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Talking the Talk and Walking the Walk: Do a Federal Agency's Women-Centered Services Match a Women-Centered Organizational Culture?

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TALKING THE TALK AND WALKING THE WALK: DO A FEDERAL AGENCIES'
WOMEN-CENTERED SERVICES MATCH A WOMEN-CENTERED ORGANIZATIONAL
CULTURE?

by

Sally Anne McShane

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Talking the Talk and Walking the Walk: Do a Federal Agency's Women-Centered Services
Match a Women-Centered Organizational Culture?

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Federal government agencies that provide services for women would presumably have an internal women-friendly organizational culture. In this study, organizational culture is measured by financial benefits – annual salary and federal General Schedule grade – provided to women. Regression analyses were used to examine whether gender, grade, and type of agency have an effect on salary and grade. Also bonuses to women are examined, as well as whether men or women are the heads of individual agencies or umbrella departments. Women were awarded fewer bonuses and lesser amounts as compared to men. Also women often are leaders of individual women-centered agencies, but are not typically leaders of gender-neutral agencies or umbrella departments. When compared to federal government organizations that provide gender-neutral services, women-centered agencies pay more. However, all women in the federal civil service make less than men. Even in women-centered agencies, the female employees make less money than male employees.

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Introduction

Even though an organization serves women, it might not serve the women within their organization. The central research question is whether an organization that is based on women, particularly a federal government agency that provides services for women and protects women's interests, will specifically have a woman-centric organizational culture. I will be examining data on salaries and grades of employees in women-centered and gender-neutral agencies to see how each agency's culture and each employee's gender affect women in the federal workforce. Gender-neutral agencies are those that do not explicitly prefer one gender, i.e. women, in respect to their services. The issue that may come up in the study is that gender-neutral agencies inadvertently prefer men, male needs, and masculinity with respect to their goals, such as law enforcement justice or national security.

Therefore, the thesis statement is whether women-centered agencies that have women-centric cultures will have more or less financial benefits for women in comparison to gender-neutral organizations. Organizational culture will be expressed in terms of financial benefits and General Schedule grade ranking in this thesis. While a pure definition of organizational culture, which is a pattern of shared assumptions between coworkers in an organization, would be ideal, that measure is difficult to find. Without in-depth interviews with employees or hours spent in observation in the workplace, true organizational culture cannot be discovered. However, an organization's culture can be measured through how they compensate women for their work and the level at which women get hired or promoted in the organization's hierarchical structure. I expect that the results will follow the thesis statement that organizations that serve American women will also have internal cultures that better serve their female employees.

This issue is relevant to the greater study of public administration. Managers must be aware of their organization's culture to understand how to work within it or improve upon it. It will allow those organizations that have outputs geared toward women to examine their culture to find whether their culture meshes with their outputs. It will further the study of organizational culture with respect to gender, especially since it is an original research question. The research question involves women in the workplace, a very important issue to gender studies. Thus, this thesis is cross-disciplinary and furthers another field: women's studies.

This thesis reviews literature about organizational culture, specifically feminist organization theory, and how that theoretical field relates to working women. All aspects of women in the workplace are discussed with a particular focus on female government employees. There is also a historical perspective of working women with a special focus on the laws that assisted them and a methodology describes how the study was performed. Two types of studies are represented: a qualitative portion and a quantitative portion. The qualitative section examines whether the leaders in the organizations that are being quantitatively studied are male or female and whether bonuses are given to women or men and the amounts of said bonuses. In the quantitative portion, regression analyses will be performed that will examine the affects of gender and the type of agency in which the employee works on their salary and grade. Finally, the results will be presented, and an analysis will express the meaning behind the results as well as how they relate to the greater outcome of the study.

Literature Review

Organizational Culture Theory

Edgar H. Schein's definition of culture is "a pattern of shared basic assumptions that was learned by a group as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration, that has worked well enough to be considered valid and, therefore, to be taught to new members as the correct way to perceive, think, and feel in relation to those problems" (Shafritz, Ott, and Jang 2011). Thus, a gendered culture that prefers men or a gender-neutral culture that does not recognize that it prefers men will shut out women from the basic processes of the workplace. Not only will women be excluded by current men in the office, but by the men that are new hires because organizational cultures get passed on.

Schein's article, "The Concept of Organizational Culture: Why Bother?" explains why an organization's culture is important. He states that, "If we don't understand the operation of these forces, we become victim to them" (Shafritz, Ott, and Jang 2011). He acknowledges that culture is unique in that it is so important, but is difficult to see and analyze. Leadership has the influence to shape culture, while the rest of the organization must act within it; however, culture is extremely complex and can only ever be partially influenced. This concept is related to French and Raven's, "The Bases of Social Power", in which they hypothesized that leaders can use their social power to influence their organization's culture (Shafritz, Ott, and Jang 2011). While culture is difficult to define, often because each organization's culture is different, Schein attempts to give organizational culture the following characteristics: having "some level of structural stability in the group"; being "the deepest, often unconscious part of a group and is,

therefore, less tangible and less visible than other parts”; “cover[ing] all of a group’s functioning; having “patterning or integration of the elements into a larger paradigm that ties together the various elements” (Shafritz, Ott, and Jang 2011).

Mats Alvesson and Yvonne Due Billing’s Understanding Gender and Organizations (1998) acknowledges that tolerance for differences in an organization is generally low. They believe that it may stem from large organizations’ need for efficiency. A large-scale operation may not have the specificity to deal with individual issues. Often it is women who fall prey to being dissimilar. The efficiency in government organizations is often under attack, particularly from conservative politicians. Many believe that government is inefficient, and therefore, too much money is spent on it. This idea comes from the fact that because government organizations are not relying on profit by turning out a product, they are not as efficient as businesses. “Legislators severely limit resources and bash bureaucrats. But agency managers may counter effects of legislative action by building desirable agency cultures and socialization processes, and fulfilling employees’ expectations about work” (Mani 2009). Therefore, if the theory holds true that government is inefficient, at least compared to businesses and corporations, then there may be a greater tolerance for differences in government organizations. This theory may vary according to organization. If one government agency is more efficient than another, then the less efficient one is also the more tolerant one.

Ferguson and Stivers offer some suggestions for changing the organization’s culture if that culture is negative towards women. “Ferguson recommends a new approach to organization in which organizations would be based on power as defined as energy and strength, groups that are structured, not tied to the personality of a single individual and whose structures do not

permit the use of power to dominate others in the group, as well as a new interpretation of citizenship based on shared processes of speaking, deliberating, and judging” (Denhardt 2010). Ferguson recommends a broader definition of power in groups, not in an individual man, and a MacGregor-style Theory Y of management and communication. “Stivers suggests a feminist alternative, one that would accept rather than dichotomize rigor and relevance and recognize that without discussion, facilitation, and communal activities, we risk giving in to mastery, domination, and control” (Denhardt 2010). Stivers’ suggestion is that government agencies use constant, rigorous discussion and actions to guide to equality between men and women within the organization. Stivers also suggests the idea ‘wild patience.’ It is defined as “the patience required of the facilitative administrator, but also the wildness required of one who refuses to settle for whatever comes along” (Denhardt 2010). The wildness will keep managers from blindly accepting a male-dominated culture, while the patience will keep all employees equal.

Once an agency has a women-friendly organizational culture, that trend is likely to continue. “A supervisor who already has a diverse work group would be more likely to support importance of achieving representative bureaucracy than one whose work group is more homogenous” (Naff 2001). Representative bureaucracy is a term created by J. Donald Kingsley in 1944. Representative bureaucracy is that “decisions emerging from bureaucratic agencies will more nearly approximate the wishes of the public if the staffs of those agencies reflect the demographic characteristics of the general population” (Denhardt 2010). Naff (2001) says that representative bureaucracies are effective in the sense that they “[increase] democracy internal to organizations, [reduce] bureaucratic pathology through increased reliance on equity and individual human factors, [provide] more efficient and just use of America’s human resources,

and [increase] stability by reducing alienation and apathy among people of color [and women].” It can be argued that representative bureaucracy increases the legitimacy of government institutions, which is an issue for public agencies. Thereby, representative bureaucracy can give government agencies more power. Today, “nearly half of all supervisors did report that they undertake representation into the account when choosing among qualifying applicants” (Naff 2001).

Joan Acker’s “Gendering Organizational Theory” will inform much of the argument in this study. Acker defines gender as “patterned, socially-produced distinctions between female and male, feminine and masculine” (Shafritz, Ott, Jang 2011). Therefore, genders are not necessarily what we are, but what our society makes them. This represents a symbolic-interpretive viewpoint of the organizational culture theoretical field, when our ideas are constructed. Acker also defined gendered process, which is “advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, masculine and feminine” (Shafritz, Ott, Jang 2011). Gendered processes are the activities that allow us to express ours and others’ genders. Gendered process may be overt and obvious, or they may be hidden and ambiguous. The latter would make these processes harder to analyze.

Acker lays out four sets of processes that can describe gendered organizations. One, organizational practices produce gender divisions of jobs, wage, power, etc. These gender divisions are explored further in later parts of the literature review. Two, gendering creates symbols and imagery that justify gender divisions. Alvesson and Billing (1998) state that “cultural [artifacts] include buildings, offices, furniture, corporate logos, dress and other material

objects.” Acker argues that organizations are aggressive and goal-oriented like the male social construct, but rarely caring and supportive like the female social construct. This can be related to Hubbell’s idea of organizations valuing male characteristics over female ones. Three, gendered organizations have interactions that dominate over women and create alliances between men. This is most often seen in mentoring relationships between male executives and junior male employees. Fourth, required at gendered organizations is the mental understanding of the organization’s gendered structure of work and finding ways for oneself to work with it. Therefore, female employees in male-centered organizations must find their own way to get their job done.

The Handbook of Organizational Culture and Climate (2000) states that “Feminist organizational analysis has drawn attention to numerous discriminatory practices and processes at work, including in language and communication, structure, dress, organizational discourse, sexuality, and symbols, images, and forms of consciousness.” It is widely known that workplaces may be discriminatory against gender, favoring men over women. However, all of the ways in which workplaces are discriminatory may not be obvious. “A number of relevant factors in organizational environments are known to inhibit or assist advancement and upward mobility of women into management and administration positions” (Hale and Kelly 1989). These authors gave organizational culture as the explanation for inhibiting or assisting advancement and upward mobility of women into management and advanced professional positions. Many organizational culture theorists that are interested in feminism in the workplace may be considered postmodernists. Postmodernists promote the idea of giving voice, in which new ideas and new voices in the workplace are not only tolerated but valued. Postmodernists have an

aversion to totalitarianism, for the simple reason that it does not allow new ideas (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). The idea of women holding prominent positions in the workplace, not to mention the idea of outputs matching an organizational culture, are new ideas, so a postmodernist would be in support both.

Ashkanasy, Wilderom, and Peterson support the idea of measuring organizational culture by examining whether those at the top of an organization's hierarchy are male or female. "When one is analyzing the gendering of an organization's culture, it is important to look beyond the rules to their enactment and ask, 'Who are the key players involved in the maintenance or change process?'" (2000). These key players are typically senior executives and managers. These individuals do not necessarily decide the culture, but they decide the rules and regulations within the organization, which often inform the culture and whether that culture be gendered or not.

The idea of the executives or managers gendering a culture could be applied to John R. P. French Jr. and Bertram Raven's "The Bases of Social Power", which was mentioned earlier (Shafritz, Ott, and Jang 2011). French and Raven believe that the power of a social agent can cause a psychological change in a person. The social agent is typically another person; specifically for this thesis, a manager. There are multiple types of social power, but the ones most relevant to this study are reward power, in which the social agent has the power to reward, for example, a female a promotion over a male; coercive power in which the person is afraid of punishment by the social agent unless they conform, say by a reprimand or being terminated from the position; and legitimate power, in which the social agent has legitimate power over the person and the person accepts this power. An executive or manager, particularly a female one, may exert their power within the organization to gender it towards a female bias and vice-versa.

A couple of interrelated theories that may relate to the topic are activity and activity system. These theories expound upon the idea of gendered division of work roles. Activity is defined as “a sociocultural interpretation imposed on the context by the participants themselves” (Ashkanasy, Wilderom, and Peterson 2000). In other words, activity is not just the action itself, but how we understand the action within our world as well. The example given is of the activities of a male engineer who is not only viewed within the technical job description, but also the assumption that engineering is technical men’s work. An activity system is “the context of actions that is constructed, by social actors, through a series of influences that mediate the interactions between an individual and his or her context; by the appearance of traditions, rituals, and rules that mediate the relationship between the individual and her community; and by a simultaneous emergence of a division of labor that mediates the relationship between the community and the actions of its members” (Ashkanasy, Wilderom, and Peterson 2000). The male engineer mentioned above is not only thinking about his own job, but the greater notion of the masculine world of engineering.

To relate these theories back to the topic, jobs can be gendered, not only in the actual day-to-day mechanistic tasks of the work, but also in the field itself. Joyce K. Fletcher, in her book The Disappearing Acts also says that there are “implicitly valued certain (masculine) aspects of work and the people (mostly men) who tended to work this way, while making invisible other, arguably as important (feminine) aspects of work and devaluing the people (mostly women) who tended this way” (1999). Fletcher’s theory is similar to those of Acker’s.

However, how is a job gendered when the organization you work for is based on women? Activity and activity systems are examples of the symbolic-interpretivist school of thought.

Symbolic-interpretivists believe that organizations are social constructs. Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic, and Postmodern Perspectives describes the symbolic-interpretivists' ideas as, "based on the belief that organizational realities are socially produced as members interact, negotiate, and make sense of their experience" (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). Acker promotes the similar idea of gendered organizations. In these gendered organizations, the "male way of doing things" is the dominate way; meanwhile, females are left out (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). Based on this, it is possible that women-centric organizations are socially constructed to prefer women within the organization itself, because their experience is of providing services for women.

The feminist theorist Kathy Ferguson "identified how the ideal type bureaucracy is inherently gendered, reflecting traditional masculine biases toward power and authority, both within the bureaucracy and in the relation between citizens and public organization" (Denhardt 2010). Her colleague, Stivers, agrees saying that "public administration theory ultimately assumes a masculine conception of control as essential to administrative development" (Denhardt 2010). Both of these theories concluded that bureaucracies are gendered male to gain authority, control, and power.

In Stivers' book, Gender Images in Public Administration: Legitimacy and the Administrative State, some interesting points are made about government and the state of women within it. "The administrative state needs justification, because the exercise of discretionary power by unelected career administrators strains principles of representative democracy" (1993). Government in and of itself is seen as weak. Civil servants are essentially representing their fellow citizens just by getting a government job and not by election. Public administrators that were hired into their positions often have a large amount of discretion in how they carry out their

work processes. A public administrator's work is deciding on how to execute services for citizens. Though these administrators aren't elected to their positions, they make a great many decisions on behalf of their government organization's constituency. Therefore, government needs to be more established with regards to their legitimacy and power to give justification to the role of public administrator.

Government can be validated by seeming stronger, and thus more masculine. "The images of expertise, leadership, and virtue that mark defenses of administrative power contain dilemmas of gender. They not only have masculine features but help to keep in place or bestow political and economic privilege on the bearers of culturally masculine qualities at the expense of those who display culturally feminine ones" (Stivers 1993). Masculinity is often associated with power, which is why the government wants to be seen as masculine in the first place. "The characteristic masculinity is systemic: It contributes to and is sustained by power relations in society at large that distribute resources on the basis of gender...and affect people's life chances and their sense of themselves and their place in the world" (Stivers 1993). The public nature of public administration in the first place is the reason why government organizations feel the need to justify themselves to the constituents. "The fact that there is any need to defend public administration can be traced to the public nature of its authority...Public administration involves discretionary exercise of public power, and we expect public power to justify itself" (Stivers 1993).

Not only should government agencies themselves appear as masculine, but the head of the agency must also appear masculine. "The image of the masculine head of state controlling the unruly, archetypically feminine masses is a notable feature of Western political philosophy"

(Stivers 1993). This may be another reason for the glass ceiling at government institutions. The director of the agency has to be a male to appear as powerful and commanding to constituents. If this is the case, it would be impossible for women to be promoted to agency head.

