segregation and discrimination, other processes may affect gender segregation. For example, Reskin (1993) suggests that self-selection or personal choice must be considered as having an impact on gender segregation as well as organizational selection decisions.

Perry, Davis-Blake and Kulik (1994) examined the existence of gender-biased selection and promotion decisions in organizations. Perry et al's (1994) review of the literature identifies three factors that may have an effect on gender segregation:

(1) the demographic composition of the applicant pools as compared to the demographic composition of the job and/or the organization. As previously discussed, Kanter (1977) argues that the men who control organizations seek to replicate themselves in their selection and promotion decisions. She calls this the process of "homosocial reproduction". Kanter suggests that since similarity generates interpersonal attraction, many men in positions of organizational power hire and promote those they feel most comfortable with - other men;

(2) the organizational structure and size. There is growing literature which suggests that formal job ladders found in larger organizations, create mechanisms that support gender segregation. Charles (1992) describes the work of bureaucratic organizations as an arena where "any sex differences in family obligation, preferences, skills, cultural identity, and

social and political power are more likely to be manifested in forms of occupational divisions” (*Charles, 1992:484*) and

(3) the power of key interest groups inside and outside the organization.

Perry et al (*1994*) assert that selection decisions are most likely to be biased when all three of the following conditions are present:

- 1 the individuals making the selection decisions have developed gender-associated image of the “right” candidate;
- 2 the organizational context in which the selection decision occurs supports the gender-associated image of the “right” candidate; and
- 3 the internal and external organizational context permits or facilitates the use of biased selection processes.

The internal and external organization context can be thought of as equivalent to Hasenfeld’s (*1983*) general and task environments in his political-economy theory.

Dan’s (*1995*) study of public sector employees found that women felt organizational structures, such as formal working arrangements, and the old boys network prevented them from advancing in the organization. Their belief in the strength of the organizational barriers against them was such that they declined to even apply for promotions.

Very little research has been done to examine the relationship of gender and power within child welfare agencies. What does exist seems to suggest that men and women view the work of child welfare in some fundamentally different ways (*Hartman & Vinokur 1985*) (*Martin & Chernesky 1989*). Some feminist authors feel that most of

what has been written from a feminist perspective offers limited hard research to clarify the experience of people in the working world (*Swift 1995*) (*Callahan 1993*). Child welfare is and will continue to be a major field of social work practice. Women have been and will continue to be the large majority of employees within child welfare agencies. It is the hope of this study to outline the personal, situational, organizational and societal dynamics that lead to positions of power and authority within the agency and then analyze the findings of this study from the theoretical framework of Hasenfeld's (*1983*) political-economy perspective. How the problem is defined is the basis from which solutions are developed.

An examination of the literature reveals three major theoretical frameworks that address the issue of gender and power as it relates to positions within organizational structures. The first can be described as the individual deficit model. This framework seeks to explain an individual's power or lack of it within an organizational context as being the result of having or lacking certain personality traits, requiring certain training needs or simply not having had the necessary experience to achieve power. Some authors have theorized that women lack the skills necessary to collaborate in the work place (*Dewine 1983*). Research methodologies used to study this theoretical framework define gender as the independent variable and behavioral, cognitive, personality and attitudinal measures as the dependent variables (*Schneider 1983 as reported in Fageson 1990*). The answer for the proponents of this framework is to base their interventions on self-improvement and training programs. There are advantages to these attempts to address individual deficits. Management is generally not threatened by short-term

training workshops. The financial costs of supporting such training are minimal and they allow the organization to achieve a positive public relations image. The arguments for discarding this framework are fairly well documented in the literature. Even when individual characteristics and experiences are matched, women still lag behind their male counterparts in terms of financial compensation for their work (*Chambers 1986*). Given this reality it is not difficult to believe that even when all things are equal women are still not found in the positions of effective power.

The second theoretical framework found in the literature could be described as the structural model. The range of structural change required depends on the particular ideological orientation of the writer. The first representation of what might be described as a structural model was initially articulated as the basis of Kanter's (1977) "Men and Women of the Corporation". Kanter focused on the impact of the organizational structures on the individual and how these structures were reflected in the behavior of the individual. For example, upward mobility within the organization was viewed as the route to greater power, authority, and influence within the organization. The geographic moves required to take advantage of these promotions did not take into account the realities of most women's double duty as wives and mothers. The "fast track" was just not an option for most women. For Kanter, these factors could explain the lack of aspirations, work commitment, and sense of organizational responsibility in the majority of women trapped in dead end corporate ghettos. It is not the characteristics of the person that cause success or failure; rather it is the structural and social arrangements of

the organization that result in women experiencing a lack of opportunities to rise to positions of power.

The followers of this framework, believe that change can only occur by changing the structure of the organization and this will happen when the number of women in the organization reaches a certain percentage. Little attention is paid to the fact that the organization may not be amenable to change. Affirmative action legislation is also seen as having the potential to make a substantial difference in the lives of women. The establishment by women of an unquestionable performance record and a positive attitude are also viewed as having the potential to cause a significant change in organizational structure. Finally, shifting societal beliefs around what a woman's place should be are assumed to have an impact in the role of women in organizations (*Kanter 1977*) (*Freeman 1990*).

The authors of organization structure studies feel that the definition of appropriate behaviors for women within organizations must be expanded. The description of a effective manager's repertoire of behaviors must be gender neutral. Research methodologies focus on sex and organizational structures as independent variables; behavioral, cognitive, personality and attitudinal measures are the dependent variables(*Fagenson & Horowitz 1985 cited in Fagenson 1990*). Fagenson (1990) takes the structural model further and proposes her Gender-Organization-System theory which views women's lack of access to power as the result of all three factors. She states women's lack of representation in positions of organizational power is related to the interplay of gender, organizational context and /or the larger social and institutional

system in which women function. Fagenson's research methodology defines the independent variables as gender, the organizational context as well as relevant parts of the social/institutional system. Appropriate statistical analysis would include analysis of variance and/or regression analysis. However, rather than simply testing for the effects of one variable the interaction between these variables should also be studied.

Some radical feminists (*Ferguson 1984*) would agree with many of the above premises but would go on to view the hierarchical bureaucracy of organizations as simply a reflection of the patriarchal capitalistic society we live in. Further, they would see no purpose in attempting to change these organizational structures since any involvement with them is seen as a soul destroying experience. Ferguson believes that accruing the traits and qualities that are expected of a bureaucrat automatically relegate women to a subservient role. Further, from the radical feminists point of view bureaucracies, especially those within the human services function as a safety valve providing just enough in the way of resources to the oppressed to ensure that public discontent does not reach the flash point of revolution. The limitation of these analyses is clear. The revolution is not about to happen any time soon. The question must be, how do we effect change within these organizations to assist women to take a leadership role.

Between the belief that simply increasing the number of women in an organization can lead to a change and the radical feminist position that bureaucracies are evil and should be avoided at all costs there are several other points on the continuum of the structural model. A number of women have written about their experiences as "femocrats". Eisenstein (*1991*) defines a femocrat as "a public servant who is a feminist

and is perceived to have control over policy or funding or both". Eisenstein believes that femocrats can only achieve power in governments that come out of a social democratic ideology. She contends that only this type of political ideology fundamentally supports the right of access to power for women. Such governments have traditionally made a commitment to increasing women's access to resources and power through the process of formally incorporating women into the existing power structure.

The third major theoretical framework is Hasenfeld's (1983) political economy perspective. Martin and Chernesky (1989) used this framework to explain the lack of women in positions of power. Hasenfeld utilized this framework to examine the functioning of a particular kind of bureaucracy, the human service organization. Hasenfeld defines a human service organization as one " whose principal function is to protect, maintain, or enhance the personal well-being of individuals by defining, shaping, or altering their personal attributes"(Hasenfeld 1983:1). Hasenfeld distinguishes human service organizations from other bureaucracies on two major points. Human service organizations work directly with or on people and they are mandated to protect and promote the welfare of the people they serve. Winnipeg Child and Family Services clearly meets this definition. The political-economy perspective focuses on the interplay of power, the goals of the power wielders and the productive exchange systems. It examines the interaction between the political and the economic environments both within and without the organization that shape its basic structure and process. Political refers to the processes through which power and legitimization are acquired by the organization and distributed internally. Operative goals are determined and major tasks

of the organization are defined and controlled by the dominant elite. Economic refers to the process by which resources needed for the technologies of the organization are acquired and distributed in the organization. From this perspective, the organization is viewed as an arena in which various interest groups, external and internal, compete with each other to optimize their own value. The political and economic environments offers opportunities in the form of resources to the organization but also contain constraints that the organization must adapt to in order to survive. The dominant elite determines the value base of the organization and it is this value base that forms the organizational constitution. The constitution defines the governing norms of the organization. It outlines the reward system for the organization's membership, the authority and decision-making responsibilities of different positions within the organization, the persons or groups the organization is responsible to, and the organization's goals and service technologies. The constitution processes input from both the political and the economic environments and selects and recognizes only that which enhances the position of the dominant elite and rejects anything that challenges their position.

Hasenfeld views human service organizations as existing in both a general and task environment. The general environment is made up of a number of conditions that by and large, are unaffected by the actions of a human service organization but which have major impact on the functioning of human service organizations. These factors include the economic, socio-demographic, cultural, political-legal and technological conditions of the society that the human service organization functions within. Benson (1975) makes the point that for human service organizations the line between ideology and

technology is often blurred, since the technology of a social service organization often consists of the transmission of the attitudes and values of the dominant elite. The political and economic environments also influence the choice of service technologies, or in the case of human service organizations, service ideologies. If we recognize that the selection of service technologies or more specifically service ideologies are linked to both the external and internal political economies of human service organizations, we can begin to recognize that the service ideologies of human service organizations or child welfare agencies reflect the power relations of the dominant elite. The choice of ideologies is a political choice.

For Hasenfeld (1983) "the general environment defines the range of opportunities, constraints, and options available to the organization as it . . . transforms itself into an institution (Hasenfeld 1983:60). An organization that has become institutionalized must continually involve itself in five critical decision-making areas: (1) development of a service mission for the organization within the realities of opportunities, constraints, and contingencies presented by the environment, (2) negotiating with external interest groups to gain legitimation and obtain resources, (3) the selection of service ideologies to carry out the mission of the organization, (4) the establishment of the internal divisions of labor, and (5) responding to environment changes (Hasenfeld 1983:60). The relevance of applying this framework to the analysis of a child welfare agency is readily apparent. For example, the state of the society's economy directly impacts on the state of economy within the organization. Economic conditions outside the organization, as well as the filters applied by funders, determine

the supply of resources to the organization. However, the state of the economy also impacts on the demand for services. It is well documented that the expansion of Child welfare service mandates occurs in more affluent times while the demands for services increases dramatically during economic down turns. The current Child and Family Services Act ratified in 1985 greatly increased the range of services provided by the agency. However the down sizing of the mid 80's that has continued into the late 90's makes even meeting minimum service demands a growing and some suggest, an impossible challenge.

The resource of legitimation or authority is one that develops between the agency and its political environment. When the political environment sanctions the organizational domain of a human service organization it provides the authority for the organization through a number of methods. For a child welfare agency, the legal mandate granted it through law validates its authority. The continued ability of a child welfare agency to obtain the resources it requires is based on the ideological compatibility of the agency with key elements of the task environment and the support of important political elite (*Hasenfeld 1983:64*).

Socio-demographic conditions such as age, sex, family composition, race or ethnic composition are highly correlated with the incidence of certain needs and problems. For example, the increasing numbers of adolescent mothers choosing to parent their children presents a service demand that twenty-five years ago was barely acknowledged. The fact that they are often attempting to parent without the support of extended family can be the reflection of changing patterns in family mobility. Human

service organizations are particularly sensitive to the dominant cultural and value systems and their functioning reflects the ideologies of the dominant elite. The definition of what acceptable parenting is often defined by white middle class standards.

The connection between human service organizations and the political and legal conditions they operate within is clear. A significant percentage of the resources available to the organization are politically controlled with access to the resources governed by an equally political process. As legally mandated entities, human service organizations operate amid a vast array of legal constraints that define the conditions that the organization must meet and conform to in serving its clients. The demise of the Children's Aid Society of Winnipeg, the regionalization of child welfare services in 1985, and the centralization of six separate agencies in 1991 can all trace their roots to a politically motivated legally mandated process.

The final condition of the general environment relates to the service technologies, ideologies or interventions available to human service organizations in working with or on their clients. Service technologies are the set of procedures aimed at changing the physical, psychological, social, or cultural attributes of people in order to transform them(*Hasenfeld 1983:111*). The service technologies follow along a continuum with one end of the continuum focusing on maintaining and enhancing behavior moving to technologies that aim to control, remedy, or ameliorate behavior.

A link exists between the implementation of service technologies and the organization's structure. Divisions of labor, the arrangement of staff activities, the distribution of authority, and the patterns of communication and coordination all trace

their roots to the dominant service technology. Service technologies are based on an explicit or implicit model of human nature that is tied to a particular set of beliefs and values which justify its use. If the dominant ideologies focus on the inadequacies of women, why would women in the organization be viewed as being intrinsically more competent than their clients? However, given " the apparent simplistic and indeterminate service technologies deployed by many human service organizations little overall technical progress is reflected in responding to human problems and needs" (*Hasenfeld 1983:59*). Despite the millions of dollars spent each year on family preservation programs or therapeutic foster placements very little research exists to document the effectiveness of either intervention. What works and what doesn't in addressing the needs of clients is still by and large a matter of nothing more than personal opinion.

The organizational domain defines the task environment of an organization. *Hasenfeld (1983:60)* defines organizational domain as the claims that the organization stakes out for itself in terms of human problems or needs covered, population served, and services rendered. Having defined its domain the task environment is the set of all external groups and organizations controlling access to potential and actual resources for the organization. These would include providers of fiscal resources, providers of legitimization and authority, providers of clients, providers of complementary services, consumers and recipients of the organizations services, and competing organizations.

The organization must also be acknowledged by the dominant elite as having the right to its organizational domain and to becoming institutionalized. This acknowledgment must come in the form the required resources of authority and money.

As a prerequisite of accepting these resources, the organization must allow the dominant elite the right to monitor and evaluate the organizations performance, thereby linking the organization to the task of maintaining the value base of the dominant elite.

Chernesky and Martin (1989) use this framework to articulate the role of politics in sustaining gender inequalities. They view the utilization of this perspective to examine women in social welfare as allowing for a focus on the conditions under which women sell their labour in a market economy and on the ideological justifications for these conditions. The political-economy model focuses on the interdependence of family, economy, and politics. It is concerned with how experiences in one area shape and constrain experiences in others. The belief that women are responsible for the care of family members has an impact on how the work they perform in the market economy is valued. It suggests that the family, and women's and men's traditional roles in it, can account for women's subordinate status in the paid work sphere. An application of this theoretical framework will provide the clearest analysis of the factors that keep women from achieving their place in positions of authority and power since it provides for a complete assessment of all the environments a human service organization such as a child welfare agency exists in.

THE CONCEPT OF CAREER DEVELOPMENT

The concept of a career may be described as " an employee's sequences of experiences and roles in work-related organizations."(*Melamed 1996*) Career development can be conceptualized as an internal process that interacts with the formal

processes in organizations (*Solomon, Bishop & Bresser 1986*). This study will examine a number of attributes that make up the concept of career development. These include career interruptions, family status, education level, and mentors.

The literature describes four developmental models of the concept of career development:

1. life-span models.
2. individual differences models.
3. directional pattern models.
4. organizational models(*Melamed 1996*).

The life-span models would be best described by Super (*1984*) and Levinson's (*1986*) work.

The literature on the life-span models of career development approaches the concept of career development from a variety of viewpoints but three basic assumptions underpin the various theoretical models. First, individuals pass through distinct career phases each with specific developmental tasks. Secondly, each phase is characterized by different work attitudes and behaviors. And finally, individuals in the same career phase seek to satisfy their work related needs in similar ways.

Super's (*1984*) model of career development suggests that there are four distinct psychological stages in an individual's career development. The first stage, exploration focuses on identifying interests and capacities and the relationship between work and non-work activities. The second stage, establishment focuses on increasing commitments to a career, as well as achieving some measure of advancement and

growth. In this stage there is also increased stability in a personal life. The third stage of career development is the maintenance stage where the focus is on holding on to career accomplishments. The fourth and final stage in this model is decline. In this stage the individual focuses on disengaging from work and developing a new self-image independent of work. While Super does acknowledge that these four stages are not necessarily sequential there is no suggestion that women experience these stages in a different order. However, this model does view careers as fundamentally continuous, ignoring the realities of child bearing and rearing.

Levinson (1986) addresses the issue of aging and maturation in his model of career development. For Levinson, the various life stages each bring repeating patterns of growth, transition and stabilization. The passage of time brings with it particular work activities, challenges and psychological issues that must be mastered. Levinson securely ties age to career development. Levinson's model does not address any gender differences.

The abstract concept of career stage development in the life-span models has been operationalized in primarily three ways. Chronological age, organizational/occupational tenure and position/job tenure have all been used alone or together to identify an individual's career stage. Occupational/organizational tenure has been divided into the establishment, advancement and maintenance stages. Positional/job tenure are delineated as moving through the orientation, growth and plateau stages (Morrow & McElroy 1987). However, Bedeian, Pizzolatto, Long and Griffeth's (1991) study used various combinations of the above and found that how the

concept was operationalized produced different correlation patterns across career stages. Others have suggested that regardless of how the concept is operationalized the findings are all relatively modest indicating that the importance of the concept of career development may be overstated(*Allen & Meyer 1993*)(*Morrow & McElroy 1987*)

The "individual differences" model of career development is delineated in the human capital approach. This model emphasizes the attributes of the individual. The path to career success involves possessing the various forms of capital valued by the labor market. Human capital includes but is not restricted to mental ability, educational attainment, personality traits race and gender. Ultimately, career development and success is based on having to sell as labor what the market place is interested in buying(*Melamed 1996: 36*). The human capital model would suggest that any differences in work patterns between men and women could be explained by the fact that because of child bearing and rearing, women expect to spend less time in the workforce and as a result spend less time on education and have more interruptions as they balance their family and work obligations. This behavior thus continues their human capital deficit(*Schneer & Reitman 1995: 292*).

