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ABSTRACT
        This book contains 32 chapters in two sections as
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Education: Who Are They and How Do They Compare?" (S. Gupton and G.
Appelt Slick); "Fe/Male Leadership: The Role of Communication" (R.
Papelewis and D. Yerkes); "Women in Education: Are We Perpetuating
Societal Attitudes By Moving Toward an Androgynous Leadership Style"
(C. Tyree); "Attitudes Toward Women Administrators Among School Board
Members: A Current Perspective" (M. Criswell and L. Betz); "A
Leadership Perspective from Women Superintendents" (L. Hampton Wesson
and M. Grady); "Leadership Styles of School Administrators in the
Panhandle of Texas: A Comparative Study" (B. Beyer-Houda and C.
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And Others); "Breaking Traditions: Support for Women in Higher
Education" (L. Gillaspie, L. Stokes, And Others); "Dealing with
Gender Differences in Communication and Leadership Style" (W. Kurtz
and M. Boone); "Women and Minorities in Education Administration" (L.

Hampton Wesson); "So You Want to be a School Superintendent?" (V. Kivell); "Women Candidates for the Superintendency: Board Perspectives" (M. Groan and M. E. Henry); "Reflections for Women in Transition: Looking Back to Job Changes" (M. Czaja); "Women in Higher Education Leadership Positions" (L. A. Nutt and C. L. Berry); "Mirrors, Brick Walls, and See-Through Panels: An Exploration of Some of the Barriers to Leadership Opportunities for Women" (A. Pankake); "A Career Advancement Technique for Women: The Administrative Portfolio" (G. Brown and B. J. Irby); and "A Quiet Resistance: Critiquing Gender Issues in Public Schools" (L. Patterson). (JLS)

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:
VOICES AND VISIONS

Edited by Beverly J. Irby and Genevieve Brown

The Texas Council of Women School Executives

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES: VOICES AND VISIONS

Edited by

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Sam Houston State University
Huntsville, Texas

The Texas Council of Women School Executives

3

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES: VOICES AND VISIONS

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WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:
VOICES AND VISIONS

FOREWORD

> *Our way is not soft grass, it's a mountain
> path with lots of rocks.*
> *But it goes upward, forward, toward the sun.*
>
> Ruth Westheimer
> The Wit and Wisdom of Women

BETWEEN THE COVERS of this volume lie the visions and voices of women as school executives - past, present, and future. By many accounts, ours is a brief history. Yet brevity has never precluded wit, compassion, intelligence, or raw courage. All are to be found in the pages which follow, just as they are to be found in the daily lives of a growing number of women who have taken their place at the table of educational leadership. May your reading be a feast for the heart as well as the mind.

The Texas Council of Women School Executives exists because of the vision of a small group of individuals who, in 1984, recognized the need for a strong network of support for women in school administration. In the years since that time, TCWSE has continued to attract dynamic, dedicated, professional women and men who share a passion for educational excellence for children. Today, our shared *voices and visions* continue to carry us forward into ever-widening circles of influence. The publication of this volume exemplifies our commitment to encouraging, sustaining, and nurturing excellence in educational leadership, and provides another milestone in the fulfillment of our mission:

To promote and support quality and equity in leadership in a way that:
* unites a community of members,
* actualizes an effective and efficient organizational structure,
* establishes a viable force with statewide impact,
* facilitates continuous growth opportunities, and
* fosters a positive orientation
So that the highest quality education is a reality for all learners.

Jackie Jenkins, Ph.D.
President, TCWSE

INTRODUCTION

Beverly J. Irby
Genevieve Brown

T WO YEARS AGO the Texas Council of Women School Executives (TCWSE) committed to the publication of its first book on women in leadership, Women as School Executives: A Powerful Paradigm. The authors sought to clarify, rethink, and alter existing leadership paradigms from the feminine perspective. This book has been a useful addition to several university courses in educational administration that focus on women's leadership issues.

In this year's book, Women as School Executives: Voices and Visions, the editors sought to expand the feminine leadership paradigm in an effort to reveal and celebrate actual voices and visions from leaders and researchers who have experienced common pasts and who can offer insights, perspectives, and advice to future generations of leaders. The editors find this second book publication to be comprehensive, spanning issues in leadership from elementary school principals to superintendents to university administrators.
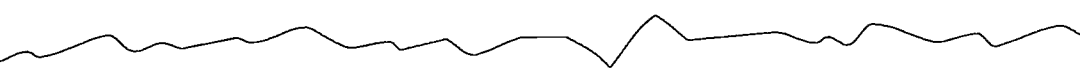
The authors have successfully shared their collective voices and visions in meaningful ways in two major sections with various subsections. Section I offers several types of voices. It begins with Voices from History, then moves to Voices from the Field, Voices of Power, and finally Voices of Transformation. Section II reveals visions and includes advice for emerging or practicing leaders in the subsections: Visions of Power, Visions for Purpose, and Visions for Reflection.

The editors are particularly pleased with the large number of worthy contributions in this second book and are appreciative to the authors for their willingness to share. The material contained herein contributes significantly to the field where there continues to be a dearth of literature upon which to build an inclusive theory of leadership.

11

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Voices from History

Chapter 1

THE POLITICS OF SEX AS A CATEGORY OF ANALYSIS IN THE HISTORY OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Jackie M. Blount

> *. . . As long as silences exist in data describing superintendents by sex, the phenomenon of the under representation of women in the superintendency will receive limited critical examination . . .*

NUMERICAL DESCRIPTIONS of the world are often conveyed as neutral assessments of truth. However, when the authors of such reports are revealed as persons with histories, occupations, group memberships, goals and values, the seeming objectivity of these depictions of reality fades. Instead, the categories imposed, the numbers used and the analyses generated can be seen as the creations of persons who inescapably bring particular values to their work. Consequently, adopting the guise of objectivity is a useful means by which researchers may conceal their conscious or unconscious agendas and use their work to establish authority. They may then easily control the terms of a discourse and limit the views that can legitimately be expressed by others.

In <u>Gender and the Politics of History,</u> Joan Wallach Scott describes this practice where statistical reports seem "fixed and absolute — somehow true. . . ." She explains that in spite of heated nineteenth and early twentieth century debates over how to gather and use statistical reports, rarely were such studies challenged on the basis of scientific merit. The halo of science kept such heretical attacks at bay (Scott, 1988). Statistical reports subsequently became standard weapons in public discussions of social questions such as those surrounding the aims of public education.

During the conflict ridden formative years of public schooling in the United States, those who debated the shape and course of emerging educational systems relied heavily on growing armaments of statistical reports. The persons with the power to define statistical categories and gather data also succeeded in controlling the terms of the discourse. From the mid 1800s through the peak of the suffrage movement, educationists compiled massive collections of information about schooling. These compilations commonly included data broken down by sex for students as well as for virtually every type of school employee. However, with the threats to tradition posed by the women's suffrage movement, these same organizations silenced their reportage by sex of statistics describing education administration even as they continued collecting such data on students and teachers. During this time only a few researchers and women's organizations questioned the silence.

From the late 1800s through to the early 1900s, the annual <u>Report of the Commissioner of Education</u> broke down a great deal of information about students and school employees by sex. This data was not gathered merely for

archival purposes, but rather was crucial to the outcome of raging debates about coeducational public schools and the increasing numbers of women teachers. These reports also included some information about the emerging class of administrative personnel broken down by sex. Data on "supervisory personnel" indicated that the number of female supervisors increased faster than did the number of male supervisors in the early years of this century. After 1910, however, the commissioner's reports stopped breaking down data about administrative personnel by sex even though, ironically, they contained detailed information about the sex and location of every reindeer in Alaska (Claxton, 1911).

Feeling frustrated by the lack of information describing women superintendents, an unidentified group of women pressured the Research Division of the NEA to document women's representation in school superintendencies around the country. The response appeared in May 1928 in The School Review in a brief, two paragraph article that the editors buried in the "Educational News and Editorial Comment" section (p. 326-27). The article included tables to document the numbers of women intermediate district superintendents at the time, demonstrating that the NEA/academic community had the means to compile this information even though it was not then gathered regularly.

While women in the suffrage era wanted information about the sex of superintendents, the overwhelmingly male Department of Superintendence of the NEA wanted to gather other information that might elevate the superintendency in an age of public criticism. As a means toward this end, the Department conducted a series of large scale surveys. Thousands of selected superintendents around the country were sent detailed surveys to determine their professional and personal characteristics as well as their job experiences. The 1923, 1933, 1952 and 1960 yearbooks of the Department contained the results. Education historian David Tyack analyzed these four national surveys of the superintendency and found that in 1923 and 1933, the editors of these volumes did not include gender among survey data relevant for publication. The third survey conducted in 1952, however, listed 99.4% of superintendents as male. The 1960 study included only men, missing the small percentage of female superintendents (Tyack, 1976). The editors of these studies decided that coverage of women superintendents did not present the image that the Department sought to convey.

The practice of excluding statistical reports on women in educational leadership positions persisted through to the early 1960s, a time when public discussion about women's roles in society erupted. A number of women's groups, researchers and some newly created government agencies at this time produced a series of reports designed to fill gaps in the data by sex. Many of these reports conflicted with each other as researchers labored to recreate a past for which little or scattered documentation existed at best. All the while, the organizations vested with the power to control the agenda of educational discourse and to compile definitive statistics remained silent.

Some of the reforms instituted in response to women's movement activism significantly affected statistical reportage of women's roles in educational leadership. The Department of Elementary School Principals of the NEA, for example, issued the report, The Elementary School Principalship in 1968, that contained some surprising information for the time. The study described the mber of elementary school principals in a format broken down by sex and

indicated that the percentages of female elementary principals had declined rapidly after WWII. Where women had accounted for 55% of elementary school principals in 1928, they held only 41% in 1948, 38% in 1958, and finally only 22.4% in 1968 (NEA Department of Elementary School Principals, 1968).