Acker's main argument is that it is even worse for an organization to deny being gendered and instead claim to be gender-neutral. There are a couple problems this theorist recognizes with a gender-neutral working environment. One, it denies that some jobs are truly gendered. Specifically some jobs require typically male characteristics, such as physical strength. Therefore, women are not even considered which separates them from the organization's "ideal candidate". Two, a gender-neutral organizational stance covers up the workers' true gender, thus ignoring their weaknesses, strengths, and struggles. This is similar to the idea of "color-blindness", in which whites claim to be "color-blind", believing this viewpoint to be tolerant of minorities. However, many minorities believe that "color-blindness" leads to denying who they are as people. This could be a similar argument to Acker's argument against gender-neutrality. Finally, Acker believes that gender-neutrality allows organizations to deny having to examine whether their culture is discriminatory or not. Acker's goal is for organizations to examine whether their culture is partial to a particular gender.

Also women are automatically associated with the terms, 'sex' and 'gender'. Even feminists who study in Women's Studies departments have changed the names of some of these departments to Gender Studies departments. "Both men and women associate issues of sex and gender in organizations with femaleness; maleness is simply not considered, because it blends so easily with standard organization processes" (Stivers 1993). Masculinity is so associated with power that it is not even considered.

Challenges to Women in the Workplace

There are a number of external and internal reasons why women do not succeed in the workplace: priorities in the home; disparities in education; the division of jobs between men and women; the perception that women steal jobs from or lower the wages of men; the way women must behave to get ahead in the workplace; the wage gap between men and women; the fact that fewer women are managers and executives than men; sexual harassment that women may experience; the general discrimination that befalls many women; and how labor unions are helping or hindering women.

Society has conditioned us to believe that women belong at home. “The common division of labor in all primitive societies was between the man, the hunter and provider, and woman, the gatherer of food and minder of the home” (Lloyd 1975). Soon, it came to seem natural that the men participate in market activities and the women stay at home. Obviously, there was a natural female advantage to stay at home, because only women can bear children. However, the real debate comes from whether there are basic innate differences in the abilities of men and women. Patriarchy is a similar social construct that helps keep women down. It is “defined as a set of relationships that enable men to exploit women” (Cherry 2001). Patriarchy has traditionally existed within the family, but also in religious, cultural, and government institutions. Men wanted to keep women out of jobs, so that they could continue the patriarchy system at home. “[Many] men prefer a patriarchal society in which males rule” (Stivers 1993).

Our free capitalist society is backed up by a dependence on the traditional family. “The household has been viewed as the realm of women” (Stivers 2002). While the men are in public

realm, the women are in the private realm of the home. “Not only justice of household arrangements but also division of human concerns into public and private in the first place are barred from public discussion” (Stivers 2002). It needs to be noted that private means private. Much can be said about the workplace, but not much can be said about the home. The husband and father is free participate in the market by working outside the home, while the wife and mother stays at home to take care of children and the house. “Thus justifications of public administration take place in a space that (1) depends for its coherence on subordination of women through their assignment to a set of duties that, no matter how necessary, are generally regarded as less worthy or significant and (2) limits both women’s opportunities to participate in public life and time and energy they have to devote to it” (Stivers 2002). Since women have to be in the privacy of the home, they have lesser value both inside the home and out.

Thus, we must bring women out of the private realm of the home to the public realm of the working world to give them equality in the workplace. “Reconstructing our idea of the public – hence of the administrative state – involves questioning the boundaries we have drawn around it, which defined women as out and now leaves them struggling with whether to try to “become men” in order to participate” (Stivers 2002). *Public* administration is inherently male. “Public administration is structurally male despite its apparent neutrality: It can only go on as it does, because women bear a lopsided share of burden of domestic functions without which life would simply not be possible” (Stivers 2002). Cherry believes though that “capitalism has the ability to overcome gender employment barriers” (2001).

One of the main blockages to women in the workplace was the fact that they had priorities at home. “Standard organizational and professional career patterns and personnel

policies depend on the existence of someone who takes care of the household and child-care responsibilities” (Stivers 2002.) The major reason Mani (2009) gives as to why women did not advance in their careers is their domestic responsibilities. “Many women are disadvantaged, because they also have important home and family obligations” (Stivers 1993).

Camilla Stivers argues that women are working a ‘double shift’. They are working outside the home at their professional career and then coming home to cook, clean, and raise their children. “Working women’s ‘double-shift’ not only takes its toll in 18-hour days and stress-related illness; it also makes it difficult for women to meet employer expectations that family responsibilities will not interfere with work obligations and thus to keep up with (or get on) fast track to the upper echelons of the organization” (Stivers 2002). Women cannot be everything to everyone. It is nearly impossible for women. Women are still doing it today. “In households where both husbands and wives are full-time, year-round workers, over 70% of these household tasks are done by women, and the number of hours husbands have spent on them has been unchanged since the 1960s” (Cherry 2001). Women cannot work long hours outside of the home, but men are admired for doing so. A double standard exists when married men are honored for spending a lot of time away from their wives and children; but when a married woman does so, she is seen as selfish, uncouth, and even barbaric. “The myth of the heroic male professional [is] a model of work motivation which is used as the standard for assessing all other workers. The heroic male professional sacrifices ‘selfish’ concerns like personal and family life to the demands of his career” (Stivers 2002). So again, women must attempt to strike that perfect balance between male and female stereotypes to succeed in their career. “[Women are] faced with a dilemma – [there is a] fundamental dissonance between what is expected of them as

women and what is expected of them as professional experts” (Stivers 2002). To get ahead though, they must find a way to fulfill duties at home and at work. “Women who become or aspire to become leaders in public agencies are faced with the complex task of self-definition” (Stivers 2002). Women who do want to be successful “are more likely to be unmarried and childless” (Naff 2001). Many women choose career over family for the sake of success.

There is discrimination against women who are married and mothers in the workplace. There is a stereotype of women that family is of central importance, which does not apply to men. This “stereotype becomes the basis for supervisors’ decisions about who should be hired, promoted, and given career-enhancing work assignments or training” (Stivers 2002). Also “it continues to be more acceptable for men for use evenings to further their careers by improving their educational credentials, working overtime, or undertaking social networking” (Cherry 2001). One stereotype against women that they are “perceived to be less committed than men even though the data indicates that women are committed to their jobs and as ambitious as men are” (Mani 2009). The US Merit Systems Protection Board echoes this statement when talking about the federal civil service. “There is evidence that women are often perceived to be less committed to their jobs than men. Particularly susceptible are women in their first five years of their careers and throughout their careers, women with children, are promoted at an even lower rate than women without children” (1992). This stems from the stereotype that women are only committed to their families. High-powered working mothers can actually put themselves at a disadvantage in the workplace by working overtime; they are seen as heartless. In the office, women are supposed to act like the stereotypical woman to get ahead, which is discussed more.

Women may not take a job, because their father, brother, or most importantly, husband does not want them to do so, which is similar to the concept of patriarchy. “Men have substantial power over women’s decisions to accept jobs” (Burstein 1994). This introduces a point from Hale and Kelly (1989). Background constraints are imposed by families (family members, especially male ones, are extremely important to a women’s decision to work).

One of main reasons cited as to why women have lower salaries and positions is because they leave the workplace to raise children and come back only to have found their male counterparts in higher positions. Pregnant women often are put on months-long bed rest during which they cannot get up and move around and disturb the baby. After child-birth, women may take up to a six-month maternity leave. A six-month period is allowed for federal employees. However, many women decide to stay at home to raise children until they reach school-age, if not longer. “A significant number of women have historically had a discontinuous labor market experience due to child-rearing responsibilities. As a result, as men and women age, their years of work experience diverge” (Cherry 2001). Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel (1995) also said that, “Women tend to enter and leave labor market more frequently than men, because they are expected to be the primary care providers for both children and elderly parents.” Not only are women expected to be the primary caretaker for children, but they often choose to take that role voluntarily. Advocates of working women, as well as mothers groups, support that choice. Mani (2009) also stated that “Women who left the workplace earned significantly less than those who continued to work and that gap diminished but remained throughout women’s careers.” So it does not matter how hard the mothers work after a period of childcare, the wage gap will remain for the rest of their careers.

There is even a difference between married and single mothers. “The employment rate for single mothers [has] risen only slightly, but for married mother, it [has] risen dramatically” (Cherry 2001). This is most likely because the married mothers have someone at home to help out with household and childrearing duties. Meanwhile, single mothers were being punished, because there is no one to help them. “Most employers believed that mothers, especially single household heads, were employment risks, because they would have to take time off to care for their children” (Cherry 2001). According to a study performed by Wu and Eamon, “approximately one-half of the single mothers [in the study] had adequate employment, 30% experienced unemployment or involuntary job gaps, and approximately 15% experienced underemployment” (2011). Therefore, single women do have problems finding and keeping adequate employment. “Work disabilities, other family income, receipt of cash balance, and state unemployment rates place single mothers at an increased risk for unemployment and underemployment” (Wu and Eamon 2011). Women who receive financial benefits from the fathers of their children or the state are less likely to be employed. State unemployment rates are a factor in single mother unemployment rates. Therefore, single mothers are among the first of many demographic groups to be unemployed. This has massive implications considering the recent recession. Many individuals lost their jobs. If single mothers were among those suffering the most, it has negative effects on the employment of women overall.

Not only are working women being punished for having families, but their husbands are as well. “Men in ‘traditional families,’ that is, with wives who are full-time homemakers, receive more promotions and salary increases than men whose wives work” (Naff 2001). The difference may be a 10% lower salary. “The average wage of professional men who have working wives is

10% lower than equally-skilled men whose wives do work” (Cherry 2009). The reason for this is most likely because men with working wives must take more time off for duties as home as compared to their male colleagues that have wives at home. Since most families today need both parents working to get by, many two-paycheck-families are suffering even more because of this wage gap.

Next, women have traditionally been disadvantaged in regards to training and education. Avelsson and Billing (1998) discuss older, executive women in the workforce during the mid-1990s, who were not as likely to have college degrees as their male counterparts. At this time, the female executives would have been coming out of college in the 1950s and 1960s when fewer women had degrees. In the graph below, I have included data from as far back as 1959-1960, because presumably there would have been some women still working that had graduated from college at about that time.

Table 1. Males and Females Receiving Bachelor’s Degrees

	Males Receiving Bachelor’s Degrees	Females Receiving Bachelor’s Degrees
1959-1960	254,063	138,377
1969-1970	451,097	341,219
1979-1980	473,611	455,806
1989-1990	491,696	559,648
1999-2000	530,367	707,508
2009-2010	702,000	946,000

http://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d09/tables/dt09_268.asp

Although, according to the Department of Education’s 2009 Digest of Education Statistics, the college gap has been officially closed and far more women than men are graduating from college today. As far as this thesis goes, the women in power in government were most likely gaining their college degrees in the 1970s and beyond. The women of the current generation are better educated than their male peers, so education can no longer be used as the excuse by discriminatory employers. “Since women have at least as many years of schooling as men, educational differences can’t explain these remaining disparities” (Cherry 2009).

Today the issue is not whether women have Bachelor’s degrees, but the area they studied. Women are much less likely to study science, mathematics, and professional fields, such as law

or medicine. However, “between 1978 and 1988, percentages of women choosing to major in fields traditionally thought of as the domain of men (such as law and medicine) increased significantly” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel 1995). These numbers have continued to increase, but there is still a gap between the number of men and women in “men’s majors.”

However, women may be disadvantaged in on-site work training. Male supervisors may be less enthusiastic to train women as they are to train men. “[Since] organizations are instrumental in having their workers be promoted, women may be receiving the training or encouragement to reach a higher position” (Stivers 1993). The same goes for company-funded education at a college or university.

Women also suffer when it comes to mentors in the workplace. Higher-level executives often help junior employees with their careers through education, coaching, and support. With few female executives to choose from, how can all worthy junior female employees work with a mentor? Of the females that are managers, they often have to work far harder to get ahead, so have less time to devote to a mentor-mentee relationship (Caldwell and Carter 1993).

Related to previous theorists’ ideas about masculine and feminine organizations and positions, there are traditionally male and traditionally female occupations. These traditional work fields are even compensated differently. Doris Werwie notes that “traditionally, male occupations pay more than other occupations” (1987). In detail, “male- and female-dominated jobs have fundamentally different earning structures and that they are rewarded differently, in terms of rate of pay, for factors such as levels of education, experience, complexity, physical requirements, and working conditions” (Werwie 1987). As I’ve established, men and women now have the same level of education. However, they may not have the knowledge of the

complexity, because of their lack of technical training. Women also do not have the experience because of their duties in the home. They also are not being given professional experience in the workplace due to discrimination. Finally, women often are seen as not being able to handle demanding physical requirements and strenuous working conditions.

Men and women tend to work in different industries (Cherry 2009). The men in an office-setting are working in very important, skilled positions. If women are in an office setting, it would only be in a support position. “The crowding of women into lowest-paid white-collar and professional fields, such as preschool teachers, still exists” (Cherry 2009). Women are much more likely to work in a care-giving field, such as teaching, nursing, or as a beautician. Burstein identifies these jobs as, ‘pink-collar.’ The problem with these fields is that they are lower-paying. “Occupations in which women are concentrated generally pay lower wages than do those in which men are concentrated” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel 1994). Mani also states that “women’s choice of fields pay lower wages” (2009). An area that women do not tend to work in is blue-collar jobs. “Many male-dominated blue-collar occupations have been resistant to female entry” (Cherry 2009). Even if the job is a women-dominated one, their bosses are still usually males. “Indeed in many fields in which women represent the majority of the profession, men dominate the senior positions” (Cherry 2009). This is the exact same trend we will see in the qualitative study of leaders within women-centered agencies.

“Women being in ‘pink-collar’ positions do not necessarily come from intentional discrimination by employers” (Burstein 1994). Burstein states that, first, job descriptions prefer the skills, knowledge, background, et cetera of men. Also, most of the male-centric jobs require characteristics or traits that are seen as predominately male, such as leadership skills. Third,

these “jobs possess structures adapted overwhelmingly to lifestyles and characteristics of men” (Burstein 1994). They might require long hours that women cannot put in, for example, due to childrearing. Finally, “such job standards reflect unbiased assumptions about the way that work must be performed that are derived from *social*, not *inherent*, valuation of relative worth of men and women” (Burstein 1994). Therefore, the standards of the position are based on what people, the employee and the employer, *believe* to be the worth of women and not their *actual* worth. Women even are less likely to negotiate their salary, possibly because they do not believe in their actual worth. This is related to Fletcher’s theory of the existence of masculine and feminine positions. It is also related to Acker’s theory of gender being a social construct that we, as human beings, fit into, whether that is male or female.

We can liken the traditionally female fields to the women-centered agencies we are studying. In women-centered agencies, the supervisor of the individual agency is female, but the head of the overall department is male. Historically, women have only been taking agency head positions within the last couple of decades. “In becoming the head of the Department of Justice in March 1993, Attorney General Janet Reno shattered the ‘glass ceiling’ in a profession long dominated by men” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel 1995). Reno broke the mold, because the title of U.S. Attorney General is commonly viewed as a male position. However there have been multiple female Secretaries of State: Madeleine Albright, Condoleezza Rice, and Hillary Clinton. “Although women seem relatively well-represented (26-36%) in highly visible cabinet- and subcabinet-level positions in federal bureaucracy and in large states, in general a smaller percentage of higher-graded positions are held by women” (Mani 2009). This is an extremely

relevant point for this thesis. The proportion of women is larger in the lower grades of the federal service as compared to the higher grades.

Men may have wanted to keep females out of the workplace for many reasons. “Male workers may have feared the introduction of females would lower their earnings and dilute the skills required” (Burstein 1994). Men do not want the average female salary to lower their own. They also do not want job requirements to be lowered, so that more females can enter their field. Then their skills will not be honored.