Astin (*1984*) felt that while the basic motivation to work was the same for men and women, women made different career development choices than their male counterparts. He saw these choices as based in their early socialization and different structural opportunities. For Astin, an examination of career development should focus on primarily four aspects: career aspirations, job involvement, career interruptions and multiple domain involvement. Some studies have concluded that women simply have

lower career aspirations(*Lorence 1987*). It may be that recognizing the demands of family life on them has lead women to expect less from paid employment. Coupled with the biological realities of child birth and the resulting break(s) in employment are the almost total lack of institutional supports for working mothers. Our patriarchal society expects mothers and not fathers to sacrifice their careers for the sake of their children. A widespread belief exists that to have a successful career requires that a women choose to give up or at least delay motherhood if not marriage itself. The dual job responsibilities or multiple domains of family caretaker and outside income earner that most women assume are often highlighted as reasons for the lack of women in positions of power(*Taylor & Spencer 1988*). Other studies have found no relationship between child bearing and career development (*Marshall & Jones 1990*) The authors did suggest however that gender bias against women may create a floor effect, depressing women's career development to a level at which additional variables such as child bearing have little effect. Morgan, Schor and Martin (*1993*) found in their study of gender differences in career development that there were differences in how a woman's career developed when compared to her male counterparts. In this study, the difference between male and female banking managers lay in the length of time it took to achieve equivalent middle management positions. Women took longer to reach the same place as their male colleagues. Given that banking is primarily female at the entry level but predominately male at the executive level, this study's findings might be particularly relevant. The authors describe their findings as being supportive of the Slow Burn theory of women's career development. This theory suggests that men and women achieve the same career

goals, it simply takes women longer to achieve the goal. While gender has been viewed in much of the literature as being the basis for differences in career development and power between men and women, Solomon, Bishop and Bresser (1986) felt that gender differences led to different attitudes, expectations and behaviors and that those differences had an impact on career development and success

For the purposes of this study the concept of career development encompassed attributes of both the life-span models and the individual differences model of career development. One of the basic premises of the life-span model of career development is that individuals in the same career phase seek to satisfy their work related needs in similar ways. This examination of the managers of Winnipeg Child and Family Services sought to quantify the variables that predict power, authority and participation in strategic decision-making. The life-span model of career development begins to provide a framework to see which resources the managers have at their disposal to satisfy their work needs. The individual differences model allows for the examination of differences in human capital between male and female managers. As a result, career interruptions, education level, family status, and mentors were all factors examined in this research.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS

Some research has suggested that the traditional female occupations do not penalize women for career interruptions since there are few opportunities for advancement in these occupations. This assumption would be supported by the work of Polachek (1979, 1982). Polachek's studies on occupational segregation suggest that

women who expect to have work/career interruptions will enter occupations in which the experience-earning profile is relatively flat (*Robinson 1986*). In the traditional female occupations, women with more years of work experience can be expected to achieve higher levels of objective success, that is higher salaries and organizational positions. According to Polachek, the more discontinuous a women's work activities, the less her years of experience and as a result the lower her level of occupational attainment. A variation of this argument could be the Slow Burn Theory, that is, women can achieve as much as men, it simply takes them longer to get there.

Robinson's (*1986*) findings were somewhat supportive of this position. She found that recent work interruptions significantly reduce job attainments in spite of previous work experience. The implication of these findings appears to be that the timing of career interruptions may have greater impact at the beginning of a career development path, but that over time the interruptions effects dissipate. It may be that women simply take longer to achieve the same goals as men. Haven and Healy's (*1991*) study of women politicians in Connecticut found that as a whole, women politicians were older than their male counterparts.

Baber and Monaghan's (*1988*) study of 250 unmarried female college students found that those women planning a career in one of the traditional female occupations were significantly more child oriented than those planning to enter male dominated professions. This perhaps, could be indirect support for the belief that women who enter social work are less interested in career achievements and are more focused on finding a job that will let them balance the demands of family and employment. Baber and

Monaghan (1988) also suggest that the changing expectations around appropriate roles for women has resulted in the increased labor force participation of young women. This reality has in turn has influenced the age at marriage and the timing of child bearing decisions.

Augrist's (1975) contingency theory suggests that women are socialized to prepare and adjust to a variety of contingencies, the most important being marriage and the parenting role. Augrist further theorizes that this contingency orientation is reflected in women's personality development, belief systems and life choices. In the late 1960s, 70% of professional working women were clustered in teaching, nursing, secretarial work, and social work (*Tangri 1972 as cited in Baber & Monaghan 1988:190*). As stated previously, these professions are often seen as women's professions and are assumed to be more flexible in allowing for women to combine work and family responsibility.

Dan (1995) suggests that women view the workplace as being fundamentally male in its attributes. Competition as well as constant and comparative evaluations between individuals in the workplace are described as being precisely the kinds of situations in which women feel disadvantaged. These factors, according to Dan, routinely cause women to have lower evaluations of their abilities and expectations of achievement. Dan suggests that since the feminine ideal discourages women from seeking or achieving power, women tend to lower their career aspirations to minimize social and psychological conflicts that result when attempting to combine the demands of family and the workplace. However Dan's study of Australian male and female public sector employees, found that women's subjective perception of their level of success was

similar to their male counterparts. This perception existed despite their recognition that by objective standards, they achieved significantly lower levels of pay and position within the organization. This finding was particularly true for women who had experienced career interruptions. When continuously employed men and women were compared, salary was the only difference between them. Men were paid more. If women felt that they were successful, perhaps their definition of success is, in some way, different than the male definition of success? Perhaps the goals women seek to achieve in the workplace, have less to do with power and position and more to do with being connected to others within the workplace? (*Gilligan 1992*)

Dan's (1995) research also found that women viewed family responsibilities as the reason why they were objectively less successful in the workplace. Further, women did not see the satisfactions of family life as compensating fully for lower incomes and positions at work.

Killien's (1987) study of the child bearing decisions of professional couples, looked at 115 women who were professionally employed or completing advanced education in the medical field. She found that these women perceived advancing their career goals as being a deterrent to child bearing. However, she found that in terms of their actual behavior, career goals were not leading predictors of ultimate child bearing. It was Killien's interpretation of these findings that while women might be concerned about the potential negative impact of parenthood in the short term, in the long-term there was no effect on the ultimate decision to parent.

A review of the literature did reveal one study that found a history of career interruptions resulting in a greater negative outcome for men than for women. Schneer and Reitman (1990) studied the effects of a single employment gap on the career of male and female MBA graduates. The researchers looked at the impact of this single gap on income and career satisfaction. It was their reasoning that non-socially acceptable reasons for employment gaps would have greater impact on these two variables than socially acceptable reasons. Women are expected to take time off from employment to have children. This socially acceptable reason was not seen as an option for men. It was theorized that gaps in men's employment history might be the result of organizational restructuring and down sizing leading to the redundancy of managers. If job loss was the result, the impact would have greater negative effect. Schneer and Reitman (1990) found that significantly more of the women in this study has experienced employment gaps than men. However, the women's gaps were more likely to be voluntary, while the reverse was true of the men. Respondents with gaps earned about 22% less than those without gaps. However, the magnitude of the difference in incomes was greater for men than women. Men experienced a 25% drop in income while the impact on women resulted in a loss of only 15%. However, this study found that continuously employed women needed six more years of experience to achieve the same income level as a similarly qualified man.

Women aged 45 to 54, of the prime age to achieve senior management positions, will account for more than one-third of all net additions to the labor force between 1994 and 2005 (*United States Bureau of Labor Statistics: 28*). Between 1970 and 1988 the

proportion of Canadian women in the paid work force increased from 38.1% to 57.4% (*Statistics Canada 1990*). But despite the increase in their numbers the proportion of women in positions of organizational power have remained at less than 5% (*Gutek 1993:302*). Numbers alone should entitle women to their share of senior positions. It would be these women, who entered social work in the 70's that would now be at the career stage to assume leadership positions. The fact that women have not achieved these positions points to the existence of forces which impede their career progress.

FAMILY STATUS

The literature suggests that after work interruption, a woman's marital and parenting status appears to have the most significant negative impact on her objective career achievements. Whether measured by salary or organizational position, married women and women with parenting responsibilities consistently, with only several exceptions, have been found to receive lower salaries and to be confined to the lower levels of organizational hierarchies.

Peterson (1989) delineates two major theoretical arguments for rationalizing women's lower levels of success in the labor market. Individualist explanations focus on differences in choice of occupation, women's lack of the required human capital, or differences in career commitment between men and women. Becker's (1985) paper, "Human Capital, Effort, and the Sexual Division of Labor", is often quoted as the premier source document in studies examining differences in human capital investments between men and women. Becker argues that married women increased their

participation in the market place when Western economies developed to the point that their involvement was required to sustain economic growth, especially in the expanding economies of the service sector. Becker's explanation for the earning differentials between men and women suggests that women's increased participation in the labor force may have temporarily reduced or limited the earnings of women since an increased supply of labor into the market generally lowers wages. Further, earnings to women will be temporarily reduced as a result of increased on-the-job investments by employers (*Becker: S35*). However, Becker states that even when men's and women's human capital variables are equalized, women will still earn less since they will choose predominantly female occupations. Becker postulates that the demands of these occupations are less taxing and therefore more compatible to the demands of meeting family responsibilities. Family work falls more heavily on women. Even when men express a commitment to shared responsibilities, these values are rarely reflected in day-to-day reality (*Baber & Dreyer 1986*). It is Becker's position that primary responsibility for child care, food preparation, and other household activities limits women's ability to achieve equivalent financial and organizational success in the labor market. Becker goes on to suggest that even when men and women have identical human capital investments, the double demands placed on women causes them to specialize in different types of investments and to allocate their time differently. It is these specialized investments and differences in time allocation that cause the continued wage differences between men and women.

According to Peterson (1989) structural explanations for the differences in earnings between men and women focus on employer's preferences for employees with particular marital/parental statuses. Employers may use family status as an indicator of productivity, likelihood of turnover, or job commitment. Peterson (1989) suggests simply studying differences in male and female human capital investments is inadequate and that employers may also discriminate on either the basis of an ascribed status, race or gender or they may discriminate on the basis of achieved statuses such as marital or parenting status.

Peterson (1989) found that marital and parenting history explained a significant amount of the differences in hourly wages between married women and single or childless women. His findings suggest that marriage and children impact negatively on the accumulation of human capital by women. In support of Becker's (1985) and Polachek's (1979, 1982) position, Peterson found that the effects of marital/parental history were weakest in predominantly female occupations, stronger in mixed occupations, and strongest in the predominantly male occupations. Peterson (1989) also found that after controlling for the human capital variables, the differences between men and women in the effect of family history, were reduced but not eliminated. It is Peterson's belief that this unaccounted for difference is the result of systematic discrimination by employers against women.

Roberts, Brunner, White and Marmot's (1993) study of gender differences in employment and occupational mobility in the British Civil Service confirmed many of the previously identified findings. Roberts et al (1993) found that being married was a

positive attribute for men but a negative attribute for women in terms of upward mobility within the civil service. Further, the parenting of children, irrespective of marital status, is associated with worsening mobility for women, but not for men. For women who were both married and parenting children, these combined factors resulted in an even greater lack of upward mobility in the British civil service. The results of Roberts et al's research clearly shows the effects of gender and family status on wages. At age 23, the female to male pay ratio is 82%. At age 33 the gap widens to women earning 71% of men.

The effects of family status are even more startling. Non-mothers earned 84% of men's pay at both age 23 and 33. On the other hand, mothers earned only 70% of men's wages at age 23, falling to 64% at age 33. By age 33, the gender gap is 20% larger for mothers than non-mothers.

For women who are mothers, one child resulted in a 10% reduction in wages and two children, a reduction of 20%. However, the researchers did indicate that paid maternity leave eliminated most of the negative effects of having one child and reduced by half the negative impact on wages two children caused.

Waldfoegel's (1995) study of every British man and woman born during the first week of March 1958 provides some valuable insights. Surveys of the cohort members were conducted at birth, ages 7, 11, 16, 23 and in 1991 when the cohort was 33 years of age. Given the breadth of this study sample its findings are particularly relevant. The authors of this study examined the relationship between family status and wages. They felt that three hypotheses could explain the documented differences in wages between men and women.

Their first hypotheses explored the concept of heterogeneity. This perspective declares that there is no causal relationship between family status and pay but that women who differ in family status might also differ in some unmeasured quality such as motivation to work or commitment to work (*Roberts et al 1995:585*). Such unobserved and unmeasured heterogeneity could then bias results. For example, Killien's (1987) study found that women, who were ambivalent about ultimately parenting were those with the greatest career commitment.

Their second hypotheses examined the human capital perspective that has previously been delineated. Their third hypotheses was similar to Peterson's (1989) structural explanation. Employers believe that mothers with children will allow their family responsibilities to interfere with work. As a result mothers with children are paid less by their employers. What all three hypotheses have in common is the notion that heterogeneity and human capital can not explain the entire relationship between family status and women's lower wages. It was Waldfogel's (1995) conclusion that the vast majority of the wage gap between men and women resulted from differential treatment in the labor market.

Neumark and McLennan (1995) studied the relationship between self-reported discrimination and subsequent labor force outcomes. The outcomes studied included labor interruptions, employer changes, demographic changes, and wage growth. Their results found that women who report discrimination at work are more likely to have children and marry.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Robinson's (1986) study examined the impact of education and first-job status, on current level of occupational attainments. The status attainment model suggests that socio-economic origins and achieved characteristics such as education and experience determine occupational attainment. Robinson used the Social Change in Canada Surveys carried out in 1977, 1979 and 1981 as her sources of data. She found that while education impacted on first-job status, when first-job status was controlled for, education level had no significant effect on a women's occupational attainment. Robinson (1986) found that, for the purposes of her study, if a woman was over qualified for her first job, her level of education did not appear to improve her occupational status in the future. However, for men, an increase in their level of education did have an effect on their occupational attainment.

This finding conflicts with Duncan, Preis and Sandy's (1993) re-examination of data used by Polachek (1979, 1981). Their analyses found that increases in education increased earnings irrespective of gender. They also found that as a married woman's husband's education level increases, her involvement in the labor market decreases.

Roberts et al (1993) found that even when education levels were similar, men were admitted into a higher grade of the British Civil Service than women. Koenigsberg, Garet and Rosenbaum's (1994) study into the job exits of young adults found that men were somewhat more likely than women to leave their jobs to attend school. Waldfogel's (1995) study of a cohort of British men and women born in the first week of March 1958

found that difference in education level between the sexes at age 33 accounted for men earning 15% more than women.

Mueller, Kuruvilla and Iverson (1994) in their examination of Swedish professionals found that once in a profession, advancement into positions of organizational authority are based on criteria other than education.

Wolf and Fligstein's (1979) random study of 10,317 Americans found that in terms of gaining access to positions with organizational authority, men received about three times the return for each year of post-secondary education than women do. However, it appeared that in respect to level of education, the lower the level of organizational authority, the more egalitarian the process of acquiring that level of authority.

MENTORS

Although mentors have long been used as a career development and training tool, most empirical research into the mentor-protégé relationship has occurred since the late 1970's. A number of conceptual and operational definitions of mentors have emerged. The modern day meanings derive from the model of Mentor in the "Odyssey". Clawson and Kram (1984:22) call it a "developmental relationship - in which the conscious goal of both parties is to develop the ability and profitability of the subordinate." Gaskill and Sibley (1990:1) define the process as a "career development and advancement strategy whereby a more experienced, higher ranking individual (mentor) performs various career and psychological functions, beyond normal supervisory guidance to a lower ranking,

developing individual (protégé)(*Gasket & Sable 1990:1-2*).” Most frequently, a mentor is a seasoned, senior executive who can offer the wisdom of years of experience from which to counsel and guide younger individuals as they move ahead in their careers. Mentors are usually well-placed individuals willing to share their expertise and to use both formal and informal means of influence with others in the organization to further the career of the protégé(*Bowen 1986*). The mentor-protégé relationship has been described as the most emotionally intense, influential, career-boosting relationship existing in organizations(*Gaskill & Sibley 1990*). Bolton (*1980:199*) proposes that mentoring exists when “an experienced person provides guidance and support in a variety of ways to the developing novice...in addition to being a role model, [the mentor] acts as a guide, tutor, or coach, and a confidant. Protégés are “up and comers” who have attracted the attention of superiors by their enthusiasm, dedication, hard work, competence, and assertiveness. Frequently, mentors and protégés share characteristics and the relationship grows out of a natural attraction(*Hunt & Michael 1983, Stuart 1992*). The literature suggests that “everyone who succeeds has had a mentor or mentors” (*Lunding, Clements, & Perkins 1978:100*). Individuals who are mentored have more organizational influence and power(*Fagenson 1988*), earn higher incomes(*Chao, Walz & Gardner 1992*)(*Dreher & Ash 1990*)(*Roche 1979*), receive more promotions, recognition, and opportunities(*Fagenson 1992*)(*Gaskill & Sibley 1990*), and are more productive and satisfied with their jobs than non-mentored employees(*Chao, Walz & Garner 1992*)(*Gaskill & Sibley 1990*). Murray and Owen (*1991*) claim that mentored individuals have higher productivity and performance ratings, a career development plan, more

money, more pleasure in work, and greater job satisfaction than non-mentored employees. Mentors typically have a strong influence on their protégés and their protégés' careers, with most characterizing the mentor as having 'substantial' influence (Roche, 1979).

The need for power, on the part of both the mentor (Hunt & Michael 1983) and the protégé (Fagenson 1992), has been found to play a role in mentoring relationships. Mentors often bring a need for power to the relationship and serving as a mentor to a successful protégé is one way to expand one's sphere of influence, while those individuals who become protégés seem to have a higher need for achievement and power than non-protégés (Fagenson 1992). Fagenson (1988) found that mentored individuals reported having more organizational policy influence, greater access to important people, and greater resource power than non-mentored individuals, regardless of gender and level in the organization. Kanter (1979) stated that the main source of power for young professionals was derived from an alliance with a well-placed executive.

Kram (1983, 1985) has identified two types of mentoring functions: career and psycho-social. The career functions are those which primarily enhance career development. They include introductions to top people in the organization or industry, recommendations for advancement, coaching, protection, and challenging work assignments. Psycho-social functions are those that enhance perceived competence, identity, and effectiveness in the managerial role (Ragins 1989). The psycho-social functions are focused on the more interpersonal level and include role modeling, acceptance and confirmation, counseling, and friendship.

Noe (1988a) found that women protégés received more psycho-social functions than career functions from their mentors, while Burke, McKeen, and McKenna (1990) and Dreher and Ash (1990) found that female mentors were more likely than male mentors to provide psycho-social functions to their protégés.

Research into the role of mentoring in women's careers has indicated that it plays at least as critical a role for them as it does for men. Morrison, White and VanVelsor (1987) reported that 100% of the women they studied who had reached the highest levels had help from above in contrast to 55% of successful executive men. Women's career progress can be enhanced through mentoring by helping them develop their career paths and networks, by providing encouragement and motivation, and by providing role models (Ragins, 1989). Conversely, women who fail to reach the highest levels cite the lack of help from above as one of the factors thwarting their upward movement (Burke & McKeen, 1990).

Despite the documented importance of mentoring relationships to women, the opportunities for such a relationship are often restricted. Due largely to the dearth of female executives in the higher echelon of organizational structures, women are likely to have less access to mentors, are more likely to perceive barriers to a mentoring relationship, and are likely to have male mentors (Ragins & Cotton, 1991). They are also more likely to encounter greater difficulties in the mentoring relationship (Bowen, 1986; Hunt & Michael, 1983; Noe, 1988a). Women face particular barriers to forming mentor relationships. Women may not recognize their importance or capability and not seek one nor have the skills or strategy to obtain a mentor; they may feel approaching a male

mentor would be interpreted as a sexual advance; they may substitute social support for power and advancement; and women may be viewed stereotypically, i.e. as not possessing the requisite managerial characteristics, leadership ability, competitiveness, self-confidence, aggressiveness, and ambition to succeed (*Noe, 1988*).

As previously suggested, female protégés may need different types of mentoring - a greater emphasis on psycho-social functions as opposed to career development. The study reported by Burke and McKeen (*1990*) reveals that female mentors provide more counseling; women protégés tend to make better use of mentors' knowledge of corporate culture; women protégés in lower levels need more encouragement; women protégés tend to have more contact with mentors; women are constantly under scrutiny, which makes it more difficult to make a mistake; and women are not socialized to handle mentors as men are. However, other studies have found that mentors may also confer legitimacy on a female protégé's work thus altering a co-worker's stereotypic perceptions and may buffer female protégés from both overt and covert discrimination (*Ragins, 1989*).

Male protégés may use their mentors more effectively than female protégés and shift from protégé to mentor at earlier ages than women (*Ragins, 1989*). Women also tend to have more mentors than men, averaging three sponsors to two and tend to form their relationships somewhat later (the majority during the sixth to tenth years of their career) (*Roche, 1979*).