Pressure from women's groups and women's advocates soon mounted for a more exhaustive accounting of women's decline in the principalship and other leadership positions. Betty Friedan and Anne West wrote an article published in the American School Board Journal in 1971 explaining women's demands of school boards including "the publication of annual reports showing the number of men and the number of women holding school-related jobs at each level of rank and salary" (Friedan & West, 1971). This same year, the NEA included a report, "Professional Women in Public Schools, 1970-71" in its NEA Research Bulletin. This report, based on the results of a survey of school administrators, included sex as a category of analysis. Out of 14,379 superintendents that year, the report estimated that only 90, or .6% were women (NEA, 1971). Also in 1971, the American Association of School Administrators released the results of a survey of the superintendency that found women held only 1.3% of all superintendencies (Knezevich, 1971). In 1972, the Council of Chief State School Officers weighed in with its own survey of the sex breakdown of school superintendents. Unlike the NEA and AASA reports, though, this study purported to have surveyed all 16,653 school districts in the country. The results indicated that women superintended only 86 local operating districts and 131 intermediate districts (Lyon & Saario, 1973). All three of these studies significantly underestimated the number of women superintendents, however, since each sampled a predominantly male superintendent population (See Table 1).

Some women activists pushed for the federal government to keep track of statistics on the sex of school administrators. In response, the US Commissioner of Education approved a task force plan calling for the agency to "collect more data broken down by sex both on its programs and on the educational system generally," and to "publish an annual summary of data available on women in education." This data was never collected and many parts of the task force plan were simply forgotten (Fishel & Pottker, 1977).

Later, in a small-scale effort, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare prepared a report in 1976 that estimated the distribution of full-time public school superintendents and assistants as 94.6% male and 5.4% female. By grouping school superintendents together with assistant superintendents, the report created the appearance that more women held local positions of power than actually did.

In the vacuum of coordinated, comprehensive and ongoing federal government commitment to data collection with sex as a category of analysis, a number of individual researchers and organizations interested in women's equity in school administration stepped in to fill the void. For example, Effie Jones and Xenia Montenegro labored through the 1980s to compile a series of reports on women and school administrators of color (Jones & Montenegro, 1985).

Other than these studies, little other data has been collected on the number of women in school administration. Taken collectively, these studies are difficult to interpret since each has employed different research techniques, counted different samples of the superintendent population, and occurred at erratic tervals.

As a means of addressing this gap in the data about superintendents by sex, the author has compiled and analyzed a comprehensive database of all public school superintendents who served in the years 1910, 1930, 1950, 1970 and 1990. The results follow:

TABLE 1
Women Superintendents by District Type and Year, 1910-1990

	Year				
Women Superintendents by District Type	*1910*	*1930*	*1950*	*1970*	*1990*
State Superintendents					
Σ Total Number	46	48	48	50	50
Σ Number of Women	2	4	5	1	7
Σ Percentage of Women	4%	8%	10%	2%	14%
Intermediate District Superintendents					
Σ Total Number	2,885	3,148	3,095	2,626	651
Σ Number of Women	407	876	716	373	153
Σ Percentage of Women	14.11%	27.83%	23.13%	14.20%	23.50%
Local District Superintendents					
Σ Total Number	5,254	5,537	5,818	10,380	12,101
Σ Number of Women	329	99	90	71	512
Σ Percentage of Women	6.26%	1.79%	1.55%	.68%	4.23%
All District Types Combined					
Σ Total Number	8,185	8,733	8,961	13,056	12,802
Σ Number of Women	738	979	811	445	672
Σ Percentage of Women	9.02%	11.21%	9.05%	3.41%	5.25%

Note: This data describes the number of superintendents rather than the total number of school districts. Many school districts did not employ a person designated by the title "superintendent" (or a similar title such as "commissioner").

Generally women served as superintendents in far greater numbers earlier in this century than at present. From the suffrage movement through the end of WWII, women held roughly 10% of all superintendencies with the overwhelming majority of women superintendents working in intermediate districts. However, after WWII, women's presence in the superintendency quickly subsided to 3.41% by 1970, the lowest level of the century. Although the modern women's movement brought national attention to issues of equity in employment practices, the years from 1970 to 1990 brought little improvement in women's representation in the superintendency (Blount, 1993).

Numbers in and of themselves are profoundly limited tools for describing and understanding human experience. When they are used as powerful parts of the rhetoric of political debate and policy-making, however, they warrant critical examination. Careful attention must be paid to categories of data that are collected, who collects the data, and the purposes of data collection. Silences in the data should be analyzed for possible political motives. In particular, as long as silences exist in data describing superintendents by sex, the phenomenon of the under representation of women in the superintendency will receive limited critical examination, a condition that obscures the need for remedies for systematic discriminatory hiring practices.

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17

Chapter 2

WOMEN LEADERS:
WHO ARE THEY AND HOW DO THEY COMPARE

Sandra Lee Gupton
Gloria Appelt Slick

> *Despite their excellent qualifications and expressed aspirations, women seemingly remain in those positions that are viewed more as the "behind the scenes" jobs that require long hours, little power, and less pay.*

ALTHOUGH the teaching profession is known as a woman's profession, the top three administrative posts in public school education (superintendent, assistant superintendent, and high school principal) remain overwhelmingly filled by males despite a growing body of research attesting the outstanding potential of women in all administrative positions (McGrath, 1992). To make comparisons among the three groups of women administrators presented in this chapter, the authors utilize data collected from the randomly selected sample of over 150 women, surveyed nationally, who were currently (1992-93) occupying executive positions in educational administration. The data were compiled collectively and then separated into three groups representing the top administrative positions surveyed — superintendent, assistant superintendent and high school principal — for purposes of comparison by position. The data were initially compiled to offer descriptive analyses of the participants' responses while statistical tests of analyses were used whenever the data allowed to further compare the three positional groups. Tests of one-way analysis of variance and chi-square analysis at the .05 level of significance were used to determine if there were distinguishing patterns among the three groups of women executives. Ultimately, the researchers hoped to find information useful to aspiring women administrators to enable them to make better, more strategic career decisions for reaching their particular career goals.

Women Administrators' Demographic Profile

In comparing the three groups of women administrators who comprised the respondents in this study -superintendents, assistant superintendents and high school principals, some interesting demographic data emerges. Ethnically, as would be expected, the largest percentage of the respondents in all three groups is Caucasian — superintendents (89.2%); assistant superintendents (82.0%) and high school principals (88.5%). The greatest percent of African-Americans in the study (8.2%) are assistant superintendents. Among the respondents, there are only 2.7% African-Americans who are superintendents, and 7.7% who are high school principals. Interestingly, the largest percentage of Hispanics in the study is represented by assistant superintendents (6.6%). Unlike the African-Americans, the next largest group of Hispanics occupies the superintendency (5.4%). And finally, in this study high school principals represent 3.8% of the Hispanics

in positions of leadership in the profession. Representatives of the Native American occupy only the two top positions, superintendent (2.7%) and assistant superintendent (3.3%). Of the sample of women surveyed, it would appear that their ethnic representation is predictable. Remember, the overall percentage of women who represent leadership positions in the profession is already a small percentage of those persons in administration. So, the meager percentage represented by the various ethnic groups mentioned above demonstrates how woefully underrepresented women of other ethnic affiliations are in administration. Note also, that in our sample of 151 women, there is no representation of Asian American women even though the Hispanic and the Asian American populations are increasing rapidly throughout the country.

The median age of the female high school principals in the study is 47 years; assistant superintendents is 49 years and superintendents is 51 years. The median age span of four years is a lot less than the age span of eight years among the average ages reported for the three groups. The mode age for high school principals is 49 years; for assistant superintendents is 45 years; and for superintendents is 50 years. It is fairly safe to say that the women occupying the three top positions in public education are products of the baby boomer years. It is interesting to note however, that the mode age of the assistant superintendent position is the youngest of the three groups. This is the position where women frequently confront the "glass ceiling" when attempting to ascend to the superintendency. Male administrators in similar positions continue to enter administration much earlier in their careers than do women educators; thus, the typical age of male administrators tends to be much younger than women administrators in similar positions in the profession. It will be interesting in the future to see how the younger generation of women who are experientially and professionally better prepared than the former generations of female educators to take on the responsibilities of the three top positions will fare in their climbs on the career ladder of educational administration.

The marital status of respondents in the three groups is predominantly married. The largest percentage (12%) of single respondents is represented by high school principals. The largest percentage of divorced respondents is represented by superintendents. In comparing the number of times married, the greatest percentage of members from each group reported having been married only once. Compared to the other two groups, a significantly larger percentage of superintendents have been married twice (superintendents — 34.2%; assistant superintendents — 17.7%; and high school principals — 23.1%). In terms of divorce, 47 percent of the superintendents have been divorced either once or twice. A composite of 28.6 percent of all the top administrators has been divorced one time. One has to wonder, when close to a third of the women in top administrative positions has been divorced at least once, is this a personal price for achieving leadership positions in the profession?

Women Administrators' Career Paths

In a 1990 research project sponsored by the US Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, it was reported that although women have been in the labor force for a significant number of years, are more highly educated than ever, " . . . have the necessary technical skills to succeed . . . and occupy about one-third of all anagement positions, they are still clustered in the lower levels of manage-

ment in positions of authority, status, and pay than men" (Scandura, 1990). Despite the fact that female educators are now better qualified with degrees as well as years of experience in the field, 1985 data reveal that women were receiving only 65 percent of the salary of their male constituents (Waddell, 1994). Furthermore, recent research indicates that the "proposed glass ceiling" for women may be even lower than other studies have indicated (Scandura, 1990). Of course, the ceiling varies with different professions and companies, but generally women peak-out at the level of middle management. In education women have clustered at the supervisory and elementary level positions in district administration, positions typically considered to have *staff*, rather than *line* authority (line positions, unlike staff, have strong links to authority and top-level decision-making in the organization).