Also men want to keep women out of the workplace, so that they can have the best jobs. “Male and female clerical workers began their work careers with apparently similar skills, but males were placed on a different track” (Burstein 1994). In fact, “women are more likely than men to begin their federal careers in clerical positions” (Mani 2009). Men often start out higher. Often their argument for this was that as husbands and fathers, they had to be the primary caretaker for their families. In Equal Employment Opportunity, Paul Burstein states that “married women were barred” (1994) from some jobs. The married women were not allowed into jobs so that these positions could go to male heads of households. They “would have to be barred from some certain occupations if firms didn’t want them to enter” (Burstein 1994). Companies could not specifically say that they did not want women to take jobs, but could bar them from specific positions. There were “actual requirements, [such as] strength and various normative influences that defined certain industries as male only” (Burstein 1994).

Men not wanting women to take their jobs can be compared to whites not wanting illegal Hispanic immigrants taking their jobs today. This is related to the fact that firms may “choose to hire cheaper women” (Burstein 1994). Companies, especially those that are not unionized, may

choose minorities, illegal immigrants, or younger people, because they will not demand as high a wage and are, therefore, cheaper. Naff (2001) states that European-American women are definitely promoted at higher rates compared to their minority counterparts.

Most try to blend in that is, present a feminine appearance but behave in a businesslike (stereotypically masculine) manner (Stivers 1993). Cherry agrees with this view, “Women have to adopt male management styles to make men feel comfortable” (2001). “Commitment to public service and policy-making are considered masculine dimensions and compassion is considered the feminine dimension of public service” (Mani 2009). Denhardt concurs by saying that, “Women who lead in nurturing and facilitative ways are likely to be accepted and rated highly by both men and women, while women taking the initiative receive less support” (2010). However, it is hard to rise to executive positions without taking initiative. The way women manage is sometimes described as ‘emotional labor.’ We can promote more women to administrative positions by rewarding emotional labor. “Recognition and reward for emotional labor likely will affect the retention of female government workers. Emotional labor is the use of feeling and emotions to gain the cooperation of coworkers and clients and ability to see both sides of an issue – one only one’s own – and to integrate these perspective into what the organization does” (Mani 2009). For women who are assertive, they may be labeled as ‘aggressive’ even if they are not and so be marginalized as “unwomanly” (Naff 2001). This has often happened to Hillary Clinton. She is a strong woman in the political and government world who has been shown unfairness by peers and the media.

One of the main differences between men and women is a disparity in pay. Burstein uses the term, ‘wage discrimination.’ “‘Wage discrimination’ mean that one group, here females, is

paid less than another group, here males” (Burstein 1994). “Many women who have gained access to better-paying professions [don’t] earn as much as their male counterparts because of the glass ceiling phenomenon: the inability of women to advance due to discriminatory promotional procedures” (Cherry 2001). Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel concur saying, “Women’s average earnings are substantially lower than men’s” (1995). “At least part of gender earnings gap, however, reflects higher wages men receive for greater work experience, longer hours worked, and accepting unfavorable working conditions” (Cherry 2001). As other theorists agree, when women take time out of their careers for family, their male colleagues who are not doing so are getting ahead. “Public policies have been less than effective in closing the wage gap, due in part to American culture and individual women’s choices” (Mani 2009). Laws cannot change the predominately traditional Christian American culture of a working father and stay-at-home mother, as well as that mother’s independent choices on whether to work or not.

The wage gap between men and women has been an issue since women have started working outside the home and commanded a lower salary than men. “Only since the early 1980s has the ratio of female-to-male earning begun to rise” (Burstein 1994). Women still only make “75% of what men in federal government earn” (Mani 2009). Another reason why women make less is because, “women are less likely than men to be employed full-time” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel 1995). Working part-time allows wives and mothers to still spend some time at home, but one will naturally make less working 20 hours per week as opposed to 40. A report from the Office of Personnel Management from 2011 cites the wage gap in 2007 at 11 cents in the federal government, which translates to women making 89 cents to every dollar than men make. “Of that 11 cents gap, seven cents could not be explained by differences in education,

years of service, or other non-discriminatory factors.” Therefore, the remaining seven cents gap can only be explained by discrimination against women, according to the OPM (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011).

Werwie has three explanations “of why occupational segregation and the resulting wage gap persist: women choose such occupations (of their own volition); women are excluded from high-paying jobs; and the jobs that women hold tend to pay less, because they are held by women” (1987). As Burstein stated, women often choose “pink-collar” occupations, which pay less. Werwie is the first to suggest that “pink-collar” jobs pay poorly, because women are in them. Alternatively, if men were in these positions, they may pay more. Historically, they have been excluded from the best-paying jobs to make way for men. “That is, the same work would be paid more if it were done by men” (Werwie 1987). This is related to the idea that men are the monetary providers of the home, not women.

Today the wage gap is shortening, and multiple theorists state this fact. The “difference between the average earnings of men and women has been declining” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernagel 1995). The authors cite the following reasons: a change in the occupational characteristics of men and women; a decline in employers’ discrimination against women; an improvement in women’s job skills; an increased proportion of women are working continuously rather than leaving the workforce to raise their children (1995). Mani, in her book, Women, Men, and Human Capital Development in the Public Sector also said that the gender gap in wage and status is closing. Conservative theorists have their own idea as to why the gender wage gap is closing. “The left-leaning Economic Policy Institute discounts the recent reduction in the female-

to-male earnings ratio since it is primarily the result of a decline in male wages (after adjusting for inflation) rather than a rise in female earnings” (Cherry 2001).

Hatch and Cunliffe also discuss why women may not be managers. They cite feminist Jane Flax, who “argued that gender stereotypes ‘make it seem natural that women do some kinds of work and not others. In turn, the devaluation of the stereotypically female job contributes to and reinforces a devaluation of “women’s work” and the wages it can command” (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). Furthermore, a subfield of labor market analysts, called stratification theorists, show evidence of the unequal distribution of high-paying and powerful positions in favor of men. The economists Peter Doeringer and Michael Piore’s dual labor market theory can also be applied (Hatch and Cunliffe 2006). This theory argues that there is a primary market of high-paying, prestigious jobs, mostly held by men and a secondary market of low-paying, lowly jobs, mostly held by women. This is related to Burstein’s female “pink-collar” occupations versus male “white-collar” occupations. Hatch and Cunliffe analyze that Doeringer and Piore’s theory only has a clinical economics feel and ignores the cultural and sociological context.

It must not be that only men are qualified for the highest-paying positions. Instead, there is again that class conflict in which men are favored in the workplace; by virtue of their better positions, men are socioeconomically in a higher class than women. This viewpoint is concurred by Camilla Stivers. “Perhaps most undeniable aspect of women’s different organizational reality is their continued lack of access to high-ranking positions...Analysts attribute statistics on women’s underrepresentation among organizational leaders in part to men’s difficulty in reconciling organizational requirements with personal views of women” (1993). Stivers

attributes the fact that women are not being promoted to managerial positions to discrimination against women.

Understanding Gender and Organizations tries to provide some explanations as to why so few women hold managerial positions. One, the characteristics typically considered needed for a managerial role are not the characteristics that women are seen as holding. Jody Hubbell's article, "Gender Stereotypes Challenge Women as Leaders" addresses the same issue (2009). Often the stereotypical characteristics of women, such as being a good listener, being open, acting nurturing, can deter them from receiving that leadership position. Meanwhile, the stereotypical characteristics of men – rationality, authoritative, assertive – are more in line with the average persons' idea of a leader. Stivers supports this claim, "Without constant vigilance regarding gender (and sexual) presentation, [women] perceive that they run the risk of not being taken seriously, not being heard, and not receiving information" (1993).

Adams states that the term 'glass ceiling' "was given currency by The Wall Street Journal in 1986. It has since entered the language to describe the artificial barriers that block women and minorities from advancing to the top – in business, labor, government, and other institutions throughout the American workplace" (1993). The term 'glass ceiling' is defined by Naff. "[It] has been used to describe the subtle, almost invisible barriers that hinder advancement of women (and people of color) as they try to climb career ladders in organizations" (2001). Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel also have a definition of the 'glass ceiling.' The "'glass ceiling' that exists in many employment settings means that women are infrequently promoted to higher-paying jobs despite supposedly non-discriminatory employment practices of most businesses and government agencies. Although the policy is illegal, some male managers continue to believe

that women do not need to earn as much as men who hold the same jobs and have the same amount of experience” (1995). The glass ceiling in federal government reflects subtle differences in treatment.

The glass ceiling is related to a term introduced by Mani, the ‘glass wall.’ “Glass walls are barriers built around gender stereotypes” (22). Examples given include sex segregation of certain positions that women cannot enter or male- and female-centric positions. Women are barred in by these gender stereotypes by others and often by themselves, by what they believe they can and cannot do. The ‘glass wall’ is related to the socially-constructed gender stereotypes discussed earlier.

Hale and Kelly also say that the “reasons cited for the scarcity of women in administrative position typically include a complex set of deep-rooted barriers” (1989). These barriers include but are not limited to: gender role socialization, the idea that certain genders do certain things; passive self-concept, when individuals do not identify themselves as strong and the possibility to be accomplished; and role prejudice, the preconception that men and women can only play certain roles. Naff identified this same factor. “People who internalize their own ‘lack of fit’ with jobs may engage in self-limiting behavior, performing far below their capacity” (2001). When employees believe there is little room for advancement, employers believe the same and vice-versa.

These self-confidence issues may come from the government after all. This is related to the idea of ‘subjective discrimination,’ which “exists when individuals or a group on the basis of their own subjective perceptions, define their situation as discriminatory” (Naff 2001). About 57% of women will describe their workplace as discriminatory, but who knows if it actually is or

if she sees it that way? “Subjective discrimination is defined as the perception that work-irrelevant criterion – in this case, gender – affects how one is evaluated or treated on the job” (Naff 2010). Interestingly, this thesis is attempting to prove that while gender should not be a relevant criterion for how an employee performs on a job, it incidentally is.

Contributing to the difference in perceptions between men and women is a women’s sensitivity that she will just be seen for her sex role and not her work role. This affects other ways women see themselves in the workplace. Over half of women but less than one in ten men believe that women must outperform men to be promoted. About one-third of women in federal government believe that managers in their organizations assume women’s incompetence until proven otherwise. A substantial number of women in the middle and high grades levels of government believe that women are not given the same respect and opportunities as men. (Naff 2001) In relation to this study, women in male-centered organizations actually do not report any more discrimination than any other agencies. However, this may be because they fear backlash if they do report it. Also women have limited availability to support systems. These can include but are not limited to: limited financial resources (because women are lower earners anyway); education and training (although younger generations are changing this statistic); collegial networks (there is no “old boy’s club” for women); role models and mentors (there are few female executives to look up to in the first place), along with domestic constraints (women are still the chief caretaker of the home and family). In addition, there are structural barriers as well, such as employer biases, sex-segregated jobs (while few exist today, some dangerous, physical labor is informally only given to men), sex harassment, and pay inequities.

Cherry theorized that government agencies had the most discriminating hiring practices. “Pro-market economists suggest that because they lack any profit motive, government agencies have historically had the most discriminatory hiring practices” (2001). This is another example of government trying to legitimize themselves as Stivers theorized.

The government hiring exams are not always as fair as we may believe. Werwie defines job evaluation as the “formal procedure for hierarchical ordering of set of jobs or positions with respect to their value or worth” (1987). She states that “system [job evaluation] needs to be made bias-free in order to reduce wage gap between male- and female-dominated jobs” (Werwie 1987). As has been established, there are male- and female-dominated jobs. “Historically, women were excluded from the majority of occupations” (Cherry 2001). “Prior to the 1970s [during the feminist movement], many occupations effectively excluded women; if they were hired later than men of same age, women had less occupational seniority and therefore probably were paid less” (Conway, Ahern, Stevermagel 1995). Also men and women were compensated differently. “Those job categories that were male-dominated were assigned a higher pay scale...than those that were female-dominated” (Cherry 2001). “Since rapid expansion crowded most women into traditional female occupations, wages in those jobs stagnated” (Cherry 2001). Therefore, the female-dominated jobs had lower pay than the male-dominated jobs, because men had more options available to them. Also “women working for the federal government are promoted less frequently than men are” (Mani 2009). The US Merit Systems Protection Board state that “women do confront inequitable barriers to advancement in their federal careers” (1992). Today in the federal government, the “women’s share of top-level managerial positions was increased, but the gap between women’s and men’s grades, pay, and promotion rates

remains” (Mani 2009). Though while the proportion of upper-level positions has increased, “women are less frequently selected into upper-level positions than men” (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 2011).

Gottfried states that “Women are vastly over-represented in low-paid positions and aren’t moving up within civil service systems” (1988). Access has generally just been less consistent to upper levels. Hale and Kelly state that having “[a] small proportion of women in public sector management positions is of concern for several reasons” (1989). One reason is that the federal government, the leader in enforcement of nation-wide, affirmative action and equal opportunity employment, should be enforcing it onto themselves. Also since women aren’t being represented, neither are any issues concerning them. This is related to the eternal political science question from Harold Lasswell: Who gets what, when, where, and how? (1936). By not properly representing women, we are not giving them equal power in our political and government system.

Sabharwal and Mussel discuss government’s growing “need to fill the gap that will soon be left by an aging population in the government sector... The gap can be filled by a growing population of women and minorities in the workforce, who have been shown to view government jobs in a more positive fashion as compared with whites and men” (2009). The filling of open positions with women is similar to a theory by Mani. Sabharwal and Musell acknowledges that women are still underrepresented at higher levels; however, preliminary results of her study find growing numbers of women in executive positions in recent years. This leads Sabharwal and Musell to claim a possible “falling glass ceiling” (2009).

A related example of unfair job evaluations is the Supreme Court case of *Griggs v. Duke Power Co* (1971). The power company required a high school diploma, as well as an IQ test, for its lowest-paying positions. However, neither the diploma nor a high score on an IQ test were necessary to perform the job. The company was trying to keep African-American workers, who traditionally did not have high school diplomas and subsequently scored lower on IQ tests on average, out of jobs that they wanted to give to white workers. To compare this case to the theory of Werwie's, the government systems need to have bias-free selection processes that are related to the job at hand, whether that be a traditionally male or traditionally female position. Unfortunately, sex bias can be found. "Studies of sex bias in job evaluation procedures center on possibility that women's jobs aren't rewarded for their skills, effort, responsibility, and working conditions commensurate with men's jobs" (Werwie 1987).

One incidentally discriminatory hiring practice is the preference of veterans in the civil service. Originally, the "intent of the veterans' preference policies was to prevent employment discrimination against those whose careers or education was interrupted for military service. Since the overwhelming majority of veterans are men, many feminists feared that policies giving veterans an advantage in employment decisions would be disadvantageous to women" (Mani 2009). Mani expresses our concern. "If one were to argue that veterans, a predominately male group, have an advantage over non-veterans because they receive training, have more opportunities to serve in leadership positions, and receive education benefits, then their growing proportions would be a cause of concern feminists expressed" (Mani 2009). However, Mani did not find a preference for veterans in her study. "Veterans preference is not a significant barrier to women's career advancement" (Mani 64). However, she does not include any statistical data in

this study. It would be most helpful to see whether veterans actually got a preference in the hiring process over women in the federal civil service.

To promote more women a general change in the General Schedule classification system is needed. “Women will be more likely to advance to managerial positions when position classification systems become flexible enough to accommodate women’s career paths: when bureaucracies look beyond the data describing the composition of the workforce as a whole; when bureaucracies seek to improve women’s representation at each level of the organization; and when affirmative action programs are supported and implemented” (Mani 2009). Therefore, we need to change how we see the federal workforce, as well as making women in the civil service a priority. There are a few very specific suggestions to bring women in. “Downsizing, hiring freezes, voluntary retirements, and aging workforce has provided opportunities to change the composition of the work force” (Mani 2009). Downsizing could increase the female-to-male ratio if fewer women are laid off. Hiring freezes could keep women in their positions. Voluntary retirements and an aging workforce can lead to the agency hiring more young women as proven by Sabharwal and Musell. Another idea is succession planning. “Organizations need to plan to replace experienced executives with well-developed employees within the organization – that is, succession planning” (Mani 2009). The baby boomers are retiring in large numbers, leaving behind their knowledge and experience. They can pass on this expertise to their junior colleagues. Ideally, they would be training these younger workers how to step into their positions when the executive leaves. To promote women, the employees stepping into the open positions should be women. This suggestion could have a political affect. A more conservative administration may be less likely to implement this technique.