Cross-gender mentor relationships also carry unique characteristics. Because of the fewer numbers of women in positions to be mentors, women more frequently have male mentors (*Noe, 1988; Ragins and Cotton, 1991; Hunt and Michael, 1983*). Kram

(cited in Hunt and Michael, 1983) found that female protégés are more likely to experience over protectiveness, greater social distance, and general discomfort with a male mentor, while Stewart (cited in Hunt and Michael, 1983) reported that women protégés are especially prone to making emotional ties with their male mentors.

A male mentor may feel that he is entitled to define what female protégés need in the way of “support and confirmation and may even expect loyalty and extra service from female protégés” (Gilbert and Rossman, 1992:235). In contrast, female mentors have less need than male mentors to define and dominate their protégés and to reassert their position of greater power. Overall, male mentors have a wider base of power and easier access to valuable resources which, in turn, may allow them to more effectively sponsor and promote their protégés (Gilbert and Rossman, 1992:236). Often, in cross-gender mentor relationships (male mentor-female protégé), both parties will adopt stereotypical roles which then diminish the autonomy and competence of the woman (Clawson and Kram, 1984). The role modeling function in a cross-gender relationship is frequently unsatisfactory.

The mutual liking and admiration in cross gender mentoring relationships may lead to sexual tension and intimacy. The cross-gender relationship is also more subject to public scrutiny and peer resentment than same-gender relationships (Kram, 1985). Clawson and Kram (1984) suggest that mentors and protégés in cross-gender relationships need be concerned about two relationships: the internal or the relationship between the two of them; and the external, which incorporates the perceptions of the relationship from outside.

Because the informality between mentor and protégé may signal intimacy, and maintaining too much distance may signal a non-caring attitude on the part of the mentor toward the protégé, Clawson and Kram (1984) have concluded that extremes of intimacy or distance can jeopardize the developmental relationship.

While the beneficial effects of mentoring relationships are wide-ranging, the risks and barriers to such relationships are real and numerous. The degree to which the mentor and protégé are prepared to take risks with one another will determine the constructive or destructive direction of the relationship (*Missirian, 1982, cited in Bowen, 1986:73*).

Both mentor and protégé shoulder some risks entering a mentor relationship. From the perspective of the mentor: the protégé may lack the talent to perform at a higher level; if the protégé is female, she is highly visible and her mistakes more broadly known and if the protégé is the opposite gender, the mentor relationship may be seen by outsiders as a sexual one. From the perspective of the protégé: he or she may have a greater workload; may work under heightened scrutiny; may feel they are constantly under the shadow of the mentor; may risk being attached to a mentor who is unpopular or loses power; and there is the risk of a perceived sexual relationship (*Fitt and Newton, 1981; Burke and McKeen, 1990*).

Resentment of co-workers, particularly those without mentors can be the single greatest problem (*Bowen, 1985; Fagenson, 1988*). A protégé may also become over-dependent on the mentor, who can take unfair advantage of him or her (*Fagenson, 1988*).

Gilbert and Rossman (1992:234) note that “the organizational forces that create and maintain these . . . (glass ceilings and walls) are likely reflected in the mentoring

process and its goals. Thus potential female protégés may be deselected or ignored by male mentors or given limited access to information and control of resources because of organizational discomfort with women in leadership positions.

For the purposes of this study a mentor was defined as an experienced higher ranking individual who provides guidance and support to the developing professional (protégé). A mentor frequently offers coaching, sponsoring, counseling, and role model functions to the protégé at various stages of the protégé's career.

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION

By examining a variety of factors this study hoped to identify those variables that can predict power and authority within the agency. The independent variables under study were gender, age, career interruptions, family status, mentors, and educational level. The three dependent variables were power, authority, and participation in the decision-making process. The decision-making process was operationalized to include type of decision-making, stage of involvement in the decision-making process and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

The research instrument used was a questionnaire. The questions asked came from a variety of sources. Some, especially those concerning authority, strategic decision areas and strategic decision-making had been used in previous research(*Heller, Drenth, Koopman & Rus 1988*)(*Hichson, Butler, Cray, Malory & Wilson 1986*). The majority of the questions that sought to capture information on sources of individual

power came out of the literature(*Greiner & Schein 1988*). Finally, the remaining questions had their source in my own experiences as a manger in a child welfare agency.

This research design was chosen for a number of reasons. It was my hope that in using a quantitative research design, the results would be seen as less my subjective view and more a reflection of objective reality. Statistical techniques allow for the generalizing from a small population to a larger one and I felt that this was important given the number of social workers involved in the field of child welfare. Statistics are also powerful because they are concise. Their brevity makes them easily communicated. Survey research can also help to identify differences and similarities between groups. Given that gender was one of the independent variables examined, a survey seemed the best approach. Finally, this research design is also less time consuming than a qualitative research design might be.

SAMPLE

The agency staff that were asked to participate in the study were members of the agency's management team, including front line supervisors, directors of services, area directors and the members of the executive office. Winnipeg Child and Family Services had 54 management positions within its organizational structure at the time of this study. I choose not to complete a questionnaire. One of the Director of Services, a male, was on long term sick leave and as a result a questionnaire was not sent to him. One male and one female front-line supervisor had left their positions and the positions remained empty at the time of the survey. As a result a total of 50 surveys were distributed. 72% or 36 of

50 of the questionnaires were returned. The questionnaire was accompanied by a letter clarifying that participation in the survey was totally up to the discretion of the respondent with no consequences, positive or negative for non-participation. The return of the questionnaire was deemed to be consent. Prior to the surveys being sent out a letter was sent to the potential respondents to raise awareness and hopefully interest in the coming research.

Before the survey was distributed to the management staff of Winnipeg Child and Family Services, the thesis proposal and the questionnaire were approved at the June, 1997 meeting of the Faculty of Social Work's Ethics Committee. After receiving the Ethics Committees approval, the questionnaire was pre-tested by the management staff of two other social service agencies to identify any weaknesses in the questionnaire's design. With the support of the agency, the questionnaire was distributed through the internal mail system of Winnipeg Child and Family Services the week of June 23 rd., 1997. Given the anonymity of the agency's internal mail system, with no possible way of determining who has returned their questionnaire or not, confidentiality and anonymity was assured. Three weeks after the surveys were sent out a reminder notice was circulated to all potential participants. Returned questionnaires were retrieved from the internal mail system in envelopes marked confidential and maintained in a locked filing cabinet. The input of statistical data was contracted out with the understanding that strict security and confidentiality be required. Feedback on the results of the survey will be provided to everyone invited to participate in the research through the same inter-agency mail system.

A number of limitations in this study must be recognized. The majority of questions in the survey were "close-ended", meaning that the respondent chose from a limited number of provided responses or a predetermined rating scale. The "close-ended" question design creates a discrete range of responses and therefore allows for a more precise statistical analysis. However, it does not allow for a subjective explanation of the response and at best can only provide a snapshot of the respondent's perceptions at that point in time. Some researchers suggest that surveys lack subtlety (*Reinharz 1992*). Surveys oversimplify complex issues by reducing them to the limited responses allowed.

Objective, quantitative data-gathering methods depend on prior information which shapes the questions asked. They elicit answers that are interpreted according to the sets of pre-established questions. There is little space for new information. There is no allowance for the effects of the questioner on one who is questioned. The categories of knowledge are determined independently of the subjects responses. It may be that a multitude of techniques should have been utilized to carry out this research. Feminist methodology would suggest that the process of unstructured information gathering on a large scale must precede the use of structured questions in order to increase the probability that the information which is to be quantified reflects the circumstances of the lives of the respondents. This format was not used and as a result important questions may have been missed in the questionnaire.

The reliability and validity of the research instrument raises some questions. It may be that the questions asked were not the appropriate ones to measure the dependent variables. The conceptualization of power, authority and participation in strategic

decision-making may also have been inadequate. The indices developed to measure the possession of power and authority may have been too crude to capture the required information.

Conversely, the determination of which variables predict the possession of power and authority may be limited to this particular agency. Winnipeg Child and Family Services may not be representative of other child welfare agencies. Results may not be relevant to agencies with a management structure made up of a different ethnic or cultural membership. The self-reporting mechanism of a survey format asks questions that reveal perceptions. Sometimes perception is not reality.

Finally, my long history with the agency may have had some impact on the responses of those who returned the questionnaire and indeed whether the questionnaire was returned at all.

INDEPENDENT VARIABLES

The importance of gender is apparent in much of the literature that has already been outlined. The independent variable gender was operationalized as male or female and is a dichotomous nominal level variable. Question # 1 in the questionnaire captured the necessary information.

The next independent variable was age. The variable age clearly has a relationship to the concept of career development. Much of the literature on career development views age as important to the conceptualization of career stage (*Super 1984 & Levinson 1986*). Question # 2 provides information on age. In its raw form age is an

interval level variable but for the purposes of statistical analysis age was recoded into an ordinal level variable “catage”. This recoding was necessary given the tests of significance and association that were used.

The independent variable career interruptions included maternity leaves, parental leaves or other professional interruptions. The literature suggests that career interruptions have a negative impact on career achievements(*Dan 1995*)(*Schneer & Reitman 1990, 1995*)(*Taylor & Spencer 1988*). If this is so than it is reasonable to assume that career interruptions might have a negative impact on power, authority and participation in strategic decision-making. Questions # 6, 7 and 8 captured this information. The number of career interruptions provides for an interval level variable. The total number of career interruptions, regardless of the reason, were calculated and recoded into the variable “intertot”.

The literature suggests that being female, married and having child caring responsibilities all have a negative impact on career achievements(*Peterson 1989*)(*Roberts, Brunner, White & Marmot 1993*)(*Waldfoegel 1995*). The independent variable family status was delineated as single/no children, married/no children, divorced/no children, common-law/no children, widowed/no children, single with children, married with children, divorced with children, widowed with children. The information was obtained in questions #4. In this sample 73.5% of the respondents to the survey identified themselves as married with children. The only other significant family status was divorced with children. 11.8% of the respondents indicated that this status. There was no significant difference between the male and female managers and any of

the family statuses. Again, for the purposes of statistical analysis, the data obtained was recoded into to reflect the respondent as married with children or other. This variable was delineated “marr” and is a dichotomous nominal level variable.

Mentors have been found to be vital in achieving power and authority(*Lunding, Clements, & Perkins 1978*)(*Fagenson 1988, 1992*)(*Morrison, White, & VanVelsor 1987*). The data on the independent variable mentors was obtained from survey question #14 and 15. Mentors is a dichotomous nominal level variable.

Finally, data of the independent variable level of education was captured in question #3. The literature suggests that men earn more human capital than women for their educational achievements(*Mueller, Kuruvilla & Iverson 1994*). The effect of level of education on the possession of power, authority and participation in strategic decision-making was studied. The data was recoded to reflect a non-social work education, possession of a BSW and possession of a MSW. The new variable was named “edrank” and can be thought of as a nominal level variable with three categories or as an ordinal level variable.

DEPENDENT VARIABLES

The dependent variables under study were power, authority and three aspects of the decision-making process; type of decision, stage of involvement in the decision-making process and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

The literature identifies a number of personal sources of power available to an individual. In order to capture information on sources of person-based power, a power

index was developed. The more an individual has access to sources of individual power, the greater their overall power index. The index of personal power sources included the participants perceptions of their possession of power and influence [question # 16(4, 6)], the participants perception of their level of information [question #16(1, 7) 23(e)], tradition, defined as historical knowledge about the agency [question #16(8)], charisma defined as the ability to inspire devotion and enthusiasm in staff [question # 16(9)], reputation [question # 23(a)], professional credibility [question # 23(b)], network of support outside the agency [question # 16(5)], their staff's support [question # 23(c)]and their ability to cope with uncertainty [question #23(d)]. The majority of the questions that sought to capture information on sources of individual power came out of the literature(*Greiner & Schein 1988*). The remaining questions had their source in my own experiences as a manger in a child welfare agency.

Additional information, not included in the personal power index, included the respondent's identification of their area of expert knowledge [question # 19]and their colleagues perception of those with expert knowledge [question # 20 & 21].

The second dependent variable was authority. Authority is defined as the legitimized rights and responsibilities available to the individual occupying the organizational position. Authority is tied to position within the agency's organizational structure. Possible positions included the top management level; which includes area directors and members of the executive office excluding the CEO, the middle level which contains the Directors of Service, and the lower management or supervisory level.

The assumption is made that by and large, the higher the management position the greater the level of authority in the agency.

However, to clarify the concept an authority, an authority index was also developed. Aside from identifying their hierarchical position, [question # 9], participants were asked to comment on the number of staff they directly or indirectly responsible for [questions # 10 & 11], control of how the work is organized in their unit [question # 12 (a)], their ability to hire and fire staff [question # 12(b-c)], the size of the budget they control [question # 12(d)], evaluation of staff [question # 12(e)], the allocation of resources to other work units [question # 12(f)], sanctioning staff [question # 12(g)], their access to and control of resources [question # 16(2-3)] and the centrality of their work to the functioning of the agency [question # 22]. Some of the questions had been used in previous research/*Heller, Drenth, Koopman & Rus 1988*)/*Hichson, Butler, Cray, Malory & Wilson 1986*).

The second source of information on power was an individual's involvement in of the decision-making process. The concept of participation in the decision-making process was made up of three additional dependent variables: type of decision, stage of involvement in decision-making, and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

Type of decision was further operationalized as strategic or operational decisions. A strategic decision was defined as a novel or precedent setting decision. An operational decision was defined as a routine, everyday decision. In terms of the type of decision, involvement in strategic decisions was viewed as reflecting more power than

involvement in operational decisions. Information on the types of decisions an individual was involved with was obtained in questions #13 (a-m). Question # 13 (a-h) were defined as strategic decisions. Question # 13 (i-m) were defined as operational decisions.

Question #18 (a-b) seeks information on two particular strategic decisions. The first, # 18(a) addresses the respondents input or level of involvement in their area's volume management programming. Volume management is the term used to describe the development of a number of programs and initiatives to attempt to prevent children coming into care or if already in agency care, work to return those children as quickly as possible to a family situation. Throughout the agency this initiative has resulted in over forty new social work positions. This initiative, implemented throughout the agency, would qualify as a strategic decision.

Question # 18(b) solicits level of involvement information on another specific strategic decision. Each of the four areas has recently re-structured their service delivery system. Southwest recently organized an abuse intake unit. East has just implemented a centralized intake unit. Central has developed another unit in their satellite office on Broadway and North West is in the process of restructuring services out of their 80 Salter office.

The level of involvement in these two strategic decisions was operationalized by the respondents ranking their involvement from 1) no or minimal information provided, 2) providing information only, 3) providing advice or an opinion, 4) advice taken into consideration, 5) joint decision-making to 6) complete control over the decision.

Using the same strategic decisions of volume management programming and the restructuring of the service delivery system, data was obtained from the respondents on their stage of involvement these strategic decision-making processes. The stages of the decision-making process were operationalized as 1) start-up/ initiation, 2) development of options, 3) finalization and 4) implementation of the decision. Question # 17(a-b) collected this information.

STATISTICAL INTERPRETATION

The variables in many of the research questions are dichotomous nominal level variables. The explanation of the statistical tests utilized is required. The Chi-squared test is a non-parametric test for independence or significance, whereby expected frequencies are compared against observed frequencies. It provides little information about the strength or form of the association between the two variables. When chi-squared is applied to samples that are large, it is a versatile and dependent measure. When the number of cases is small the chi-squared computation is less stable and may give inflated results. The inclusion in the SPSS program of Fisher's Exact test for a 2×2 table has made it the preferred index of probability when the expected cell frequency is less than 5. Fisher's exact test can also be used as a test of significance on PRE or proportional reduction in error measures, where there are two dichotomous variables. Both the chi-squared and Fisher's exact test produce one-tailed and two-tailed results. If our assumption is that the relationship is symmetric or nondirectional we use the two-

tailed results. If our assumption is that there is a asymmetric or directional relationship a one-tailed result is appropriate.

No single measure of association adequately summarizes all possible types of association. Measures of association are measures that examine the strength and the direction of the relationship between variables. For nominal level variables, the available measures of association can only provide some indication of the strength of association between variables; they cannot indicate the direction or anything about the relationship. There are two types of measures of association for a 2 x 2 nominal level data: those based on the chi-squared statistic and those that follow the logic of the proportional reduction in error, denoted PRE.

The Phi coefficient, Cramer's V and the Contingency Coefficient are based on the chi-squared statistic and can be used as measures of association for 2 x 2 tables with nominal level variables. Given that these measures are not standardized, their interpretation can be difficult. Phi is used to describe the strength and the direction of the relationship between two variables that are both dichotomous. The direction of Phi is dependent upon how the 2 x 2 table is organized. Phi is most appropriately used when data is presented with two nominal level variables with two categories. If the data is presented in more than two categories the Contingency Coefficient and Cramer's V are the more appropriate measure of association and Phi should not be used.

The Contingency Coefficient is the measure of association between two or more variables when the frequency data fall into mutually exclusive classes. Chi-Squared enables us to determine if there is a significant difference between variables and it is the

Contingency Coefficient that describes the magnitude of the relationship. Only Contingency Coefficients from the same size table can be compared.

Cramer's V is another measure of association that is based on the chi-squared statistic. Cramer's V is used when no distinction is made between the independent and dependent variables. The Uncertainty Coefficient, which will be described later, and Cramer's V are the two most useful indices for symmetric analysis. A symmetric relationship is one where no distinction is made between the dependent and independent variables. An asymmetric measure assumes a directional relationship between the independent and dependent variables. Cramer's V may be used on any size table and as a result, for the purposes of this analysis, more versatile than the Contingency Coefficient.

Common alternatives to the chi-squared measurement are those based on the idea of proportional reduction in error (PRE). With PRE measures, the meaning of association is clearer. These measures are all essentially ratios of a measure of error in the predicting the values of one variable based on knowledge of that variable alone and the same measure of error applied to predictions based on knowledge of an additional variable. Such tests would include Lambda and Goodman and Kruskal's Tau.

The Uncertainty Coefficient is another measure of association. It is not based on the chi-squared statistic nor is it a PRE measure. The asymmetric version of UC is the proportion of uncertainty in the dependent variable reduced by information from the independent variable. The UC considers the entire distribution, not just the modal value. Unlike other measures of association, UC does not measure the magnitude of the coefficient, but rather it measures the amount of the association.

There do not appear to be unique tests of significance specifically designed for the Uncertainty Coefficient. In the 2×2 situation, Fisher's exact test may be used, or chi-squared may be used if the requirements of chi-squared are met.

Some of the variables that were analyzed had both nominal and ordinal levels of measurement. If the nominal level variable has two categories the appropriate test of significance is the Mann-Whitney U test. To use the U test we must be able to logically rank the data. However, if the nominal level variable has more than two categories the appropriate test of significance is the Kruskal-Wallis H test.

The measures of association for ordinal level variables include Spearman's correlation coefficient known as Rho, Goodman and Kruskal's Gamma and Kendall's Tau.

Rho, Gamma and Tau have the same interpretation and are symmetric measures of association. All measures range from -1 to 1, with 1 indicating a perfect positive association between the variables; 0 indicating the variables are independent of each other; and -1 indicating a perfect inverse association between the variables. Rho, Gamma and Tau require a random sample of data pairs measured on at least an ordinal scale and taken from any continuous bivariate distribution. For small n 's Tau is more accurate than Rho. Rho may be more appropriate if interval level data has been converted to ordinal level data for the purposes of statistical manipulation. When the ordinal data is arranged in cross tabulation tables larger than 2 by 2 Gamma is the most appropriate measure to use.

