

President Clinton and Women Voters: Leadership and Communication Skills

An Honors Thesis (Honors 499)

by

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Abstract

This thesis is a study of the effects of President Clinton's leadership and communication skills on the attitudes of women voters. A review of literature related to leadership styles/skills and methods of communication was completed and then applied to a case study of President Clinton's presidency. The related literature as applied to President Clinton's presidency was analyzed within the context of three illustrations: (1.) Public Policy--the Family and Medical Leave Act; (2.) Presidential Appointments--Donna Shalala, Secretary, Department of Health and Human Services; and (3.) Voting Base/Campaign Activities--Gender Gap in the 1996 Election. Case study analysis reveals that President Clinton has utilized his leadership and communication skills to lobby women voters through policy initiatives and presidential appointments, and, in doing so, gained their support in the 1996 election.

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President Clinton and Women Voters: Leadership and Communication Skills

I. Introduction

Leadership and communication are elements of every political situation. Additionally, regardless of the policy, constituency, or election, leadership and communication skills are critical to the eventual success of any leader. According to Berkley and Rouse (1997), **leadership** is to a great extent determined by the needs of a situation. There exists no ideal leadership style, and no leader who can handle all situations. As a result, effective leaders are those individuals who are able to flourish within a particular situation, while altering his/her leadership style to best fit the situation and those involved. Berkley and Rouse (1997) define an “effective” leader as one who does the *right* things well.

Furthermore, leaders cannot exist without followers. Thus, **communication** becomes essential to any leader’s longevity and to any degree of popularity. For a leader to be successful, that leader must consistently rely on open and frequent communication with subordinates and with his/her constituency. A leader relies on these individuals not only for implementation of goals and policy, but ultimately for legitimacy. Political situations, elections and policy debates are emotional, volatile, strategic situations. As a result, leadership and communication are often determining factors in the eventual success or failure of leaders in these situations. Constituents, or followers, rely on their leaders for the dissemination of information, solutions and for representation regarding issues which affect them. If leaders falter in steadfastness, or deviate from the predetermined goals, followers become disheartened and often fearful, and as a result, less supportive. (Rosenbach and Taylor, 1994) It is paramount that leaders maintain their composure and sight of the goal to effectively maintain order and legitimacy in times of

political urgency, such as elections and policy debates.

Modern political situations require the need for meaningful and frequent communication, in addition to decisive, effective leadership. The individual who effectively blends the skills of leadership and communication within a given political situation will evolve as a legitimate, effective leader.

The purpose of this paper is to examine the effect President Clinton's leadership and communication skills on the attitudes of women voters. This paper will examine the effect Clinton's leadership and communication skills have on the attitudes of women voters within the context of three illustrations: (1) policy; (2) presidential appointments; and (3) the gender gap.

II. Review of Related Literature

This literature review is divided into two main sections with specific attention given to issues such as leadership qualities and communication styles. Section I examines leadership qualities and behaviors, and the ways in which these qualities and behaviors affect followers. Section II examines methods of communication and the means by which communication occurs.

Section I: Leadership

Leadership Qualities

Although there are no predetermined guidelines for absolute success in leadership, a distinct trend of leadership qualities has evolved among modern leaders. Berkley and Rouse (1997) outline eight qualities expected of modern leaders. A leader is expected first to be **optimistic**. Any leader must believe, or at least appear to believe, that his/her leadership will

produce a positive result. Rarely does a leader become more than a short-lived trend when his/her goals, objectives and visions lack and hopeful, futuristic outlook. Followers have no interest in a leader whose plans will not bring about prosperity. Depending on the situation, prosperity could mean anything from economic growth to political stability. Rosenbach and Taylor (1993) point out the need for loyalty from followers and the need to maintain their happiness. "Leadership clearly depends on responsive followers in a process involving the direction and maintenance of collective activity." (Rosenbach and Taylor, 1993) As a result, the propagation of optimism in all areas of leadership will allow for a great deal more success.

Second, a leader must possess a certain degree of **energy and enterprise** to accompany his/her optimism. A leader need not be a constant vehicle for activity and change, but must endeavor to display an adequate amount of thoughtful application of talent and diligence. Lackadaisical approaches to the advancement of a leader's agenda will only result in disinterested and hopeless followers. Consequently, such leadership style will nearly always result in prompt replacement. (Berkely and Rouse, 1997)

Third, leaders have traditionally conveyed a higher than average degree of **intelligence**. However distasteful a leader's style or objectives, rarely are those styles and objectives products of ignorance. Although the Nazi regime was corrupt and inhumane, the regime itself was based on an intelligently and carefully executed plan of objectives. Adolf Hitler was a man with abominable and inhumane goals, however, he exhibited masterful leadership in that his regime was developed and executed with a great deal of precision and expertise. Thus, it is only proven historically that seldom are leaders proven legitimate without a certain degree of innate intelligence and skill.

Fourth, since communication is essential for all leaders, a certain proficiency for **verbal ability** is also required of a leader. To legitimize and ultimately institutionalize objectives and goals, a leader must be able to effectively communicate the need for such plans and the potential benefits of these plans. Leaders are often not universally, nor constantly, accessible to all followers. Consequently, it is necessary that a leader effectively communicate via mass communication methods. Whether the medium was one-on-one communication or televised debate, leaders such as John Fitzgerald Kennedy and Ronald Reagan were extremely effective due to a mastery of verbal communication.

Fifth, leaders are additionally expected to have **good judgment** coupled with a certain degree of **creativity** that is applied to all areas of his/her leadership. Modern society has come to dictate that leaders be willing to use a degree of creativity in their leadership styles. No longer is it acceptable to simply mimic the styles of former leaders. With the onset of creative reform plans such as Franklin Roosevelt's "New Deal," followers have come to expect innovative solutions to their many problems. It is no longer tolerable to recycle traditional solutions to problems, particularly those with no visible benefits. Leaders must display enthusiasm and be capable of being somewhat impulsive in order to maintain their followers' attention and loyalty. As a result, it is necessary that leaders maintain a willingness to utilize creativity in leadership and communication.

Ideally, good judgment is paired with creativity, but more often seems to directly conflict with that of creativity. It is difficult to support the notion of impulse and creativity in leadership as coexisting with the valuable concept of good judgment. If a leader acts impulsively, plans and objectives may not be subject to an adequate degree of judgment. As a result, in modern

leadership, more emphasis is placed on good judgment.