A good way for women to advance in the federal civil service is to use “technical positions as a bridge to higher-graded, higher-paid positions” (Mani 2009). While this is a great idea, the only problem is that women do not as commonly have technical knowledge or skills since they still do not often major in mathematical or scientific fields. Today more women are still in upper-level administrative positions than in upper-level technical positions in the civil service (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 2011). However, more degrees are adding technical classes as part of the requirements. Also more women are choosing these “men’s majors” as compared to decades past.

“Discrimination against women is manifested in a number of ways” (Burstein 1994). The ways in which women are discriminated against that Burstein lists include: co-workers preferring not to associate with women; deviating from the dominant masculine custom or tradition can get employees penalized; and the prescribed barriers against the employment and training of women. Deviating from the male-centered organizational culture is a theme central to this thesis. Prescribed barriers against women have been discussed by Naff and other theorists. When co-workers, particularly male coworkers, prefer not to associate with female colleagues, it is a serious discrimination against women that will hold them back, especially in group projects and meetings or if a woman is the supervisor. Once women entered employment in the public sphere, there were “three pervading themes: discrimination against, underrepresentation of, and underutilization of women in public administration” (Stivers 1993).

Also, women are specifically kept out of federal jobs unrelated to their ambitions or qualifications. Most often, women do not get government jobs due to stereotyping. “Stereotyping [is] more likely to occur when the evaluative criterion is unclear or uninformative about

individual is scant or ambiguous” (Naff 2001). Some of this blame falls on Human Resources departments because of who they choose to advance in the hiring process or not. In federal government, a list of finalists is given to a hiring committee – typically a manager of the department, a coworker in the department, and a Human Resources representative. Then the committee chooses from that list. If few or no women make it onto the list, they will not be hired. “Unclear assessment standards are often present when deciding whom to select for supervisory job, for which indistinct competencies as ‘interpersonal skills’ or ‘leadership abilities’ are often preferred” (Naff 2001). These skills are arbitrary, and some may believe that men are more likely than women to possess leadership skills. Also women may be at a disadvantage when they do not check the ‘Female’ box on their job application. While identifying your gender is not mandatory (and to request gender identification is illegal), by not doing so, women are possibly taking themselves out of jobs that may have otherwise received due to affirmative action.

Women were excluded not only from the private sector, but the public sector as well. The “entrance of substantial numbers of women into the labor force, coincided with the decline in women’s legal and social dependence on men, resulted in their demands for equal access to civil service positions” (Naff 2001).

Discrimination against women in the workplace goes to the point of women not being considered people, but sex objects. “Studies show that, in general, women are associated with status of sex object – with being (regardless of context) sexual beings who ‘naturally’ evoke sexual overtures from men” (Stivers 1993). So women must behave femininely, but not sexy, to fall within their male colleagues’ vision of what a woman should be, but also must be masculine enough to get anything done around the office. It is an impossible balancing act. “Thus women in

organizations have additional problems of trying to appear feminine without triggering ‘natural’ sexual reactions in men. If they do trigger such responses, women rather than men are customarily assumed to be a fault” (Stivers 1993). To add to the impossible balancing act, women must bear the brunt of men assaulting them as well.

The worst form of discrimination against women is sexual harassment. “For those who experience it..., [sexual harassment] can lead to physical and psychological maladies, declines in productivity, and reduced job satisfaction and ambitions” (Naff 2001). It represents a barrier against women, because it prevents them from performing to their maximum potential. “Sexual harassment undermines women’s status in their organization by highlighting their gender and demeaning their status and authority” (Naff 2001). The district court case, *Williams v. Saxbe* (1976), found that sexual harassment is a form of sex discrimination under Title VII of the Civil Rights Act. Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel agreed.”Sexual harassment is a form of gender discrimination in employment that violates Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964” (1995). The problem with sexual harassment is that it is difficult to define. Also what one may see as harassing behavior may not be seen the same way to another person. The most common forms are “teasing, remarks, or gestures” (Naff 2001). There is a growing acknowledgement by men and women that the above forms do constitute harassment. Today, women have become more assertive about sexual harassment, especially young women and unmarried women. Also the largest growing number of harassment victims are men, so this may soon be less of a “women’s issue”.

There are two types of fair employment laws that try to fight discrimination against women: equal employment and affirmative action. “Equal employment opportunity legislation is

designed to create equality of opportunity in various phases of employment decision such as recruiting, hiring, training, transfers, promotions, and terminations” (Burstein 1995).

“Affirmative action is designed to compensate for cumulative effects of history of inequality and systemic discrimination” (Burstein 1995). Barbara A. Bergman defines affirmative action as “planning and acting to end the absence of certain kinds of people – those who belong to groups that have been subordinated or left out from certain jobs and schools” in her book, In Defense of Affirmative Action (1997). She also cites three reasons for affirmative action programs to exist: (1) “need to make systematic efforts to fight discrimination that still exists in many workplaces; (2) “desire for integration”; (3) “reduce poverty of certain groups marked out by race or gender” (Bergman 1997). “Affirmative action is concerned with results more than opportunities” (Burstein 1995). This focus on results is exemplified by the word ‘action.’

However, as far as affirmative action goes, “females, especially white females, were the net losers, and males, especially black males, were the net gainers. This reflects an early emphasis on race and not sex discrimination” (Burstein 1995). The focus on men was probably due to the conception that men are the head of the household and therefore, need the highest-paying jobs to financially take care of their wife and children. Later, affirmative action was helpful to women, but still not so to minority women. “Their [minority women] representation at the top levels is even less than that of non-minority women, and minority women currently in grades GS 9 and above have been, on average, promoted less often than non-minority women with the same qualifications” (US Merit Systems Protection Board 1992). To white, male executives, minority women are not as preferable as black men who are also heads of households

or white women that look like their wives, daughters, and sisters. Just because affirmative action has been codified into law does not mean that it is followed. “The data on segregation by sex and race show that in many workplaces affirmative action has not been implemented” (Bergman 1997).

Naff believes that affirmative action is not sufficient. “In some cases, affirmative action can backfire” (Naff 2001). Stereotypes are complicated and difficult to dismantle. It can actually end up hurting those put in an organization who had not been there previously. “The terms of many public policies, such as protective labor laws and prohibition on women serving in combat, actually maintain and reinforce them, including ones that disadvantage women” (Stivers 1993). Laws that are meant to protect women may end up hurting them.

Hale and Kelly linked equal opportunity and affirmative action programs to their effect on where women are being employed in the civil service. “To date, equal opportunity and affirmative action programs have been the most helpful in increasing the proportion of women in the labor force at the lower and middle levels of bureaucratic structures... At upper levels, however, access has been less consistent” (1989). “Women held 43% of federal jobs in 1997, but only 21% of senior-level job.” (Naff 2001). Ten years later, women were holding 44% of federal jobs and 35% of senior-level jobs. Changes have occurred, which is good news for women. The US Merit Systems Protection Board reported that women in professional and administrative jobs “will grow from 34% in 1990 to 42% by 2017. But even by 2017, women will remain significantly underrepresented in senior levels, holding less than one-third of senior executive positions” (1992). Since we are only 5 years away from 2017, this projection isn’t too far off. According to data from 11, women have advanced to more administrative and professional

occupations (U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board 2011). Overall, women are still less-likely to advance to the higher grade levels in comparison to men.

However, “most women were silent about their exclusion...” from the public service (Burstein 1995). Even though discrimination against women existed, they did not question it, because they were so used to it. “Their silence was a product of custom and prejudice” (Burstein 1995). “Women credit their own success in face of careers littered with incidence of bias to hard work, self-confidence, and perseverance” (Naff 2001). Even if a woman was discriminated against, she may ignore it and refuse to report it, so that she does not get punished for reporting her discriminator. “Women have to decide whether to respond with a formal complaint, handle the incident informally, or not respond at all” (Naff 2001). Most women do not respond outwardly. To relate it back to our previous discussion about organizational culture, women felt constrained from saying something when harassed if the organization’s culture did not allow for open communication or if the organization’s culture was masculine and did not allow for the equality of women.

Not only will issues of comparable worth be affected by the courts, but by labor unions as well. “Unions have influence comparable worth policy through a variety of mean including collective bargaining, conducting wage or job evaluation studies, developing union policies, political advocacy, and litigation” (Ricucci 1993). Unfortunately, most unions existed in manufacturing jobs where women were rarely hired. Where women tended to be hired was in non-unionized companies that kept wages so low that a male would never take that job. “The employment expansion in the manufacturing sector was disproportionately in non-unionized

companies, so that female operators were less well paid than their unionized male counterparts” (Cherry 2001).

Women have not just experienced discrimination in the office, but also within their labor unions. Riccucci sheds light on this subject. “Women and minorities have historically had lower rates of unionization than white males” (1993). This was at least partially due to “a desire by unions to keep women...completely out of certain segments of the workforce” (1993). Also it depends on the jobs that women hold. “Predominately female occupations have tended either to be nonunionized or to have weak unions, and unionization usually results in higher wage levels” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernagel 1995). A great example of “pink-collar” industry being possibly unionized is recently when current Minnesota Governor Mark Dayton attempted to unionize home daycare providers. “After an organizing drive by the Service Employees International Union and the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees, Dayton issued an order setting a union election for those providers who care for children with state subsidies – about 4,300 of the state’s 11,000 licenses in-home providers” (Ragsdale and Walsh 2012). It was not popular though and did not pass.

Since unions have always honored seniority first, it is in their faithful employees’ best interest to keep women out and keep those traditional, male, head of the household workers in. “Union leaders...had very traditional views about women and hence about female participation in the labor force” (Riccucci 1993). However, labor unions were forced to adjust when women starting entering the workforce in greater numbers. “When unions recognized that women and minorities were a growing part of the labor force, they allowed these groups to become members” (Riccucci 1993). Unfortunately, these groups remembered the past discriminations

against them. “Women and minorities didn’t readily join unions for a number of reasons, one being that they weren’t welcomed by such institutions” (Ricucci 1993).

Challenges to Women Working in Government

There are also factors why women may not be succeeding in government agencies. They include the fact that women are not political and the influence of the president on the bureaucracy.

Women are more likely to not participate in the political world, rather than the economic one. “Yet for many women concept of separate spheres had always been more political ideology than economic reality... The liberalist idea of a *political* public sphere distinct from private when linked to widespread ideas about women’s proper role, barred women from full citizenship at the same time that a burgeoning capitalist economy made use of them” (Stivers 1993). Women did not even receive the right to vote until the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution passed in 1920, so they may feel less comfortable working for our nation’s government. However, they have been working outside of the home for decades now, so joining the workforce itself is less of a problem.

We can also look to the numbers in the U.S. Congress to see how many women are serving versus how many men. The 112th Congress, which is currently in session in 2012, has the following numbers per gender:

Table 2. Men and Women Serving in Congress

	Men	Women
House of Representatives	362	76
Senate	83	17
Total	445	93

<http://thisnation.com/congress-facts.html>

The House of Representatives, with a total of 435 members, is 17.5% female. The Senate is made of up 17% women as well. Overall, the U.S. Congress is 20.9% female. However, the United States is made up of roughly 50% women, not 20.1% as in Congress. Our legislature is supposed to represent the make-up of U.S. Citizens. Therefore, equal representation does not exist for women in this country, which is related to the theory of representative bureaucracy. For this reason, women may not feel comfortable in a political atmosphere.

Though women may not go out for political office, they do vote in elections. More women vote than men. In 2008 presidential election, “about 66% of women voted compared with 62% of men” (Kronholz 2009). This may be because women have more education as previously discussed, which leads to stronger civic values.

Though women do not participate in the political world, “minorities and women tend to view government service more favorably than non-minorities and men” (Mani 2009). This may have to do with the fact the minorities and women are more liberal as compared to non-minorities and men who are more conservative.

This thesis should not overlook the importance of the president on the employment status of women working in federal agencies. As the head of the Executive Branch, and therefore, the de facto boss of the employees in the women-centered agencies that this thesis is studying, the President of the United States is in an influential position to help or hinder working women. Presidents are able to establish research committees to report back to him on specific issues through their Executive Order powers. “In December 1961, President John F. Kennedy established the President’s Commission on the Status of Women” (Harrison 1980). The number of women in the labor force was rising, but their status was not. Out of this commission’s findings, President Kennedy signed the Equal Pay Act in 1963. In addition to commissions, presidents can also use their speeches to affect the bureaucracy. Eshbaugh-Soha found that “because bureaucrats have discretion to resist presidential preferences that oppose an agency’s core task, negative signals do not affect the implementation of civil rights policy. Yet, positive presidential speeches are available to presidents who may wish to influence the bureaucracy” (2008). Therefore, presidents can encourage federal employees to do certain tasks, but they cannot bar them from doing things with their speeches.

Another power that presidents hold is recess appointments. Related to ‘midnight appointments,’ the presidents make at the end of their term, a president may appoint executives to the federal bureaucracy while Congress is not in session, i.e. in recess, so they may put a bureaucrat in place that is of the President’s political ideology, especially when Congress is not. The article, “Adding Recess Appointments to the President’s ‘Tool Chest’ of Unilateral Powers,” found strong support for the theory that recess appointments do qualify for a president’s unilateral powers (Black, Lynch, Madonna, Owens 2007). Obviously, the individual the

president appoints is the leader of the agency and ultimately says whether women will be powerful in the agency or not. To ensure a women-centered culture, a woman should be leading the women-centered agencies.

Generally speaking, conservatives have issues with women working outside the home. “According to conservatives, perspectives of labor market discrimination person only because many blacks and feminists have become comfortable with ‘victim status’ (Cherry 2001). ‘Victim status’ is when minorities only focus on how they have been a victim. Most blacks and feminists would disagree with this assumption. “More broadly, conservatives contend that affirmative action and feminism, not discrimination or patriarchy, are the root causes of many of society’s contemporary, societal ills” (Cherry 2001). Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel (1995) claim that “changing political conditions, i.e. the installation of a conservative administration” is a factor that could affect the implementation of future employment policy. “The rhetoric of the Reagan and Bush administration officials was replete with expressions of support for equal employment opportunity, but they sought to effect major change in policy and its implementation. Over a 6-year period, employment of members of protected groups grew significantly faster in contractor than in non-contractor establishments” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney is the presumptive Republican candidate for the 2012 presidential race. Surprisingly, Romney has come out in support of working mothers. He cites this as part of his economic plan, while criticizing Obama’s. Like any campaign promise though, the real result will be seen in office.

Overall though, women outside of government agencies fare better under conservative administrations than women on the inside. For comparison to a liberal administration, President

Barack Obama attempted to pass the Paycheck Fairness Act that would further the fight against pay discrimination. This law “would make it easier for women to sue their employers for gender discrimination” (Biggs 2010). The bill would also “put gender-based discrimination on par with other forms of wage discrimination, such as that based on race; limit the legitimate reasons employers can give in court for wage disparities; and prohibit employers from retaliating against employees who discuss their wages” (Hall 2010). It was struck down in the Senate. “In 2011, President Obama established the National Equal Pay Task Force, bringing together OPM, EEOC, the Department of Labor and the Department of Justice. This Task Force recommended that OPM and the EEOC work together to “implement a strategy to improve the federal government’s role as a model employer” (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2011).

Historical Perspective

A historical perspective of women in the workplace and the laws that have helped them along the way will be helpful to understand the problems working women face. Our government system is an open public one in reaction to our British ancestry. The unfair treatment of American settlers by the British monarchy was one of the major reasons for the American Revolution and the creation of the United States. “Classical liberalism has seen boundaries around the public sphere as necessary to prevent tyranny by sheltering individual, ‘private’ concerns from reach of state...Paradoxically, viability of liberal society, hence its public sphere, depends on the fulfillment of certain functions of the household” (Stivers 1993).