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

The one of the purposes of this thesis was to identify those variables that predict the possession of power and authority within a child welfare agency. The role of decision-making in the expression of power and authority was also examined. Some of the results of this study confirmed my own professional experiences and some of the findings were unexpected. I expected that men and women would possess similar levels of individual power but that forces within and outside agency would limit the impact of women's level of authority in the agency. Given that the agency exists within a general and task environment that is part of a patriarchal society that dominates and oppresses women, I expected that an examination of the agency's decision-making process would confirm the relative powerlessness of female managers as compared to their male counterparts.

SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS:

I. GENDER AND SIX OF THE EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS EXAMINED.

Male managers were significantly more involved than female managers in; a) the development of a new work site, b) adding a new program, c) deleting an existing program, d) revising the agency's organizational structure, e) revising the area's organizational structure, and f) changing the area's service priorities.

2. GENDER AND CAREER INTERRUPTIONS.

Female managers experienced significantly more career interruptions than male managers.

3. GENDER AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION.

Female managers were significantly better educated than male managers.

4. AGE AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING.

The potential for involvement in the development of volume management programming increased as the age of the manager decreased.

5. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE START-UP STAGE OF VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING.

Having never experienced a career interruption was significantly associated with involvement in this stage of decision-making.

6. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FOUR OF EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS.

Level of education was significantly associated with; a) the development of a new work site, b) adding a new program, c) deleting an existing program and d) revising the agency's organizational structure.

7. HAVING A MENTOR AND ONE OF THE EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS.

Having a mentor was significantly associated with seeking a new funding source.

8. HAVING A MENTOR AND INVOLVEMENT IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM.

Having a mentor increased the potential for involvement in the restructuring of an area's service delivery system.

The findings of this study confirmed my expectation that gender would not be significantly associated with the possession of sources of personal power. The finding that gender was not significantly associated with authority was unexpected. Male and female managers within this agency appear to have similar levels of authority.

The findings did confirm the exclusion of women from most of the strategic decision areas. No significant differences were found between the genders in their involvement in the stages of decision-making or in their level of involvement in the strategic decision-making process of the restructuring of an area's service delivery system .

It was my expectation that female managers would have their greatest involvement in the implementation phase of decision-making and that male managers will have more significant involvement in the start up or initiation phase. The findings of the research provided partial support for this belief in terms of involvement in volume management programming. Having never experienced a career interruption was found to be significantly associated with involvement in the start-up or initiation phase of decision-making around volume management programming. Since being female was significantly associated with having experienced a career interruption, it is logical to assume that more men than women were involved in this stage.

Male and female managers had similar levels of power and authority but there were marked differences in their perception of involvement in decision-making. Gender had the most significant impact on involvement with strategic decision areas. Gender and career interruptions were significantly associated. Women experienced over twice as many career interruptions than men. Career interruptions were significantly related to the start-up stage of decision-making for the volume management programming. Gender was also significantly associated with level of education. The female managers were better educated than male colleagues. Level of education was found to be significantly related to four strategic decisions: the development of a new work site, adding a new program, deleting an existing program and revising the agency's organizational structure. Age was found to be significant with involvement in decision-making for volume management programming. Having a mentor was significantly associated with the strategic decision of seeking a new funding source. Having a mentor was also significantly associated with involvement in the decision-making process of restructuring the area's service delivery system.

Overall, it was involvement in strategic decision-making that produced the most apparent differences between male and female managers. It would appear that while male and female managers have similar levels of power and authority, it is the men of Winnipeg Child and Family Services who claim control of the agency's strategic decision areas.

NON SIGNIFICANT ASSOCIATIONS

This study found that many of the independent variables that previously had been found to be significantly associated with power, authority and the expression of power and authority through involvement in strategic decision-making did not produce any significant results. A number of issues may have resulted in this study's failure to replicate the findings of previous research. The questionnaire may not have had sufficient conceptual clarity to capture the data that was being sought. The characteristics of this particular group of managers may be unusual or unique. Finally, Winnipeg Child and Family Services may be a gender blind workplace.

1. GENDER AND POWER.
2. GENDER AND AUTHORITY.
3. GENDER AND TWO OF THE EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS EXAMINED.

Gender was not significantly associated with; a) seeking new funding sources and b) changing the agency's service priorities.
4. GENDER AND ALL OF THE OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS.
5. GENDER AND THE STAGES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
6. GENDER AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
7. AGE AND GENDER
8. AGE AND POWER

9. AGE AND AUTHORITY
10. AGE AND ALL OF THE STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS
11. AGE AND STAGES 1, 2, 3, AND 4 OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING
12. AGE AND ALL OF THE STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM
13. AGE AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
14. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND POWER
15. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND AUTHORITY
16. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND ALL THE STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS
17. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND STAGES 2-4 , AND NON-INVOLVEMENT IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING
18. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND ALL THE STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM
19. CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND THE LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
20. FAMILY STATUS AND ALL OF THE DEPENDENT VARIABLES
21. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND POWER
22. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND AUTHORITY
23. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND FOUR OF THE EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS

Level of education was not significantly associated with; a) revising an area's organizational structure, b) seeking new funding sources, c) changing the agency's service priorities and d) changing an area's service priorities.

24. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND ALL OF THE OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS
25. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND ALL THE STAGES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
26. LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS
27. HAVING A MENTOR AND GENDER
28. GENDER OF THE PROTÉGÉ AND GENDER OF THE MENTOR
29. HAVING A MENTOR AND POWER
30. HAVING A MENTOR AND AUTHORITY
31. HAVING A MENTOR AND SEVEN OUT OF EIGHT STRATEGIC DECISION AREAS
32. HAVING A MENTOR AND ALL OF THE OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS
33. HAVING A MENTOR AND THE STAGES OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN THE RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM
34. HAVING A MENTOR AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

Gender was not significantly related to the possession of power or authority. Of all the strategic decisions only “ seeking new funding sources” and “ changing the agency’s service priorities” were not significantly related to gender. As was expected, gender was not related to any of the operational decisions. Gender and the stages of decision-making were not associated. Gender and the level of involvement in the decision-making process were not significantly associated.

Age and power, as well as age and authority were not significantly associated. Age had no relationship with either strategic or operational decisions. Age and the i) start-up, ii) development iii) finalization, and iv) implementation stages of decision-making in the volume management programming showed no significant associations. Age and the i) start-up, ii) development iii) finalization, iv) implementation stages of decision-making, as well as non-involvement in the restructuring of the service delivery system, resulted in no significant associations. Age and level of involvement in the decision-making process produced no significant associations.

Career interruptions showed no significant relationship with power, authority, strategic or operational decisions. Career interruptions and the ii) development, iii) finalization, iv) implementation stages of decision-making, as well as non-involvement in the decision-making process of volume management programming produced no significant associations. All stages of decision-making, including non-involvement in the restructuring of the service delivery system and career interruptions produced no significant associations. Career interruptions and level of involvement in the decision-making process resulted in no significant associations.

Family status was not significantly associated with any of the dependent variables.

Education and power, as well as education and authority were not significantly associated. Education and the strategic decisions, e) revising my area's organizational structure, f) seeking new funding sources, g) changing the agency's services priorities and h) changing my area's service priorities, were not significantly associated. As expected, education was not associated with any of the operational decisions. Education and all of the stages of decision-making, including non-involvement, in both the volume management programming and the restructuring of the service delivery system, produced no significant results. Finally, education and level of involvement in the decision-making process were not significantly associated.

Having a mentor and gender were not significantly associated. Mentors were not significantly related to either power or authority. With the exception of one of the strategic decisions, "seeking new funding sources", having a mentor was not significantly associated with strategic decisions. As expected, having a mentor had no relationship with any of the operational decisions. Mentors had no association with the stages of decision-making or level of involvement in either the volume management programming or the restructuring of the service delivery system.

GENDER AND POWER

In terms of perceiving access to personal sources of power, with 1 being no access to power and 5 being very great access to power, men and women had similar scores. By

combining all the results obtained from the individual questions seeking to capture data on the sources of personal power into a new variable, it was determined that men had a median score of 3.7059 with a range of 2.75 to 4.50. Women had a median of 3.7917 and a range of 3.25 to 4.50. Since the independent variable gender is a dichotomous nominal level variable and the dependent variable the power index is an ordinal level variable, the appropriate test of significance is the Mann-Whitney U test. Using the Mann-Whitney U test for the test of significance the results showed $U = 140.0$ and $p = .6666$ two-tailed and corrected for ties. Gender did not appear to be significantly related to sources of personal power.

ANALYSIS

For the purposes of this study, the sources of power available to the individual were defined as being based in the individual. The findings of this study do not support the individual deficit model. This framework seeks to explain an individual's power or lack of it within an organizational context as being the result of having or lacking certain personality traits, requiring certain training needs or simply not having had the necessary experience to achieve power. This study has shown that men and women have access to similar sources of personal power. Previous research has found that more women are to be found in positions of power and authority in public sector or government agencies (*Tharenou & Conroy 1994:27*) (*Reskin & Ross 1992:350*). However, given the definition of power used in this research, it was expected that gender would not be significantly associated to power.

The results of this study indicate that the answer to the research question “Is gender significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

GENDER AND AUTHORITY

The simply counting of names on the agency telephone list confirms Reskin and Ross (1992) assertion that women supervise women in this agency. As previously identified, a number of the questions in the survey were designed to identify access to roles or activities related to position authority. One such question 12 D sought information on the budget amount under the manager’s control. Unfortunately, insufficient data was collected from the respondents and as a result the question was eliminated from further analysis. With the exception of the Area Directors, most other management staff were unable to provide this information. While it may be that the lack of response came out of a sense of confidentiality, the more likely answer is that they perceive themselves as not having any budgetary responsibilities. This is an interesting thought given the reality that over-spending of agency moneys has long been a rallying cry for its detractors.

One other question seemed to present difficulties to the respondents. Question 12 “I am responsible for sanctioning staff” produced a large number of missing values. The survey pre-test did not reveal any difficulties with this question. However, given the number of missing responses it was eliminated from further analysis.

The variables in all the subsections of these questions are dichotomous nominal level variables. As a result, the appropriate test of significance would be chi-squared and

Fisher's Exact Test. The appropriate measure of association is Phi. The Uncertainty Coefficient would also provide useful information on the direct association between the variables.

An authority index was developed by combining all the previously identified authority questions. The index ranged between 0 and 1 with 1 being the highest authority rating. The median for female managers was .5573. The median for male managers was .6503. Given that the independent variable gender is a dichotomous nominal level variable and the authority index is an ordinal level dependent variable, the appropriate test of significance is the Mann-Whitney U test. The results showed $U = 91.5$ and $p = .3936$ two-tailed and corrected for ties. This finding is not significant.

An examination of all of the individual authority questions no significant associations.

ANALYSIS

The findings of this study did not indicate a significant relationship between gender and authority. These results did not support a number of previous findings. Jaffee (1989) found that men possess greater levels of authority than women. Mueller et al (1994) found that male social work managers have greater access to higher levels of authority in the organizational structure. Jacobs (1992) that women managers had less autonomy than male managers. The findings also did not support Wolf and Fligstein's (1979) study that found that regardless of the aspect of authority, women had much less authority than men. Yukl and Falber (1991) found that personal power is more important

than the authority of position. The findings of Yukl and Falber were not supported by this study.

The findings of this study could be viewed as supporting Reskin and Ross's (1992) research that the more "female" an occupation, the more extensive the female manager's authority. However, these authors also found that, if type of employer and organizational level are the same for male and female managers, being a woman reduced the scope of the manager's authority.

The finding that male and female managers within this agency have similar levels of authority was unexpected and may be the result of a number of different circumstances. The delineation of the rights and responsibilities of each management position are, at least on paper, relatively clear. The perception that an individual, by right of a particular characteristic such as gender, may exercise authority beyond the defined boundaries of a position they occupy may be incorrect. Finally, the questions asked to determine the level of authority available to the respondent may have missed important data.

As a result, the answer to the research question "Is gender significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is no.

GENDER AND STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS

The variables in all the subsections of these questions are dichotomous nominal level variables. As a result, the appropriate test of significance would be chi-squared and Fisher's Exact Test. The measure of association is Phi. The Uncertainty Coefficient

would also provide information on the direct association between these two variables. Gender was significantly associated with all but two of the strategic decision areas. A negative association was found between being a woman and involvement in the strategic decision area.

I WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW WORK SITE				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	4	9	13	38.2
NO	14	7	21	61.8
TOTAL	18	16	34	100.0
PER CENT	52.9	47.1	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	4.15313	1	.04156
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.04552
Two-Tail			.07637
Minimum Expected Frequency	6.118		

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	.34950			.04156
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.09180	.08613	1.06343	.03961
with Q13A dependent	.09361	.08771	1.06343	.03961
with GENDER dependent	.09006	.08469	1.06343	.03961

Missing observations: 2

The statement "I would be responsible for the development of a new work site" produced the following information. The test for significance chi-squared = 4.15313, df = 1, level of significance or $p = .04156$. Fisher's Exact Test one-tailed yields a result of

.04552 and two-tailed .07637. Given that an assumption is being made in terms of the direction of the relationship the one-tailed results are the more appropriate. What chi-squared tells us is that something other than chance is producing this result 95% of the time. Fisher's exact test which equals less than .05 indicates that this finding is significant.

The measure of association produce some significant results. $\Phi = -.34950$. What this tells us is that there is a moderate association between gender and this strategic decision. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .09180 symmetric, .09361 with gender as the independent variable and .09006 with the question as the independent variable. This tells us that there is just under 10% of association between gender and this strategic decision.

ADDING A NEW PROGRAM				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	5	11	16	45.7
NO	13	6	19	54.3
TOTAL	18	17	35	100.0
PER CENT	51.4	48.6	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	4.80430	1	.02839
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.03129
Two-Tail			.04371
Minimum Expected Frequency	7.771		

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/ASEO	Approximate Significance
Phi	-.37049			.02839
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.10166	.08833	1.15057	.02658
with Q13B dependent	.10190	.08852	1.15057	.02658
with GENDER dependent	.10142	.08815	1.15057	.02658
Missing observations: 1				

"I would be responsible for adding a new program" yielded a chi-squared = 4.80430, df = 1, p = .02839. Fisher's exact test one -tailed = .03129 and two-tailed = .04371. These findings show us that something other than chance produced these results.

The measure of association produced some significant results. A moderate association was indicated by Phi = -.37049. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .10166 in the symmetric version, .10190 with gender as the independent variable and .10142 with the question as the independent variable. This tells us that there is just over a 10% association between gender and this question.

DELETING AN EXISTING PROGRAM				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	3	10	13	37.1
NO	15	7	22	62.9
TOTAL	18	17	35	100.0
PER CENT	51.4	48.6	100.0	

Chi-squared		Value	DF	Significance
Pearson		6.65518	1	.00989
Fisher's Exact Test:				
One-Tail				.01211
Two-Tail				.01526
Minimum Expected Frequency		6.314		

Statistic		Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi		-.43606			.00989
Uncertainty Coefficient:					
symmetric		.14629	.10424	13.9696	.00850
with Q13C	dependent	.14995	.10653	1.39696	.00850
with GENDER	dependent	.14280	.10224	1.39696	.00850

Missing observations: 1

"I would be responsible for deleting an existing program" resulted in a chi-squared = 6.65518, df = 1, p = .00989. Fisher's exact test one-tailed = .01211, two-tailed

= .01526. This indicates that something other than chance produces these results 99% of the time.

The measure of association showed $\Phi = -.43606$. This tells us that there is a strong association between gender and this strategic decision. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .14629 symmetric, .14995 with gender as the independent variable and .14280 with the question as the independent variable. This tells us that there exists 14% association between gender and this strategic decision.

REVISING THE AGENCY'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES		4	4	11.4
NO	18	13	31	88.6
TOTAL	18	17	35	100.0
PER CENT	51.4	48.6	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	4.78178	1	.02876
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.04545
Two-Tail			.04545
Minimum Expected Frequency	1.943		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	2 of 4	(50%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	-.36962			.02876
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.17246	.06838	2.06541	.01189
with Q13D dependent	.25432	.06603	2.06541	.01189
with GENDER dependent	.13047	.06329	2.06541	.01189
Missing observations: 1				

“ I would be responsible for revising the agency’s organizational structure” produced a chi-squared = 4.78178, df = 1, p = .02876. Fisher’s exact test one and two-tailed = .04545. This finding is significant.

Phi = -.36962. This tells us that there is a moderate association between gender and this strategic decision. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .17246 symmetric, .25432 with gender as the independent variable and .13047 with the question as the independent variable. There exists a 25% association between gender and this strategic decision.

REVISING MY AREA'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	2	10	12	34.3
NO	16	7	23	65.7
TOTAL	18	17	35	100.0
PER CENT	51.4	48.6	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	8.83371	1	.00296
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.00384
Two-Tail			.00451
Minimum Expected Frequency	5.829		
Cells with Expected Frequency			

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	-.50239			.00296
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.20132	.11832	1.68376	.00216
with Q13E dependent	.20912	.12203	1.68376	.00216
with GENDER dependent	.19408	.11530	1.68376	.00216
Missing observations: 1				

“ I would be responsible for revising my area’s organizational structure” yielded a chi-squared = 8.83371, df = 1, with p = .00296. Fisher’s exact test one-tailed = .00384 and two-tailed = .00451. This finding is significant.

Phi = -.50239. This measures indicate a strong association between gender and this strategic decision. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .20132 symmetric, .20912 with gender as the independent variable and .19408 with the question as the independent variable. This means that an association of 20% exists between gender and the strategic decision.

CHANGING MY AREA'S SERVICE PRIORITIES				
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	2	7	9	25.7
NO	16	10	26	74.3
TOTAL	18	17	35	100.0
PER CENT	51.4	48.6	100.0	

Chi-Squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	4.13720	1	.04195
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.04868
Two-Tail			.05991
Minimum Expected Frequency	4.371		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	2 of 4	(50%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	.34381			.04195
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.09753	.08817	1.09316	.03788
with Q13H dependent	.10802	.09682	1.09316	.03788
with GENDER dependent	.08889	.08133	1.09316	.03788
Missing observations: 1				

“ I would be responsible for changing my area’s service priorities” yielded a chi-squared = 4.13720, df = 1 and p = .04195. Fisher’s exact test = .04868 one-tailed and .05991 two-tailed. There is an assumption as to the direction of this distribution that is that gender will be associated with this strategic decision. As a result this finding is significant.

Phi = $-.34381$. These findings show a moderate association between gender and the strategic question. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .09753 symmetric, .10802 with gender as the independent variable and .08889 with the strategic question as the independent variable. An association of 11% exists between gender and the strategic question.

ANALYSIS:

Male and female managers appeared to be involved with different types of decisions.

The results of this study found that gender is significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services. Specifically, men were significantly more involved in strategic decision areas than women. The findings of this study support the work of Denton and Zeytinglu (1993), Sherman, Ezell and Odewahn (1987) and Handley (1994) who found that men perceived a greater influence or participation in strategic decision-making than their female counterparts. In Handley’s study of male and female academics, the men tended to believe that they received more information and had greater influence over the decision-making process than their female colleagues. Denton and Zeytinoglu (1993) made the point that perception of

participation in decision-making is an important index of actual participation. Their research found a strong negative association between being female and perceived participation in decision-making.

This study also confirmed Jaffee's (1989) results. Jaffee (1989) found that males in a female dominated occupation are more influential than their female counterparts and that men in such occupations have greater decision-making authority. He also found that women are significantly less likely to possess decision-making authority net of the powerful effects of education, occupational status, and occupational sex composition. Jaffee theorized that employers prefer to allocate males to positions of decision-making because of their own biases, and/or the assumed statistical association between sex and other job relevant behaviors. Acker (1990) contends that employers deny women decision-making authority to preserve men's control over the organization. Mueller et al (1994) found that 42% of the gender gap between Swedish professional could be accounted for as the result of discrimination against women.