Additionally, there are three supplemental qualities, more difficult to define, which must be considered. Typically, the United States Government has placed a great deal of emphasis on the sixth quality, **technical proficiency and competency**, in selecting leaders for administration purposes. The United States has stressed the need for specialization and skill in leadership. However, European countries have traded the demand for technical proficiency for administrative skills. Modern leadership dictates that as organizations are becoming larger, there is a greater need for diversification among individual leaders. As a result of this diversification, leadership positions are becoming increasingly similar each year, and specialization is decreasing in demand. Modern leadership has assumed that technical specialists should be “on tap, rather than on top.” Leaders must be able to efficiently utilize and then combine the services and talents of many specialists.

Seventh, a leader is also expected to be **decisive**. Decision making is the foundation of leadership. Without the need for decisions, there would be no need for leaders. Leaders must be able to make effective, thoughtful decisions quickly, often lacking all essential information. Leadership requires that a leader realize the complexities and implications of his/her decision, and be able to do so under impending pressure and crisis. Since any decision is likely to initiate a consequential pattern of related events, a leader must also be decisive in evaluating the potential consequences of these events. Although rapid decision making does not always foster *good* decision making, it is a paramount goal of leadership.

The previously listed qualities embody the basis of modern leadership and lend credibility to leaders. (Rosenbach and Taylor, 1993) Although modern leadership requires an aggregation of

all these qualities, one quality seems to become overarching in comparison. Leaders such as Kennedy and FDR possessed the ability to stir emotion, extract interest in a variety of issues and initiate response--these two leaders possessed great charisma. **Charisma**, the final leadership quality recommended by Berkely and Rouse (1994), is regarded as one of the most critical of leadership tools. A leader lacking in one or more of the qualities recommended for leadership, may compensate through his/her charisma. A leader possessing all other recommended qualities in addition to charisma, is certain to exert a great deal of influence over his/her followers. However, according to Katz and Kahn (1966), "charisma is a means by which people abdicate responsibility for any consistent, tough minded evaluation of the outcome of specific policies." Charisma may very well cause followers to put too much trust in their leader and sacrifice any personal judgment or criticism. Since effective charisma requires that there be some degree of distance between the leader and follower, communication can become inhibited. However, the major danger is the possibility that charisma will block out critical advice, challenges, and judgment from subordinates and citizens.

Erik Erikson (1962) suggests that charisma is also explained by examining the historical conditions which favor charisma. Charismatic leaders fare well during three kinds of distress. One condition of distress is **fear**. A second, and related, condition is **anxiety**. The condition of people lacking a sense of identity creates a vacuum and anxiety. A third historical condition is termed **existential dread**.

"Existential dread" creates a situation where people experience circumstances in which rituals of their human existence become dysfunctional. The charismatic leader, in this situation, endeavors to offer meaning and purpose and thus provide followers a greater sense of belonging

and community.

To understand the dynamics of charisma, it is necessary to examine the six types of behaviors charismatic leaders activate. House (1977) suggests six categories of charismatic leader behaviors: (1) **role modeling**. A role model espouses a set of values and ideals in which followers should believe. The role model's emotional responses to rewards or punishments elicit similar reactions from followers.

(2) **image building**. In the cult of personality, charismatic leaders portray an image or images to followers. In the institutionalization of charisma, perceptions are as, if not more, important as realities. As a result, the creation and maintenance of an image are crucial to a leader's legitimacy.

(3) **goal articulation**. In leadership, the development of mission plans and goals is a constant process. The creation and maintenance of mission plans and goals constitute leadership skills whereby the leader merges his personality characteristics with the organization's social structure. The leader provides the organization a special identity. In announcing goals, the leader indicates, via articulation, goals which motivate and define the cause. Such goals are ideological rather than pragmatic.

(4) **exhibiting high expectations and showing confidence**. A charismatic leader demands high performance standards from followers. This leadership behavior enhances subordinate's self-esteem and prompts followers to accept more demanding responsibilities and goals. When a charismatic leader conveys to his/her followers that they are competent and qualified, followers *believe* they are competent and qualified. Charismatic leaders endeavor to increase motivation, performance, and satisfaction in corresponding behavior of subordinates.

(5) **effect on followers' goals.** Followers evaluate their performance according to the standards espoused by the leader. Leader's expectations and goals exist to afford followers the opportunity to elicit feedback on their personal behavior.

(6) **motive arousal leader behavior.** House's final category of charismatic behavior refers to the degree of emotional arousal felt by followers. Followers and opponents react emotionally to charismatic leaders. The enthusiasm of the followers is matched by the distrust and doubt of opponents. The maintenance of emotional arousal is critical to the longevity and success of the charismatic leader.

House (1977) also describes four personal characteristics of charismatic leaders. Charismatic leaders exude dominance, self-confidence, influence and maintain strong convictions regarding moral righteousness.

Delegation

One of the primary determinants of success for any leader is his/her ability to effectively **delegate** responsibility. Massive amounts of information and communication are directed at an individual leader. It is impossible for that leader to adequately handle this overload. As a result, a leader must endeavor to surround him/herself with subordinates competent at handling a variety of significant responsibilities. Rosenbach and Taylor (1993) assert that an effective leader will essentially inspire his/her followers as leaders as well. For example, many legislative staff persons go on to run for public office. Furthermore, followers begin to look to a leader's delegates for leadership as well, thus making presidential appointments such as Supreme Court justices and cabinet members influential as well. Good leaders attempt to enable others to competently

coordinate and organize that which the leader cannot undertake individually.

Authority

Modern leadership requires that a leader have the qualities most associated with leadership, but also the ability to effectively apply these qualities to crisis situations through the effective assertion of **authority**. A leader must be able to live and thrive during periods of crisis and uncertainty. Priorities must be clearly set and adhered to throughout any political situation in order to ensure effective leadership. Since a leader serves as a source of strength and cohesion for followers, it is necessary that a leader become adept at exercising authority. Rosenbach and Taylor (1993) define authority as power that is accepted by subordinates. Within a leader's application of authority, the elements of fairness, competence, affirmation and significance must always be included. Transformation leaders--leaders who focus on long-term goals and visions seem to be most skilled at mastering leadership qualities and implementing them with authority. These leaders have the ability to mobilize followers to undertake preparation and complete the job needed to attain goals.