For whatever reason, women in administrative positions in education have typically followed career paths dissimilar to male administrators. According to Shakeshaft (1989) and Ortiz (1982), most women teachers who enter administration go initially into specialist fields of administration, the elementary principalship, and onto a supervisory position while the male teachers pursuing administrative careers more often move into the assistant principalship of a secondary school, then into the secondary principalship, the assistant or associate superintendency, and follow this path on to the superintendent's position. The male elementary teacher's path is usually somewhat different from the male secondary teacher's path, but neither includes the specialist level and both paths — for the male educator — may lead to the top administrative positions of superintendent and assistant superintendent. The careers of most women in educational administration, however, dead-end in the elementary principalship or in supervisory positions. Although the number of women receiving doctoral degrees in educational administration has increased considerably since the 1970's (from 20% in 1972 to 49% in 1991), women educators — like women in other professions — have considerable distance to go toward making similar gains in securing *executive* positions in the workplace.

Career Motives

One page of the survey asked participants to respond to several multiple-choice or fill-in-the-blank items in an effort to assess their career motives. The chi-square analysis was used to determine if there were significantly (at or below .05) different responses among the three positional groups of respondents. There was significantly more similarity among the three groups' responses than differences.

Fifty-two percent of the superintendents indicated "career challenge" while 38 percent of the assistant superintendents and only 24 percent of the high school principals chose career challenge as their primary motive for entering administration. "To make a positive difference in children's lives" was more frequently selected by these latter two groups of women administrators as their primary motive for entering administration.

Over 80 percent of the respondents have been or still are pioneer women in their positions. Eighty-five percent of the superintendents or assistant superintendents reported having been or being pioneer women in their positions; 64 percent of the high school principals indicated pioneer status.

In assessing the overall reactions of survey respondents to questions pertaining to their motives for pursuing administrative careers, most sought greater

career challenge or the opportunity to help children, were relatively immobile, worked while pursuing advanced degrees, and have been at one time or still are pioneer women in their positions in educational administration. Statistically significant degrees of differences at the .05 level of probability were not found among the three groups — superintendents, assistant superintendents, and high school principals; however, the superintendents most frequently moved out of their systems to pursue administrative careers, sought career challenge as their career motive and, along with the assistant superintendents, were most frequently pioneers in their positions. These results may offer some insight into how women educators need to proceed and the attitudes they may need to seek top posts in education.

Career Moves and Positions

Respondents were asked to list their career moves and various positions held. Among all three groups, the following were similarly characteristic:

The majority — particularly among principals and superintendents — had been teachers at the secondary level.

The majority (73%) were currently working in rural or suburban districts; twenty-seven percent were in urban districts.

Over thirty percent were in small districts with fewer than 2,000 students; seventy percent were in districts with fewer than 10,000 students.

Among the three types of districts indicated in the survey — urban, suburban, and rural — fewest respondents were from urban districts.

The study indicates that today's women who attain the superintendency are more likely to have been a principal than are women in assistant superintendent positions. They are also more likely to be found in small, rural districts while women assistant superintendents are more likely to be in suburban districts. Female secondary principals, on the other hand, are likely to be in either rural or suburban districts that are usually much larger than the districts where female superintendents and assistant superintendents are found.

Based on this study's data, women, similar to men, who have secondary rather than elementary level experiences are more frequently found in the top-ranking position of superintendent. The position of assistant superintendent seems far more likely to be accessible to females with elementary level teaching backgrounds than either of the other two positions of power — superintendent or high school principal. Too, female assistant superintendents are more likely than male assistant superintendents to be delegated areas of responsibility related to the elementary level or to the area of instruction/curriculum. Far less frequent in this study were assistant superintendents assigned to oversee personnel, business and finance, secondary supervision, or facilities — areas generally perceived to carry more authority and weight in top-level decision-making.

So what is the meaning of these gender-related patterns of career moves to women and the profession? Women administrators — even those in superintendencies and assistant superintendencies — seem to have less power and district-wide "clout" than their male counterparts in light of the size and location of their districts or their assigned areas of responsibility. Even among the study's sample of female high school principals, few were found in urban schools or in large

suburban schools with high visibility, prestige and money. In a recent article on female administrators, Alice Waddell, a female elementary principal summed the situation up like this:

> Women have obtained administrative positions, despite . . . barriers; however, once in the positions, they quickly realize there are barriers within the system as well. For example, even though given the title of principal, they are not afforded the status or respect given their male colleagues. There is a difference in the salaries of male and female administrators which provides irrefutable evidence of the second-class status of female administrators. (1994, pp.20-21)

Numbers and titles alone do not assure equity in gender representation among the power positions. The nature and degree of authority, power, and salary conferred with the position are more elusive, yet far more relevant measures of equitable treatment of the genders.

Career Barriers

In responding to open-ended questions about career-related barriers, this study's group of women administrators overwhelmingly (68%) indicated that balancing career and family was among their most challenging career obstacles. No significant difference was found among the responses of the three groups with regard to the nature of their career-related barriers at various stages of their lives. While the majority of all respondents indicated having experienced gender-related barriers (and most of the respondents indicated having experienced MANY such barriers), a descriptive analysis of the three positional responses showed that the superintendents indicated having experienced gender-related barriers most often (68%), followed by assistant superintendents (58%), followed by the high school principals (55%). Since these three hierarchal power positions also paralleled the ages and experience levels of the women survey respondents (superintendents were oldest group, assistant superintendents were the next oldest group, and high school principals were youngest group), the older the group, the more time and opportunity respondents may have had to experience gender-related barriers. Then, of course, it is possible that the positions themselves are inherently more characterized by gender-related barriers for women. It was beyond the scope of this study to determine why these differences existed.

Over 70 percent of the respondents were promoted to their first administrative position in the system where they were teaching at the time. Twenty-eight percent of the superintendents, 19 percent of the assistants, and 23 percent of the high school principals indicated that they had moved out of the system to secure their first administrative position. Even though the issue of mobility — or more precisely the lack of it — continues to be cited as an impediment to many women's career advancement, this study further suggests that many, if not most, women administrators in the profession are — whether or not by choice — remaining in their systems to gain entry into administrative positions.

In another part of the survey, when respondents were asked to agree or disagree on a five-point Likert Scale to the probability that lack of geographic mobility impedes women's career advancement in educational administration, they collectively, overwhelmingly agreed (75%). Using the statistical one-way 'ysis of variance to determine if there were significant differences among the

three positional groups of women respondents revealed a high degree of variance (at the .08 level of probability) with the superintendents showing considerably more agreement with the statement than either the assistant superintendents or the high school principals. No doubt, the freedom to move is even more of an issue at the level of superintendency than at either of the other career levels due to its more competitive nature, higher turnover rate, and the fewer number of positions at this level. To aspire to the superintendency in most instances necessitates having the freedom to move to distant places and to move relatively frequently in today's market. Other belief statements pertaining to career barriers found in this section of the survey were analyzed for differences among the three groups of respondents, but no other significant differences were found.

With regard to career barriers, today's women administrators seem to feel most impeded in career development by having to deal simultaneously with family and career priorities. Of related significance is these women's concern for continued discrimination brought about by stereotyped role expectations for men and women in society at all stages of their career development as well as in their personal lives.

Insufficient Support Systems For Women Administrators

A major problem for women in the *culture of educational administration* is the obvious lack of adequate networks, positive role models, and support systems in general. There is a scarcity of supportive sponsors and mentors among women in educational administration as well as executive positions across all professions (Benton, 1988; Coursen, 1989; Green, 1982; Johnson, 1991; Mellow, 1988; Rist, 1991; Swiderski, 1988; York, 1988). Because of the increasing attention given in the literature to the role that inadequate support systems, mentoring, and networks is believed to contribute to women's lack of equitable representation in educational administration, the present study on the topic includes these areas (support systems, mentoring, and networking) as a major category of investigation.

Role Models and Mentors

Of the 151 survey respondents, 85 percent (n=128) indicated having had positive role models; 15 percent (n=23) left this portion of the questionnaire blank. Seventy-four percent (n=111) indicated having had negative role models; 26 percent (n=40) had no negative role models indicated. Seventy-three percent (n=110) included mentor/s — many of them reported having had more than one; 27 percent (n=41) did not include mentors in their questionnaire responses. These results confirm that the majority of these highly successful women educators have had significant numbers of positive role models and supportive mentors in their lives. Considering the purported scarcity of mentors available to women, this data may suggest that the successful women in educational administration are indeed the more fortunate ones who have had outstanding role models and the support of mentors. This would substantiate the increasing regard for more and better mentors and role models for women reported in the literature. Or, these results could be interpreted to mean that the availability of role models and mentors for women is now greater than in the past. In either case, these results indicate that women aspiring to educational administration would be wise to look to positive role models and to seek mentors to advance their career potential.

Mentoring

Women being mentors to others — both men and women — is another critically important aspect of increasing women's support systems (Brown & Merchant, 1993). The questionnaire asked respondents if they had ever been a mentor to someone in the profession. All three groups of respondents — superintendents, assistant superintendents, and high school principals — responded very positively to this question. Eighty percent said they had been a mentor to others, with results among the three groups varying only slightly. Superintendents had been mentors most often; assistant superintendents had been mentors more often than the principals but less often than the superintendents. The variation among the three groups may be more related to age than to position, however, since the older age groups indicated having mentored more often than the younger groups.

While the number of respondents who had been mentors to others is high, the need for female role models is too significant to discount the 20 percent of these top women administrators who have never mentored anyone — male or female. These top-level administrators represent fewer than 15% of the administrative work force in education; they are in key positions to be able to encourage and nurture the leadership potential of promising, aspiring administrators of both genders — especially females who have so few women role models and mentors from whom to find support and guidance. When asked if they were currently a part of a strong network of supportive women in the profession, 40 percent of the survey respondents said YES; 17 percent said NO and didn't see a need to be; 40 percent said NO but would like to be. The fact that over one-half of education's top female executives surveyed in this study indicated that they were not a part of a strong network of professional support is disturbing; however, for 17 percent of these women to indicate that they did not even see a *need* for a support system is far more perplexing. This present research supports Merchant's and Brown's (1993) disturbing conclusion that many — although clearly not the majority of — women educators remain unaware of, or deny the need for, better support systems for women in the profession.