It is important to examine these findings in relation to the results concerning the possession of power and authority. Gender was found not to have a significant association with either. As previously identified, the finding concerning gender and power was expected. However, the lack of a significant association between gender and authority was a surprise. It may be that the association between gender and involvement in strategic decision areas captures a truer expression of the exercise of control within an organization. Locating a position on an organizational chart does not provide any information as to the actual strategic decision areas that the incumbent is involved in. It

would appear that being male is the ticket required to sit at the table where these strategic decisions are made. It may be that female managers, as a result of various personal and professional socialization experiences, do not feel they have the right to be involved with such decision-making. It may be that some unidentified organizational barrier prohibits their involvement. In any event, further research is required to clarify their lack of perceived involvement.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is gender significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is yes.

GENDER AND STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION-MAKING

In terms of involvement in the stages of decision-making process for either the volume management programming or the area’s restructuring of the service delivery system, there were no significant associations between gender and the stages of involvement. It may be that the two strategic decision-making processes examined did not follow the normal process of agency decision-making. The instrument used to solicit the required information may have been too crude to accurately reflect actual involvement.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is gender significantly related to the stages of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

GENDER AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

No significant associations were found between gender and the level of involvement in the decision-making process of either the volume management programming or the area's restructuring of the service delivery system. It may be that the two strategic decision-making processes examined did not follow the normal process of agency decision-making. The questionnaire's attempt to delineate the levels of involvement may have been inappropriately detailed to solicit the required information.

As a result, the answer to the research question "Is gender significantly related to levels of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is no.

AGE

The youngest management member was 35 years of age and the eldest is 66 years old. Both the youngest and the eldest are women. Looking at the 31 respondents that provided information on their age, the mean age was 48.065 and the median 46 years of age. There were multiple modes at 39, 42, 44, and 46 years of age, with each mode containing three individuals. Only 30 of the 31 respondents who provided their age identified their gender. As a result, a comparison of means between men and women indicated a mean age of 47.7667 years for women and a mean of 48 for men. The results of this survey did not support a significant difference in the mean ages of male and female managers and as a result did not provide support for the Slow Burn theory.

Of the 31 individuals who provided data on their age 45.2% were under the age of 45 years. 35% were between the ages of 45 and 59 years of age and only 9.7% were over 60 years of age. For the purposes of statistical analysis age was categorized as an ordinal variable; 35 - 39, 40 - 44, 45 - 49, 50 - 54, 55 - 59, 60 - 66 and recoded as a new variable.

Age did have the expected relationship to hierarchical position. The youngest member of the senior management team was 48 and the eldest 64 years of age. The greater the age of the respondent the greater the likelihood that they possessed a MSW. Only one of the respondents over the age of 49 did not possess a MSW. This individual was female and the eldest of this cohort.

AGE AND POWER

For the purposes of statistical analysis age was categorized into an ordinal variable; 35 - 39, 40 - 44, 45 - 49, 50 - 54, 55 - 59, 60 - 66 and recoded as a new variable. By combining all of the sources of personal power into a new variable an ordinal level variable was created. As conceptualized, both age and power would use Spearman's Rho as a measure of association. Spearman's Rho is more appropriate than Gamma or Tau in this situation. Spearman's Rho is the preferred measure when interval data has been converted to ordinal level data for the purposes of interpretation. Spearman's $r = -.1681$ and $p = .366$ two-tailed. There is not a significant association between age and power.

ANALYSIS

The lack of a significant association between age and power requires discussion. It would be logical to assume that over the length of an individual's career that many of

the sources of personal power studied would increase. For example, as time passes, an individual's access to information or historical knowledge about the agency should increase. Their network of support outside the agency should also increase over time. On the other hand, some of the other sources of individual power might have the potential to decrease over time. In a field of practice where a casework decision can end in tragedy, reputation and professional credibility may over time become increasingly vulnerable to unfavorable analysis.

Age and gender were not significantly associated and as has been previously discussed, gender and power were not significantly associated. It is not totally surprising then that age and power are not significantly associated. It may be that in the reduction of the raw data gathered on the ages of the respondents, important information was lost. Finally, the individual sources of power studied may not be sufficiently complete to accurately assess power.

As a result, the answer to the research question "Is age significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is no.

AGE AND AUTHORITY

For the purposes of statistical analysis age was categorized as an ordinal variable; 35 - 39, 40 - 44, 45 - 49, 50 - 54, 55 - 59, 60 - 66 and recoded as a new variable. Authority is also conceptualized as an ordinal level variable. As a result, the appropriate test of significance and association is Spearman's Rho. This test produced a result of $Rho = .2297$ and $p = .249$. This finding is not significant.

ANALYSIS

The lack of a significant association between age and authority requires further discussion. It may be that in the reduction of the raw data gathered on the ages of the respondents, important information was lost. The delineation of the rights and responsibilities of each management position are, at least on paper, relatively clear. The perception that an individual, by right of a particular characteristic such as age, may exercise authority beyond the defined boundaries of a position they occupy may be incorrect. Finally, the questions asked to determine the level of authority available to the respondent may have missed important data.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is age significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

AGE AND STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS

There were no significant associations between age and any of the strategic or operational decision areas. The lack of a significant association between age and any of the strategic decision areas requires further discussion. The possibility exists that in the reduction of the raw data gathered on the ages of the respondents, important distinctions were lost. The perception that an individual, by right of a particular characteristic such as age has a greater potential for involvement in strategic decision-making was not substantiated. Child welfare may be a young manager’s game, where older colleagues are not afforded any particular credit for staying in the game.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question “ Is age significantly related to type of decision?” is no.

AGE AND STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The independent variable in this subsection is age which for the purposes of these statistical manipulations is considered to be an ordinal level variable. Stage of involvement, a dichotomous nominal level variable, is the dependent variable. The Mann-Whitney U test is not appropriate in this case since the independent variable age can not logically be effected by the dependent variable. Since there are no tests of significance appropriate for nominal/ordinal data such as these two variables, age will be treated as a nominal level variable with six categories. As a result, the appropriate test of significance is chi-squared. Cramer’s V is the measure of association. The Uncertainty Coefficient will provide a measure of direct association between the variables.

Only non-involvement in the decision-making for the volume management programming produced a significant association. All the other stages of decision-making for volume management and all of the stages of decision-making, including non-involvement, in the restructuring of the service delivery system revealed no significant associations.

VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING

AGE CATEGORIES	NON-INVOLVEMENT			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
35 - 39	2	3	5	16.1
40 - 44	0	8	8	25.8
45 - 49	1	6	7	22.6
50 - 54	3	1	4	12.9
55 - 59	3	1	4	12.9
60 - 66	0	3	3	9.7
TOTAL	9	22	31	100.0
PER CENT	29.0	71.0	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	13.73528	5	.01738
Minimum Expected Frequency	.871		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	11 of 12	(91.7%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V	.66564			.01738
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.21925	.07411	2.83468	.00719
with CATAGE	dependent .14770	.05175	2.83468	.00719
with Q17AN	dependent .42521	.13382	2.83468	.00719
Missing observations : 5				

Chi-squared = 13.73528, df = 5 and p = .01738. This finding indicates that something other than chance is responsible for this association 98% of the time.

The test of association based on Chi-Squared for symmetric relationships resulted in Cramer's V = .66564. This indicates a strong symmetric association between age and non-involvement in the stages of decision-making.

The Uncertainty Coefficient = .21925 in the symmetric version, .14770 with non-involvement as the independent variable and .42521 with age as the independent variable. This indicates a 43% association between age and non-involvement.

The impact of age on non-involvement in the stages of the area's volume management programming did result in a significant association.

ANALYSIS

The interpretation of this finding requires some clarification. An examination of the raw data shows that the majority of managers under 49 years of age indicated that they were in some fashion involved in the stages of decision-making surrounding the development of volume management programming. Insufficient data was collected to identify any pattern of involvement. This finding would seem to indicate that the development of the various across agency volume management programs lay in the hands of the younger managers.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question "Is age significantly related to the stages of decision-making within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is yes.

AGE AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The assumption being made is that the six levels of involvement outlined in the decision-making process can be treated as ordinal level variables. Each level assumes a greater level of involvement and therefore could be thought of as possessing rank. Age can be conceptualized as an ordinal level variable. Since both variables can be treated as ordinal level variables then Superman's Rho, Gamma or Kendal's Tau can be used as

tests of association. However, since Rho is most appropriate if interval data has been converted to ordinal, it will be used as the measure of association.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS

Using Spearman's Rho as the test of significance and association, $Rho = .2529$ and $p = .178$ two-tailed. This result indicates that there are no significant associations between age and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM

Using Spearman's Rho as the test of significance, $Rho = -.0335$ and $p = .861$ two-tailed. This result indicates that there are no significant associations between age and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

ANALYSIS

These results require further discussion. There were no significant associations between age and level of involvement in decision-making and either of the strategic decisions examined. The possibility exists that in the reduction of the raw data gathered on the ages of the respondents, important distinctions were lost. It may be that the delineation of the various levels of decision-making involvement were inadequate. The development of volume management programming and the restructuring of an area's service delivery system may be unusual in some way and may not be appropriate as examples of agency strategic decision-making.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question “Is age significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS

Seven female managers of the eighteen women or 38.9% indicated that they had taken maternity leave. Two of the female respondents indicated that they had been on maternity leave on two occasions. Only one man indicated that he had taken parental leave. 31.4% or eleven of the respondents indicated that they had interrupted their career for reasons other than maternity or parental leave.

In order to quantify the effect of career interruptions between male and female managers a Mann-Whitney U test was run. Gender is a dichotomous nominal level variable and career interruptions an interval level variable. Unfortunately there is no appropriate test of significance for such a variable combination. By treating career interruptions as a ordinal level variable the Mann-Whitney U test provides a test of significance. For this group $U = 94.0$ and $p = .0316$ two-tailed and corrected for ties. Using Gamma as the measure of association, $\gamma = -.5960$ and $p = .0149$. This result confirms that gender does have a significant and strong association with career interruptions.

ANALYSIS

Peterson's study (1989) on the effects of career interruptions found that the effects of these variables were weakest in predominately female occupations. However,

given the impact gender has on involvement in strategic decision-making, the added impact of career interruptions must be recognized for its role in limiting female managers role in decision-making.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND POWER

Career interruptions is an interval level variable. Power is also conceptualized as an ordinal level variable. However, there is no appropriate test of significance for an interval/ordinal variable combination such as this. For the purposes of statistical analysis the career interruptions variable was categorized as an ordinal variable. As a result, the appropriate test of significance is Gamma. This test produced a result of Gamma = .1093 and $p = .514$. This finding is not significant.

ANALYSIS

This finding could be interpreted as supporting Polachek's (1979, 1982) research that traditional female occupations do not penalize women for career interruptions. Robinson (1986) suggests that the timing of career interruptions may have greater impact at the beginning of a career and that most of the effects of career interruptions dissipate over time. Most of the women who indicated that they had taken time off from their careers, indicated that it was prior to their present employment with the agency. The length of tenure of most of the female managers within the agency it would also offer support to Robinson's assertion. Finally, given that gender was not found to be significantly associated with power, it is not surprising that career interruptions were not significantly related to power.

As a result of this finding the answer to the research question “ Are career interruptions significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND AUTHORITY

Career interruptions is an interval level variable. Authority is also conceptualized as an ordinal level variable. However, there is no appropriate test of significance for an interval/ordinal variable combination such as this. For the purposes of statistical analysis career interruptions was categorized as an ordinal variable. As a result, the appropriate test of significance and association is Gamma. This test produced a result of Gamma = .1079 and $p = .575$. This finding is not significant.

ANALYSIS

Given that gender was found not to be significantly associated with authority, it is not surprising that career interruptions produced no significant associations with authority. The finding that whether or not a manager had experienced a career interruption had no significant impact on their level of authority may be the result of a number of different circumstances. The delineation of the rights and responsibilities of each management position are, at least on paper, relatively clear. It may be that once an individual achieves a management position, the impact of past career interruptions are negated. Finally, the questions asked to determine the level of authority available to the respondent may have missed important data.

As a result of this finding, the answer to the research question “ Are career interruptions significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS

No significant associations were found between career interruptions and any of the strategic or operational decision areas. Whether or not a manager had experienced a career interruption had no significant impact on their involvement in any of the strategic decision areas. These findings may be the result of a number of different circumstances. The delineation of the rights and responsibilities of each management position are, at least on paper, relatively clear. The information collected through the questionnaire may have missed important detail. It may be that once an individual achieves a management position, the impact of past career interruptions are negated.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question “ Are career interruptions significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The dependent variable in this subsection is a stage of involvement, a dichotomous nominal level variable, and the independent variable is career interruptions which for the purposes of these statistical manipulations is considered to be an ordinal

level variable. The Mann-Whitney U test is not appropriate in this case since the dependent variable can not logically be effected by the independent variable. Since there are no tests of significance appropriate for nominal/ordinal data such as these two variables, the career interruptions variable will be treated as a nominal level variable with four categories. As a result, the appropriate test of significance is the chi-square test. Cramer's V is the appropriate measure of association. The Uncertainty Coefficient will provide a measure of direct association between the variables.

One stage of involvement was found to produce a significant association. Stage 1 - Start-up/initiation of the decision-making process of the volume management programming was strongly associated with career interruptions.

VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMMING

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS	STAGE 1: START-UP/INITIATION			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
0	14	6	20	55.6
1	2	7	9	25.0
2	1	4	5	13.9
3	2	0	0	5.6
TOTAL	19	17	36	100.0
PER CENT	52.8	47.2	100.0	

Chi-squared		Value	DF	Significance	
Pearson		9.69659	3	.02133	
Minimum Expected Frequency		.944			
Cells with Expected Frequency		< 5	6 of 8	(75.0%)	
Statistic		Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V		.51899			.02133
Uncertainty Coefficient:					
symmetric		.16706	.08306	1.95669	.01273
with INTERTOT		dependent	.13567	.06681	.01273
with Q17A1		dependent	.21733	.11100	.01273
Missing observations: 0					

A significant association was found between career interruptions and the start-up stage of decision-making. Chi-squared = 9.69659, df = 3 and p = .02133 two-tailed. Cramer's V = .51899. These results indicate a moderate to strong relationship between the variables. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .16706 in the symmetric version, .13567 with the decision stage as the independent variable and .21733 if career interruptions is the independent. This indicates a 17% association between these two variables.

ANALYSIS

This particular finding indicates that having experienced a career interruption negatively impacted on the opportunity to be involved in the start-up stage of decision-making. Volume management programming was viewed as an attempt by the agency to do something new and different in the world of child welfare in Winnipeg. Previous results have demonstrated that being female was significantly associated with having experienced a career interruption. This would seem to indicate that the development or start-up phase of decision-making for ideas in volume management programming may have been a male managers' initiative. This finding could be seen as supportive of other research that has suggested that female managers are often not offered the chance to be involved in challenging assignments (*Burke 1995*) (*Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995*).

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question "Are career interruptions significantly related to the stages of the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is yes.

CAREER INTERRUPTIONS AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

The assumption being made is that the six levels of involvement outlined in the decision-making process could be treated as ordinal level variables. Each level assumes a greater level of involvement and therefore could be thought of as possessing rank. Career interruptions can be conceptualized as either an interval, ordinal or nominal level variable with four categories. However, if both variables are treated as ordinal level variables then Gamma is the appropriate tests association. No significant associations were found.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS

Using $\text{Gamma} = .1908$ and $p = .307$. This result confirms that there are no significant associations between career interruptions and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM

Using $\text{Gamma} = .0677$ and $p = .763$. This result confirms that there are no significant associations between career interruptions and level of involvement in the decision-making process.

No significant associations were found between career interruptions and the level of involvement in the decision-making process of either the volume management

programming or the area's restructuring of the service delivery system. Given the previous finding of no significant association between gender and these two strategic decisions, the results were not surprising. It may be that the two strategic decision-making processes examined did not follow the normal process of agency decision-making. The instrument used to solicit the required information may have been too crude to accurately reflect actual level of involvement. As previously suggested, the negative impact of past career interruptions may be negated in this agency once the management position is achieved.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question "Are career interruptions significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is no.

FAMILY STATUS

The managers of Winnipeg Child and Family Services are overwhelmingly married with children. In this sample 73.5% of the respondents to the survey claimed this family status. The only other significant family status was divorced with children. 11.8% of the respondents indicated that this status. Of the twenty-seven respondents who indicated that their partner was employed, seventeen identified that their partner was employed on a full-time basis. The remaining ten were described as working part-time.

The findings of this research indicated that family status, coded as married with children and other, had no significant associations with any of the dependent variables. Power, authority and participation in any of the phases of strategic decision-making appear unaffected by family status.

These findings lend support to previous research. Becker (1985), Polachek (1979, 1982) and Peterson (1989) all found that the effects of marital/parental history were weakest in predominantly female occupations, stronger in mixed occupations, and strongest in the predominantly male occupations. Peterson (1989) also found that after controlling for the human capital variables, the differences between men and women in the effect of family history, were reduced but not eliminated. It is Peterson's belief that this unaccounted for difference is the result of systematic discrimination by employers against women.

These findings do not support the research of Robert, Brunner, White and Marmot (1993) who found that being married and parenting children was a positive attribute for men but a negative attribute for women

The results of the questionnaire indicated that many of the women who had children, had those children prior to their employment with the agency. It could be speculated that the demands of caring for young children were somewhat diminished by the time these women became managers. It might also be that the kind of man who chooses social work as a career may be more involved in the demands of child-caring and household management than men in on other career paths.

As a result, the answer to the research questions, "Is family status significantly related to; power, authority, type of decision, the stage of the decision-making process or the level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is no.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION

Prior to examining the impact of level of education on the various research questions it seemed prudent to determine whether there existed differences in the level of education between the genders. For the purposes of statistical analysis, the responses to the question, "What is your education level?" were subsequently categorized into three sections: (1) non-social work education, (2) a Bachelor of Social Work degree and (3) a Master of Social Work degree. This variable may be treated as a nominal level variable with three categories. Since the independent variable, gender was conceptualized as a dichotomous nominal level variable, the appropriate test of significance would be chi-squared. The measure of association is Cramer's V. The Uncertainty Coefficient would also provide useful information on the direct association between the variables.

A significant association was found between level of education and gender.

EDUCATION	GENDER			
	FEMALE	MALE	TOTAL	PER CENT
NON SOCIAL WORK		5	5	14.7
BSW	9	4	13	38.2
MSW	9	7	16	47.1
TOTAL	18	16	34	100.0
PER CENT	52.9	47.1	100.0	

Chi-squared		Value	DF	Significance	
Pearson		7.07993	2	.02901	
Minimum Expected Frequency		2.353			
Cells with Expected Frequency		< 5	2 of 6	(33.3%)	
Statistic		Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V		.4563			.02901
		3			
Uncertainty Coefficient:					
symmetric		.1566	.06200	2.35558	.01090
		7			
with ED RANK	dependent	.1323	.04963	2.35558	.01090
		5			
with GENDER	dependent	.1922	.08194	2.35558	.01090
		3			

Missing observations: 2

A significant association was found between gender and level of education. Chi-squared = 7.07993, df = 2 and p = .02901. Cramer's V = .45633. This indicates a moderate symmetric association between gender and level of education.

The Uncertainty Coefficient = .15677 in the symmetric version, .13235 with gender as the independent variable and .19223 with the level of education as the independent variable. There is a 13% association between gender and level of education.