Credibility

Leadership also depends on the degree of credibility attributed to a given leader. There are three primary categories of credibility:

1. **Ethical credibility** is established when a leader gains the support of a given organization in terms of supporting the ethical standards of the organization.
2. **Technical credibility** is established when an organization believes that a leader is

skilled in areas of specialized technology.

3. **Interpersonal credibility** is established when a leader gains the support of an organization's personnel based on their belief that the leader understands and cares about them.

Behavior in Leadership

Initial examinations of leadership require consideration of leadership qualities. However, examination of modern leadership also requires consideration of behavior. Rosenbach and Taylor (1993) point out that the new key to leadership is not *who* a leader is, but rather what a leader *does*. This type of consideration is called the "Great Person" theory. In this new method of examination, there are two distinct types of leadership behavior: behavior centered on task accomplishments and behavior directed toward interpersonal relations. Research proved that the two types are more effective when combined in a hybrid leadership behavior. Essentially, there must be a coexistence of goals-oriented leadership with leadership based on interpersonal relationships and communication with others, including followers.

Kouzes and Posner (1987) assert that there are five behavioral dimensions to leadership:

1. *Challenging the process*- This means simply searching for opportunities and taking risks in the effort to improve the organization or policy.
2. *Enabling others to act* - Leaders make it possible for others to competently assume responsibility.
3. *Modeling the way* - Leaders must set a "good" example through their behavior, and in doing so, make the organizational goals seem attainable.

4. *Encouraging the heart* - Leaders must celebrate the achievements of subordinates.

These characteristics must be embodied by any leader to most effectively improve the organization as well as subordinates' performances. The five behavioral dimensions represent the complexity of leaders' roles in modern situations. It is no longer enough to act in a position of authority without considering these other critical dimensions in order to gain credibility and legitimacy. (Kouzes and Posner, 1987)

Interdependency

As briefly mentioned, the relationship maintained between a leader and his/her followers lays the groundwork for that leader's potential successes or failures. The climate of modern society has necessitated a solid trust in leaders for their success and continuance. Baron and Byrne (1994) point out that modern leadership has increasingly become a special type of relationship between leaders and followers. Consequently, leadership relies more on specific types of reactions from followers than on the previously discussed leadership qualities. Essentially, leadership is an interdependent relationship. As a result, it is far more effective for a leader to surround him/herself with competent followers which increases the legitimacy and productivity of their relationship. The reactions resulting from a productive leader-follower relationship spur more effective leadership as a whole. Common reactions which foster leadership include: (a) levels of performance beyond those that would normally be expected; (b) high levels of devotion and reverence toward the leader; (c) enthusiasm with the leader; and (d) a willingness of subordinates to sacrifice their own personal interests in return for more comprehensive, collective goals.

Section II: Communication

The Purpose of Communication

Communication between leaders and followers is the second component of any leader in a political environment. Modern communication takes many different forms and is constantly necessary. The constant dissemination of information from leaders to other leaders and to followers is a critical component of modern leadership. Berkely and Rouse (1996) point out that “without communication there can be no organization.” Because it is impossible for leaders to be in all places at all times, they must delegate responsibility for a variety of actions. As a result, the constant communication of new initiatives and procedures is necessary to maintain sight of the original goal. Furthermore, leaders must then disseminate information to their followers to maintain their administration’s legitimacy. Communication is particularly critical during times of crisis, when situations are constantly changing and each new situation brings with it new consequences. The increasingly complicated nature of modern communication and the interdependence of the global community necessitate the advancement of communications technology.

Problems in Communication

Communication is a necessary and valuable tool in leadership, but it poses a variety of problems. In an era of evolving technology and constant need to remain abreast of modern methods, **technological malfunctions** and human errors often inhibit communication itself. There are times when equipment simply does not operate properly and individuals make honest mistakes. Additionally, leaders, often lacking sufficient information, **fail to extract the proper**

information from the most knowledgeable individuals. Moreover, those who sculpt communication may at times **distort** it for one reason or another. Distortions may occur due to malicious motives or to simple human error. Regardless of the reason, inaccurate communication can be destructive when dealing with crisis situations.

Another complication that arises from the constant transfer of information is communication overload. This occurs when leaders are bombarded with excessive amounts of information which they cannot possibly dissect and absorb, which is often unavoidable. However, during times of overload, it is essential that leaders delegate their subordinates to aid him/her in the sorting of information.

Formal/Informal Communication

Communication falls into two primary categories: **formal and informal communication**. The first, **formal communication**, means simply communication accomplished through written record and transference, and is used more often by public organizations, such as governmental agencies and organizations. Formal communication is quite beneficial in that it fosters accountability among all those involved. It is difficult for the author to evade responsibility. As a result, formal communication may decrease the instance of discrepancies in communication and the intentional distortion of information. In particular, formal communication allows for more **accountability** than its informal counterpart. Written, or formal, communication may also save a great deal of time when that communication is traveling from bottom to top. It is virtually impossible for any leader to verbally receive all the information it may need to function **effectively** and **efficiently**. Finally, formal communication allows the author to account for ideas and more

easily discover previous errors.

Although formal communication can be effective, it does have certain drawbacks. Formal communication, by its very nature, necessitates the use of paper. This, in the end, may result in what is termed a “sea of documentation.” Such abundance of paper communication facilitates misplaced and overlooked material. Frequently, insufficient delegation on the part of a leader is the cause of much of this abundance of paper and the resulting confusion. Furthermore, while formal communication may foster accountability, it may also facilitate **self-protection**. Individuals may create written records in order to prevent accusation of irresponsibility or to simply prove they were correct. Excessive communication can be carried too far, and there are certainly instances, particularly in crisis situations, in which information needs to be presented simply and quickly, and verbose documents are not conducive to such needs.

The second method of communication is **informal communication**. Informal communication is oral communication. Oral communication does not require the excessive use of paper and is exemplified in exercised such as a public speech or simple discussion. Furthermore, informal communication can evoke **immediate feedback** from those solicited. In doing so, informal communication can also allow for immediate clarification of any existing discrepancies.