The data on mentors in the survey were further analyzed using a chi-square analysis to determine if the survey respondents who had experienced having had mentors were more likely to be mentors themselves and to be a part of a network of supportive women in the profession. A high degree of significance was found (.0016) between these variables. Eighty-six percent of the respondents who had been mentored reported that they were mentors to others, while only sixty percent of the respondents without mentors in their experience reported being mentors to others. Similarly, although not as statistically significant, the study revealed that those respondents with mentors in their experience indicated they either were currently a part of — or felt the need to be a part of — a supportive network of women in the profession more frequently (84 percent) than women who had not had mentors (75 %).

Over 70 percent of the women in the study ranked **insufficient support systems** either as the first or second cause for the continued underrepresentation of women in educational administration; fewer than 12 percent ranked this cause lowest. Overall, this cause was ranked 1, 2, or 3 more often (89%) than any of the other four reasons listed, including the number 1 ranked cause, **cultural** otyping (87%). So it seems that even among the 17 percent of respondents

who indicated in an earlier question that support systems were not important for *them*, most recognized its overall importance to women's career development in educational administration.

Conclusions

Similar to women of a decade ago (See Edson, 1987), the women in the current research conducted by Slick and Gupton (1992-93) indicated that their reasons for entering educational administration are for **career challenge and satisfaction**, and **to make positive changes in education for young people**. Although women today may enter the profession for the same reasons, the causes for their continued underrepresentation have changed significantly. Unlike women of a decade ago, today's female administrators are better qualified, have higher aspirations, and recognize a need for more and better support systems — among themselves as well as from the male population.

While the majority of all respondents in the study felt the need for better networks, mentors and support systems, the older and more experienced group of female administrators (the superintendents) in this study indicated even greater degrees of regard and concern for better mentors, role models, and support systems in general in helping women to pursue and be successful in administrative positions in the profession. Perhaps because these more experienced women have suffered more from so little support in their career advancement, they are more aware of the need for such support for other women aspiring to power positions.

Furthermore, today's women administrators are more likely to be well-qualified and have top credentials for entering executive level positions. Barriers frequently cited as impediments to career advancement for the study's top female administrators were more often family-related than having to do with lack of credentials or aspiration. No longer are these latter issues legitimate as significant causes for women's underrepresentation in administrative positions in education.

Despite their excellent qualifications and expressed aspirations, however, women seemingly remain in those positions that are viewed more as the "behind the scenes" jobs that require long hours, little power, and less pay. The top power positions occupied most often by women are in rural districts where the tax base is typically lower and where the salaries offered for their top administrators is much less. Even though there are more women in the three top level positions today than a decade ago, there is yet a long, winding way to go before true equity will be achieved.

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26

Chapter 3

FE/MALE LEADERSHIP: THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION

Rosemary Papalewis
Diane Yerkes

> *Some have suggested that female speech, in contrast to that of males, was perceived as kind and correct, but unimportant and ineffective.*

THE INTERDEPENDENCE of research and practice in the processes of leadership has generally failed to integrate female experiences, values and styles of communicating by not recognizing gender characteristics. Scott (1979) stated that an important vehicle for the transmission of sex role behavior is language, both in its depiction of fe/males (males and females) (Papalewis, in press), and in its use by both genders. Furthermore, the relative power or status of an individual is largely conveyed through language.

Margaret Mead (1949) believed that all cultures set up societal norms for the sexes which go beyond biological differences. She suggested trying to dissolve the idea of assuming stereotypes to be fact, and to begin asking some "open-ended exploratory questions" about males and females in society (pp. 135-136). One such question regards how language patterns are affected by the socialization process experienced. Gilligan (1982) stated that from Freud to Piaget and from Erik Erikson to Kohlberg, male and female differences have been noted. These differences, when viewed historically, tended to compare females to males where differences were presumed to mean females did not measure up because they failed to fit the male model. Lynch (1990), for example, noted that female experience has traditionally been explained by comparing it against theories derived from male experience. When these theories have not worked, scholars have typically concluded that the women were "lacking," rather than considering the possibility that the theories were incomplete.

Historically, in schools, male leaders have dominated leadership positions, although female teachers have dominated the teaching profession. Researchers (Nostrand, 1993; Smith & Piele, 1989; Weller, 1988) have noted possible reasons for the lack of women in leadership/administrative positions. They include the following: women fear success; equal opportunity has been denied; traditionally women are not brought up to consider leadership careers; women lack experience and are denied access to the appropriate experience; stereotypes close doors; women have less access to networks and mentors than men; and there is a lack of support from other female leaders.

In a study (Leonard & Papalewis, 1987) which sought to identify obstacles to equal access for women in educational leadership positions, barriers related to intrinsic factors included barriers to aspirations, perceptions of advancement opportunities, training, self-image, confidence, determination and motivation. Extrinsic factors included influential contacts, race, gender and age barriers. Leonard and Papalewis (1987) found that while intrinsic variables may limit the

aspirations and potential of certain females, it is gender discrimination, both personal and institutional, that are the major conditions inhibiting the access of females into educational leadership. One such obstacle to positions of leadership is a devalued pattern of communication.

A review of the literature (Borisoff & Merrill, 1985; Papalewis, 1989; Papalewis & Brown, 1989) on gender patterns of communication documented perceived differences and behavioral differences. For example, females look at a speaker when he or she is talking, whereas males do not (Shakeshaft, 1987; 1991); females more often give testimony and speak about personal issues (Kahn, 1984); females stress interpersonal relationships (Baird & Bradley, 1979); and, females joke by making fun of themselves rather than by poking fun at others (Kotthoff, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987).

Sufficient documentation (Borisoff & Merrill, 1985; Kramer, 1974; Lakoff, 1973; Papalewis & Brown, 1989; Scott, 1979; Shakeshaft, 1987; 1991; Tannen, 1990; 1994) identified a number of differences between the language of women and men. Female speech was depicted by Scott (1979) as more likely to be friendly, gentle, enthusiastic, smooth, gibberish, and about trivial topics. Male speech was more likely to be forceful, loud, dominating, and straight to the point. Scott (1979) suggested that female speech, in contrast to that of males, was perceived as kind and correct, but unimportant and ineffective (See Table 1).

Indications of the male communication pattern being upheld as the pattern to emulate can be found in research (Lakoff, 1975) suggesting that female speech style was inferior to that of males and that women need to develop a more "neutral" (i.e., male) speech style to become more competent communicators.

TABLE 1
Fe/male Patterns of Communication

Female Patterns	Male Patterns
Correct speech forms (Labov, 1972; Scott, 1979)	More frequent use of joking (Coser, 1960; Shakeshaft, 1987)
Dynamic intonations, wide range of pitch (McConnell-Ginet, 1978;Shakeshaft, 1987)	Hostile verbs (Gilley & Summers, 1970; Scott, 1979; Tannen, 1990)
Polite cheerful intonation (Brend, 1975; Scott, 1979) Zimmerman & West, 1975)	Interrupts conversations with females (Scott, 1979; Tannen, 1990;
Use of expressive intensifiers (Baumann, 1976; Lakoff, 1975; Scott, 1979)	Greater amount of talking (Scott, 1979; Swacker, 1975)
Use of questions to express opinions (Dubois & Crouch, 1976; Holmes, 1984; Lakoff, 1973; Preisler, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1987)	Lower pitch levels (Sachs, Lieberman & Erickson, 1973; Scott, 1979)

Reprinted from Papalewis, Fe/male voices: Leadership and the knowledge base. In Donmoyer, Scheurich, and Imber (Eds.) The Knowledge Base in Educational Administration: Multiple Perspectives. Sage Publications (in press).

Clearly, previous research was either indifferent to studying gender differences-assuming gender made no 'difference-or was hostile, suggesting anything other than male speech patterns was inferior and hence needed to be "fixed." Contrary findings (Scott, 1979) suggest that stereotypic characteristics more often assigned to women's language were rated more socially desirable than those associated with men's language (i.e., concern for the listener, open, self-revealing speech, and smiling).

Scott's (1979) findings conflict with other researchers (Broverman, Broverman, Clarkson, Rosenkrantz & Vogel, 1970; Lakoff, 1975) who found communication patterns associated with female behavior were systematically devalued. The existence of a double standard for language behavior was suggested by Scott (1979) which favored men while serving as a double bind for women. That is, men may be more effective in domains where power differentials are important. Hence, the outcome of speech exchange — public or private, expressive, or task-oriented — may derive more from the unequal power, or perception of unequal power, between men and women, than from the exchange itself. The reasons female speech was devalued include: females frequently answer a question with a question, female intonation indicates subordination and uncertainty (Lakoff, 1973); and females leave a higher pitch level because, in general, women's vocal cords are shorter and lighter. Mannes (1969) stated that a higher-pitched voice was not associated in people's minds with serious topics. Serious news reporting in the media was not expected then from females (Kramer, 1974).

Baird and Bradley (1979), in their study of sex differences in the perceived communication style of organizational managers, found females generally were perceived to be more concerned and attentive than males, who in turn were perceived to be more dominant, more directive, and quicker to challenge others than were females. Their specific findings were that the ratings of the quality of superior-subordinate communication were positively related to employee perceptions of their supervisor promoting happy relations, being receptive to their ideas, encouraging their efforts, showing concern for them, being attentive to them, and approving of them.

Baird and Bradley (1979) concluded that females communicated in ways markedly different from the behavior exhibited by male managers. Women exceeded men in giving information, stressing interpersonal relationships, being receptive to ideas, and encouraging effort. Males were found to exceed females in dominating situations, were quick to challenge others, and directed the course of conversations. In studies of group leadership (Baird & Bradley, 1979), one of the most consistent findings is the tendency for males to emerge to leadership positions.

In her study of 22 female and 18 male managers and their secretaries, Statham (1987) found that the females and males she studied exhibited similar patterns to those described by Baird and Bradley. For example, she found that women expressed more concern about the welfare of others, whereas males were more concerned with their status in the company. Kouzes and Posner (1993) noted the importance of value systems and suggested that those who believe that diversity enriches a system or workplace will help keep women from being cut off in group conversation while those who believe in the survival of the fittest, or are just unaware, would not notice or seek to keep women included in

the conversation. Statham also described female managers as more people-oriented and male managers as more image-engrossed. Moreover, in delegating tasks, female managers preferred to remain involved in the work while male managers preferred to be less involved.