Sixteen of the of the thirty-four respondents who provided information on their level of education indicated they possessed a Masters of Social Work. Thirteen indicated that they possessed a Bachelor of Social Work degree. Three indicated they had Bachelor of Arts and one possessed a Community College Diploma and one respondent indicated High school as their highest completed level of education. However, when these results were highlighted by gender, female managers were the better educated. Of the eighteen female respondents none possessed less than a Bachelor of Social Work. Nine of the women had a Bachelor of Social Work. Nine of the sixteen Master of Social Work degrees were earned by the female managers. The Community College Diploma, the Bachelor of Arts degrees and the High school diploma all belonged to male managers. The findings of this study did not support Wolf and Fligstein's (1979) findings that women had less authority because they had lower levels of education. In terms of this human capital variable, women in this sample had the greater investment. This finding contradicts Becker's (1985) paper that postulated that women's investment in the human capital investment of education would be less than their male counterparts.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND POWER

For the purposes of statistical analysis, the responses to the question, "What is your education level?" were subsequently categorized into three sections; (1) non-social work education, (2) a Bachelor of Social Work degree and (3) a Master of Social Work degree.

If level of education is conceptualized as an ordinal level of measurement, the appropriate test of association for level of education and power is Gamma. This test produced $\text{Gamma} = -.1246$ and $p = .495$. This is not a significant result. It does not support a relationship between sources of personal power and level of education.

ANALYSIS

It would appear that greater educational achievement is not significantly associated with an increase in the possession of sources of individual power. It could be argued that the men of Winnipeg Child and Family Services are given more credit or greater human capital benefits for their educational achievements than are women. Support for this assertion might be found in the fact that all of the female managers have social work degrees and five of the male managers appear to have no social work degree. This finding would support Roberts, Brunner, White, and Marmot's (1993) study of gender differences in the employment and occupational mobility in the British Civil Service. They found that men achieved greater benefits from their education level than did women.

The current study could also be seen to support Mueller, Kuruvilla and Iverson's (1994) study of Swedish professionals. Mueller et al found that once admitted to a

professional position, something other than education appears to be the criteria for advancement. As a result, the answer to the research question “Is level of education significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND AUTHORITY

For the purposes of statistical analysis, the responses to the question, “What is your education level?” were subsequently categorized into three sections; (1) non-social work education, (2) a Bachelor of Social Work degree and (3) a Master of Social Work degree.

Both level of education and the authority index are ordinal level variables, making the appropriate test of association Gamma. In this case $\text{Gamma} = -.0605$ and $p = .735$. This finding indicates no significant associations between level of education and authority.

Given that women in this study were better educated than their male counterparts, the findings of this research supports the contention of Mueller et al (1994) that advancement into positions of organizational authority are based on criteria other than education. However, this finding could be viewed as supportive of Wolf and Fligstein’s (1979) study that found that men receive about three times the return for each year of post-secondary education in terms of gaining access to organizational authority.

The finding that level of education was not significantly associated with authority may be the result of a number of different circumstances. The delineation of the rights and responsibilities of each management position are, at least on paper, relatively clear.

The perception that an individual, by right of a particular characteristic such as level of education, may exercise authority beyond the defined boundaries of a position they occupy may be incorrect. Finally, the questions asked to determine the level of authority available to the respondent may have missed important data.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is level of education significantly related to authority?” is no.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS

As mentioned previously, for the purposes of statistical analysis, the responses to the question, “What is your education level?” were subsequently categorized into three sections; (1) non-social work education, (2) a Bachelor of Social Work degree and (3) a Master of Social Work degree. The involvement in the type of decision indicates a dichotomous nominal level variable. Since there are no appropriate measures of association for these types of nominal/ordinal level data combinations level of education was treated as a nominal level variable with three categories. The Mann-Whitney U test would not be appropriate since involvement in the decision could not logically have an effect on level of education. As a result, the chi-square test would be the appropriate test of significance. The appropriate measure of association is Cramer’s V. The Uncertainty Coefficient would provide a measure of direct association between the variables. A number of significant associations were found between level of education and strategic

decision area's. As expected there were no significant associations between level of education and the operational decisions.

I WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

EDUCATION	THE DEVELOPMENT OF A NEW WORK SITE			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
NON SOCIAL WORK	5		5	14.7
BSW	3	10	13	38.2
MSW	6	10	16	47.1
TOTAL	14	20	34	100.0
PER CENT	41.2	58.8	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	8.99038	2	.01116
Minimum Expected Frequency	2.059		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	2 of 6	(33.3%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V	.51422			.01116
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.18983	.07175	2.45550	.00440
with EDRANK dependent	.15895	.05668	2.45550	.00440
with Q13A dependent	.23561	.09668	2.45550	.00440

Missing observations: 2

Education and involvement in the strategic decision of "the development of a new work site" proved to be significant. Chi-squared = 8.99038, df = 2, and p = .01116. This tells us that the relationship between level of education and the strategic decision of developing a new work site occurs as the result chance 1% of the time.

The measure of association based on the chi-squared statistic available for this 2 x 3 table Cramer's V = .51422. A substantial correlation exists between education and being involved in this strategic decision. However, based on the raw data it would

appear that all the male managers having a non-social work education were involved in this strategic decision area.

The Uncertainty Coefficient = .18983 in the symmetric version, .15895 with the strategic decision as the independent variable, and .23561 with education as the independent variable. There is a 24% association between level of education and this strategic decision.

EDUCATION	ADDING A NEW PROGRAM			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
NON SOCIAL WORK	5		5	14.3
BSW	2	11	13	37.1
MSW	10	7	17	48.6
TOTAL	17	18	35	100.0
PER CENT	48.6	51.4	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	11.74119	2	.00282
Minimum Expected Frequency	2.429		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	2 of 6	(33.3%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V	.57919			.00282
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.24176	.08639	2.65786	.00079
with ED Rank dependent	.20490	.07091	2.65786	.00079
with Q13B dependent	.29478	.11099	2.65786	.00079

Missing observations: 1

Chi-squared = 11.74119, df = 2, and p = .00282. This finding is significant and indicates that chance will produce this result only 2% of the time.

The measure of association indicated a strong relationship between level of education and this strategic decision, Cramer's V = .57919.

The Uncertainty Coefficient = .24176 in the symmetric version, .20490 with the strategic decision as the independent variable and .29478 with level of education as the independent variable. There exists a 30% association between level of education and this strategic decision.

	DELETING AN EXISTING PROGRAM			
EDUCATION	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
NON SOCIAL WORK	5		5	14.3
BSW		13	13	37.1
MSW	9	8	17	48.6
TOTAL	14	21	35	100.0
PER CENT	40.0	60.0	100.0	

Chi-squared		Value	DF	Significance	
Pearson		17.35294	2	.00017	
Minimum Expected Frequency		2.000			
Cells with Expected Frequency		< 5	2 of 6	(33.3%)	
Statistic		Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V		.70413			.00017
Uncertainty Coefficient:					
symmetric		.40390	.06018	5.39199	.00001
with EDRANK	dependent	.33833	.04663	5.39199	.00001
with Q13C	dependent	.50100	.08668	5.39199	.00001
Missing observations: 1					

Chi-squared = 17.35294, df = 2 and p = .00017. The relationship between level of education and this strategic decision is significant.

The measure of association Cramer's V = .70413 indicates a strong association between the variables. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .40390 in the symmetric version, .33833 with the strategic decision as the independent variable and .50100 with the level of education as the independent variable. There is a 50% association between level of education and this strategic decision.

	REVISING THE AGENCY'S ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE			
EDUCATION	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
NON SOCIAL WORK	2	3	5	14.3
BSW		13	13	37.1
MSW	1	16	17	48.6
TOTAL	3	32	35	100.0
PER CENT	8.6	91.4	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance	
Pearson	7.67770	2	.02152	
Minimum Expected Frequency	.429			
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	4 of 6	(66.7%)	
Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Cramer's V	.46836			.02152
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.13606	.09283	1.33729	.04644
with EDRANK	.08800	.06420	1.33729	.04644
with Q13D	.29982	.17432	1.33729	.04644
Missing observations: 1				

Missing observations: 1

Chi-squared = 7.67770, df = 2 and p = .02152. This finding is significant.

The measure of association shows a moderate correlation, Cramer's V = .46836. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .13606 in the symmetric version, .08800 with the strategic question as the independent variable and .29982 with the level of education as the independent variable. There is a 30% association between level of education and this strategic decision.

Education has been shown in this study to be significantly associated with four of the strategic decision areas; (a) the development of a new work site, (b) adding a new program, (c) deleting an existing program and (d) reviving the agency's organizational structure. As a group, the female respondents are better educated than their male

counterparts. However, gender was shown to be a strong determining factor in the involvement with the majority of strategic decision areas examined. An examination of the raw data suggest that the five male managers without social work degrees are regularly involved in the strategic decision areas that were found to have a significant associations. It would appear that men are given more credit or greater human capital benefits for their educational achievements than are women. This finding would support Roberts, Brunner, White, and Marmot's (1993) study of gender differences in the employment and occupational mobility in the British Civil Service. They found that men achieved greater benefits from their education level than did women.

The current study could also be seen to support Mueller, Kuruvilla and Iverson's (1994) study of Swedish professionals. Mueller et al found that once admitted to a professional position, something other than education appears to be the criteria for advancement. For women in this sample, higher levels of education have not translated into a perception of involvement in strategic decision areas.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question "Is level of education significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is yes.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

In terms of involvement in the various stages of decision-making for the strategic decisions of the volume management programs and the area's restructuring of the service

delivery system there were no significant differences in the stages of decision-making based on level of education.

The findings of this study did not support the work of Denton and Zeytinglu (1993), Sherman, Ezell and Odewahn (1987) or Handley (1994) who found that men perceived a greater influence or participation in strategic decision-making than their female counterparts. The focus of this part of the research was to determine if level of education impacted on involvement in a particular stage of the decision-making process. No such significant associations were found. The women of Winnipeg Child and Family Services have achieved a significantly higher level of education than their male colleagues. However, the advantage of higher education levels has not translated in to greater involvement in decision-making. It would appear that something other than level of education has leveled the playing field between the male and female managers. Wolf and Fligstein (1979) found that men received about three times the return for each year of post-secondary education than women do. These results seem to support this finding.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is level of education significantly related to the stages of decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

LEVEL OF EDUCATION AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

No significant associations were found between level of education and level of involvement in the decision-making process of either volume management programming or the restructuring of the service delivery system.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS.

Level of education and level of involvement are ordinal level variables which would make Gamma the appropriate measure of association. Using this test $\text{Gamma} = .0621$ and $p = .780$. This finding confirms the lack of a significant association between these two variables.

LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM

Using $\text{Gamma} = .0597$ and $p = .789$. This confirms the lack of significant association between these two variables.

No significant associations were found between level of education and the level of involvement in the decision-making process of either the volume management programming or the area's restructuring of the service delivery system. Given the previous findings of the lack of significant associations between level of involvement in the decision-making process and gender or career interruptions, this finding was not surprising. It may be that the two strategic decision-making processes examined did not

follow the normal process of agency decision-making. The definitions used to delineate level of involvement may have been too restrictive to accurately reflect actual level of involvement.

As a result of these findings the answer to the research question “Is level of education significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

MENTORS

Mentors appear to be a common career asset in this sample. 68.6% of the managers in this sample indicated that they had a mentor in their career. Twelve of the eighteen women in this sample had mentors and twelve of the seventeen male respondents had mentors. Seven of the women indicated that they had same sex mentors, four indicated they had male mentors and one female manager indicated having mentors of both sexes. Nine of the men indicated that their mentor had been male, two men indicated that they had a female mentor and one of the respondents indicated that they had mentors of both sexes.

Prior to answering the research questions concerning having a mentor, it was appropriate to determine whether there were any significant differences between the male and female managers and having a mentor. No significant associations were found between gender and having had a mentor. As well, there were no significant associations between gender of the protégé and the gender of the mentor.

Unlike the majority of research on women and their attempts to locate female mentors, this study clearly showed that the female managers in this group were able to find female mentors (*Noe 1988, Ragins & Cotton 1991, Hunt & Michael 1983*). However, since the questionnaire was not designed to elicit information of the quality of the mentoring relationship, the power or authority of these female mentors remains unknown.

The women in this study appear to have recognized the importance of obtaining a mentor and seem to have the skills to acquire one. Unlike Ragins and Cotton's (1991) study that found that women were likely to have male mentors, this study found no association between the gender of the protégé and the gender of the mentor. Given that social work is traditionally viewed as a female occupation at the lower levels of the organization and male at the higher levels, the opportunity to access mentors of either gender would exist.

MENTORS AND POWER

Using the Mann-Whitney U test as the test of significance for power and having a mentor, the results showed $U = 118.5$ and $p = .5119$ two-tailed and corrected for ties. This finding is not significant.

The present research does not support Fagenson's (1988, 1992) finding that having a mentor leads to greater resource power, organizational influence, or greater access to important people. It may be that the prevalence among both female and male managers of having a mentor has equalized any advantage. Ragins (1989) found that

male protégés use their mentors more effectively than female protégés. This study does not support such a finding. Since the experience of having a mentor was found to be a pervasive within the management team of the agency, the advantages accrued by men in previous research studies may have been eliminated.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is having a mentor significantly related to power within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

MENTORS AND AUTHORITY

Using the Mann-Whitney U test as the test of significance for the authority index and having a mentor, the results showed $U = 95.0$ and $p = .6722$ two-tailed and corrected for ties. This finding is not significant.

The literature suggests that “everyone who succeeds has had a mentor or mentors” (*Lunding, Clements, & Perkins 1978:100*). Individuals who are mentored receive more promotions, recognition, and opportunities (*Fagenson 1992*) (*Gaskill & Sibley 1990*). However, in this study having a mentor appears to have no impact on the level of authority available to a manager within Winnipeg Child and Family Services. Since the experience of having a mentor was found to be a pervasive within the management team of the agency, any advantage accrued by the experience may have been equalized between male and female managers. As well, the definition of tasks used to compile the authority index may have failed to identify all the relevant data.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is having a mentor significantly related to authority within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is no.

MENTORS AND STRATEGIC AND OPERATIONAL DECISION AREAS

Having a mentor and being involved in the strategic decision of seeking new sources of funding produced the only significant association.

The independent and dependent variables in all the subsections of these questions are dichotomous nominal level variables. As a result, the appropriate test of significance is chi-squared and Fisher's Exact Test. The measure of association is Phi. The Uncertainty Coefficient also provides a direct measure of association between the variables. Only one strategic decision area produced a significant association.

I WOULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR:

HAVE YOU HAD A MENTOR	SEEKING NEW FUNDING SOURCES			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	12	13	25	69.4
NO	1	10	11	30.6
TOTAL	13	23	36	100.0
PER CENT	36.1	63.9	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	5.01264	1	.02516
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.02701
Two-Tail			.03111
Minimum Expected Frequency	3.972		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	1 of 4	(25%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	.37315			.02516
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.12630	.09027	1.37004	.01628
with Q14 dependent	.13026	.09309	1.37004	.01628
with Q13F dependent	.12258	.08848	1.37004	.01628

Missing observations: 0

Having a mentor and being involved in the strategic decision of seeking new sources of funding produced significant associations. Chi-squared = 5.01264, $df = 1$, and $p = .02516$. Fisher's exact test = .02701 one-tailed and .03111 two-tailed.

Phi = .37315. This tells us that there is a moderate to strong association between having a mentor and seeking new funding sources. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .12630 in the symmetric version, .13026 with having the strategic decision as the independent variable and .12258 with having a mentor as the independent variable. This finding shows us a 12 to 13% association between these two variables.

Given that this was the only significant association found it is worthy of some speculation. Having a mentor and gender were not significantly associated. Gender was not significantly associated with the strategic decision area of seeking new funding sources. It is not totally surprising that having a mentor and seeking new funding sources would be significantly associated. The persuasiveness of having a mentor among all of the agency's management team makes this finding predictable in some ways.

The literature tells us that having a mentor is a necessary requirement to career success (*Lunding, Clements, & Perkins 1978*). If one's mentor is part of the network that makes funding decisions, the relationship that exists between mentor and protégé may be important variable in obtaining new funding. Fagenson (1988) found that mentored individuals had greater access to important people as well as greater resource power than non-mentored individuals. Access to funders and to funding sources would appear to be easier for the mentored individual.

As a result, the answer to the research question “Is having a mentor significantly related to type of decision within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?” is a generally no.

MENTORS AND THE STAGES OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM

Only one significant association was found between having a mentor and the stages of involvement in the decision-making process of restructuring the service delivery system.

NON-INVOLVEMENT	HAVE YOU HAD A MENTOR			
	YES	NO	TOTAL	PER CENT
YES	2	4	6	17.1
NO	23	6	29	82.9
TOTAL	25	10	35	100.0
PER CENT	71.4	28.6	100.0	

Chi-squared	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	5.14943	1	.02325
Fisher's Exact Test:			
One-Tail			.04282
Two-Tail			.04282
Minimum Expected Frequency	1.714		
Cells with Expected Frequency	< 5	2 of 4	(50.0%)

Statistic	Value	ASEI	Val/AESO	Approximate Significance
Phi	.38357			.02325
Uncertainty Coefficient:				
symmetric	.12634	.11438	1.07117	.03067
with Q17BN	dependent .14566	.12998	1.07117	.03067
with Q14	dependent .11155	.10319	1.07117	.03067
Missing observations: 1				

Of all the stages of decision-making only non-involvement in the restructuring of the service delivery system exhibited a significant association with having had a mentor. Chi-squared = 5.14943, df = 1 and p = .02325. Fisher's exact test = .04282 for both the one and two-tailed test. As a result this finding is significant.

The test of association yielded fairly modest associations, $\Phi = -.38357$. The Uncertainty Coefficient = .12634 in the symmetric version, .14566 with having a mentor as the independent variable and .11155 with non-involvement as the independent variable. At best this indicates a 14% association between the two variables.

There may have been some difficulties with the clarity of this question in that it was seeking information based on a double negative. However, given the data collected it would appear that having had a mentor increased the potential for involvement in the restructuring of a service delivery system. However, it may be that there were an insufficient number of respondents to identify any one stage of the decision-making process as significant. The finding that having a mentor was significantly related to involvement in the restructuring of the agency was not surprising. Any modification of the service delivery system requires support from powerholders within and without the agency. A relationship with a strong mentor can potentially expedite the process.

As a result the answer to the research question "Is having a mentor significantly related to the stage of decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services?" is a no. However, having a mentor is significantly related to involvement in the strategic decision process of restructuring an area's service delivery system.

MENTORS AND LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS

No significant associations were found between having a mentor and the level of involvement in the decision-making process. It may be that the two strategic decision-making processes, volume management programming and the restructuring of an area's service delivery system, did not follow the normal process of agency decision-making. The questionnaire's attempt to delineate the levels of involvement may have been too detailed to solicit the required information.

As a result, the answer to the research question "Is having a mentor significantly related to level of involvement in the decision-making process within Winnipeg Child and Family Services"? is no.