Jobs in public careers are unique in their bias-free, merit-based system of hiring. The U.S. Congress passed the Pendleton Act of 1883 in reaction to a corrupt and ineffective system of

patronage and the 1881 assassination of President James Garfield by a disgruntled office seeker. Patronage is the system of awarding government jobs to friends, family, and political supporters. This led to our government being ineffective and inefficient. The presidential assassination was the kick that Congress needed to pass the 1883 law that created the U.S. Civil Service Commission. The Civil Service Commission forced job candidates to pass a bias-free exam in order to be hired.

After World War I, social reformers supported limits against hiring married women with working husbands. It was believed that these women did not need the jobs as much as other men with families. Historically, “women invaded the male world of government employment....because federal offices needed cheap labor, and middle class women needed good jobs” (Stivers 1993). During World War II, women needed jobs while their husbands were away at war. The “Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 requires fair treatment for wage and hourly workers and payment of minimum wages for certain kinds of employment. Classifying jobs on the basis of age or gender is prohibited” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). The Fair Labor Standards Act (or FLSA) was designed to help post-World War II female workers. In the 1950s, “marriage bars” were eliminated due to the large supply of young, single women in the workplace.

Then the 1960s Civil Rights Movement supported many changes for women. “The civil rights movement of the 1960s, although the primary movement was to guarantee rights of racial minorities, also prompted society to question some of its traditional stereotypes about women” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). The “Equal Pay Act of 1963, [which is] an amendment to the Fair Labor Standards Act, requires equal pay for equal work of equal skill, effort,

responsibility, and working conditions” (Burstein 1994). Its wording had to be changed from equal pay for work of ‘comparable worth’, since women weren’t allowed into the same jobs, thus, not being allowed to perform equal work. The Equal Pay Act’s “basic standard is ‘equal pay for equal work.’ The Act requires employers to pay men and women the same wage if they work in the same establishment, under the same working conditions, performing equal work, which is defined as work involving equal skills, effort, and responsibility” (Werwie 1987). There were some allowable differentials in pay, which include those based on seniority, merit, or measures of quantity or quality of work output. Obviously, this hurt women who had not been in the workforce as long and had to take time off to care for family members or the home. The “act was initially enforced by the Department of Labor’s Wage and Hours Division of the Employment Standards Administration, but since 1978, it has been enforced by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC)” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). The next law would be much more comprehensive.

The “comprehensive federal equal employment opportunity law wasn’t enacted until 1964: Title VII of the Civil Rights Act” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). Title VII has an interesting historical anecdote. Title VII was originally only prohibiting discrimination on basis of race, color, religion, and national origin. Representative Howard Smith (D-VA), a conservative Southerner who opposed the Civil Rights Act on the grounds of giving more rights to African-Americans, introduced an amendment adding gender to the list. He believed that such an amendment, and therefore the entire bill, would be defeated, because no one would want to give women equal employment rights. However, contrary to his expectations, the House and Senate passed the amendment. “Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964...forbids wage and

employment discrimination on basis of race, color, religion, national orientation, or sex” (Burstein 1994). “Title VII...however, does not deal specifically with issue of sex-based pay discrepancies, but rather sets forth a general ban on employment practices that discriminate on basis of race, color, religion, or national origin” (Werwie 1987).

While the Equal Pay Act covers women in the workplace, Title VII covers more than just gender. And while the Equal Pay Act covers wages, Title VII forbids wage *and* employment discrimination. Something that isn’t covered in either law is how women are treated once they are within the workplace other than wages, especially promotions. Later, Title VII was amended. “Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was amended in 1972 to prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender at all levels of government and by all private employers, public and private educational institutions, and public and private employment agencies” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel 1995). The 1978 amendments protected pregnant women.

The “glass ceiling” effect could be possibly eradicated through a federal law. The only problem is that a lot of discrimination against women is because of attitudes and opinions, which are hard to change through a law. “Legislation may change behaviors, but attitudes change very slowly” (Mani 2009). Mani suggests changes to an organizational culture in which both masculine and feminine traits and management styles are acceptable. Also American social culture needs to change. This could possibly be done through education – both in the workplace and in schools.

Doris Werwie makes the point that “the implementation of future comparable worth job evaluation systems may rest upon court interpretations of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and upon incorporation of comparable worth language within

state laws” (1987). This can be true of all laws, so it would stand to reason that laws that effect working women as well. The largest problem with comparable worth is that women may end up being hurt in retaliation. “Comparable worth raises labor cost. This might cause some firms to reduce female employment” (Cherry 2001). This is done by accelerating automation of the functions of female positions, such as secretaries or administrative assistants. “Indeed, studies find that growth of employment in female job categories was less in states that had comparable-worth guidelines” (Cherry 2001). It would be assumed that this would not be a problem in government agencies; however, “government also might attempt to circumvent guidelines by contracting with the private sector to supply services provided by female job categories” (Cherry 2001). The fear that leads to reducing female employment is unsubstantiated though. “In general, pro-market concern that pay equity will create substantial distortions and inefficiencies is unfounded” (Cherry 2001).

Women-centered agencies sprung from focusing events of the feminist movement, as well as feminists working within federal government. “One of the most interesting characteristics of the US women’s movement has been its ability to achieve policies relatively early without either extensive protest or single state bureaucracy devoted to women’s interests (‘state feminism’) (Banaszak 2010). Lee Ann Banaszak’s The Women’s Movement: Inside and Outside the State gives us the term, ‘state feminism,’ which can be defined as feminism as expressed through the government agencies. “The wide goals of the women’s movement allowed feminist activities within the state to pursue movement goals in many different locations within the state. Whether those goals were equality in employment or changing the gendered nature of institutions, the pursuit of those goals was not limited to a single, governmental agency. Thus,

feminist activists in the State Department could hope to change state in ways that furthered feminist goals just as feminists located in the Women's Bureau and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission could do the same" (Banaszak 2010). This author specifically mentioned the impact of two of the women-centered agencies that this thesis will examine. The most important factor about state feminism was that these agencies "were positioned to have a disproportionate impact on public policy" (Banaszak 2010). The "establishment of the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor in 1920 was the first official recognition by the federal government of the existence of policy issues concerning working women" (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995).

In the 1970s came laws that helped women earn college educations. "Until the early 1970s, there was no federal legislation protecting female students from gender discrimination at any educational level" (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). Before this, there had been no laws to help women with their educations. "The Women's Educational Equity Act of 1974 created a series of programs to promote educational equity" (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). These laws may be a factor in why the number of women with Bachelor's degrees outstripped the number of men with them in the late 20th century. "The major public policy instrument that changed and continues to change the relationship between women and institutions of higher learning is Title IX of the 1972 Higher Education Amendments to the Civil Rights Act of 1964" (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). It mostly gave equality to women's athletic programs. It also barred federal aid to any institution that practices discrimination.

The Civil Service Reform Act (CSRA) of 1978 called for a “federal workforce reflective of nation’s diversity” (Naff 2001). This was great news for women. Since they made up half of the population, they now had to make up half of the civil service, which is technically the idea of representative bureaucracy. If more women were entering the workforce, the employer would have to provide new women- and mother-specific benefits, such as daycare and alternative work situations (like working from home). However, many women do not ask for accommodations due to their families for fear of being seen as not committed to their jobs and subsequently not getting promoted. “In 1993, Congress passed, and President Bill Clinton signed, the Family and Medical Leave Act, which permits the employed persons to take up to 12 weeks of unpaid leave because of their serious illness, birth or adoption of a child, or the necessity of caring for an ill child, parent, and spouse” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). This law required a maternal leave for working mothers.

Also the president can issue Executive Orders (EO) that will apply to all federal agencies and departments and extend to all private companies that have federal contracts. “In 1965, President Lyndon Johnson issued EO 11246 to prohibit employment discrimination by contractors and subcontractors holding federal or federally-funded contracts. In 1967, it was amended by EO 11375 to include gender as a category” (Conway, Ahern, and Stevernel 1995). From these Executive Orders, women working for companies with federal contracts were protected from discrimination as well.

The Great Recession officially began in December 2007. Interestingly though, women have not suffered as greatly as men. The effects were so widespread that sometimes the recession was referred to as a “Man-cession.” The Bureau of Labor Statistics found that “men

have experienced significantly higher unemployment rates than women” (Dunne and Fee 2010). Also men stay unemployed longer than women. The article, “The Unemployment Gender Gap during the 2007 Recession,” discussed this phenomenon. “By August 2009, the unemployment rate for men had hit 11.0 percent, while that for women held at 8.3 percent. This 2.7 percentage point unemployment gender gap [was] the largest in the postwar era” (Sahin, Song, and Hobijn 2010). The authors cite two factors that this finding reflects. First, men are more heavily represented in the manufacturing industries that got hit the hardest. Second, there was a sharp increase in the number of men that joined that labor search, but weren’t able to find a job. While these variables should not be overlooked, the point that women have fared well during the recession is encouraging. As discussed earlier, the increase in the number of women with secondary degrees was helpful in job protection. Since the Great Recession was a “Man-cession,” Mattingly and Smith found that “families may find it strategic for wives to enter the labor force or increase their hours” (2010). This is another possible answer why women have fared better during the recession. Another possible reason why women were still employed during the Great Recession could be that employers see women as less expensive. If a discriminatory employer isn’t paying women as much as their male colleagues to begin with, then when the executives must cut costs, they’ll cut more expenses by letting men go as compared to the women.

Methodology

The most important concept that needs to be operationalized as a variable is the independent variable: how to find whether an organization has a women-centric culture. This concept is going to be operationalized by measuring whether gender or the type of agency an

employee works for has any affect on salary and federal General Schedule grades. I will also be looking at bonuses and whether the leaders within the fourteen specific organizations being measured are male or female.

To study if women-centered agencies treat women any differently than gender-neutral agencies, this thesis uses a quantitative study of over 3000 federal employees. Seven women-centered agencies were selected (the Agriculture Department's Civil Rights Division; the Education Department's Office for Civil Rights; the Health and Human Services Department's Administration for Children and Families; the Housing and Urban Development Department's Office of Equal Employment Opportunity; the Labor Department's Women's Bureau; the Independent Agency's Commission on Civil Rights; and the Independent Agency's Equal Employment Opportunity Agency), as well as seven gender-neutral ones (the Agriculture Department's Agricultural Marketing Service; the Commerce Department's Bureau of the Census; the Executive Office of the President's National Security Council; the Health and Human Services Department's Food and Drug Administration; the Transportation Department's Federal Transit Administration; the Treasury Department's Financial Crimes Enforcement Network; and the Veteran Department's Veterans Benefits Administration).

This data was collected for the following years: 2010, 2009, 2008, and 2007. The data source was Asbury Park Press's Data Universe (Asbury Park Press 2011). While all years will be discussed, the main focus of this research is the most current year: 2010. It should be noted that to keep the data simple, only federal employees in Washington, DC were studied. This was done, because the federal grade and salary system is dependent upon the average salaries of the area. To study federal employees across the country would skew the results. Unfortunately, only

12.6% of federal employees work in the DC area (U.S. Office of Personnel Management 2009). However, when someone discusses the “federal government,” they are usually speaking of workers in Washington, D.C. This will keep the study relevant to our lexicon.

While this thesis is a mostly quantitative study, a qualitative portion will serve to fill out the research. More information can be gleaned from this kind of a study. First, all of the organizations will be examined. The mission statement and principle duties will be listed and how they could serve or not serve women. Also the director of the agency, as well as the director of the umbrella agency, will be listed with their background. Ideally, more female leaders will be found in the female-centered organizations. I believe though that women-centered agencies will have female directors to lend validity to the services provided, but mostly men will be entrusted to run the umbrella department, so that the power will remain intact. Second, the data on which employees received bonuses and the amount thereof was also available. It makes an interesting argument on who gets bonuses – male or female, from women-centered agencies or gender-neutral agencies – and why. I think that those that are getting bonuses are performing some kind of special project, such as a research endeavor or possibly testifying in front of Congress.

The following data was studied about each employee from each agency in the qualitative portion: the type of agency to which they belong (women-centered or gender-neutral); gender; federal employment grade; and salary. Once the data was collected, regression analyses were performed on all of the data. Regression analysis is “a technique employed in predicting values of one variable (Y) from knowledge of values of another variable (X)” (Levin, Fox, and Forde 2010).

The regression formula is as follows:

$$Y \approx f(\mathbf{X}, \boldsymbol{\beta})$$

Where Y = Dependent variable

X = Independent variables

B = Unknown parameters

Analysis

Qualitative Analysis

Organization Leaders Examination

The first women-centered agency, the USDA's Civil Rights Division, cites their vision statement as, "To provide superior customer service while ensuring equity for all" (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2012). Equality for all implies that women are included in the goal to make all people equal. The department defines their mission statement as, "to ensure compliance with applicable laws, regulations, and policies for FNS customers and employees regardless of ... gender... The Civil Rights Division also facilitates equal and timely access to FNS programs and services for all customers" (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2012). Gender is specifically mentioned in this organization's mission statement, which makes it women-centric. The Food and Nutrition Service provides for the Civil Rights Division's program, the Federal Women's Program. It works on employment needs and problems of women as they may relate to federal programs and policies. The Director of the Civil Rights Division is Deborah Minor. Interestingly,

this organization follows the trend of the head of an organization that deals with women's issues having a female head to bring a sense of validity to the position. However, the director of the umbrella agency is male, most likely to bring a sense of power to the position. The current Secretary of Agriculture is Tom Vilsack, who is a member of President Obama's cabinet. Vilsack is a former Governor of Iowa, a prominent agricultural state, as well as a 2008 presidential hopeful.

The next women-centered agency is the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. It is focused on promoting civil rights through education. Their mission statement "is to ensure equal access to education and to promote educational excellence throughout the nation through vigorous enforcement of civil rights" (U.S. Department of Education 2011). Equal access to education would be access for women as well as men. The goals of the department are, "We serve student populations facing discrimination and the advocates and institutions promoting systemic solutions to civil rights problems. An important responsibility is resolving complaints of discrimination" (U.S. Department of Education 2011). A group of students that could be facing discrimination could be women. One of the activities of the Office of Civil Rights is implementing Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits discrimination on the basis of sex in all education programs or activities that receive Federal financial assistance. The director of the Department of Education's Office of the Civil Rights is Russlyn Ali, who is a female education advocate. Meanwhile, the head of the Department of Education is Arne Duncan, the former CEO of Chicago Public Schools. Both individuals were confirmed by the Senate in 2009. Therefore, this organization follows the trend of the women-centered agency having a female leader and the umbrella organization having a male director.

Third, the women-centered agency from the Department of Health and Human Services, the Administration for Children and Families, “is responsible for federal programs that promote the economic and social well-being of families, children, individuals, and communities” (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2010). While this organization does not explicitly help women, the fact that they are helping children and families inadvertently means care for women, because women are often the sole caregivers for children, not to mention the bearer of children. The acting assistant secretary of this organization is David Hansell, who was previously the Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the ACF and had held many public health positions. Administration for Children and Families may be directed by a man, because this organization contains many scientists, the majority of which are male. The idea may be the male scientists would only listen to and respect a male or that the only qualified scientist is a male. The Health and Human Services Department secretary is Kathleen Sebelius, who is a former Governor of Kansas. It should be noted that Sebelius is a staunchly pro-choice political figure, who is also in support of sex education and extended services for pregnant women and single mothers. This is one of the few organizations in which the organization defending women is led by a man and the larger organization is led by a woman.

The next women-centered agency is the Housing and Urban Development Department’s Office of Equal Employment Opportunity. The mission “is to ensure the enforcement of federal laws relating to the elimination of all forms of discrimination in the Department’s employment practices” (U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development). All forms of discrimination include discrimination against women, mostly likely sexual harassment in particular. The three divisions are Affirmative Employment, Alternative Dispute Resolution, and the Equal

Employment Opportunity. The director position of this department is currently vacant. Right now, the deputy director is Michelle A. Cottom. The Secretary of HUD is Shaun Donovan. He is the former head of New York City's Department of Housing Preservation and Development. This department follows the trend of the female heading up the female-centered agency and the male leading the umbrella agency.