Leadership is the ability to articulate in words and actions a vision that invites ownership and motivates others to pursue a common vision. Is leadership gender neutral? One would speculate that either a female or a male could be a leader. Most researchers (Sergiovanni, 1991; Thurston & Zodhiates, 1991) have defined leadership as: a process by which the actions of people within a social organization are guided toward the realization of specific goals; the activity of influencing people to strive willingly for group goals; a way of getting the job done through people; utilizing resources to satisfy the motives of others in order to fulfill their own motives and purposes; and, a process of mobilizing people and resources to confront and resolve difficult problems, including efforts to move schools toward the fulfillment of their instructional, social, and civic goals.

Rost (1991), in his comprehensive study of leadership, defined leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes" (p. 102). While he writes that prior leadership definitions include such understandings as rationality, hierarchical cost — benefit driven, quantitative and male, he notes that the therapeutic expressive individualism which has developed since the 1960's has helped to "acculturate women into what is essentially a male model of leadership" (p. 94).

Female leadership has been defined in a different voice. According to Weller (1988), female leadership revolved around abilities that encourage cooperation, open communication, and team building processes. Females tend to be more vulnerable and open, operating through mutual interests rather than through manipulation. Their approach to problem solving is more likely to be win-win. Women have always been the nurturers in society and this manifests itself in the desire to help others grow and develop (Weller, 1988). She further contended that this doesn't mean that men cannot be cooperative or operate through mutual interest, nor does it mean that women cannot be assertive or competitive. Austin and Lelaud (1991), proposed a model for the study of leadership which is non-hierarchical and sees the leader as a facilitator who enables others to act collectively toward the accomplishment of a common goal" (p.11).

In summary, research and practice have failed to integrate gender patterns of communication and leadership. Sergiovanni (1984) linked leadership to the symbolic "Chief" and culture to the "high priest" metaphors. Both of these two metaphors are male oriented, using male names. If we are to be responsible Social Science researchers, then we must not assume that the voices given to define leadership have been gender-neutral. A later writing by Sergiovanni (1991) defined the school leader as one who runs an "amoeba." An amoeba is gender-neutral. His more recent writing (1995) reflects an understanding of the male bias in the literature on motivation and suggests that achievement, voiced as fe/male-neutral (Papalewis, in press), can mean "the successful constructing of a learning community," as well as, "a collection of individual success" (p. 263).

If we believe that fe/males use different voices and patterns to communicate, then we must also acknowledge that, for the Education Administration ld, more voices need to be heard. Gender differences, when viewed histori-

cally, tend to compare fe/males where differences were presumed to mean females did not measure up because they failed to fit the male model. Certainly, through blending (a female voice) or bridging (a male voice), the defining of leadership should occur. Silence on leadership qualities that voice female leadership characteristics should not continue.

This chapter began with a discussion of fe/male communication patterns. Baird and Bradley (1979) concluded that females communicated in ways markedly different from the behavior exhibited by male managers. Women exceeded men in giving information, stressing interpersonal relationships, being receptive to ideas, and encouraging effort. Males, in communication style, were found to exceed females in dominance, to be quick to challenge others, and to direct the course of conversations. In studies of group leadership (Baird & Bradley, 1979), one of the most consistently obtained findings is the tendency for males to emerge to leadership positions.

Incorporating all fe/male voices into the defined traits and styles of the leadership role will enrich the field of leadership research. Understanding that communication patterns of power or status in how we say, what we say, and how it is perceived, can well serve the female leader.

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Chapter 4

WOMEN IN EDUCATION: ARE WE PERPETUATING SOCIETAL ATTITUDES BY MOVING TOWARD AN ANDROGYNOUS LEADERSHIP STYLE

Carolyn L. Tyree

> *Women have been reluctant to pursue educa-tional administrative positions because of societal attitudes toward women in leader-ship positions, and have reinforced this de-mise by accepting these "societal laws" and "narrow prespectives" of women's roles and leadership abilities.*

HISTORICALLY, leadership has been considered and accepted as a masculine domain (Friesen, 1983). For over three centuries, American women have been prevented from seeking and assuming positions of leadership and public au-thority (Dopp and Sloan, 1986). Until the early twentieth century, "sex-role stereotypes, occupational stereotypes, occupational sex-typing, and discrimination have defined the role of involvement in leadership roles" (Adkison's study as cited in Dopp & Sloan, 1986). The demise of women in areas of leadership and more specifically in the administrative functions of our schools "reflects and perpetuates these societal assump-tions" (Epp, 1993).

Women have been reluctant to pursue educational administrative positions because of societal attitudes toward women in leadership positions, and have reinforced this demise by accepting these "societal laws" and "narrow prespectives" of women's roles and leadership abilities. Epp (1993) indicates that the knowledge that males dominate, both numerically and figuratively, the administrative functions of our schools furthers societal stereotyping.

Fauth (1984) defines this underrepresentation of women in educational administra-tion through a series of myths; (a) Women don't have what it takes. In Smith's study (cited in Fauth, 1984) woman principals were considered to be competent in their ability to provide a positive, supportive climate, to attack and solve problems, and to proceed through an action plan, (b) Women lack support of teachers and the community. Re-searchers, (Brobman & Hines, Gross & Trask; and Kobayashi cited in Fauth, 1984) found that teacher and student morale in buildings led by female principlas is equal to or greater than that in buiding with male administrators and, (c) Women don't want the job. The far fewer numbers of female administrators cannot be explained only by differences in level of aspiration. Edson's study (cited in Fauth, 1984) of women pursuing their first principalship found them to be ambitious and assertive. These women stated that they comprehended the nature of leadership positions in schools and the problems associated with, but felt confident that they could succeed in these roles. (d) Women have no training and experience. Tracy's study (cited in Fauth, 1984) found that in terms of administrative experience, female principals, both elementary and secondary, had more administrative experience than the men.

In terms of training, experience and age of entry into leadership positions, and career interruptions, major differences still persist (Fauth, 1984). According to Fauth (1984), the number of years of teaching, specialization and job goals have the most negative effect upon women who are reaching for that first administrative positions.

Estler's study (as cited in Dopp & Sloan, 1986) outlined three models which further support and clarify the rationale for this underrepresentation of women administrators in schools. These models are: (a) the women's place model, defined by society's socialization patterns; (b) the discrimination model, which is supported by preferential hiring and lifting of males to top leadership positions; and, (b) the meritocracy model, which assumes that an individual is promoted according to his/her ability (Bilken and Brannigan's study cited in Dopp & Sloan, 1980). Dopp and Sloan (1986) provide evidence that supports evidence that sex role stereotypes and sex role socialization reduce the probabilities that women will pursue adminstrative leadership positions and educational units will be consider those who do (Adkinson cited in Dopp and Sloan, 1986).

Sex-Role Identity
Jordan (1992) suggests that people develop a sex-role or gender identity and under-standing of gender roles as young as five or six years of age (Rein, Rosen, & Sanders' cited in Jordan, 1992). Socialization occurs when society treats males and females differently. Society, Epp (1993) states, has gradually exposed and educated to the message of male-dominated, traditional forms of school administration. The male administrator enveloped by female teachers sends a message to little girls about the place of women in society and confirms for young men that the educational administration is a male domain.

Messages from people in adminstrative positions affect the self-concept and "locus of control among young females and males (Eagly's study, cited in Jordan, 1992). Jordan (1992) discusses further the concept that females are socialized to be dependent on others and "emotionally wired," thus developmental becoming competent in area of human relations. Jordan (1992) states that girls learn to become capable in the areas of interpersonal ways, and to perpetuate caring and nurturing. Girls come to believe that they aren't analytical, or physically skilled to capable of making decisions. Sex-related differences have led to the underutilization of women administrative positions, even though there has been an great increase of numbers women seeking high level positions, in government business, and education (Jones, 1986).

According to Barkman, women desire power through leadership positions but outline it differently from the "male model of competitive and hierarchical control." According to Oritiz, (cited in Dopp & Sloan, 1986) barriers which inhibit success are: (a) the initial departure from teaching; (b) occupying stifling positions; bowing to males in line positioncompetition; and, (d) and pursuing wrong career paths (Oritiz, 1982). Robins and Terrell, (1987), indicate that even when restrictions are reduced to allow admission, the game has not been changed. Typically, women who are competent and capable try to fit into male model. According to Jones (1986) younger women are beginning to use more centralized decision making and the "task orientation character-istic of the tradition male leadership model. Participation by women in the social environments experienced by women during their initiation into educational administra-tive roles may have caused these differences in female leadership styles. Lyle and Ross (cited in Friesen, 1983) suggest that sex-role identity rather than gender, may evolve to be the determinant of leadership style.

23 35

Leadership Styles

Leadership style is perceived as the interaction of two kinds of behaviors of leaders — one group of behaviors is referred to as instruumental behaviors, or an orientation toward task, production, outcome or initiating structure (Blake & Mouton, 1983).. The other independent group of performances is referred to as consideration behaviors, or orientation toward affective, socio-emotional support relationships and people (Blake & Mouton cited in Friesen, 1983). Instrumental behaviors have been associated with the masculine sex-role stereotype, while consideration behaviors have been associated with the feminine sex-role stereotype (Blake & Mouton, 1983). In a study by Lyle and Ross (cited in Friesen, 1983), it was found that women managers exhibited four management styles: (a) a product-oriented style; (b) a permissive style; (c) a detached, aloof, and under-controlling style; and (d) an exploitative style. Lyle and Ross (cited in Friesen, 1983) suggest that sex-role identity rather than gender, may evolve to be the determinant of leadership style.

Females have been portrayed as "dependent, non-competitive, passive, empathic, subjective, warm, and gentle; while masculine individuals are viewed as independent, assertive, objective, courageous, innovative, logical ambitious, and dominant" (Serafini, 1984). Feminine characteristics are "expressive," and masculine characteristics are "instrumental" (Studies by Bem, cited in Serafini, 1984).