As organizations and administrations grow, they tend to more frequently utilize informal communication. Any agency that has informal organization also has informal communication, most often in the form of grapevines. **Grapevines** can be quite efficient. For example, communication on lunch breaks which is then carried over to the work hours, allows for the rapid dissemination of information throughout the office. Even when this information is not accurate, it may convey a “psychological truth” for many rumors that spread through organizations reveal

“symbolic expressions of feelings.” (Berkley and Rouse, 1997)

Communication Flow

Communication can flow in three basic directions: **up, down and across**. **Upward communication** is information transferred from subordinate to superior. Such information may be described in four categories:

1. communication about the subordinate, the subordinate’s performance, and his/her problems,
2. about others and their performances/problems,
3. about the organization/administration’s practices and policies,
4. and about what needs to be done and how it can be done.

The complex nature of upward communication often creates problematic situations. Since a certain degree of hierarchy tends to exist within all organizations, the flow upward often infringes upon the status of the superior. Furthermore, as information travels upward, it may **lose its sense of urgency**. Furthermore, subordinates may distort information traveling upward because they are reluctant to serve as the bearers of ill news. Subordinates may be trying to protect their superiors from inevitable stress, or they may not wish to be viewed as informers. Essentially, this type of upward communication violates the fundamental principle of hierarchy on which many organizations are based. Organizations such as trade unions, and investigatory units, even the simple registration of complaints, have aided in the increased flow of upward communication.

There are five varieties of **downward communication**:

1. Specific task instruction from superior to subordinate,
2. informational instruction designed to increase understanding or “job rationale,”

3. information about organizational procedures and practices,
4. feedback to the subordinate about his/her performance,
5. and information of an ideological nature intended to instill a sense of organizational mission.

When downward communication is oral, it falls prey to much the same distortion that may develop when it flows upward. Communication may be misinterpreted because it is not complete. However, the more significant conflict occurs when the recipient of the information refuses to accept and absorb all the facts.

Cross-communication, or communication among peers, has increased due to the growing **interdependency** among workers and the decrease in specialization. In addition, cross-communication may aid in increasing coordination among workers, and provide emotional and social support in the workplace itself. Events such as staff meetings and close physical working environments may also facilitate cross-communication. Rotation of employees may also aid in communication among peers. This type of informal organization among peers is significantly more important to the successful functioning of any organization than formal organization. In these cases, standards are set by social norms to which workers more readily adhere.

III. Case Study

This section is a case study of President Clinton and women voters, and is *illustrated* in three areas critical to presidential leadership:

1. Policy--The Family and Medical Leave Act
2. Presidential Appointments--Donna Shalala
3. Campaign Activities/Voting Base--Gender Gap, 1996 Elections

1. Policy-Family and Medical Leave Act

The large influx of women into the United States' work force over the past three decades has necessitated a new brand of legislation. Working women have been faced with multiple responsibilities such as simultaneously maintaining a home, child care, and work. According to a recent Employee Benefit Research Institute report, the conflict between family and work duties has become a significant work place issue. As a result, women have demanded, from the federal government, legislation which ensures job security while maintaining these important responsibilities. ("Family," 1993)

Furthermore, American women and families sought out a president who would undertake the modern role of policy initiator and supporter. Although it is the responsibility of Congress to formulate and develop policy, the modern political climate and the partisan battles which have ensued has afforded the president the ability to influence and develop policy. President Clinton campaigned on the promise of promoting family-supportive policy in the 1992 and 1996 elections. Through the use of special task forces, policy councils and advisors, Clinton researched and then committed full support for the Family and Medical Leave Act which would provide not

only women, but also families, with the much needed job-protection they required. (Watson, 1993) In a 1992 Gallup Survey, seventy-seven percent of respondents indicated they favored mandated unpaid leaves for the birth or adoption of a child. Furthermore, seventy-two percent of respondents indicated they felt the government should provide some type child care assistance for families. And, on August 5, 1993, President Clinton signed into law the Family and Medical Leave Act, changing the future of employment.

After eight years of controversial debate over the legitimacy of such legislation, Congress validated the needs and responsibilities of American families by passing the Family and Medical Leave Act. President Clinton guaranteed, with his signature, the right of American workers to responsibly care for their family members. As a result, over sixty million American workers have job protection in the form of unpaid leave during a family or medical crisis.

In general, the Family and Medical Leave Act requires any employer with fifty or more employees within a seventy-five mile radius to offer eligible workers up to twelve weeks of unpaid leave during a twelve month period for the birth or adoption of a child, to care for a seriously ill parent, spouse or child, or to undergo medical treatment for their own serious illness. State and local governments are kept to the same standards of leave as private employers.

Employers are permitted to require medical certification regarding the need for leave and of the worker's release to return to work after the leave. If the employee is taking leave to care for a family member, the employer is permitted to ask for certification indicating it necessary that the employee care for the family member requiring care. Finally, an employer is also permitted to intermittently require an update regarding the status of leave from the employee. (Murray, 1995)

2. Presidential Appointment--Donna Shalala

One month before President Clinton's first inauguration, sixty-seven percent of the American public approved of the way President Clinton planned to fill top level cabinet positions. Over the course of his first term and at the beginning of his second, Clinton managed to gain support for his cabinet, staff and judicial appointments. This is largely due to the fact that in the Clinton administration, it is educational background rather than birth or wealth that defines Clinton's appointments. (Watson, 1993)

In addition to the fact that President Clinton's appointments are based on *what* you know rather than *who* you know, Clinton's cabinet has taken on an entirely different personality than those of his predecessors. President Clinton's cabinet is made up of individuals representing the vast diversity of the American public. Most notable, however, is the abundance of female appointees. Forty-two percent of Clinton's appointees are women, the highest rate ever. Seven women hold cabinet positions, and fifty-nine percent of all presidential judicial nominees are women and minorities, again the highest number ever selected.

Additionally, President Clinton became only the second President to nominate a woman to the Supreme Court. President Clinton has appointed women for the first time to positions such as Attorney General, Secretary of Energy, the Director of the Office of Management and Budget, and most recently to the position of Secretary of State. Regarding these appointments, Clinton has responded, "Women are beginning to participate more fully throughout this country in the life of America. As far as I know, the sky is not falling anywhere." ("Supporting," 1997)

The confidence President Clinton has shown in the ability of American women has renewed the vow to create equal opportunities for women at the highest levels. In addition,

President Clinton has been praised for the quality and effectiveness of these women--they are not token appointments.