Another women-centered agency, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, was created in 1957 as a result of the Civil Rights Act from the same year. On their website, the department claims that their "mission is to inform the development of national civil rights policy and enhance enforcement of federal civil rights laws. We pursue this mission by studying alleged deprivations of voting rights and alleged discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, age, disability, or national origin, or in the administration of justice" (U.S. Commission on Civil Rights). Specifically, this organization mentions sex and its intent to fight discrimination on this basis. The Commission on Civil Rights is interesting due to the actual commission organization made up of eight commissioners who serve for six-year staggered terms. Four are appointed by the President, two by the President Pro Tempore, and two by the Speaker of the House. They do not have to be confirmed by the Senate. Also these commissioners openly have a political party association. This is interesting, because other political appointees, such as other executive agency heads or the U.S. Supreme Court, do not claim a political party. To keep one party from dominating, no more than four commissioners can be of the same political party. The commissioners are as follows:

Table 3. U.S. Commission on Civil Rights Appointees

Presidential Appointees	Congressional Appointees
Martin R. Castro – D (Chair) CEO Chicago, IL	Gail Heirot – I Law Professor San Diego, CA
Abigail Thernstrom – R (Vice-Chair) Think Tank Scholar New York City, NY	Todd F. Gaziano – I Think Tank Scholar Washington, DC
Peter N. Kersanow – R Lawyer Cleveland, OH	Michael Yaki – D Consultant San Francisco, CA
Roberta Achtenberg – D Consultant/College Trustee San Francisco, CA	David Kladney – D Lawyer Reno, NV

The chair of this commission is a male, but the vice-chair is a female. Interestingly though, the male chair is a Democrat, a party who is typically associated with support for women’s issues. Meanwhile, the vice-chair, a female, is a Republican, which is already unusual for women, but especially because the Republican Party do not generally put women’s issues first. The staff director leads the federal employees in all day-to-day activities though. Pending confirmation, the President Obama-appointed staff director is the female Kimberly Tolhurst, an attorney who focuses on violence against women. The fact that she works for women’s issues is great news for

the women working in this agency. As an independent agency though, the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights is controlled by the Executive Branch, i.e. President Barack Obama, a male.

Since this thesis focuses on working women, this women-centered organization and the next may be the most relevant. The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Agency “is responsible for enforcing federal laws that make it illegal to discriminate against a job applicant or an employee because of the person's race, color, religion, sex (including pregnancy), national origin, age (40 or older), disability or genetic information” (U.S Equal Employment Opportunity Commission). It is of note that not only women in general but pregnant women are protected by this organization. Any employer with more than 15 employees is covered by EEOC laws, and the EEOC has the right to conduct an investigation and file a lawsuit with an employer who is found to have discriminating practices. (They note that they investigate far more than file lawsuits.) This commission is bipartisan. The five presidentially-appointed commissioners include a chair and a vice chair. The four commissioners “participate equally in the development and approval of Commission policies, issue charges of discrimination where appropriate, and authorize the filing of suits” (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission). There is also an appointed General Council to support the Commission and lead the Litigation department.

Table 4. U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission Commissioners

Commissioners	General Counsel
Jacqueline A. Berrien (Chair) Civil Rights Attorney	P. David Lopez Former EEOC Attorney
Stuart J. Ishimaru (Acting Vice-Chairman) Civil Rights Attorney	
Constance S. Barker Employment/Women’s Rights Attorney	
Chai Feldblum Civil Rights Attorney	
Victoria A. Lipnic Employment Attorney	

Four of the five commissioners are female, including an African-American chair and the first openly lesbian EEOC chairwoman. However, the General Counsel is male. Not to mention since this is an independent agency, it is supervised by our male president.

The last government office that deals with women’s issues in this study is the Department of Labor’s Women’s Bureau. “The Women’s Bureau was created by law in 1920 to formulate

standards and policies to promote the welfare of wage-earning women, improve their working conditions, increase their efficiency, and advance their opportunities for profitable employment” (U.S. Department of Labor). Its priority issues are equal pay, workplace flexibility, higher paying jobs for women, and homeless women veterans. Again, as suspected, the director of this government agency is a woman, Sara Manzano-Diaz. Manzano-Diaz was also nominated by President Obama in 2009 and confirmed by the Senate in 2010. Before this post, she was working as a lawyer who spent much of her career in public service. The head of the Department of Labor is a woman. The Secretary of Labor is Hilda L. Solis, a former Congresswoman from California. It is especially good news for the Women’s Bureau that both directors are women.

The expectation that government agencies that cater to women are lead by women was fulfilled. Possibly the reasoning for this is because government’s merit system awards a job to the best candidate, not the most popular. “Merit services choose employees on the basis of examinations, educational credentials, and demonstratable skills” (Greenberg and Page 2008). A woman is far more likely to have a background in women’s issues, thus making her the best choice for a job in which she will be working on women’s behalf. It also may be due to the discrimination that women perform best in a women’s organization.

Now the gender-neutral organizations will be examined. The first, the U.S. Department of Agriculture’s Agricultural Marketing Service, “administers programs that facilitate the efficient, fair marketing of U.S. agricultural products, including food, fiber, and specialty crops” (U.S. Department of Agriculture 2012). They focus on five commodity areas: cotton and tobacco, dairy, fruit and vegetable, livestock and seed, and poultry. In addition to marketing these commodities, the agency also provides testing and standardization. This organization is truly

gender-neutral; the mission statement says nothing about people at all. David R. Shipman is the Acting Administrator, who has been a public administrator with the USDA throughout his career. To repeat, the leader of the USDA is Tom Vilsack.

Second, the gender-neutral organization, the U.S. Department of Commerce's Bureau of the Census, has an abbreviated mission statement: "to serve as the leading source of quality data about the nation's people and economy" (U.S. Department of Commerce 2012). While this agency's mission statement talks about people, it does not suggest a specific gender. Everyone knows about the Population and Housing Census that occurs every ten years, but this agency also administers an Economic Census and a Census of Government every five years, an American Community survey annually, as well as continuous Economic and Population surveys. The director is Dr. Robert Groves, who is a leading scholar with a focus in Survey Methodology and Research. The Commerce Department is led by John E. Bryson, a former CEO, attorney, and a director on nonprofit and public boards. Both of the leaders here are males, which makes sense for the Commerce Department, which strives to promote the status of American business.

The gender-neutral Executive Office of the President's National Security Council "is the President's principal forum for considering national security and foreign policy matters with his senior national security advisors and cabinet officials" (Executive Office of the President). Again, this agency does not mention gender specifically. The NSC is chaired by President Barack Obama himself. There are a multitude of officials who are required or only occasionally required to attend. The day-to-day director of the organization is General Keith B. Alexander. Both directors are male. Since the National Security Council is based on the military, it naturally has far more males leading it.

The next gender-neutral agency, Food and Drug Administration, is operated by the Health and Human Services Department. “FDA is responsible for protecting the public health by assuring the safety, efficacy and security of human and veterinary drugs, biological products, medical devices, our nation’s food supply, cosmetics, and products that emit radiation” (U.S. Department of Health and Human Services 2010). While it talks about the public, the mission statement does not discuss one gender over another. The present commissioner is Margaret Hamburg, M.D., the former commissioner of New York City’s Department of Health and Mental Hygiene. Again, the secretary of Health and Human Services is Kathleen Sebelius. Here is an organization with two female leaders.

The Transportation Department’s Federal Transit Administration, a gender-neutral agency, provides both financial and technical assistance to local transit programs (U.S. Transportation Department). Local transit programs have little to do with gender. The FTA’s Administrator is Peter M. Rogoff, former aide to the Senate Appropriations Committee’s Transportation Subcommittee. The parent agency, DOT, is run by Secretary of Transportation, Ray LaHood, a former Republican House Representative from Illinois. Interestingly, this organization actually does not have a civil rights component. Originally, it was about integrating bus systems after Rosa Parks refused to move to the back of the bus. Today, it is about providing transportation to disabled individuals. However, this organization is still run by two men.

The gender-neutral Financial Crimes Enforcement Network “carries out its mission by receiving and maintaining financial transactions data; analyzing and disseminating that data for law enforcement purposes; and building global cooperation with counterpart organizations in other countries and with international bodies” (U.S. Department of the Treasury). Their mission

is “to enhance the integrity of financial systems by facilitating the detection and deterrence of financial crime” (U.S. Department of the Treasury). The agency does not mention one gender or another in its mission statement. FinCEN, as it is commonly called, is a bureau of the Department of the Treasury. The director is James H. Freis, Jr., a former attorney, banker, and Treasury Department administrator. The Secretary of the Treasury is Timothy Geithner, a civil servant with a storied career in the economic market. Both FinCEN and the Treasury Department are administrated by men, most likely because men have more experience and skill in business, banking, and markets.

The last gender-neutral organization, the Veterans Benefits Administration is responsible for providing various services to veterans, their dependents, and their survivors. The programs administrated by the VBA include compensation and pensions, education benefits, insurance, loan guaranty, and vocational and educational rehabilitation and employment (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs 2012). This agency provides benefits for all veterans, regardless of gender. The under secretary is Allison A. Hickey, a retired Brigadier General with the Air Force. The U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs (VA) secretary is General Eric Shinseki, a retired four-star general who served as Army Chief of Staff. It is unusual that a military-based position as high-ranking as this one would go to a female. It may be because providing benefits seems more nurturing, and thus, maternal.

Table 5. Genders of Agency Heads

	Name of Agency	Gender of Department Head	Gender of Umbrella Department Head
Women-Centered Agencies	<i>Agriculture Department Civil Rights Division</i>	Female	Male
	<i>Education Department Office for Civil Rights</i>	Female	Male
	<i>Health and Human Services Department Administration for Children and Families</i>	Male	Female
	<i>Housing and Urban Development Department Office of Equal Employment Opportunity</i>	Female	Male
	<i>Independent Agency's Commission on Civil Rights</i>	Female	Male
	<i>Independent Agency's Equal Employment Opportunity Agency</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Labor Department's Women's Bureau</i>	Female	Female
	<i>Total</i>	4 Female and 2 Male	2 Female and 5 Male

Gender-Neutral Agencies	<i>Agriculture Department Agricultural Marketing Service</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Commerce Department Bureau of the Census</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Executive Office of the President National Security Council</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Health and Human Services Department Food and Drug Administration</i>	Female	Female
	<i>Transportation Department Federal Transit Administration</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Treasury Department Financial Crimes Enforcement Network</i>	Male	Male
	<i>Veterans Administration Department Veterans Benefits Administration</i>	Female	Male
	<i>Total</i>	2 Female and 5 Male	1 Female and 6 Male
	<i>Total</i>	6 Female and 7 Male	3 Female and 11 Male

Seeing the numbers of men versus women in a table format makes it simpler to recognize the patterns. In the women-centered agencies, there are four female and two male department heads. This indicates that there are indeed more women running women-centered agencies. However, there are more men running umbrella departments: two females and five males. In gender-neutral agencies, there are two female and five male department heads. For agencies that are not supposed to prefer one gender over another, there are men in charge than women. For the umbrella departments, these numbers are more exaggerated: one female and six males. Overall between the two types of agencies, there are more male administrators than female administrators. There are six female and seven male heads of individual departments. For the umbrella departments, discrimination against women is much more apparent though: three females compared to 11 males. These finds are crucial to this study, particularly to the argument that women are not managers, even in government. According to these numbers, a glass ceiling is still visible.

Quantitative Analysis

Bonuses Examination

Only 1,060 individuals from the 2010 dataset of 3,235 people total had bonuses. 32.7%, or 1/3 of employees measured, received a bonus. That means that 2,175 individuals did not get bonuses, or 67.2%. Of the total number of employees that received bonuses, 640 were women and 420 were men. 60.3% of the bonus awardees were women, and 39.6% were men.

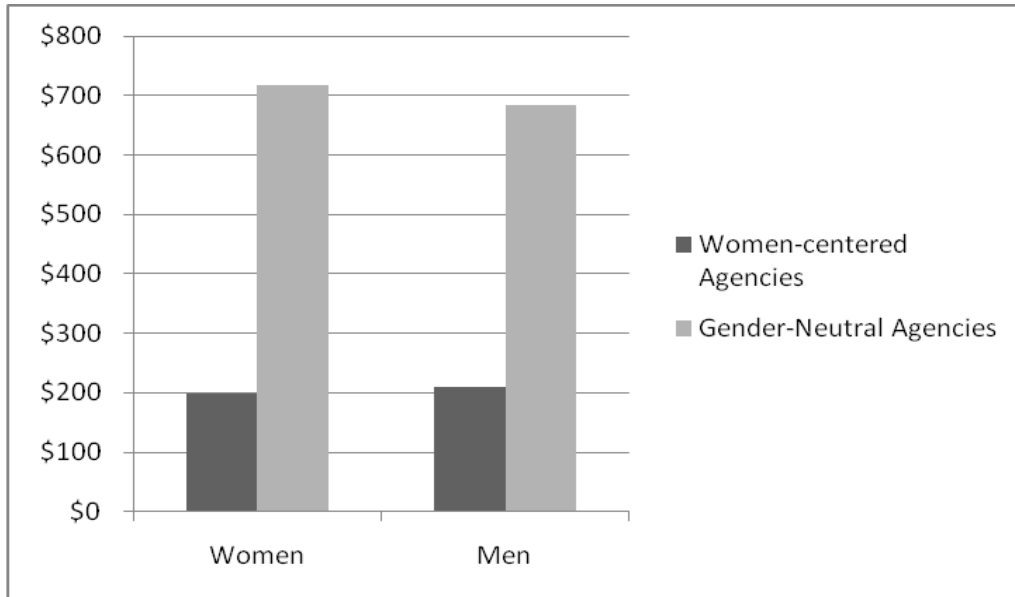
Within women-centered agencies, the average bonus is \$205. The average bonus for women is \$198, while the average bonus for men is larger at \$209. Men receive more in bonuses.

Within gender-neutral organizations, the average bonus is \$816. This is four times the amount given to institutions that focus on services for women. That may be because these agencies are often more technical and therefore the bureaucracy may be trying to keep highly skilled workers that would make more in the private sector. However, since the literature does not support that explanation, the most likely answer as to why gender-neutral agencies give larger bonuses is because they have less women working in them and the tasks they perform are seen as more important than what women-centered agencies do. Therefore, women-centered agencies do not get large bonuses by virtue of being made up of mostly women and because the work they do is not highly valued. The average bonus for men at \$717 is less than the women’s average at \$683. It is possible women in women-centered agencies are making more in bonuses by virtue of the organization being a women-centered organization. Overall though, women do not receive as large of bonuses as men.

Table 6. Male and Female Bonuses

	Women	Men
Women-centered Agencies	\$198	\$209
Gender-Neutral Agencies	\$717	\$683

Figure 1. Male and Female Bonuses



This paper will examine the employees with the two highest bonuses in both the women-centered and gender-neutral agencies. In the women-centered agencies, the two largest bonuses both belong to women. In 2010, Tina Louise Martin was the Director of Management at the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. She received a bonus of \$8,000. Another individual who was awarded an \$8,000 bonus was Kimberly Ann Tolhurst of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights. According to the data, it seems like most of the large bonuses belonged to that agency, the USDA Civil Rights Division, or the Health and Human Services Department Administration on Children and Families. In the gender-neutral agencies, the two largest bonuses were given to a male and a female from DOT's Federal Transit Administration. Mary M. Churchman got a bonus of \$7,775. Michael T. Flanigan had a bonus of \$7,600. Most of the bonuses were to employees in that agency, the Agriculture Department's Agricultural Marketing Service, or the Veterans Department's Veterans Benefit Administration.