Bartol and Butterfield (cited in Pearson, 1981) imply that the more warm and cooperative consideration style of leadership is preferred for female managers, while the initiating structure style is preferred for male managers-individuals with internal locus of control.

Research on expectancy theory, (Berryman-Fink & Brunner, 1987), indicates that bargaining and communicator style leads to conclusion that males maximize their own goals while women emphasize equitable and interpersonal relationships in bargaining situations (Rubin & Brown, cited in Berryman-Fink and Brunner 1987). The "masculine ethic" (Kanter, cited in McPheron & Smith, 1981) assumes that the traits belonging to males are the ones necessary for effective management and leadership. One of these prerequisites is rationality — implying emotionality is definitely undersirable and usually attributed to females. When identifying a males' cognitive, socioemotional and behavioral patterns a male-oriented theory of leadership is supported.

Berryman-Fink and Brunner (1987) suggest that in conflict management behavior, women will be more cooperative and men more competitive in conflict situations. Both collaborating and compromising styles are perceived as positive because they stress an empathy for others. According to Regan (cited in Regan, 1990) women who are so effective through the use of predominantly collaborative strategies have been leading us, although we did not realize it, to reshape conceptions of both women and leadership, namely that women are strong leaders and that effective leadership is collaborative. Second, the work of articulating these reconceptions is in process and open to all (Regan, 1987).

The Move Toward Androgyny

Bem (cited in Serafini, 1984) saw male and female sex-role identities as two separate dimensions and introduced the "construct" of androgyny. An androgynous person was one who endorsed a large number of both "masculine" and "feminine" characteristics. Androgyny, according to Friesen (1984) stressed the inclusion of a broad repertoire of behaviors, and offers opportunity for men and women to engage in behav-based on their relevance in a given situation. Androgynous persons were likely be

more flexible and responsive to the differing demands. Prescriptions, according to Serafini & Pearson, 1984), which suggest a combination of " consideration and initiating structure" behaviors for capable leadership implies both men and women are moving and reaching for androgyny in sex-role endorsement. Androgyny represents both masculine and feminine traits. Masculine characteristics, feminine characteristics and some neutral characteristics with effective leadership interaction give a new perspective as androgynous, where performance is judged according to its "rightness" for a particular situation, rather than gender identity.

Conclusion

In the past, societal assumptions have defined the role of women in leadership positions. As a whole, women have been reluctant to pursue leadership roles due to this sex role stereotyping and sex role socialization. Typically, women who are competent and capable and do pursue these leadership positions try to fit into the male model which consists predominantly of "instrumental behaviors." Consideration behaviors are seen as more typical of females. In conflict management behavior, women will be more cooperative and men more competitive. Androgyny stresses an inclusion of a broad repertoire and offers opportunities for men and women to engage in conflicts using those behaviors based on relevance. Androgyny assumes human traits that both sexes can cultivate. No one leadership style is universally suitable for all situations.

Implications for the Future

The process of socialization is the process of learning the culture's values, norms, and mores. Hample (1987) suggests that an exploration of female leadership styles and the use of networking in administrative environments sets the best course for future achievement in educational leadership. Hample (1987) adds that it is important that leadership strengths in women be identified and used in the experiences of human relationships. Future leadership and administrative programs should be developed that emphasize consideration of a person's personality characteristics and the evolving of a leadership style congruent with his/her personality. Continued professional interaction can bring an awakening to educators and make them more conscious of the need for equity in all educational institutions. Societal changes, according to Friesen (1983) and new generations of women moving into male-dominated spheres necessitate continued research. Such research is necessary to provide a schema from which to project investigation of women in leadership.

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38

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Voices from the Field

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Chapter 5

ATTITUDES TOWARD WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS AMONG SCHOOL BOARD MEMBERS: A CURRENT PERSPECTIVE

Monica Criswell
Loren Betz

> *School board members still do not exhibit a positive attitude toward women in administration.*

GIVEN the preponderance of women in public education in the United States, one of the most puzzling issues in the profession today is why there are not more women administrators. Despite the increased number of women who are certificated and the growing number of women entering doctoral programs in educational administration, females still remain a minority in the administrative ranks while comprising the majority of the nation's teaching force. In 1909, Ella Flagg Young, the first woman superintendent of Chicago public schools, declared:

> Women are destined to rule the schools of every city. . . . In the near future we will have more women than men in executive charge of the vast educational system. It is a woman's natural field, and she is no longer satisfied to do the greatest part of the work and yet be denied leadership. (Shakeshaft, 1987)

Young's vision, 86 years later, is still not close to becoming a reality, as evidenced by the number of women in educational administration today.

Overall, women comprise approximately 30% of all public school administrators in the United States (Jones & Montenegro, 1988). However, because over 66% of all public school teachers are female, this number seems inordinately low. Women have never been equitably represented in the administrative ranks of the profession. While the 20th century has witnessed peaks and valleys in the number of women in educational administration, during the majority of the past 95 years, numbers have been in a decline. Even today, the number of women administrators, which currently is rising, is not proportionate to the number of women in the profession.

Barriers to Women

Why does the number of women public school administrators continue to be low? The literature has revealed many possible reasons for the paucity of women in administrative positions. Numerous barriers, both internal and external, have been identified.

Internal barriers are those that are related to how women perceive themselves and their roles. The assumption is that these are barriers that the individual can address and has control of. Among the major internal barriers are: lack of aspirations among women to become administrators, failure of women to receive credentials and apply for administrative positions, and the personal and family constraints that women face as they pursue administration jobs. External barriers are those over which the individual does not have control since their roots are embedded in our organizations and our society. External barriers include the lack of support systems such as role models, mentors, and networks, discriminatory hiring and promotion practices (Schmuck, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1987).

Based on the fact that during the early 1990s, the number of women in all administrative positions increased (Montenegro, 1993), it would seem that several of the internal and external barriers may have lessened in recent years. However, the greatest barrier to women in attaining administrative positions is that of socialization to sex-role stereotyping. This barrier is both internal and external and seems to be the foundation for all of the barriers heretofore discussed (Adkinson, 1981; Coursen, 1975; Criswell, 1994; Haslett, Geis & Carter, 1992). Beginning in childhood, both men and women are socialized to believe that women are not as capable of holding leadership positions as are men (Coursen, 1975), thereby causing internal conflicts for females. In addition to these internal conflicts, women also must confront the external conflicts posed by expectations based on sex-role stereotypes. In her review of the research, Adkinson (1981) stated:

> Considerable evidence supports the argument that sex-role stereotyping and sex-role socialization reduce the probabilities that women will seek leadership positions actively and that organizations will be receptive to those that do. (p. 311)

The literature documents that sex-role stereotyping is perpetuated by public schools and institutions of higher learning through bias in curriculum materials, in instructional techniques and activities, in teacher/student interaction patterns, and in the light treatment of sexual harassment of female students (Lockheed & Klein, 1985; Sadker & Sadker, 1985; Sadker & Sadker, 1986; Sandler, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1986; Tietze & Davis, 1981). Despite years of legislative intervention, equity research and training, and affirmative action programs, sex-role stereotyping and gender bias continue to persist in these institutions (AAUW, 1992; Harvey, 1986; Pavan, 1989; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). Myra and David Sadker (1994), noted gender equity researchers who have studied females in the classroom for over 20 years, declared, "After thousands of hours of classroom observation, we remain amazed at the scope and stubborn persistence of gender bias" (p. 4).

Historically, it has been up to the individual female to deal with barriers posed by socialization to sex-role stereotyping and to find personal solutions to conflicting demands. In recent years, however, these barriers are being viewed as societal problems whose solutions must come in the form of institutional change (Jones & Montenegro, 1983). According to Slick and Gupton (1993):

> Individual women may seek advice, mentors, and preparatory actions that ready them for administrative positions; but, unless the social system they are attempting to enter is prepared for them, the individual will not have much success and could even become more frustrated with the existing barriers. Therefore, it is not enough for the individual to undergo change; the system and society must also change. (p. 85)

Women's Performance as Administrators

It has been substantiated in the literature that stereotypical ideas about women in administrative positions exist, but how do women actually perform in the field? The results of numerous research studies on women's administrative competencies have found no evidence to support the notion that men are better suited for administrative positions that are women (Fishel & Pottker, 1975; Gross & Trask, 1976; Hoyle, 1969, Mickish, 1971). In fact, reviews of the literature on female administrative performance consistently concluded that the preponderance of the research indicated that women were more effective principals than men (Adkinson, 1981; Marshall, 1984; Meskin, 975; Tibbetts, 1981).

While confirming the competence of female administrators, reviews of the research also reported that women administrators exhibited behaviors, such as nurturance, concern, cooperation, and collaboration, that were consistent with female stereotypes. In fact, these very characteristics caused them to be viewed as effective (Adkinson, 1981; Avila, 1993; Charters & Jovick, 1981; Smith, 1982). This might lead one to conclude, as Adkinson (1981) did, that perhaps "it is the male managerial model rather than women's behavior which is inappropriate to leadership in schools" (p. 316).

Women's Leadership Style

Studies and reviews of the literature have revealed that women have management and leadership styles than differ from those of their male counterparts (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992; Adkinson, 1981; Avila, 1993; Gross & Trask, 1976; Helgesen, 1990; Langford, 1993; Meskin, 1975; Shakeshaft, 1987; Shavlik & Touchton, 1988). Contemporary theories and studies of leadership indicate that the characteristics of the leadership style used by most women may become the dominant model of leadership for the future (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1993; Bennis & Nanus, 1985; Helgesen, 1990). Consequently, the term "women's leadership style" (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992) emerged to describe the management style necessary to successfully transform hierarchical organizations into organizations composed of networks and webs where empowerment and sharing of information are primary goals.

The trends toward site-based decision making and Total Quality Management in the nation's educational systems are signs that schools as a workplace are undergoing transformation. The new school environment calls for a new kind of administrator — "one who puts instructional issues in the forefront and one who solicits involvement of others in decision-making" (Pounder, 1990). Women's documented expertise in the areas of instructional leadership and empowerment should serve as an asset to females who aspire to leadership positions in restructured educational environments (Avila, 1993; Pitner, 1981). As a new paradigm of leadership emerges, the unique strengths that women administrators have displayed may give them an advantage in the future.