One of the most popular of President Clinton's appointments is Donna Shalala, Secretary of the Department of Health and Human Services. Appointed by President Clinton during his first term, Shalala is an outspoken representative for victims of domestic violence, works to increase child immunization and the availability of mammograms, has rigorously fought to enforce child support collections of the health and well-being of this country, and has focused her efforts on inducing positive change. (Marshall, 1995)

Secretary Shalala, in cooperation with President Clinton and the department of Justice, has initiated a battle against domestic violence. Shalala's Department of Health and Human Services has established, via an HHS grant, the National Domestic Violence Hotline. Shalala, along with Attorney General Janet Reno, co-chairs the Advisory Council on Violence Against Women which work with representatives from media, law enforcement, sports, business, health and social organizations to prevent violence against women. Additionally, under the Violence Against Women Act (1994), Secretary Shalala, via the HHS, will award \$72.8 million to states in 1997 in order to expand the availability of shelter services to the victims of family violence. Under VAWA, Shalala has also created Education and Prevention Grants, and youth education on domestic violence programs. ("Preventing," 1996)

In addition to her work with domestic violence, child immunization levels have increased significantly in the past three years, from 55 percent in 1993 to 75 percent in 1995 much to the credit of Secretary Shalala. She and the Department of Health and Human Services have pressured congress and state governments to support child immunization. Shalala, in cooperation

with President Clinton, support the Child Immunization Program administered by the Centers For Disease Control and Prevention, which was bolstered by President Clinton soon after he took office in 1992. Clinton's 1997 budget, at the urging of Shalala, proposes \$1 billion for child immunizations and has more than doubled since 1993.

Secretary Shalala has also lobbied for increased awareness of breast cancer and has urged President Clinton and Congress to increase support for mammograms and breast cancer research. Shalala has worked alongside the National Breast Cancer Coalition and other organizations like it to promote access to mammograms and education regarding women's health. Researchers have uncovered the BRCA1 gene which is linked to breast cancer, and recent statistics indicate that overall breast cancer death rates have dropped 5 percent from 1989 to 1993. In cooperation with President Clinton, Secretary Shalala and the HHS Office on Women's Health coordinate the National Action Plan on Breast Cancer. Developed in 1993, under Shalala's leadership, this plan has awarded over \$9 million in grants for 99 innovative research and outreach projects to improve access to information about breast cancer and to develop new, effective treatments. Secretary Shalala continues to pressure the American government to make women's health a priority. ("Breast Cancer," 1996)

Finally, another of Shalala's priorities is the increased enforcement of child support collections, via the Child Support Enforcement (CSE) program. Since 1992, record amounts of child support have been collected. According to Shalala, nearly \$10 billion was collected from non-custodial parents during fiscal year 1994, an increase of 11 percent. President Clinton and Secretary Shalala have created a partnership with states and local governments has have yielded unprecedented gains in child support collections. The Clinton administration boasts a increase of

forty percent in child support collections.

A recent study by the Census Bureau indicates that slightly more than half of families with an absent parent have child support orders in place. Of those families with orders in place, half receive full payment, one quarter receive partial payment, and one quarter receive no payment. ("Child Support," 1995) To collect the money owed to those individuals not receiving payment or those receiving only partial payment, Secretary Shalala has developed effective strategies for child support enforcement including cooperating with the Justice Department in prosecuting non-payers, "new-hire" programs which track non-payers across state lines, seizing the tax refunds of non-payers, and issuing U.S. Postal Service "wanted lists."

Secretary Shalala's focus on the health of women, as well as those problems such as child support collection and domestic violence which most concern women, Shalala has proven to be one of the most popular of President Clinton's appointments among women voters, and has undoubtedly added to Clinton's overall popularity. Shalala has attacked these American crises with vigor, and has made progress and induced improvements in nearly all HHS efforts.

3. Voting Base/Campaign Activities--Gender Gap 1996

In the 1996 presidential election, women were a decisive force in President Clinton's re-election. According to the Democratic National Committee (1996), a growing economy and stable social infrastructure prompted women to support President Clinton instead of Senator Dole, based on the issues that mattered most to them--education, health care, crime prevention, and job training. (Woods, 1995) American women typically support Democratic candidates on nearly every level of the political spectrum because Democrats typically support the issues most

important to women. Women voters are drawn to President Clinton's leadership style, empathy towards their situation and attention to the concerns of the "average American" and working families. (Murray, 1995)

President Clinton's campaign strategy in both elections emphasized education, crime prevention, health care and job training directly targeted the concerns of women voters. Women were seeking a vision of economic optimism and a healthy state for education and health care. Furthermore, women typically seek out a president focused on the concerns of low income citizens--the group in which women most often tend to fall. ("Shoot Out," 1995) For these reasons, President Clinton was able to achieve and maintain the presidency, even amidst allegations of dishonesty and scandal.

According to the Democratic National Committee's base vote primer (1996), the Committee includes as part of its plan a decisive effort to network and mobilize women voters. Furthermore, the Democratic National Committee, acting as Clinton's campaign organization, designed campaign tools such as "butt-man" to emphasize Clinton's initiative to place restrictions on tobacco growers and sellers. The DNC effectively utilized such tools to convey Clinton's concern for the health and well-being of American citizens--a top priority of women voters. Additionally, the Democratic National Committee established women voter programs to disseminate information regarding Clinton's proposals in favor of increased support to low income, working families and education, community policing programs, reinventing government and balancing the budget, all top priorities for women. (Democratic National Committee, 1996) Put simply, in 1996, women showed up to vote for the issues the Democratic National Committee intended and on which Clinton campaigned. (Depledge, 1996)

In 1996, fifty-one percent of the voters were women. Not only did women make up the majority of voters in 1996, the women majority voted overwhelmingly for Bill Clinton. Perhaps the most striking aspect of the 1996 election was the reappearance of the gender gap which had decreased to about five percent in 1992. Compared to men who favored Clinton and Dole equally with forty-four percent of their vote, women created a gender gap of seventeen percent. Women voted for Clinton over Dole, fifty-four to thirty-eight percent. According to the DNC Base Vote Primer (1996) voter turnout in 1996 can be summarized as follows:

	Clinton	Dole	Perot
<u>1996</u>			
Men	43%	44%	10%
Women	54%	38%	7%

Women as a whole supported Clinton by a clear majority in 1996, but the breakdown of women voters supporting Clinton also reveals that support for Clinton in 1996 spanned racial and economic divides as well. According to American Broadcasting Exit Poll analysis, white women supported Clinton by five points. In 1992, white women split their vote evenly between Clinton and Bush. In 1996, Black women favored Clinton by 81 points, with 89 percent of their vote going to Clinton and only eight percent going to Dole. While Clinton won Florida in spite of losing to Dole among Hispanic voters, he won Arizona and New Mexico on the strength of the Hispanic vote. Soccer moms (married suburban women with children at home) favored Clinton by six points. Retired women favored Clinton by 33 points, giving Clinton sixty four percent of their vote to Dole's thirty one percent. (Langer, 1996)