Employee Sample Analysis

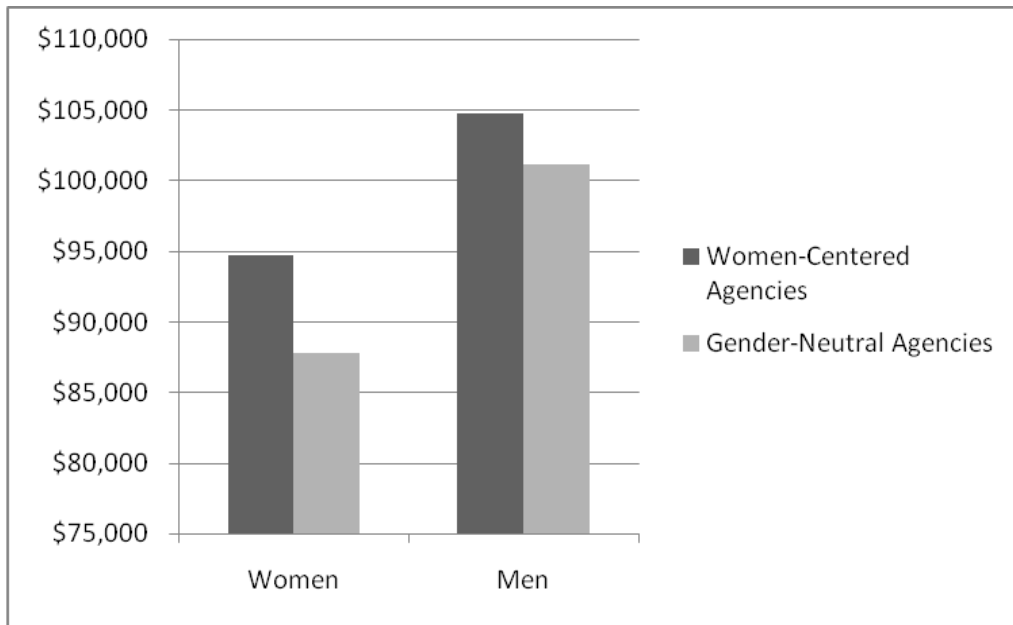
The 2010 data set was made up of 3,235 individuals. There were 1,247 males and 1,988 females. Of that total, 1,502 people were employees of women-centered agencies, in which there were 1,025 females and 478 males. 1,733 individuals were employed by the gender-neutral agencies. Within the gender-neutral agencies, 962 employees were women and 770 were men.

In 2010, 68% of the employees in a woman-centered agency were women, while women made up 55% of the population in gender-neutral agencies. The average salary of an employee in a woman-centered agency was \$97,883. For female women-centered agency employees, the average salary was \$94,702, while the average salary for male employees was \$104,716. The average salary of an employee in a gender-neutral agency was \$93,708. In gender-neutral organizations, the average salary for female employees was \$87,775, while the average salary for male employees was \$101,128. Overall, women make less than men, and women-centered agencies pay less than gender-neutral agencies.

Table 7. Male and Female Salaries

	Women	Men	Average Overall
Women-Centered Agencies	\$94,702	\$104,716	\$97,883
Gender-Neutral Agencies	\$87,775	\$101,128	\$93,708

Figure 2. Male and Female Salaries

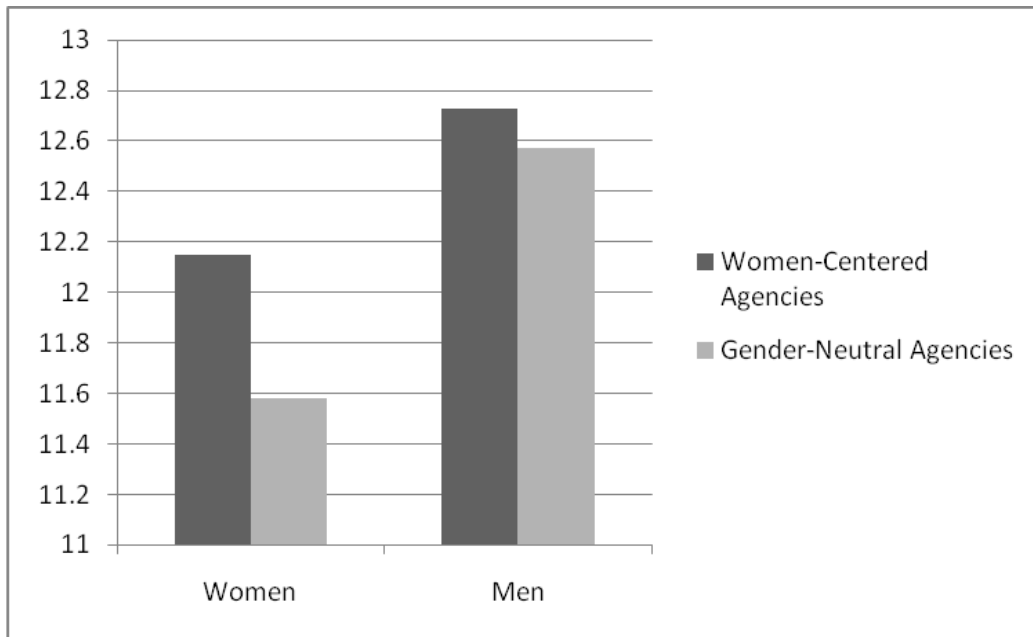


The average grade of an employee in a woman-centered agency is 12.33, while in a gender-neutral agency, the average grade is 11.97. For females in female-centered agencies, the average grade is 12.15; for males in female-centered agencies, the average grade is 12.73. In gender-neutral agencies, the average female grade is 11.58 and the average male grade is 12.47. Although women-centered agencies have higher grades, women themselves are in lower grades than men.

Table 8. Male and Female Grades

	Women	Men	Average Overall
Women-Centered Agencies	12.15	12.73	12.33
Gender-Neutral Agencies	11.58	12.57	11.97

Figure 3. Male and Female Grades



The focus of this study was on whether women had a statistically-significant higher salary or grade as compared to men by virtue of their gender and government agency. The main focus will be on the 2010 as that is the most current data available.

The first regression run was on whether employees' salary was affected by gender, the type of agency in which they worked, and their federal grade (Table 9). Grade was included

because of its effect on salary. In the federal civil service, an employee's grade determines the range of their salary. Women made on average \$3,936 less than men. A p-value of less than 0.001 makes me confident in the finding. Those in women-centered agencies are making about \$835 more than employees in gender-neutral agencies. However, this finding is not statistically-significant with a p-value of 0.1. As far as grade goes, with every increase in a single grade level, there is an average increase in salary in \$10,620. This finding has a p-value of 0, making it both extremely rare. In no way is this finding due to chance or random factors. The p-value is so low, because grade is *the* predictor of an employee's salary. The adjusted R-square is 0.81, which means that the model predicts 81% of the variance in the regression analysis. This is very high for a test with many potential variables.

Overall, controlling for grade and type of agency, women earn less than men. This finding supported the expectation that women make less money than men; not only in the private sector, but in the public sector as well. Women make almost \$4,000 less than their male colleagues. Despite factors that put women at a disadvantage of their own volition – duties in the household, choosing to take time off for child-rearing, picking a “pink-collar” occupation, some of the gap may very well be due to discrimination against women.

Table 9. 2010 Salary Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT					
Regression Statistics					
Multiple R	0.899197593				
R Square	0.808556311				
Adjusted R Square	0.808378555				
Standard Error	14502.955				
Observations	3235				
ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	3	2.87025E+12	9.56749E+11	4548.675138	0
Residual	3231	6.79595E+11	210335703.7		
Total	3234	3.54984E+12			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	-31308.21845	1238.233278	-25.28458814	7.3807E-129	
Gender	-3936.386553	532.9628911	-7.385854849	1.91796E-13	
Type of Agency	835.1796615	517.3886705	1.614221009	0.106577144	
Grade	10620.24791	92.89155746	114.3295279	0	

The second regression performed was on whether the employees' federal grade level was affected by gender or the type agency they work for (Table 10). Women are almost an entire grade level (0.75) lower on average than men. The p-value on that variable is extremely low: less than 0.001. Those in women-centered agencies are almost a half grade level (0.46) higher than women. 3.05E-06 was the p-value, which is also low. This regression's adjusted R-squared is 0.02, which is not nearly as high as the previous regression. Therefore, the model predicts 2% of the variance in the analysis.

In sum, women are almost an entire grade lower than their male counterparts, but employees in women-centered agencies are almost a half grade higher than those in gender-neutral organizations. Women are not in the same federal grades as men. So far, women have not

been hired to or been able to advance as high as their male colleagues. However, women-centered agencies do have higher grades than the gender-neutral agencies. This is most likely because they need less support staff to perform basic, repetitive services for the public and do more research on specific projects. The greatest outcome would be that the women-centered agencies that contain higher-graded employees overall have a higher grades for the women working there, as well as the men.

Table 10. 2010 Grade Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT					
Regression Statistics					
Multiple R	0.145853316				
R Square	0.02127319				
Adjusted R Square	0.020667542				
Standard Error	2.746278512				
Observations	3235				
ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	2	529.8240118	264.9120059	35.12468865	8.10886E-16
Residual	3232	24375.8916	7.542045668		
Total	3234	24905.71561			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	12.39472871	0.086273925	143.6671472	0	
Gender	-0.75084616	0.10005388	-7.504418229	7.93125E-14	
Type of Agency	0.456547799	0.097642998	4.675683971	3.04968E-06	

It should be noted that one other regression was run that may have introduced an error into the study (Table 11). However, the extra independent variable told a very important story for this research. The other independent variable had been included: whether the sample set was a woman working in women-centered agency. When we examine salary with the independent variables of gender, type of agency, grade, and whether the female employee is working for a

women-centered organization, women make about an extra \$60 a year, with a high p-value of 0.96. It was found that women in women-centered agencies had an almost third higher grade level (0.31). However, it had a p-value of 0.13, which is not significant. The adjusted R-square is again a low 0.02.

Although this regression may contain an error, its findings are still extremely important. Women in the federal workforce, no matter what type of agency they work for, make less money than men. On average, any female employee makes a lower salary than any male employee. The prediction was that women working in women-centered agencies would make more money, because the agency they are working for already has women in mind and wants to better American women's lives. In addition, employees of women-centered agencies do make more than employees of gender-neutral agencies. This furthers the expectation that women in women-centered agencies will have as high a salary as men. However, this is not the case.

The hypothesis that women in women-centered agencies fare better financially due to a women-centered organizational culture and overall focus on women was disproven. Arguably, the most important finding of this thesis is that women working in women-centered agencies have a lower salary by almost \$2,000. This means that in women-centered agencies, organizations where women's issues are paramount, the men are actually paid more than their female colleagues. Therefore, women-centered agencies do not have a women-friendly organizational culture as expected. Women-centered organizations do not have women-centered organizational cultures at least when it comes to financial benefits to women, which is the easiest to study. Financial benefits are also one of the best predictors of organizational culture, because few factors are more important in the workplace than monetary compensation.

The biggest problem with including this extra independent variable is that it introduces multicollinearity to the study. Multicollinearity is when one of the independent variables (X) in the linear model is an exact linear combination of one or more other independent variables. In this model, the independent variables of gender and type of agency match the women in women-centered agency independent variable. This independent variable was included to not ignore this important factor of deciding the effects of gender and type of agency on grade and salary. Due to this possible error, this regression will not be performed for the years 2009 and 2008.

Table 11. 2010 Salary with Women in Women-Centered Agencies Independent Variable

Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT						
Regression Statistics						
Multiple R						
R Square						
Adjusted R Square						
Standard Error						
Observations						
ANOVA						
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F	
Regression	4	2.87241E+12	7.18103E+11	3423.938103	0	
Residual	3230	6.77428E+11	209730175.1			
Total	3234	3.54984E+12				
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value		
Intercept	-31059.26322	1238.873871	-25.07056121	6.774E-127		
Women in Women-Centered Agencies	-1765.859648	549.46251	-3.213794602	0.001322825		
Gender	-3895.423051	532.3477875	-7.317440106	3.17356E-13		
Type of Agency	912.7584911	517.207015	1.764783664	0.0776946		
Grade	10640.77927	92.9774877	114.4446847	0		

The data set for 2009 was made up of 2,978 samples. There were 1,841 women and 1,135 men. In the 2009 women-centered agencies, there were 1,326 employees total; 919 of which

were women, and 407 were men. Meanwhile, in gender-neutral agencies, there were 1,650 employees overall. Out of that number, 922 were female, and 728 were male.

In 2009, the population of women-centered agencies was 69.36% female. Likewise, the population of gender-neutral agencies was 55.91% female for the same year. The average salary for all employees of women-centered agencies was \$93,132. The average salary for women in women-centered agencies was \$96,306, while men in the same agencies were paid \$109,364. The average salary for all employees of gender-neutral agencies was \$100,313. The average salary for women in gender-neutral agencies is \$87,183. The average salary for men in gender-neutral agencies is \$100,665. The average grade for women-centered agencies was 12.42. Women in female-centered agencies have an average grade of 12.21, while men have an average grade of 12.92. The average grade for gender-neutral agencies was 12.09. In gender-neutral agencies, the average grade for women was 11.69, and the average grade for men was 12.60.

Next, we'll examine these same regressions for the 2009 data to see if there are any differences. The independent variables that may have affected the dependent variable are gender, type of agency, and the employee's General Schedule grade (Table 12). In 2009, women made \$4,416 less than men on average. The p-value for this finding is very low (4.69E-16). Individuals in women-centered agencies made \$4,196 more than people in gender-neutral organizations. This variable had another low p-value (1.76E-15). As for grade, an increase in grade level means equates to an increase in salary of \$10,763. The p-value is 0, which is the lowest possible number for a p-value. The adjusted R-square is 0.81, which is a strong relationship between the variables in the model.

Thus, women made less than men in all agencies, but the employees in women-centered agencies made more than employees in others. Similar to findings for 2010, women made over \$4,000 less than their male colleagues, which again, proves that women are not equally compensated in the workplace. Since fair compensation for work is arguably the most important point for the employee, women are not equals with men at their places of work. Again, women-centered agencies do pay better than the gender-neutral organizations.

Table 12. 2009 Salary Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT					
Regression Statistics					
Multiple R					
	0.902705417				
R Square					
	0.81487707				
Adjusted R Square					
	0.814690203				
Standard Error					
	14039.27898				
Observations					
	2976				
ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	3	2.57852E+12	8.59506E+11	4360.73236	0
Residual	2972	5.85785E+11	197101354.2		
Total	2975	3.1643E+12			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	-34549.06357	1302.547293	-26.52422968	2.5585E-139	
Gender	-4416.477447	540.8928356	-8.165161667	4.69126E-16	
Type of Agency	4196.365566	524.5127304	8.000502795	1.75901E-15	
Grade	10763.13683	97.16344281	110.7735227	0	

Grade is measured using two independent variables: type of agency and gender (Table 13). As far as federal grades go in 2009, women are almost one full grade lower (-0.83) than men overall. The p-value is 4.07E-16. However, in women-centered agencies, women are almost a half grade higher (0.44) than men. For this variable, the p-value is 7.27E-06, which means that

this variable is more reliable as an explanation of grades than the previous one. The adjusted R-square is 0.03, which translates to variables explaining only 3% of the variance in the model.

To conclude, women are again working in lower General Schedule grades than men, but those in the women-centered agencies are doing better. Employees in women-centered agencies are a half grade higher than employees in gender-neutral agencies. This is very similar to the finding from 2010. Women are again almost one full grade lower than men. This is corroborated by the salary findings. If women have a lower grade, they will naturally have a lower salary. For this study, this finding means that women are not equals in the workplace. They are not as high up in the organization’s hierarchy as their male coworkers. Therefore, female are not in the high-ranking positions that males are.

Table 13. 2009 Grade Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT					
Regression Statistics					
Multiple R		0.160418477			
R Square		0.025734088			
Adjusted R Square		0.025078678			
Standard Error		2.64999134			
Observations		2976			
ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	2	551.4613616	275.7306808	39.26414852	1.4761E-17
Residual	2973	20877.75604	7.022454102		
Total	2975	21429.21741			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	12.55377723	0.086250108	145.5508583	0	
Gender	-0.826173995	0.100965881	-8.182704773	4.06857E-16	
Type of Agency	0.443397662	0.098670137	4.493737184	7.26554E-06	

Finally, we will examine 2008 data. In 2008, the individuals in these positions will have been under the executive branch of President George W. Bush. Does this make his administration more conservative with fewer females or less conservative with an equal amount or more females?

The total number of employees was 2,780 in 2008. 1,741 women made up that number with 1,039 men. In the women-centered agencies that are examined, there are 1,268 total employees with 883 women and 385 men. Meanwhile, there are 858 females and 654 men in gender-neutral agencies with a total of 1,152 employees overall.