Attitudes Toward Women as Administrators

The research thus cited has shown that women administrators perform as well as or better than men and that female administrators in general were found to exhibit characteristics of leadership deemed appropriate for the emerging model of leadership for the 21st century. But the fact remains that the number of women in educational administration is still not proportional to the number of women in education (Montenegro, 1993). Another factor to be investigated is the attitude toward women in positions of leadership. In the workplace, the attitudes that subordinates and superiors have toward women in administrative roles will have a direct effect on how women's job performance will be evaluated (Coursen, 1975; Yost & Herbert, 1985). In order for women to secure more administrative positions, it would be beneficial to identify the attitudes of those who hire them.

School boards generally hire superintendents and approve the hiring of other administrators in school districts. Thus, their attitudes toward women in positions of leadership should be of significant interest to aspiring female administrators in public education. Historically, the majority of school board members in the United States have been male (Saks, 1993). The research prior to the 1990s indicated that school board members in general held negative attitudes toward women as administrators and pre- :d males for administrative positions (Mickish, 1971; Nicholson, 1983; Schwartz,

1979; Shakeshaft, 1979; Taylor, 1971). In her attitude study Nicholson (1983) concluded:

> It would appear that while superintendents and board members say they do not believe the sex of the candidate should be a determining factor in the selection of administrators, in practice it is. (p. 110)

The 1992 AASA study of the American superintendency suggested that many women may be deterred from seeking the superintendency because of possible gender discrimination in hiring that exists among school board members (Glass, 1992). As a former female superintendent stated in a recent report on why women leave the superintendency, "Some board members don't believe women should run things" (Tallerico, Burstyne, & Poole, 1993).

Female board members consistently have had more favorable attitudes toward women administrators than have male board members (Blanchard, 1976; Criswell, 1994; Neidig, 1973; Schwartz, 1979). Female board members were also found to be more amenable to hiring a female superintendent than were male board members (Neidig, 1973; Schwartz, 1979). Because school boards have the final say in hiring administrators, it could be helpful to aspiring women administrators if more board members were female. An implication of a study by Marietti (1993) was that as the number of females on school boards increases, so might the number of female superintendents. It should be noted that just as the number of female administrators has increased over the past 20 years, so has the number of female board members, rising from 12% in 1972 to 39.9% in 1993 (Blanchard, 1976; Saks, 1993).

The Attitude of Board Members in Texas

In an effort to determine if sex-role stereotyping is still a major barrier to the employment of women in educational leadership positions, the authors conducted a study with the purpose of exploring the attitudes toward women as administrators among school board members with regard to selected demographic variables. The target population included school board members of all 67 districts in Texas that employed a female superintendent during the 1992-1993 school year and a stratified random sample of Texas school board members in 67 districts that employed a male superintendent during the 1992-1993 school year. Districts were matched as closely as possible with regard to size, wealth, and percentage of disadvantaged students. Board members in the participating districts were asked to respond to the Attitudes Toward Women As Managers (ATWAM) Scale and a short demographic questionnaire. The collected data were used to respond to research questions that sought to determine what the attitudes of school board members toward women as school administrators are, and whether or not specific demographic variables had any impact on the school board members' attitudes. The variables investigated in the study were: gender of the superintendent with whom the board member worked; gender, age, ethnicity, and occupation of board member; size of school district based on enrollment; and experience working with a female superintendent.

Profile of the Respondents

We received responses from 61 of the boards targeted in the study; 50.5% of the individual responses were from board members in districts employing male superintendents and 49.5% were from school board members in districts employing female superintendents. With regard to the size of the school district, 77% of the board members were from districts with an enrollment of fewer than 3,000 students while 23% were from districts with an enrollment of 3,000 or more students. Seventy percent of the board

members were male; 30% were female. The ethnic composition of the population was 87% White and 13% minority. The mean age of the respondents was 46.3 years. Fifty-six percent of the board members indicated that they had worked with a female superintendent. The mean response of this group was 3.4 years of experience with a female superintendent. In general, the profile of the board members in the study was very similar to the profile of American school board members in general (Saks, 1993).

Summary of the Findings

Based on the data collected and an analysis of the information, the findings of this study were as follows:

- The mean score of the board members in this study was found to be in the neutral range of the ATWAM Scale, indicating neither a favorable nor an unfavorable attitude toward women administrators.
- No significant differences or associations were found between the attitude scores of school board members and the variables of gender of superintendent with whom the board member worked, and board members' age, ethnicity, and experience working with a female superintendent.
- Significant variables were gender of board member, occupation of board member, and size of school district by enrollment.

Conclusions of the Study

Based on the findings of this study, the following conclusions were drawn.

1. While the research has indicated that historically school boards have had negative attitudes toward women as school administrators, the findings of this study revealed that board members displayed a neutral attitude toward women in administration. While the findings were not consistent with the literature, they did indicate that school board members still do not exhibit a positive attitude toward women in administration.

2. The findings of this study were consistent with the research indicating that females are more supportive of women in leadership positions than are males.

3. The variables of age and ethnicity of the board members in this study did not appear to have a significant effect on their attitudes toward women. This finding corroborates the literature; however, it should be kept in mind that the population of this study was quite homogeneous. Less than 13% of the respondents were minority and only 25% of board members in this study were younger than 40 years of age. The homogeneity of the respondents in this study may account for the lack of effect of age and ethnicity upon attitudes.

4. The findings are supportive of the literature indicating that those who reside in a more urban area have more favorable attitudes toward women in administration than do those who reside in more rural settings. The occupational group in this study found to have the least favorable attitude was the farming/ranching group whose members generally reside in rural areas. The school board members with the most favorable attitudes toward women in administration were those in the largest school district size category. Large school districts are typically found in urban or suburban areas, or in towns with a population of over 50,000. School board members in small districts, typically located in rural areas or small towns, had less favorable attitudes toward women in administration.

5. Much of the research has indicated that those who have had experience working with females in administrative positions tend to have more favorable attitudes toward women in administrative positions than do those who have had no experience

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working with females in administrative positions (Hoyle, 1969; Meskin, 1975; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). The findings in this study are not consistent with this research. Possible explanations may be that experience working with female superintendents may have had no effect on stereotypical beliefs held by school board members about the role of women in the workplace, or that school board members may now be evaluating and judging superintendents on the basis of merit and performance rather than by stereotypical beliefs regarding gender.

Recommendations

Based upon the findings of this study and conclusions drawn from the findings, the authors present the following recommendations:

- Boards of education should be required to participate in training and/or professional growth activities to become cognizant of the demographics regarding the underrepresentation of women in the field of educational administration, to become alert to gender stereotyping and possible discriminatory practices in their school district screening, hiring, and evaluation procedures, and to broaden their awareness of different leadership styles.
- Those acting as consultants to school boards for the purpose of selecting superintendents should make board members aware of the gender stereotyping, and of the contributions of female administrators and the strengths of their leadership style. Search consultants should maintain a current database of prospective female superintendent candidates.
- Universities should provide research data on the status and progress of women in educational administration in the United States for school boards and other professional and community organizations. University administrative programs should equip aspiring administrators with the tools to deal with gender stereotyping and to combat the effects of gender stereotyping in their school districts.
- Professional organizations and networks should ensure that current and aspiring female administrators are cognizant of the favorable attitudes of female board members toward employing women as administrators in all positions.
- Current and aspiring women administrators should be knowledgeable of the research regarding the performance of female administrators in the field. The results of this study and many others can be used by female superintendent candidates to assure boards of education that women have a proven track record in the field of educational administration and that boards with female superintendents are at least as satisfied with their performance as are those boards with male superintendents.

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Chapter 6

A LEADERSHIP PERSPECTIVE FROM WOMEN SUPERINTENDENTS

Linda Hampton Wesson
Marilyn Grady

> *This research indicates that there is reason to believe that women superintendents in this country are seeing the "primacy of relationships" and do configure their ideas about management in relational terms.*

THE PREVAILING MODEL of educational administration evolved over the last part of the nineteenth and the early decades of the twentieth centuries (Callahan, cited in Adkison, 1981). This leadership model paralleled the managerial changes in business, industry, and government; it defined the professional manager as a person who had an "internal decision-making monopoly and authority over others" (Kanter, cited in Adkison, p. 313, 1981) and relied on rigid hierarchical structure, competition, and control to bring about results (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988).

There are serious questions about the efficacy of this leadership model. As early as 1988, researchers in educational administration were asking two fundamental questions that highlighted this dilemma: "To what extent does a system of hierarchical control enhance teaching and learning? . . . To what extent do traditional ranking and emphasis on competition square with the enhancement of educators as people and of instructional services?" (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988, p. 138).