IV. Findings/Observations/Analysis

Upon reviewing the characteristics of leadership, the observation can be made that President Clinton's support of the Family and Medical Leave Act is a classic example of the meshing together of a variety of leadership qualities in order to appeal to women voters. The Family and Medical Leave Act represents an **optimistic** alternative to a problem that millions of American women regularly face--balancing a career and family responsibilities. President Clinton effectively conveyed that he believed the FMLA would bring relief to many women who feared the loss of their jobs when faced with a family crisis or the birth/adoption of a new child. President Clinton promised that the Family and Medical Leave Act would create job security without the loss of rank or pay. In promoting the Family and Medical Leave Act, Clinton was able to act as a vehicle for change. The Family and Medical Leave Act itself represents an intelligently planned law intended to accomplish the goals, job and pay security, which Clinton identified. The Family and Medical Leave Act was the first bill President Clinton signed when he entered office. This decisive act of leadership proved to women voters that he took his "optimistic solution" seriously.

The Family and Medical Leave Act was not an original concept, but it was Clinton who effectively lobbied for its support after eight years of controversial debate. President Clinton is regarded as a charismatic leader. Essentially, much of Clinton's favor among women voters comes from his ability to stir emotion and generate interest in and support for his solutions to problems such as job security for women. Modern American women undoubtedly value their careers and achievements, and believe they are entitled to job security even when faced with a family crisis or when electing to have children. Clinton's public and energetic support of the

Family and Medical Leave act established a high degree of interpersonal credibility among American women because he represented their interests. Clinton made women voters believe that he understood their predicament and was working for them. To American women, Clinton had positioned himself as their role model.

Communication between leaders and followers is critical for effective leadership. President Clinton informally communicates his policy initiatives to the American public through weekly radio addresses, press conferences and official addresses. To gain the support of women voters, Clinton had to communicate his optimistic, charismatic solution, the Family and Medical Leave Act, to the public. Clinton, as the authority figure, communicated (downward) to the public the need for legislation which would protect the jobs of men and women faced with family/medical crises. American women responded to Clinton's communication of his support of the FMLA, and the idea that supporting women and families was critical to the well-being of the country.

Different situations require different leadership qualities to ensure effectiveness. Presidential appointments most importantly require the efficient and effective delegation of responsibility. President Clinton cannot possibly decipher the massive amounts of communication facing him, nor can he adequately disseminate the information that needs to be communicated. Presidential aids and cabinet members are the hub of Clinton's communication and leadership network. Information regarding legislation which he may support or oppose is gathered by delegates.

Clinton authorizes appointees to speak and act on his behalf, and as a result, the delegates he selects must also embody and emanate the same leadership qualities which make Clinton

effective. The observation can be made that Clinton's most loyal constituency is American women. As a result, those cabinet members and other delegates, particularly those from agencies specifically tailored to women's issues and interests, must convey the same level of commitment and concern as Clinton himself would. President Clinton realized early in his first campaign that one of the most effective methods by which to maintain women's loyalty was to appoint women to top-level administrative positions, again conveying his optimism that women can and should be accepted into leadership positions.

Presidential appointments provide an interesting illustration of President Clinton the leader. The job of appointments is to act "like the President." According to Kouzes and Posner (1987) one of the five behavioral dimensions of leadership is "enabling others to act." This dimension conveys the purpose of Presidential appointments. By analyzing these appointments, one is essentially analyzing Clinton, a unique situation in leadership. Delegates, while endeavoring to cooperate with the President, essentially act independently while all the time representing the President and his administration in its entirety. It is this transitive relationship that requires appointees to act in such a way to evoke support not only for their efforts, but also for the President.

House (1977) suggests that there are certain leadership behaviors which affect a leader's effectiveness. Exhibiting high expectations and showing confidence is one behavior of leadership which is particularly applicable when examining presidential appointments. How better to exhibit high expectations and confidence in American women than to appoint women to over forty percent of administrative positions.

Donna Shalala has been one of Clinton's most valuable assets in terms of appointments

and women's support. Shalala has taken the Department of Health and Human Services to a different level than her predecessors. Shalala has branched out to not only address health issues, but has also expanded the realm of "human services." Shalala, with the full support of the President, has launched full scale attacks on deficient child immunizations and "dead-beat dads." Shalala's intelligent and energetic use of her authority has created positive feedback for Clinton--exactly the purpose for which she was appointed.

The positive feedback Shalala has produced for Clinton as a result of her "universal causes" has afforded her the opportunity to confront women's interests such as increased funding for breast cancer and domestic violence. This combined effort has created a Health and Human Service Department which is backed not only by President Clinton but also by a coalition of research facilities and women's groups--a coalition which in turn supports Clinton. Shalala judged that it was not politically inappropriate to focus on women's issues--a decision that Clinton himself did not make, but one from which he profited. While Clinton is limited to a small number of "causes" at a given time, Shalala and other delegates have filled in the gaps in leadership produced when Clinton is unable to be all places at all times. If Secretary Shalala is optimistic, charismatic, energetic, intelligent, and exhibits enterprise, creativity and proficiency, President Clinton is also seen this way.

Administrative appointees must convey quality leadership that reflects the President, and it is equally important that they effectively communicate their agencies' agendas to the public. Shalala has kept herself visible throughout her attacks on domestic violence, her support of breast cancer research and child immunizations and her pursuit of "dead-beat dads." Shalala has testified at Congressional hearings countless times and has held press conferences of her own. She has

participated in public service announcements and has visited colleges to promote the Health and Service agenda. These forms of downward communication has allowed her to keep her issues and initiatives in the forefront of citizens' minds. However, Shalala's cross-communication has been particularly effective in coalition building, a skill Shalala has mastered. The National Action Plan on Breast Cancer was convened by Shalala and has now prompted public and private sector health organizations such as the Centers for Disease Control and the National Institutes for Health to publicly wage the battle against breast cancer. Shalala, in cooperation with the Treasury Department, the Department of Justice and U.S. Postal Service, has reorganized and replenished the Child Support Enforcement Program (1975) to increase child support collections. Finally, Secretary Shalala and Attorney General Janet Reno created the Advisory Council on Violence Against Women. These coalitions, when formed with public or private organizations, essentially reinforce President Clinton's commitment to these causes without Clinton himself having to undertake the time-consuming process of coalition building. Shalala's cross-communicative skills have proven to effectively join those organizations not typically aligned together to work toward a common goal--the well-being of American people. In these instances, Shalala's communication is Clinton's communication.