In the year 2008, 69.69% of women-centered agencies were made up of women, while only 56.78% of gender-neutral agencies were female. The average salary in women-centered agencies for all employees was \$97,607 in 2008. The women in these agencies made \$93,822, while men in the same agencies were making \$106,289. The average salary in gender-neutral agencies meanwhile was \$88,183. Women were making only \$82,778 to their male counterparts' \$97,588. The average grade in female-centered agencies was 12.63. The average grade for women in women-centered organizations was 12.42, while the men were 13.09. 12.09 was the average grade in gender-neutral agencies overall. In these institutions, women were at 11.59 on average, and men were at 12.74.

When we control for gender, type of agency, and grade when examining salary, we find that women made \$3,860 less than men (Table 14). The p-value for this finding is 1.51E-11, making it statistically-significant. Those in women-centered agencies made \$3,268 more than those in gender-neutral agencies, which has a p-value of 3.02E-09. Individuals made an extra

\$10,519 for every General Schedule grade they increase by. This variable has a p-value of 0 as well. The adjusted R-square is 0.8, which is quite high.

Comparable to findings from 2010 and 2009, women made less, and those in women-centered agencies made more than those in gender-neutral agencies. Women made just over \$3,000 less than men. Although that discrepancy is not as large as the difference between male and female salaries in 2009 and 2008, it is a large sum of money that signals a disparity between how much men and women get paid. Again, those working in women-centered agencies do make more than those in gender-neutral agencies, but as we saw before, it may not be the women that are getting paid more.

Table 14. 2008 Salary Regression Output

SUMMARY OUTPUT					
Regression Statistics					
Multiple R		0.891941541			
R Square		0.795559712			
Adjusted R Square		0.795338775			
Standard Error		14180.55111			
Observations		2780			
ANOVA					
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F
Regression	3	2.17226E+12	7.24087E+11	3600.84564	0
Residual	2776	5.5822E+11	201088029.9		
Total	2779	2.73048E+12			
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value	
Intercept	-35781.46909	1416.618081	-25.25837385	6.9624E-127	
Gender	-3860.158489	569.7068145	-6.775693025	1.50601E-11	
Type of Agency	3267.837601	549.2238118	5.949919741	3.01928E-09	
Grade	10519.19293	105.4485523	99.75663683	0	

As far as grades go, women were again almost an entire level lower than men (-0.95) in 2008 (Table 15). The p-value for this is 1.23E-20, which is especially low. Those in women-centered organizations are over a half grade level higher than organizations that are gender-neutral (0.66). The p-value is far less than 0.001. The adjusted R-square is 0.04, which isn't particularly high.

Once again in 2008, women were almost an entire grade level lower than men, but gender-neutral organizations had lower overall grades than women-centered organizations. If women are not allowed into higher positions, they are not equal within the hierarchy. They also do not have as high a salary as men, because grade predicts an employee's pay. However, these women-centered agencies studied do contain employees with higher grades than gender-neutral agencies.

Table 15. 2008 Grade Regression Output

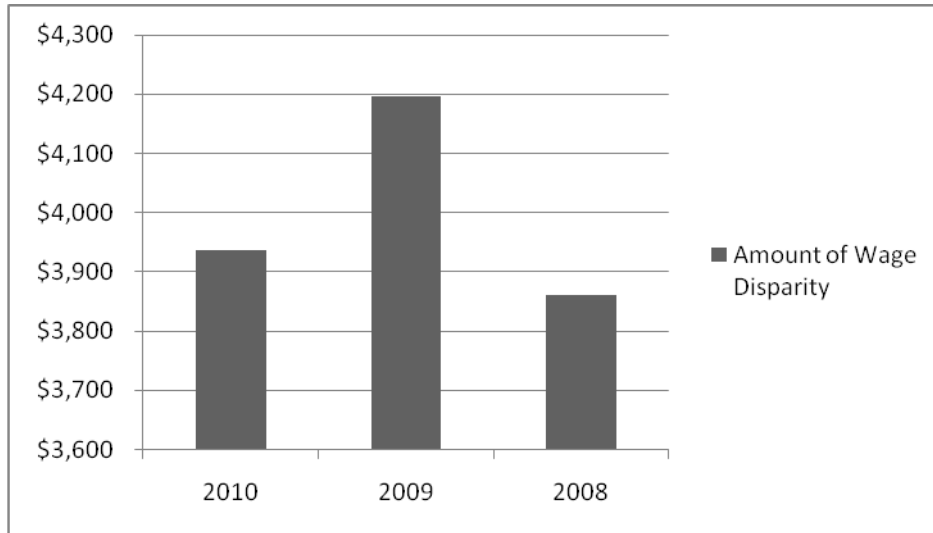
SUMMARY OUTPUT						
Regression Statistics						
Multiple R						
R Square						
Adjusted R Square						
Standard Error						
Observations						
ANOVA						
	df	SS	MS	F	Significance F	
Regression	2	773.1190986	386.5595493	59.35910032	5.70811E-26	
Residual	2777	18084.4363	6.512220489			
Total	2779	18857.5554				
	Coefficients	Standard Error	t Stat	P-value		
Intercept	12.62566022	0.087106746	144.9446887	0		
Gender	-0.947550409	0.100934252	-9.387798388	1.23417E-20		
Type of Agency	0.659581903	0.098041558	6.727574652	2.08705E-11		

The 2008 data poses a question about President George W. Bush's administration: whether the women-centered agencies will be helped or hindered by a more conservative administration that may not be in support of feminist values, such as women's equality in the workplace. In 2008, the salary wage gap between men and women was actually the smallest of all three years studied, but this year, also saw the largest grade gap between men and women. Women making more money but being lower in the hierarchy is an intriguing finding. It may be that the Bush administration inflated women's salaries to "look better." However, that is difficult to do within the General Schedule grade system without also giving promotions, which would result in higher grades. Therefore, it is my belief that the salary inflation had more to do with the overall market inflation that resulted in the market crash of the Great Recession. The United States and the global community experienced great prosperity in the early 2000s. The increase in the wage disparity may be more to do with a bad market than the influence of a president.

The findings for these years will be compared against one another. There were differences in the regression findings between 2010, 2009, and 2008. Figures are provided that will assist in seeing trends.

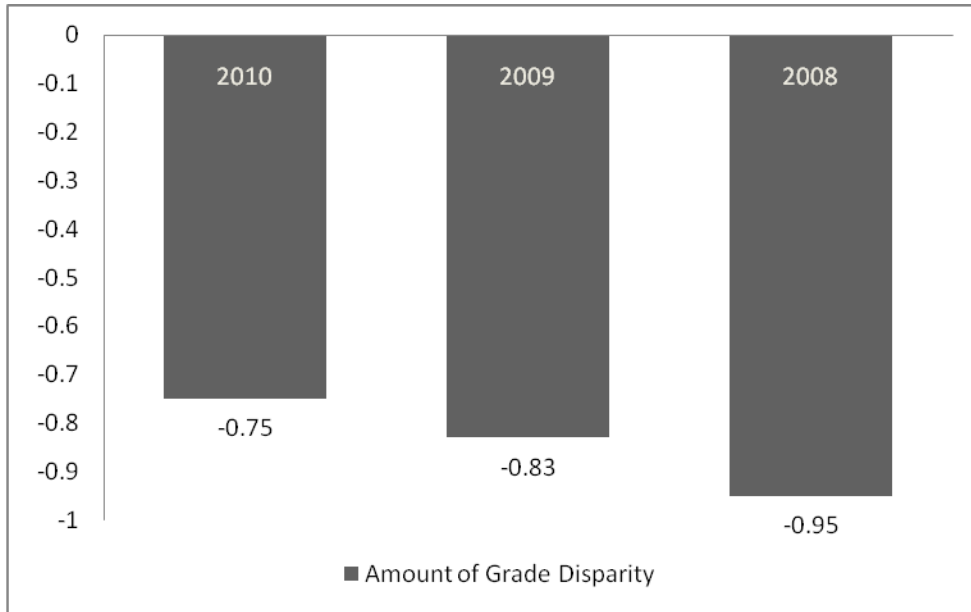
In 2010, women made \$3,936 less than men; in 2009, they made \$4,196 less; and in 2008, \$3,860 less. The largest wage gap happened in 2009. This may be in connection to the Great Recession as earlier discussed. Overall though, women made at least \$3,860 less than their male counterparts in all three years studied. This proves that women are not equal with men when it comes to their salary compensation.

Figure 4. Wage Disparities



Women had lower grade levels than men. In 2010, women were a 0.75 grade level lower than men; in 2009, they were a 0.83 grade level lower; and in 2008, a 0.95 grade level lower. There is very encouraging news in this finding. With every year, the gap between men's and women's average federal General Schedule grades is closing. Though women still are not as high up as men in the organizational hierarchy, the difference is smaller with each passing year. Hopefully as years go by, the gap between men's and women's federal grades grows every smaller until a difference does not exist. Only then will men and women be equal when it comes to position hierarchy. When the grade gap has closed, then the salary gap will have gotten smaller as well. Since grade is the best predictor of salary, women will be paid more once the grade gap no longer exists. They will have to be paid more, because they are on the same hierarchy level as men. Moreover, employees in women-centered agencies were at higher grade levels than their colleagues in gender-neutral agencies.

Figure 5. Grade Disparities



These findings hold for all three years of this study though. The findings are fairly similar between all three. The standard error of the mean is “an estimate of the standard deviation of the sampling distribution of means based on the standard deviation of a single random sample” (Levin, Fox, and Forde 2010). If there is a deviation from the mean, it will be between these numbers. The standard error for salaries means that women will be making anywhere between \$3,290 and \$4,957 less than men. The standard error for grades means that women will be anywhere between 0.65 and 1.05 grades less than men.

Overall though, for every year of this study, women made less money than did and were at lower General Schedule grades than men. It did not matter what year it was, women were not equal to their male peers.

Suggestion

The goal of this study was to find whether women-centered agencies treated women better, not necessarily to give suggestions as to how further women in the federal workforce. It is difficult to further women in the workplace due to their choices and due to the difficulty of changing opinions of discriminating persons. However, after performing this study, I did come up with one suggestion in which to further women in federal workplace.

Werwie states that job qualifications have to be less biased in favor of men to allow women to get ahead. Mani also suggests that job classification systems support women's career paths. If the federal government allows job qualifications that better suit women, they will go further. This may take the form of taking out qualifications such as "leadership skills," which are generally associated with men. Also "pink-collar" occupations could be more valued when evaluating employees' experience. Though women may not have worked in an office from 9-5 every weekday for the last two years, they most likely have been working. Sometimes the positions that women were able to find, due to discrimination, were not traditional professional positions. Also there should be more understanding of time taken off from work for child-rearing for women. By opening up job classifications to recognize women's experiences and skills, they will be hired and promoted into higher grades and therefore find higher pay.

Further Research

If the opportunity to further this research presented itself, I would do so in the following ways. First, I would make a Freedom of Information Act request. There were some women-centered agencies in the federal government that didn't get included, because I didn't have the

data on them. The data set I used had only seven. By using a larger data set, the findings are more reliable. As is though, each year had a sample of over 3,000 employees, which makes the findings very dependable. The ones not included in this study that I would like to study were Executive Office of the President's Office of the First Lady and Council on Women and Girls; Department of Health and Human Service's Maternal and Child Health Bureau, Office of Women's Health, Center for Research for Mothers and Children, and Section on Women's Health Research; Department of Justice's Office of Violence against Women; Department of State's Office of Global Women's Issues; and Department of Veterans Affairs's Center for Women Veterans.

Also, I would like the new data to be organized ideally by month, if not by season, i.e. winter, spring, summer, fall. I would follow employees across years and seasons to examine promotions as well. Then this study would also have information on whether women are being promoted at the same rate as men, as well as to which grade level women are being promoted to as compared to men. I would like to study this phenomenon over more years, ten years ideally.

Conclusion

This thesis explored whether women-centered agencies had a higher General Schedule grades and salaries for women than gender-neutral agencies. Subsequently, these variables are used as measures of a female-positive organizational culture.

A literature review examined the issues facing women working in organizations, particularly public ones. The two-part analysis section used qualitative and quantitative techniques. The qualitative section examined bonuses awarded to employees and whether the

heads of the individual agencies and the umbrella departments. Men were found to be awarded more and higher amounts of bonuses. The women-centered agencies were virtually equally headed by men and women; the umbrella agency heads were majority male. The gender-neutral agencies were led by men for both the individual and the umbrella departments. The quantitative section found that women are making less than men and are almost a full General Schedule grade lower, despite being in a women-centered agency.

The number one most important finding of this thesis is that women make less money than men. Conway, Ahern, and Stevermagel (1995) state that women's average earnings are substantially lower than men's. Reports vary but women in federal government make between 75 cents and 11 cents less than men. This study corroborated these reports. Women definitely make less than men. Burstein (1994) used the term 'wage discrimination' to describe how women are paid less than men due to discriminating factors. I would attribute much of this wage gap to discrimination. Women do have duties in home and may choose pink-collar occupations that pay less, but the entire wage gap cannot account for these factors. Some of the gap has to be discrimination – albeit explicit or not. Therefore, the women studied make less than the men studied at least in part due to discrimination.

Women also are at a lower grade level than men. Within the federal government, the General Schedule system determines all employees' salary based on experience and education. Then the grade determines the employee's place in the organization's hierarchy. Mani (2009) states that women now have more managerial-level positions. However, they are not equal when it comes to pay or grades. This theorist sums up both this finding and the previous-discussed finding. Women in the federal workforce are not equal when it comes to either the pay or the

grade. Since grade is so predictive of salary, women have to be able to break into higher grades to get higher pay. Werwie (1987) believes that job requirements should be less biased in favor of men so they can be given higher positions, and in turn, higher salaries. Lower grade levels are not necessarily due to differences in men and women's education and experience; some of it is due to discrimination. Women are at lower grade levels than men. This needs to change for women to be higher in the hierarchy and earn higher pay.

Although employees in women-centered agencies make more money than employees in gender-neutral agencies, women in women-centered agencies make less than men in these women-centered agencies. It does not matter that women are working in agencies that are supporting women's needs; these agencies still do not support the needs of women working there. I suspect that there is generally less discrimination against women in these agencies, but men are still making more largely due to paying those in technical positions more to keep them in the civil service. Stivers (1993) discusses how government is in an interesting place in the market, because they are providing services but not a profit. Therefore, government institutions are constantly striving for legitimacy. One way to gain this legitimacy is to appear more masculine. Masculinity is associated with power. Therefore, government agencies are trying to be more masculine and not being concerned with women's issues. However, these women-centered agencies have the difficulty of a mission to support women. It may be that these women-centered agencies are trying to gain a legitimacy that they already have a setback in due to their goals by promoting men to manager and professional positions. As discussed before, women are paid less for a multitude of reasons and these reasons are factor, as well as to why women in women-centered agencies are paid less.

The federal General Schedule grade gap between men and women has decreased over the years of the study. Mani (2009) states that women's share of managerial positions has increased. This would mean that the grades of women are increasing, because the level of the employee's position and the grade of the employee are consistent. Although managerial positions are women are more prevalent, the U.S. Merit Systems Protection Board (2011) stated that not nearly as many women are in professional, technical positions as there are in manager roles. Sabharwal and Musell (2011) state that their study found more women in executive positions in recent years. They attributed this to a possible "falling glass ceiling."

To conclude, women in the federal workforce still have lower salaries than men. They also have lower federal General Schedule grades. However, women in women-centered agencies are doing better. All employees in these agencies have higher grades. Although the women in women-centered agencies still do not have as high of salaries or grades as men in women-centered agencies. The women in women-centered agencies though are still doing better than women in gender-neutral agencies. Women in gender-neutral agencies have lower salaries and grades than men in their agencies, as well as men and women in gender-neutral agencies. Therefore, in comparison to the gender-neutral government organization, women-centered organizations are treating the females that work within them better financially, which is a sign of a positive organizational culture towards women. However, women-centered agencies still do not have a perfect organizational culture with regards to women. Until women in women-centered agencies are making more than their male colleagues, these women-centered agencies will not have women-centered organizational cultures.

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