ANALYSIS OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

The research questions examined in this thesis focused on identifying those variables that could be used to predict power and authority in a child welfare agency. The process of strategic decision-making was also studied as a vehicle for the expression of power and authority. It was thought that gender would have significant association with power and authority. A great deal of the existing research has found that female managers are relegated to organizational positions that allow them significantly lower levels of power and authority. The findings of this study clearly indicate that gender is not significantly associated with power, authority, the stages of the decision-making

process, or the level of involvement in the decision-making process. No significant association was found between gender and hierarchical position. It may be that the women of Winnipeg Child and Family Services who have been chosen for the agency management positions may possess certain characteristics that make them more acceptable to their male colleagues. Ruderman, Ohlott and Kram (1995) suggest that the male decision makers in organizations experience a lack of comfort or fit with female candidates. Their study examined the promotion decisions made within a large corporation. The results of their study found that promoted men were described as having a high degree of comfort or fit with the decision maker. It may be that promoted women within the agency have the qualities that fit. On the other hand, the women managers may have been promoted by other women within the organization. Finally, Reskin (1993) suggests that self-selection must be considered as having an impact the gender of the promoted as well as organizational selection decisions. Since no data was collected on the promotion experiences of the respondents this remains speculation.

It may be that the impact of the current female managers has begun to eliminate the preferential status that past male managers have enjoyed. Gender's only significant association was with involvement in the strategic decision areas. Male managers identified a greater involvement with these strategic decisions than their female colleagues. The point must be made that these results are based on perception of involvement. It may be that the past personal and professional socialization of the current female managers has led them not to expect involvement in certain strategic decision areas. Riggs and Sparrow (1996) suggest that the relationship between gender-

stereotypes and patriarchal power places female managers in a contradictory position. As managers they are supposed to have the authority of their position, however as women they exist within a gendered social structure in which men are expected to hold power. Such a conflict might prevent female managers from asserting their right to be involved with strategic decision areas. However, perception is often the reality. Further research into this finding would be helpful.

The findings on age were also a surprise. It is logical to assume that as age increases and career's unfold, greater levels of power and authority become available during the early and middle stages of career development. Increased involvement in the strategic decision areas, the stages of decision-making and the level of involvement in the decision-making process might also be predicted. The findings of this study did not support this assumption. Further, the one significant association found between age and involvement in the development of volume management programming suggested that being under 50 years of age increased the potential for involvement in the process. It may be that the choice of this strategic decision was not representative of the normal decision-making process within the agency. Volume management program funding is not part of the agency's core funding. There are no guarantees that these programs will continue past the current fiscal year. Over the years a number of innovative programs have been initiated, briefly flourished and then vanished for lack of core funding. Allowing younger managers to be involved in the development of such programming poses few risks in the long term and can serve the function of identifying the potential of those involved.

The literature suggests that career interruptions have a negative impact on the power and authority of female managers. Gender was significantly associated with career interruptions within Winnipeg Child and Family Services. However, the results of this research showed no significant relationship between career interruptions and power, authority, involvement in strategic decision areas, the stages of involvement in the restructuring of a service delivery system or level of involvement in the decision-making process. These findings are supportive of previous research that shows that the effects of career interruptions is weakest in predominately female occupations (*Peterson 1989*). Mandelson's (*1996*) suggestion that increased participation by women in the labour force is, in part, the result of increasing demands for services provided by traditionally female occupations could offer a partial explanation for career interruptions not being significantly associated with power, authority and participation in the agency's decision-making processes. The demands made on the agency have continued to grow, resulting in an increase in the agency's staff complement. The need for more staff and for manager's to supervise them has resulted in the hiring of at least four new female supervisors. The effects of career interruptions may be negated in the face of agency staffing needs.

The one exception to this lack of significant associations between career interruptions and any of the dependent variables was found in the start-up/initiation stage of decision-making for volume management programming. Never having experienced a career interruption was significantly associated with this stage. Since career interruptions were by far a female experience, it could be suggested that the start-up or initiation stage

of volume management programming was a testing ground for primarily young male managers. These finding could be seen as supportive of other research that has suggested that female managers are often not offered the chance to be involved in challenging assignments (*Burke 1995*) (*Ruderman, Ohlott & Kram 1995*).

The finding that family status was significantly associated with none of the dependent variables was surprising. The impact of “double duty” on female managers has long been speculated upon as a causal explanation for gender differences in levels of power, authority and career achievements. It may be that the choice of a career in child welfare, a predominantly female occupation, validates Becker’s premise that women choose occupations that are less taxing and therefore more compatible to the demands of meeting family responsibilities (*Becker 1995: 535*). However, no one, male or female, committed to the field of child welfare would describe it as less taxing than other fields of practice in social work. Given that the mean age of both male and female managers was approximately 48 years of age, a more likely explanation is that the intense demands of meeting the needs of very young children occurred prior to their employment as an agency manager. This is speculation, since no data was collected on the tenure of managers in their position or on the ages of children in their care.

Level of education was significantly associated with gender. The female managers of this agency have attained higher levels of social work education than their male counterparts. The level of education proved to have no significant association with most of the dependent variables. The exception to this was involvement with four strategic decision areas; a) the development of a new work site, b) adding a new program,

c) deleting an existing program and d) revising the agency's organizational structure. Being male was also significantly associated with these same strategic decision areas. Roberts et al (1993) found that even when education levels were similar, men were admitted into a higher grade of the British Civil Service than women. Based on the returned questionnaires, Winnipeg Child and Family Services has five male managers without a under graduate or graduate social work degree. All of the female respondents had at least a Bachelor of Social Work degree. It could be suggested that male managers at the agency receive more human capital credits for their educational achievements than their female counterparts.

No significant association was found between having a mentor and gender. As well, there was no relationship between the gender of the protégé and the gender of the mentor. Finally, there were no significant associations between the experience of having a mentor and almost all of the dependent variables. Significant associations were found between having a mentor and the strategic decision area of seeking new funding sources as well as between having a mentor and being involved in the restructuring of the service delivery system. Since the female managers of this agency had access to mentoring relationships, the benefits of such a relationship may have been equalized between the genders.

The results of this research provided mixed and inconclusive findings in determining whether or not Winnipeg Child and Child Services exhibits a gender bias. Gender was not found to be significantly related to the possession of power or authority. However, gender was significantly associated with involvement in the majority of

strategic decision areas. Men, and not women, claim this exercise of power as their own. It may be that the instruments used to measure power and authority were too crude to capture the reality of the situation. Other findings suggest that even though women were the better educated, it was male managers who were involved with the majority of strategic decisions made within the agency.

THE FINDINGS FROM THE POLITICAL-ECONOMY PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION

Hasenfeld's (1983) delineation of the political-economy perspective has been previously outlined. The political refers to the power and authority acquired by an organization as defined by a dominant elite. The economic refers to the resources required by the organization to support the service technologies, the division of labor within the organization and the production of services to be provided. The economic environment includes the availability of resources like clients, a labor force, technology and facilities, the demand for the agency's services, the structure of the human services network and the general economic conditions effecting the availability of fiscal resources (Hasenfeld 1983:45).

GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

The general environment describes those conditions in the environment, whether economic, demographic, cultural, political-legal or technological, that affect all organizations. These characteristics support the functioning of organizations on the basis

of the fit between the organization's structure and activities and the general environment's characteristics (*Hasenfeld 1983:51*). Hasenfeld views the ability of human service organizations to impact on the conditions of the general environment as limited.

The state of the general economy directly influences or limits the state of economy within a child welfare agency. Economic conditions determine the allocation of resources to social service agencies. It is only logical to recognize that the general state of the economy will impact upon the service demands made on an agency. It is a sad reality that the economic conditions which place the most demands upon social service agencies also limit agency's ability to respond to those demands. For example, the Operational Review of Winnipeg Child and Family Services identified the desperate economic plight of the urban Aboriginal population as being a driving force in the agency's past and future financial difficulties. The authors of this review state that "barring any change in the economic condition of the Aboriginal residents of the city there will be systematic and sustained increases in the number of children at risk for the next 10-15 years (*Prairie Research Associates 1997:i*).

Socio-demographic factors such as age, gender, family composition, race and ethnic composition, residential location and social class are highly related to certain human problems. The relative youth of the majority of the Aboriginal population, their high birth-rate compared to the dominant elite's, the slum housing that the poor are forced to endure, are all factors that increase the potential for child welfare involvement. The finding that men and women within this agency have similar levels of power and

authority, may in some part be related to the demographic realities of our society. Perry, Davis-Blake and Kulik (1994) examined the selection and promotion decisions made in organizations. Perry et al's (1994) review of the literature identified a number of factors that effect the decision to select or promote an individual. One of their major findings was that a relationship exists between the demographic composition of the applicant pools and the demographic composition of the job and/or the organization. The front-line entry level of child welfare remains predominately female. The findings of this research indicate that gender is not the primary basis of power and authority. It is logical to assume that as management positions become available at the entry and middle levels, the selection process will continue to recruit from the front-line pool. The result of this may lead to an ever increasing female presence in the agency's management structure. The proviso to this may be that the dominant elite of the general environment may resist placing women in the highest position within the agency. Hasenfeld (1983) views social service agencies as being particularly sensitive to the cultural and value systems of the dominant elite. It is the function of these agencies to promote, strengthen and uphold the dominant value systems. However, the findings of this research offer hope for the amelioration of dominant cultural values. The female managers appear to generally have the same potential as male managers to impact on the functioning of the agency. While the current research did not examine the value base of the current managers, other research has shown that many women are more focused on their connections with others as opposed to individual achievement. Perhaps the goals women managers seek to achieve in the workplace, will have less to do with maintaining the status quo and more

to do with being connected to others within both the workplace and the community?
(Gilligan 1992)

The agency's operational review makes specific mention of the "whiteness" of the agency's service delivery. It makes reference to the fact that the dominant culture of the agency may have difficulty in understanding the needs or desires of its growing Aboriginal clientele. Some authors would suggest that as an institutionalized human service organization with a mechanistic organizational structure, Winnipeg Child and Family Services is unable to respond to the changes around it because it simply does not have any method of recognizing or responding to the demands of the society it exists within. However, since gender was not found to be significantly related to power or authority, an ever growing number of female powerholders, many of whom may have personally experienced discrimination, may be more attuned to the needs of the agency's client population.

A possible explanation for the finding that gender is not significantly related to power and authority in this agency may have its roots in the political-legal conditions of the general environment. It has been argued that the percentage of women in an organization may be related to the relative strength of internal and external forces and the political agendas put forth by these forces (Cohn 1996). Over time, public sector employers have been strongly influenced by political pressures to pursue more egalitarian hiring practices than the for-profit sector Kvande and Rasmussen (1995). It may well be that the long standing feminist struggle to achieve the goal of equality and self-determination has begun to bear fruit in this agency setting.

The effectiveness of many of the service technologies used by the agency remain unknown. The agency's operational review speaks to the lack of a risk assessment scale at the intake level of the agency's service delivery system. The ever growing number of children in care can be seen as either the result of a growing underclass of disposable children in our society or the work of ill-prepared and under-resourced social workers. Over time the agency has tacitly ignored certain available technologies, e.g. Manitoba Risk Estimation Scale, and embraced others, e.g. in-home support programs, that have been shown to have time-limited effectiveness. A number of the findings of this research lead credence to the belief that the agency's female managers need to become more involved in the development and implementation of new service technologies. The findings of this research suggest that the male managers of the agency perceive these activities as being their domain. Gender was significantly associated with the strategic decision areas of adding a new program, or deleting an existing program from the agency's array of service interventions. Further, being male increased the probability of involvement in the strategic decision area of changing an area's service priorities, which of course has an impact on agency interventions or technologies. Finally, this research found that a lack of career interruptions was significantly associated with the development of volume management programming. Since women experienced twice as many career interruptions than men in this agency it is reasonable to speculate that more men than women were involved in the development of the volume management programs. Female managers were found to have attained higher levels of social work education than their male counterparts. It could certainly be argued that involvement in degree and graduate

education provides the opportunity to expand one's knowledge base. It may be fair to suggest that the female managers, based on their higher levels of education, could be more familiar or knowledgeable about the development of new service technologies. The agency's operational review made a point of questioning the effectiveness of the volume management programs. This criticism may have less forthcoming if the female managers had been more involved in the start-up stage of volume management programming.

The ability of managers, male or female, to effect in the short run the general environment that surrounds Winnipeg Child and Family Services is limited. The revolution is not yet a viable option. A greater impact can be made on the task environment.

TASK ENVIRONMENT

Hasenfeld (1983) describes the task environment as "the set of all external groups and organizations controlling access to potential and actual resources for the organization" (*Hasenfeld 1983:60*). In order to identify each organization's relevant task environment the organizational domain must be identified. The organizational domain refers to the particular problem or need that the organization has staked as its own, the section of the population it is focusing on and the particular services that it intends to provide in order to meet its mandate. The work of Winnipeg Child and Family Services focuses on children and the families in which they live. Such a focus has traditionally been viewed as women's work. Miller (1991) describes the child welfare system as a

caretaking system. The organization that makes up this caretaking system reflects the values of the dominant elite, their definition of caretaking, and their articulation of the role of women within that system. Miller views the child welfare system as being part of what Ferguson (*cited in Miller 1991:594*) calls the public patriarchy or institutionalized patriarchy. However, an argument can be made that the agency also reflects the values and definition of caretaking held by its employees.

Hasenfeld (1983) feels that the task environment consists of at six major components; 1) the providers of fiscal resources, 2) the providers of legitimation and authority, 3) the providers of clients, 4) the providers of complementary services, 5) the consumers and recipients of the agency's products, and 6) competing organizations (*Hasenfeld 1983:61-62*). It is important to recognize that any specific organization or group in the task environment may represent several of these sectors at the same time.

Child welfare agencies obtain their two most important resources, money and authority, from the same external source; the provincial government. As part of the task environment, the provincial government and its supporting bureaucracies, are both the providers of fiscal resources and legitimation/authority. It is their responsibility to monitor and evaluate the agency's performance according to the goals outlined by its dominant elite.

Benson (1975) describes social service organizations as being dependent on and subservient to the environmental forces that provide them with legitimation and authority. The selection of the organization's new CEO may well be a reflection of the unhappiness felt by the providers of fiscal resources and legitimation. The agency's new

CEO has absolutely no background in child welfare. He has an under graduate degree in a physical science and a Masters of Business Administration. The choice of an outsider can be seen as an attempt to control the behavior of the organization. Outside successors are usually hired to accomplish change and are less bound up with and constrained by the organizational history and its commitments. The stated goal of the agency's new CEO is to reduce the agency's nine million dollar deficit. Female managers were found to possess similar levels of power, authority as their male colleagues and to have access to some aspects of strategic decision-making. The findings of this study support the belief that an opportunity may exist to change the value base of some of the agency's interventions in order to address the needs of the client population in a more empowering fashion. If the provision of service meets the goal of fiscal efficiency, the underlying value base may be unimportant to those charged with reducing the agency's deficit. The present research would suggest that women, for whatever reason, have not been as involved in the development of new interventions. The stated position of the agency's new CEO is to leave the provision of service to the staff of the agency. This may be the time for the female managers to exercise the option of developing new programs.

The providers of clients make up another segment of the agency's task environment. Given the mandate of the agency, this includes individuals and families as well as other organizations and institutions. Providers of complementary and competing services make up other elements of a child welfare agency's task environment. These include organizations in the criminal justice system, the health care system, the education system, private therapists, and any other organizational entity with which the agency

might have a complementary or inter-dependent relationship. The operational review of the agency viewed these complementary and competing providers of services as having a critical role in the escalating costs of child welfare. As education, health, and the other agencies of the social services sector withdraw into their core mandates, it becomes the child welfare systems responsibility to fill the gap. Given the magnitude of the withdrawal of services, the ability of the agency to stretch its resources diminishes. As a result, the agency may begin to withdraw its softer services and to talk of families being able to help themselves without state interference. The challenge facing the agency's management is to develop innovative and inexpensive interventions during a time when it finds itself with fewer resources to assist families and their children. This study found that having had a mentor was significantly associated with seeking new funding sources. In the current economic climate, access to new funding sources is enhanced if collaborations occur between the providers of clients, complimentary and competing services. The operational review has great praise for the across agencies programming. Strengthening ties with competing organizations, who by and large are not as powerful or resource rich as Winnipeg Child and Family Services, has the advantage of imposing the agency's value base on organizations that might profess an alternate value base. This process of co-opting can allow for the reinforcement of the dominant elite's vision of society. However, if the will exists to change the value base of the agency's interventions, increased collaboration with complementary and competing agencies might allow for the development of pro-active programming to address the needs of service recipients. Across agency initiatives have been successful in obtaining new

funding, for example joint funding has been obtained for programming with The Native Women's Transition Center, Andrews Street Resource Center and the Elizabeth Hill Counseling Center. One can speculate that the networking required to accomplish these initiatives may have its origin in a variety of mentoring relationships.

The final element of the agency's task environment is the consumers, voluntary or involuntary of the agency's service delivery products. The majority of its clientele are single mothers and their children. This study has demonstrated that this agency is a caretaking system managed by men and women with similar levels of authority and power but with different levels of involvement in strategic decision areas. At the service delivery level, it is made up of more women: foster mothers, female family support workers and female social workers. Research exists that supports the contention that women select this work because it allows them to exercise their social/nurturing skills. These skills may be best described as the ability to deal with one's own emotions in order to effectively deal with the behaviour and feelings of other people (*Kilbourne & England 1996*). Given the findings of this research, the next step may for female managers to begin to develop joint initiatives with all of these women to collectively address common difficulties they have experienced. The majority of referrals to child welfare agencies are often based on allegations of child neglect. The connection between poverty and child neglect is well documented. Despite the research that finds neglectful mothers often to be poor, single, and socially isolated, much of current child welfare ideology and therefore many of its interventions seek to therapeutically treat the referral based on a perspective of individual pathology. Such interventions endorse the dominant elite's

perspective that those who suffer in poverty have only their own inadequacy to blame rather than attributing it to profound inequities in our society's distribution of wealth and power. The findings of this research suggest that the basic tools required to work toward changing this value stance do lie in the hands of the female managers of Winnipeg Child and Family Services.

RECOMMENDATIONS

A number of questions were raised by these results that suggest areas for further research. Ethnicity and race were not addressed in this research and may have a major impact of an individual's perception of their possession of power and authority. The power index and authority index require further refinement. In-depth interviewing of management members might highlight crucial areas that were overlooked in this research. A different methodological approach might clarify these findings.

A strong argument can be made that the women in this particular child welfare agency may have the resources to pro-actively respond to a number of issues and client needs. No clear explanation exists for the differences between the genders in terms of involvement with the strategic decision areas. It may be that when the society around an individual socializes them into believing that they are unable to perform a certain task by reason of their gender and as a result the attempt to do so is not made. Strategies that suggest individual change can easily be seen as validation of their inadequacies. Nevertheless, a concerted effort must be made to take charge of the agency's service delivery system and the technologies and interventions that are employed. The findings

suggest that the determination of service priorities and the addition or elimination of agency programs are in the hands of the male managers. The female managers of this agency should join together to develop new programs and technologies. The results of this research seem to imply that women's higher levels of education do not automatically translate into greater access to strategic decision areas. Nevertheless, continual professional improvement must be a goal of women managers wishing to ensure a growing place in the agency's positions of power and authority.

The political economy perspective clarifies the importance of joint initiatives, the role of social and political movements and collective action in accomplishing change. Attempts to change our society's belief in hierarchy over egalitarianism, competition over cooperation and individual achievement over the collective good must be organized. Women must commit themselves to working toward social and political change. Coming together with the members of the agency's task environment can only strengthen the efforts of all to achieve a real change in the lives of women and children in our communities.

The option of organizational reform must also be considered. The literature speaks of a new organizational form, the learning organization. Within this type of organization a culture is created which supports risk-taking and encourages learning from mistakes. A learning organization continuously transforms itself in a process reciprocally linked to the development of its members (*Alimo-Metcalfe 1994:38*). The gender-based division of power and authority that appear to exist within the provincial bureaucracy and the male dominated political leadership seem an unlikely sources of positive change for

Winnipeg Child and Family Services. However, the findings of this research suggest that the female managers of Winnipeg Child and Family Services may have some of the power and authority required to initiate the change process. The female managers of the agency must be prepared to network together to influence, in whatever fashion they can, the coming organizational changes and strive to create a new organization that learns from its membership.