Shalala's upward communication is the most critical in terms of Clinton's success. Clinton's actions reflect the upward communication from all delegates. Shalala informs the President regularly about breast cancer, domestic violence, immunizations etc. This communication allows the President to more easily position himself on certain issues. At Shalala's urging, the President established the National Domestic Violence Hotline in 1996. The majority of this hotline's calls come from individuals who have never before sought assistance.

As a result, many women have access to information and emergency assistance--an optimistic alternative to domestic violence. Secretary Shalala's upward communication has afforded President Clinton the resources to convey his concern for American women.

Leadership in campaign situations differs from leadership in other political situations. In campaign situations, leadership is exemplified through the promises, interests and causes on which a candidate runs. Perception is most important in politics, and leaders must possess leadership qualities which enhance the public's perception of his/her policies, promises and purpose. In campaign situations, incumbents have a distinct advantage over challengers. However, challengers possess the ability to invent themselves in the public eye for the first time--Clinton did exactly this in his 1992 campaign. Challengers are not held to the same "record of accomplishments and failures" standard as incumbents. Although both parties endeavor to nominate candidates who are popular, reasonably well-known, and charismatic, often a candidate's performance at either convention is his/her premier to the American public.

Recently, voters have begun a gradual dealignment from political parties which have historically served as a vehicle for information transfer. This dealignment often translates into an uninformed constituency regarding challengers. As a result, leadership and communication skills can produce a new president and defeat an incumbent. For the most part, the American public views political campaigns as an opportunity for candidates to make false promises and practice their public relations skills. As a result, candidates are challenged to gain the trust of voters.

In 1992, Clinton faced a voting base which was distrustful of the welfare state, angry with the failing economy and weary from war--conditions attributed to former President Bush. In 1992, Clinton and the Democratic National Committee expertly tailored his campaign to

contradict the current political and situation in the United States. Clinton gained the support of women voters by emphasizing optimistic, innovative solutions to the problems plaguing the nation. Clinton promised health care, crime prevention, education and economic stability--issues close to the hearts of American women. In fact, women were the primary supporters behind Clinton's victory in 1992.

The support Clinton received from women in 1996 originated when he was a first-time presidential candidate in 1992. The climates of the Bush and Reagan administrations allowed Clinton to position himself as "new" and feasible alternative to the, as far as women were concerned, stagnant leadership of Reagan and Bush. According to House (1977) image building is an important leadership behavior, and in the institutionalization of charisma, perceptions are as important as realities. Clinton capitalized on Bush's lack of support for women's issues, and created an image of a woman-friendly leader. In 1994, in what is now called the "Year of the Angry White Male," women became less responsive to the typical Republican message of 'slash government' This likely due to the fact that, in 1994, when the Republicans regained the majority in Congress, women were largely forgotten. (Woods, 1995) In contrast, Clinton actually seemed to *want* to tackle women's issues such as equal pay for equal work, and quality education for all children. This strategy captured the attention of American women.

Another likely explanation as to why women supported Clinton in both of his presidential campaigns is simply Clinton's charisma. According to Erikson, charisma is best explained by examining the historical conditions which favor charisma. The first of these conditions is distress, or fear. In 1992, the state of American women was less than ideal. Women were being paid sixty-eight cents for every dollar a man made doing the same work, they had little if any job

protection in the case of pregnancy or medical crisis, they had seen little female representation in President's Bush's administration and were being forced to rely on the welfare system due to unplanned pregnancies/divorces and dead-beat fathers. Women feared another administration indifferent to the needs and demands of American women. In 1992, Clinton promised to once again make education, health care, and crime prevention priorities. Clinton also promised to sign the Family and Medical Leave Act, which provided women additional job security. American women were disheartened with the previous twelve years of Republican administration, and Clinton represented an energetic and positive leader for their causes at a time when women were very receptive to change. Even though people view political campaigns as false-promise-making, Clinton's promises, true or false, addressed women's concerns for the first time in twelve years.

A second, and related, condition is anxiety. Anxiety occurs when individuals lack a sense of identity. American women felt that due to their obvious lack of representation and the climate of the United States following the Gulf War, Bush's administration had created a vacuum. The Gulf War had consumed political and media attention, and had nearly eliminated talks of improving health care for American women and children and reinventing the welfare system. Furthermore, during the Gulf conflict, education and domestic crime prevention had been replaced with renewed talks of security and military strength. Women feared that their needs would again be ignored.

A final condition favoring charisma is existential dread. Existential dread creates a situation where people experience circumstances in which rituals of their human existence become dysfunctional. This condition perhaps best describes the state of American women prior to 1992. The rituals of American women's existence included activities ranging from child care, work

outside the home and community involvement. However, these same sectors of women's lives became increasingly dysfunctional as their support system within society broke down. For example, being a "stay at home mother" no longer offered benefits or prestige in society. The benefits and prestige were now reserved for women working outside the home and often forsaking motherhood altogether. Accordingly, women working outside the home, were making less money and were receiving fewer benefits than men doing the same work. The conditions of American women's lives had begun to defeat them. The government made no efforts to make "working motherhood" easier, and continued to disregard the concerns of mothers who did not work. This dysfunction created a situation where Clinton's charisma was extremely appealing. Clinton attacked the male-as-norm work force and promised to reinvent the system to make the work force more accommodating to working mothers. Furthermore, Clinton lobbied "stay at home mothers" by promising better education and health care for their children. Clinton endeavored to make women feel important again.

During his first term, Clinton acted on the promises he made during the 1992 campaign, perhaps the most effective means to communicate his concern for American women. The Family and Medial Leave Act was law, over thirty percent of Clinton's top level administrative appointments were women, and women, for the most part, seemed to feel the country was better off than it had been in 1992. Voters in 1996 can best be described as "giddy with optimism." (Langer, 1996) By 1996, Clinton had spent four years promoting health care, education, job-training, gun control, appointing women to top-level administrative positions, and advocating equality in the workplace. As a result, Clinton once again set out to recruit women voters. The Democratic National committee created a campaign tailored to women and their concerns. On

the top of the campaign agenda were education, crime prevention, job-training and health care similar to the 1992 campaign. Clinton gained ethical credibility by convincing American women that he represented their needs and would fight for their interests.

Furthermore, Clinton had many successes, in terms of women's interests and accomplishments, on which to base the 1996 campaign. In the minds of many American women Clinton had been a role model who represented their concerns, and the concerns of their children. Clinton signed the Family and Medical Leave Act, thus changing the lives of all working Americans. Clinton had appointed the highest number ever of women in top-level administrative positions. These women, like Shalala, were not afraid to put women's issues on the top of agendas in many agencies. Berkley and Rouse (1997) suggest that a leader must first be optimistic if he/she is to be effective. Clinton, through his appointments and policies conveyed a degree of optimism in terms of women's potential to serve their country and the need for family and women friendly policy never before seen, and women responded in kind in 1996 by giving Clinton fifty-four percent of their vote.

Clinton laid out optimistic and innovative solutions in women-friendly policy, and his communication of these solutions drew women voters to him. Clinton effectively combined his charisma and verbal ability with downward communication skills. The ways in which Clinton relayed his goals to the American women voter made the difference in 1996. Clinton was opposed by Robert Dole who boasted of military service and a long, successful career in Congress and whose wife, Elizabeth Dole, was president of the American Red Cross, an organization which draws support across political lines. To combat this impressive record, Clinton used his most important weapon, his charismatic communication/oration skills, to gain the advantage.

According to the Democratic National Committee, different groups of women care about different issues. As a result, Clinton's strategy was to openly communicate support for not only gender specific issues, but also for issues affecting smaller groups within his female constituency. Different issues mobilize support among different racial and economic groups. Women tend to mobilize around issues such as violence against women, job creation and minimum wage, and health care. However, Black women have different interests than White women. For example, Black American women strongly respond to job creation, crime prevention, education and affirmative action. Issues that mobilize Hispanic women are English only restrictions, immigration and naturalization policies, affirmative action and cuts in education funding. Asian American women respond to issues regarding trade and economics, civil rights and education.

Clinton gained a majority of all women's vote. However, all women do not share the same experiences, and many of the previously mentioned issues which tend to mobilize specific groups of women are also controversial issues which tend to divide voters. To secure women's votes, Clinton positioned himself as a moderate. Issues such as abortion, affirmative action and welfare reform were replaced with education, campaign finance reform and crime prevention--more universal concerns among women. Clinton created a universal agenda that seemed to represent all women regardless of their diverse experiences.

Clinton's communication of this universal agenda was largely informal in order to create a greater degree of intimacy between himself and women voters. Furthermore, Clinton practiced his communication of this agenda at local rallies, women's organizations, and his historic train trip to the Democratic convention in Chicago. Clinton seemed to "care about people." According to Carol Tucker, Democratic political consultant, women..."are supposed to be the nurturers in

society and President Clinton addressed the concerns that polls showed women cared about.” Clinton courted women voters with issues, and they responded with fifty-four percent of their vote and another four years.

V. Conclusions

Within the context of Clinton’s presidency, aspects of leadership and communication are related in that he depends on both to gain support from women voters. Furthermore, he has utilized these skills to affect women’s attitudes regarding the future of the United States. Clinton faced a voting base which was distrustful and discouraged, and used policy such as the Family and Medical Leave Act and effective appointments such as Donna Shalala to create a female voting base which supported him with fifty-four percent of their vote.

In 1993, the Family and Medical Leave Act represented, particularly to women, an optimistic solution to a major crisis in their lives. Clinton’s support of the Family and Medical Leave Act was essentially the “thesis statement” for the remainder of his term. The FMLA gained and maintained the attention of women voters for the first term. The Reagan and Bush administrations had not placed the same degree of emphasis on family and women-friendly policy, and certainly never laid out such policy as the cornerstone of their administration. Clinton played to the obvious malaise of American women, and focused his attention on a positive alternative to the “do nothing” administrations of the past. Women responded in kind. Since the 1992 campaign and Clinton’s promise to redesign leave policy, women have been Clinton’s largest, most consistent voting base.

The effects on the attitudes of women voters as a result of Clinton’s appointment of

women to top level administrative positions were twofold. First, President Clinton's administration is made up of over forty percent women. However, Clinton did not appoint "token" women to these positions in order to make a political statement. Clinton appointed capable, intelligent individuals to these positions--individuals who only happened to be women. Clinton appointed women to Attorney General, Secretary of Health and Human Services and, most recently, to the coveted position of Secretary of State. The women appointed to these positions have proven to be strong, capable and worthy of their office, proving that women need not be restricted to "women's interest" positions to be effective.

Second, Clinton's appointments have made no excuses for representing women's issues. Typically, women who are appointed to high level administrative positions are expected to make up for the fact that they are women by representing male-as-norm causes and essentially acting like men. Clinton's appointees, particularly Shalala, have openly lobbied for support for breast cancer, shelter's for domestic violence victims and improved child care-- issues previously too gender specific to be taken seriously. Shalala's cooperation with other agencies headed by women, such as the Department of Justice, has lent credibility to these causes and has resulted in increased funding and political support for women's issues.

Clinton's leadership and communication skills ultimately manifest themselves at the polls. Women truly came out in 1992 and 1996 to vote for Clinton. Support from women voters spanned racial and economic divisions. In 1996, Clinton faced with an opponent less than formidable in terms of women-friendly policy, and rested largely on his record. Clinton boasted of his support and follow-through of the Family and Medical Leave Act. It was also no coincidence that Clinton surrounded himself, during the campaign, with many of the women

appointees from his first term. He made it clear in 1996 that women such as Donna Shalala and Janet Reno would continue to serve in their cabinet positions in his second administration.

In 1996, Clinton communicated a universal agenda neglecting controversial issues such as abortion and affirmative action, in favor of women-centered issues like improved access to health care, crime prevention and education. Clinton realized that, although women as a whole supported him, they argue among themselves over the more controversial issues. Citing the accomplishments of his first term, Clinton promised, in his second term, to bypass partisanship in order to effectively address the issues most concerning women--not coincidentally, the same issues which unite even the most diverse women, and mobilize them to act.

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