Finally, examples of gender discrimination must be documented and highlighted in order to name them for what they are, unfair and unequal treatment. As child welfare workers we have the ability to control the process and content of our social work practice. We can perpetuate the practice of unequal treatment of women or we can view ourselves as being involved in the same practices of discrimination and strive to change.

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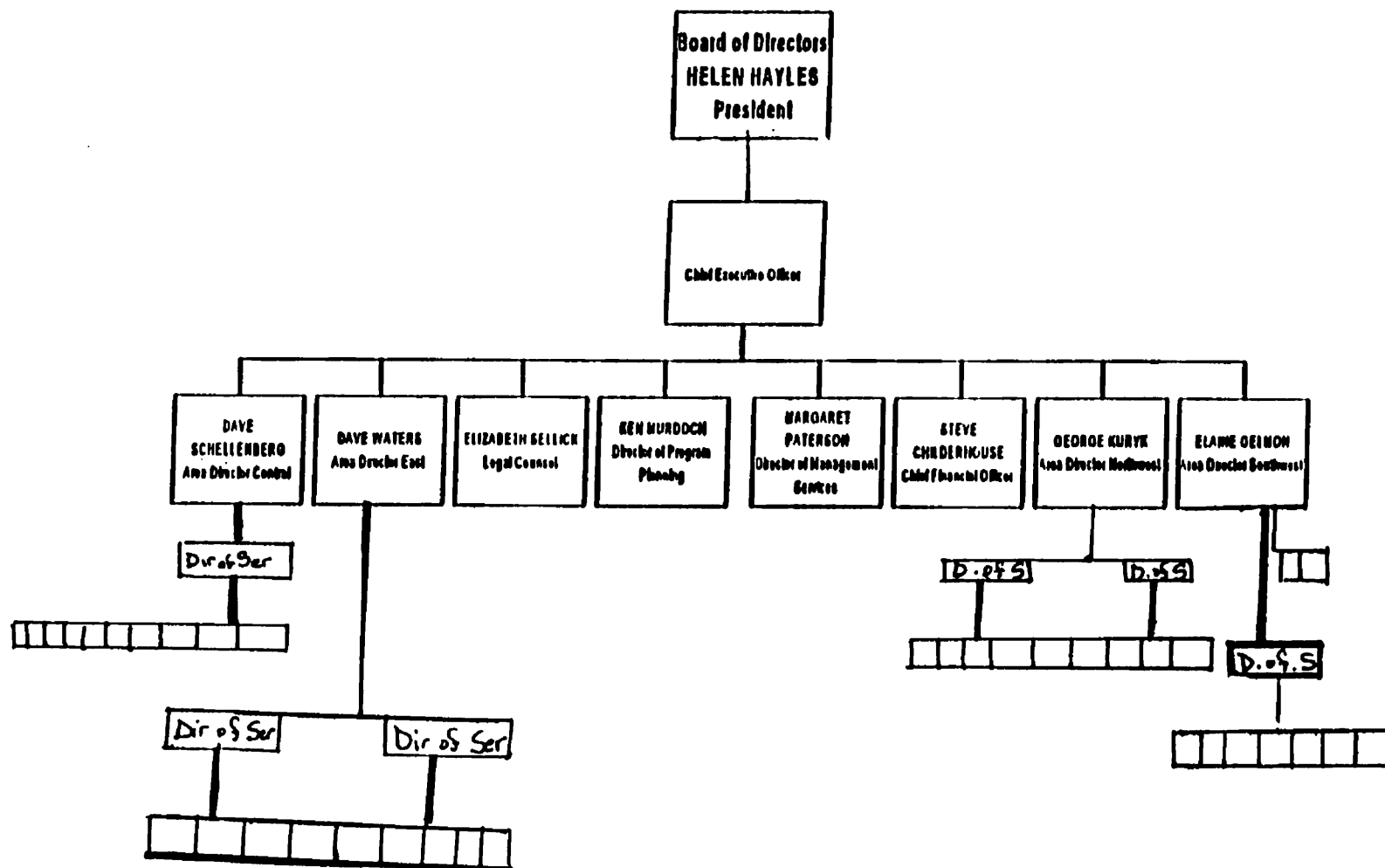
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APPENDIX I

WINNIPEG CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ORGANIZATIONAL CHART

WINNIPEG CHILD AND FAMILY SERVICES ORGANIZATIONAL CHART



APPENDIX II

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

POWER AND AUTHORITY IN A CHILD WELFARE AGENCY

This research project is being conducted by a student of the University of Manitoba's Faculty of Social Work. The purpose of the study is to better understand the variables that are important in predicting power and authority within a child welfare agency. Your answers to the following questions will be anonymous and kept strictly confidential. We appreciate your taking time to complete the questionnaire and to return it in the envelope provided.

DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION:

Please identify your Area within the Agency:

Southwest ____ Northwest ____ East ____ Central ____ Wesley ____

(1) Are you? Male ____ Female ____

(2) What is your date of birth? Y/M/D _____

(3) What is your education level (completed)?

- ____ High School
- ____ College Certificate or Diploma
- ____ B.A.
- ____ B.S.W.
- ____ M.S.W.
- ____ Other (please specify) _____

(4) Family Status:

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ____ Single/no children | ____ Single with children |
| ____ Married/no children | ____ Married with children |
| ____ Divorced/no children | ____ Divorced with children |
| ____ Common-law/no children | ____ Common-law with children |
| ____ Widowed/no children | ____ Widowed with children |

(5) (a) If you are in a relationship, does your partner work outside the home? YES__ NO__

(b) If they work outside the home do they work FULL-TIME__
PART-TIME__

(6) Have you ever been on maternity leave? YES__ NO__
If yes, how many times? _____

- (7) Have you ever been on parental leave? YES___ NO___
If yes, how many times? _____
- (8) Have you experienced any interruptions in your professional work experience for any other reason? YES___ NO___
If yes, please explain. _____

- (9) What is your current management title?
____ Front-line supervisor
____ Director of Services/Resources
____ Area Director
____ Other _____
- (10) In my current position I directly supervise:
____ 0 staff
____ less than 5
____ 5 - 10 staff
____ 11 - 15 staff
____ more than 15
- (11) The staff I supervise, supervises the work of other professional staff. YES___ NO___
- (12) My position in the agency gives me control of:
- (a) how the work is organized in my unit YES___ NO___
- (b) hiring for my work unit YES___ NO___
- (c) firing staff in my work unit YES___ NO___
- (d) as a function of my position I control a budget of _____
- (e) I am responsible for evaluating staff YES___ NO___
- (f) I am responsible for allocating resources to other work units YES___ NO___
- (g) I am responsible for sanctioning staff YES___ NO___

(13) I would be responsible for:

- (a) the development of a new work site YES__ NO__
- (b) adding a new program YES__ NO__
- (c) deleting an existing program YES__ NO__
- Strategic* (d) revising the agency's organizational structure YES__ NO__
- (e) revising my area's organizational structure YES__ NO__
- (f) seeking new funding sources YES__ NO__
- (g) changing the agency's service priorities YES__ NO__
- (h) changing my area's service priorities YES__ NO__
- (i) day to day casework decisions YES__ NO__
- (j) decorating my own work area YES__ NO__
- Operation* (k) casework assignments YES__ NO__
- (l) organizing the structure of service delivery in my unit YES__ NO__
- (m) approving vacation requests YES__ NO__

(14) Defining a mentor as an experienced higher ranking individual who provides guidance and support to a developing professional, have you had a mentor? YES__ NO__

If your answer is NO please go to question #16

(15) What gender was this mentor? Male _____ Female _____

(16) Please answer the following questions by circling the appropriate number.

- 1 = NOT AT ALL
2 = TO A SMALL DEGREE
3 = TO SOME DEGREE
4 = TO A LARGE DEGREE
5 = TO A VERY LARGE DEGREE
6 = NOT APPLICABLE

- | | | |
|-----|--|-------------|
| (1) | To what degree do you have information that is needed by others to solve critical problems? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (2) | To what degree do you have access to resources that are valuable to your supervisor or people at higher levels? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (3) | To what degree do you have control over resources, such as money or equipment, in the organization? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (4) | To what degree are you able to influence others in the the organization? Influence is defined as having your advice/suggestions incorporated into the decision-making process? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (5) | To what degree do you have access to people with significant power outside the organization? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (6) | To what degree do you have power in the organization? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (7) | To what degree do you have access to important information within the agency? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (8) | To what degree do you possess historical knowledge about the agency? Historical knowledge is defined as knowing what in the past has or has not worked when trying to get things done. | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (9) | To what degree do you rate your ability to inspire devotion and enthusiasm in your staff? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
- (17) Power can be expressed through the process of decision-making. The decision-making process can be broken down into four stages. These stages can be defined as:
- (1) ***Start-up/Initiation:*** includes recognition of an issue and definition of solution or goal.
 - (2) ***Development:*** includes the search for alternatives and the creation of possible solutions.
 - (3) ***Finalization:*** includes evaluation of alternatives, the choice among them and ratification of a decision.
 - (4) ***Implementation.***

Using the stages of decision-making identified above, please check off each stage you were involved with in answering the following questions. Remember you can be involved in more than one stage.

- (a) WHICH OF THE DECISION-MAKING STAGES WERE YOU INVOLVED WITH WHEN YOU CONSIDER YOUR INPUT IN YOUR AREA'S VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS?

☐ Stage 1: Start-up/Initiation
☐ Stage 2: Development
☐ Stage 3: Finalization
☐ Stage 4: Implementation
☐ None of the above

- (b) WHICH OF THE DECISION-MAKING STAGES WERE YOU INVOLVED WITH WHEN YOU CONSIDER YOUR INPUT INTO YOUR AREA'S RECENT RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM?

☐ Stage 1: Start-up/Initiation
☐ Stage 2: Development
☐ Stage 3: Finalization
☐ Stage 4: Implementation
☐ None of the above

- (18) The statements listed below can be used as descriptions of your level of involvement in the agency's decision-making process:

- (1) I provided no or minimal information.
- (2) I provided information only.
- (3) I had the opportunity to give advice.
- (4) My advice was taken into consideration. My superior's final choice reflected the advice he/she had received.
- (5) Joint decision-making with my supervisor.
- (6) I had complete control.

Using the statements above as your answers to the following questions, please identify the level of involvement in the decision-making process in the questions outlined below.

- (a) CIRCLE THE LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT YOU HAD INTO THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AROUND YOUR AREA'S VOLUME MANAGEMENT PROGRAMS.

1 2 3 4 5 6

- (b) CIRCLE THE LEVEL OF INVOLVEMENT YOU HAD INTO THE
DECISION-MAKING PROCESS AROUND YOUR AREA'S RECENT
RESTRUCTURING OF THE SERVICE DELIVERY SYSTEM.

1 2 3 4 5 6

POWER BASES

The literature identifies a number of sources of power. The following questions are designed to identify which sources of power are available to you.

KNOWLEDGE: EXPERT knowledge refers to the possession of a specific body of knowledge acquired either through formal academic training or job experience.

AREAS OF EXPERTISE:

1. CHILD WELFARE:

- (a) Family Service
- (b) Abuse
- (c) Intake
- (d) Adoption
- (e) Foster/Resource
- (f) Family Therapy/Mediation
- (g) Family Preservation/Reunification

2. MANAGEMENT SKILLS

3. OTHER _____

- (19) Identify what you believe are your area(s) of expertise:

1: _____ 2: _____ 3: _____

- (20) Identify three (3) individuals within your area management structure who you believe possess expert knowledge and identify each one's area of expertise:

NAME

AREA OF EXPERTISE

1.

2.

3.

- (21) Identify three (3) individuals within the agency's management structure who you believe possess expert knowledge and identify each one's area of expertise:

NAME

AREA OF EXPERTISE

1.

2.

3.

- (22) No other unit in this agency can perform the functions of my work unit.

YES___ NO___

EXPLAIN _____

- (23) Using the scale outlined below rate yourself on the following questions:

1 = POOR
2 = FAIR
3 = GOOD
4 = VERY GOOD
5 = EXCELLENT
6 = NOT APPLICABLE

- | | | |
|-----|---|-------------|
| (a) | How do you rate your reputation within the agency? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (b) | How do you rate your credibility outside the agency? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (c) | How do you rate the level of support available to you from your staff? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (d) | How do you rate your work unit's ability to cope with the volume of work? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |
| (e) | How do you rate your work unit's ability to provide reliable information to your superiors? | 1 2 3 4 5 6 |

- (24) Do you have any additional comments?

APPENDIX IV-CONSENT TO PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Terry Lejko
275 Davidson St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3J 2T 7

Dear Colleague,

As some of you may know, I am in the final stages of completing my MSW. As part of the requirements of the degree, I have chosen to do research on the variables that predict power and authority in a child welfare agency. As part of that process I have developed a questionnaire to gather the information I am interested in. Your Executive Director has indicated that I may approach you to request your participation in the pre-test screening of my questionnaire. The purpose of the pre-test is to identify any difficulties in the construction of the questionnaire. Let me make it perfectly clear. There are no negative or positive consequences for choosing not to participate in this pre-test. You may choose to answer any question in whole or in part. Your identity will not be revealed to me and your responses will be totally confidential.

It is my belief that understanding the exercise of power and authority in social service agencies is important. Upon completion of my thesis, I will forward to you the findings of my research.

If you have any questions or concerns about the questionnaire or the process of the pre-test, please feel free to contact me at the number listed below. Thank you for consideration in this matter.

Yours truly

Terry Lejko
832-5806

APPENDIX III

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR THE QUESTIONNAIRE

Terry Lejko
275 Davidson St.
Winnipeg, Mb.
R3C 2T7.

Dear Colleague:

I am currently a graduate student of the Faculty of Social Work at the University of Manitoba. I am writing to you in regards to my Master's thesis research. My topic explores the variables that lead to position and power in the organizational structure of a child welfare agency. As a result, I am approaching all the supervisory and management staff of Winnipeg Child and Family Services as the potential respondents for my research.

Very few studies have been done in this area and the social work literature is by and large silent on this topic. Given that child welfare is a major employer of graduate social workers it is my hope to begin to address this lack. Your input is therefore very important.

The research will involve the completion of a survey and should take approximately 30 minutes. This letter serves as a request for your participation in the study. Participation is completely voluntary. If you wish to be a part of this research simply complete the survey and return it to me using the agency's internal mail system. Your responses will be confidential. You are free to decline to participate and if you choose to involve yourself with this project you are free to decline to answer any question you do not wish to respond to without any negative consequences. There is a slight chance that I may be able to identify you from your completed questionnaire. Let me assure you that your responses will be treated in a private and confidential manner. The statistical input of the data will be done by an outside organization. Their contract with me will ensure the security of your responses. The results of this research will be shared with you upon its completion whether or not you have participated in the project.

If you have any questions or concerns you wish to share with me, please will free to leave a message for me at the telephone number listed below and I will get back to you as soon as possible. Again, participation is strictly voluntary. I thank you for your time and consideration of this matter. Your contribution is extremely valuable.

Sincerely

Terry Lejko
8325806

APPENDIX IV

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION FOR THE PRETEST QUESTIONNAIRE

Terry Lejko
275 Davidson St.
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3J 2T 7

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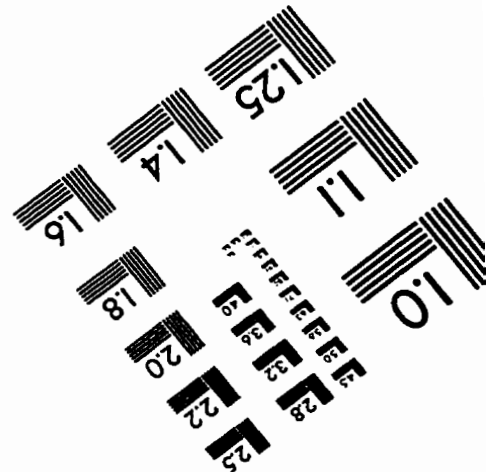
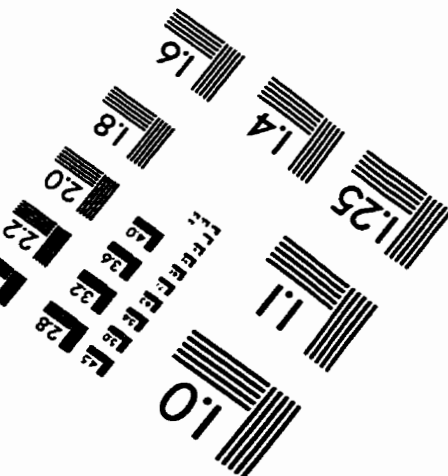
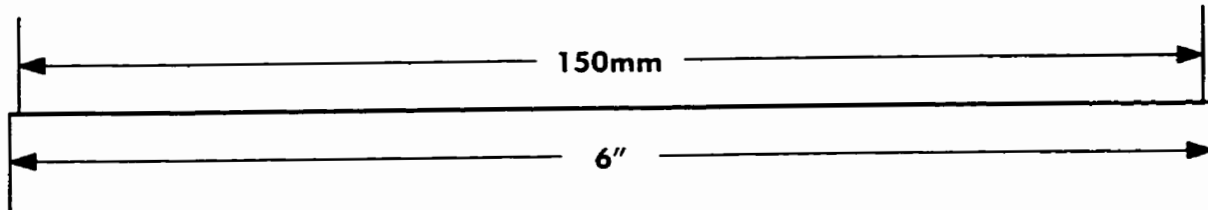
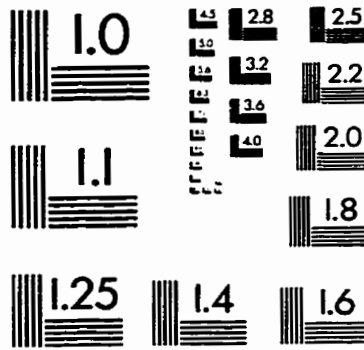
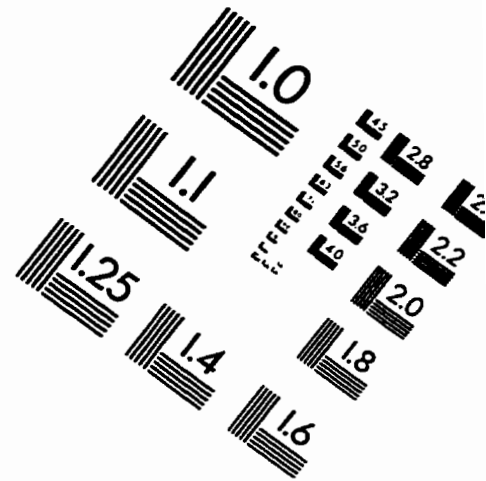
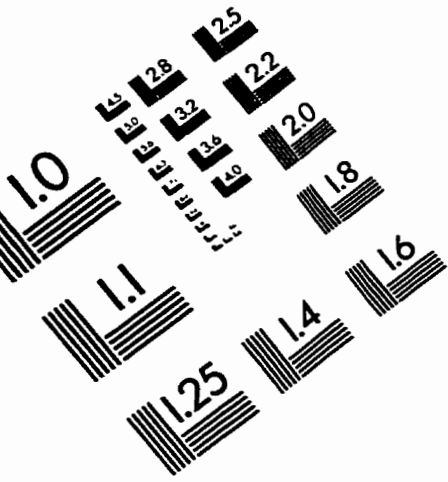
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Yours truly

Terry Lejko
832-5806

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



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