Experts in business management (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992; Block, 1991; Covey, 1990; Helgesen, 1990; Peters, 1988; Wheatley, 1992) have discussed the changes in leadership models. These changes are depicted as a shift toward a more flexible organizational structure based on units that are more lateral and cooperative. Wheatley (1992) considers the need for these kinds of changes when she says:

> Scientists in many different disciplines are questioning whether we can adequately explain how the world works by using the machine imagery created in the seventeenth century, most notably by Sir Isaac Newton. In the machine model, one must understand parts. . . . The assumption is that by comprehending the workings of each piece, the whole can be understood. The Newtonian model of the world is characterized by materialism and reductionism—a focus on things rather than relationships. (p. 9)

In her view, organizational change is taking place in part because the new sciences have changed the way in which we view the world. Defining the new sciences as the disciplines of physics, biology, chemistry, and theories of evolution and chaos that cross several disciplines, she explains the nature of these changes:

In the new science, the underlying currents are a movement toward holism, toward understanding the system as a system and giving primary value to the relationships that exist among seemingly discrete parts. Our concept of organizations is moving away from the mechanistic creations that flourished in the age of bureaucracy. We have begun to speak in earnest of more fluid, organic structures, even boundaryless organizations. (Wheatley, 1992, p. 13)

Those in education also have articulated a need for a paradigm shift in educational administration (Giroux, 1991; Sergiovanni, 1984); beginning with the educational reform movement in the 1980s, there have been serious discussions about the need for changes in the traditional, hierarchial, control-and-command environments found in many schools (Wesson & Grady, 1994). These kinds of changes could transform school onto viable communities. As Wood (1990) notes:

We take for granted that our schools are communities, when, in fact, they are merely institutions that can become communities only when we work at it. But, with proper attention to all the individuals within the school, we can create an experience for students that demonstrates what it means to be a compassionate, involved citizen. For it is only within a community, not an institution, that we learn how to hold fast to such principles as working for the common good, empathy, equity, and self- respect. (p. 33)

Educational leaders in these "communities of learners" value leadership over management and emphasize collaboration, consensus building, and empowerment. Emphasis is placed on vision, values, and guiding principles (Sergiovanni, 1990). The critical theorist, Giroux (1993), expresses the distinctive nature of this kind of educational leadership:

Instead of weaving dreams limited to the ever-accelerating demand for tougher tests, accountability schemes, and leadership models forged in the discourse of a sterile technician, schools of education need programs which are part of a collective effort to build and revitalize a democratic culture which is open rather than fixed, disputed rather than given, and supportive rather than intolerant of cultural difference. (p. 22-23)

This research was conducted to see if women superintendents are in fact using leadership practices that fit this kind of paradigm shift in educational administration.

Methods

To understand more about the leadership practices of women superintendents, the researchers conducted a national study which was two-fold in nature. First, we interviewed a national sample of women superintendents about their perceived sources of job satisfaction, the benefits accrued on the job, their sense of self-fulfillment in the work place, and personal strengths they brought to the job. Second, we assessed the leadership practices of women superintendents using the Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (Kouzes & Posner, 1988).

Theoretical Framework for the LPI

Kouzes and Posner framed leadership from information they gathered from managers and executives in the public and private sector who described their

"personal best;" that is, the leadership behavior used by the managers and executives when they received outstanding results (Kouzes & Posner, 1987). These "personal best" leadership practices can best be described by the following five practices, each of which has two attendant behaviors:

I. Challenging the process:
      A. Search for opportunities   B. Experiment and take risks

II. Inspiring a shared vision:
      A. Envision the future   B. Enlist others

III. Enabling others to act:
      A. Foster collaboration   B. Strengthen others

IV. Modeling the way:
      A. Set the example   B. Plan small wins

V. Encouraging the heart:
      A. Recognize contributions   B. Celebrate accomplishments

The Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (Kouzes & Posner, 1988) measures the extent leaders have adopted these five leadership practices and ten behaviors.

Procedures

Since we were unable to locate a comprehensive directory of women superintendents, we solicited assistance from the American Association of School Administrators, state associations of school administrators, US Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement (OERI), state departments of education, and other researchers. We did receive lists of superintendents' names from state departments of education and state administrators' groups. However, some states would not release the names of their superintendents. Thus we were able to identify 346 women superintendents in twenty-nine states and unable to secure names of women superintendents in the other twenty-one states. All 346 women superintendents received a letter explaining the study and were asked two questions: Would you be willing to participate in the study, and how many years have you been a superintendent? After one mailing 263 (76%) of the superintendents responded. Of the 263 respondents, 249 (95%) agreed to take part in the study.

Because we were interested in differences in rural and urban superintendent, we classified superintendents working in population centers of 50,000 or more or in an area adjacent to such a population center as urban. All others were classified as rural/small school superintendents. In the initial study all thirty-one superintendents identified as urban were selected for telephone interviews. We randomly selected thirty-one rural/small school superintendents for interviews so that we could have an equivalent number of rural/small school superintendents for comparison with the urban subjects.

Twenty-one urban and thirty rural superintendents were available for a telephone interview during January, 1993. The superintendents answered ten open-ended questions in sequence during interviews of thirty to forty-five minutes in length. The researchers independently reviewed the transcripts of the interviews and identified major themes. The researchers compared their findings to verify accurate identification and naming of the themes. Independently, the researchers developed categories of themes. The researchers then compared the categories and developed the final analysis. (For a full discussion of this study see Grady, Ourada-Sieb, and Wesson, 1994.)

With the permission of the authors, the Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (Kouzes & Posner, 1988) was mailed in July of 1993 to the 249 women superintendents who agreed to take part in the study. One hundred seventy-four (70%) of these women completed and returned the Leadership Practices Inventory-Self.

Findings

The initial study investigated these superintendents' perceived sources of job satisfaction, the benefits accrued on the job, their sense of self-fulfillment in the work place, and personal strengths they brought to the job. The results of this study, which consisted of telephone interviews with twenty-one urban and thirty rural women superintendents, can be described as follows: Most of the urban and rural/small school women superintendents have been hired to be change agents, and they describe their leadership characteristics in similar ways. Whether in a highly bureaucratic, urban organization or a small rural setting, these women superintendents are successfully building collegial-collaborative organizations. Both are operationalizing leadership skills that fit a new leadership paradigm that values change and connectiveness (Shakeshaft, 1987).

The results of the follow-up study delineate more clearly the leadership practices of the superintendents in this country, but did not delineate differences in urban and rural/small school superintendents. An analysis of the scores on the five categories of the Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (Kouzes & Posner, 1993) reveals mean scores for the 174 women superintendents who completed and returned the LPI at or above the eightieth percentile.[1] This percentile ranking is classified by Posner and Kouzes (1992) in the self-assessment and analysis manual as a high ranking. In fact, they state that "studies indicate that a high score is one at or above the seventieth percentile" (p. 12).

TABLE 1
Results of LPI-SELF

	Female Superintendents (N = 174)		
	Mean	Standard Deviation	Comparative Percentile
Challenging the Process	25.78	4.29	83
Inspiring a Shared Vision	25.67	4.27	90
Enabling Others to Act	27.31	4.55	80
Modeling the Way	25.25	4.20	83
Encouraging the Heart	25.51	4.20	82

The percentile ranks of these women superintendents indicate that they ranked highest in Inspiring a Shared Vision (90th percentile) and lowest in Enabling Others to Act (80th percentile), but what is most remarkable is that they exhibit high mean scores in all of the leadership practices. With thirty points possible in each practice, the lowest mean score for a category is 25.25 and the highest mean score for a category is 27.31. It is evident that these women do well in the five practices and ten accompanying behaviors that have been described by Kouzes and Posner as the "fundamental practices and behaviors in exemplary leadership" (Kouzes & Posner, 1987). Although Kouzes and Posner cau-

tion against interpreting the LPI-Self scores independently of LPI-Other feedback, the normative data of the LPI-Other have mean scores for each category that are only plus or minus 1.2 points different from the mean scores for each category of the LPI-Self.

Consideration needs to be given to the differences between our sample of women superintendents and the sample used to norm the LPI-Self. The normative sample consisted of 3,601 males and 1,011 females. (See Posner and Kouzes, Psychometric Properties of the Leadership Practices Inventory, 1992, for a full discussion of the LPI.) This sample did not include educators but according to the authors did represent a "full array of functional fields (e.g., management, marketing, finance, manufacturing, accounting, engineering, sales, human resource development, information systems, etc.)" (Posner & Kouzes, 1992, p. 2). The normative sample was only 28% female, but the scores indicate that "male and female respondents are more alike in terms of their leadership practices than they are different. . . although female managers reported that they engaged in Modeling the Way and Encouraging the Heart more frequently than did their male counterparts" (Posner & Kouzes, 1992).

Discussion

We began this research by examining the positive aspects of being a women superintendent since previous studies seem to focus on the pathology of the position rather than its benefits. As the superintendents in the initial study talked about what was satisfying about the job, we found that what they liked about the job was the way they were able to lead—their leadership practices. These leadership practices seemed to be very similar. In general, what they enjoyed was the human relations part of their job—those leadership practices that emphasized the relational aspects of leadership. They recognized the importance and placed value on all kinds of relationships, relationships between and among teachers, children, the community, the school board, and state department personnel. Because the initial study indicated that the superintendents we interviewed were using leadership practices different from the practices that have been traditional in educational administration, the LPI-Self was used to provide quantitative data and discrete terminology to the kinds of practices these superintendents were using; the data also contribute to the triangulation of the initial findings (Mathison, 1988).

We chose the LPI-Self since this inventory came closest to empirically measuring the conceptual leadership framework that became apparent as we interviewed these women superintendents. Also other researchers had used the LPI to measure what is termed transformational or visionary leadership (Stoner-Zemel, 1988; Tarazi, 1990), a term we thought best described the superintendents we had interviewed. We now have quantitative data that corroborates our initial findings. Both urban and rural women superintendents are using leadership practices that are indeed different from the prevailing model of educational administration, and this shift in leadership practices resembles the paradigm shift in leadership depicted in business management literature. As Wheatley (1992) suggests,

> If the physics of our universe is revealing the primacy of relationships, is it any wonder that we are beginning to reconfigure our ideas about management in relational terms? (p. 12)

This research indicates that there is reason to believe that women superintendents in this country are seeing the "primacy of relationships" and do configure their ideas about management in relational terms. It is interesting to speculate if other superintendents are doing the same.

Endnote
1. The manual for the LPI reports percentile rankings only for the aggregated self ratings and observer ratings and does not separately report percentile equivalents for self and observer ratings, thereby making a direct comparison of our sample subjects with one national sample somewhat problematic. Since self ratings tend to be higher than observer ratings and since our sample data included only self-ratings, it seemed more appropriate to compare our sample data with the national data on self-ratings. To do this, we calculated a weighted mean and standard deviation for the national data, which takes into account the uneven representation of men and women in those data. We then calculated z scores for all possible scores on the LPI-Self. This enabled us to create a table of percentile rankings in self-ratings for the national sample scores. It was then a straightforward procedure to calculate z scores for our sample mean scores of 174 women superintendents in each of the five leadership domains of the LPI using the standard z score formula and then consulting a table of areas under the normal curve to derive percentile rankings for our sample.

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Chapter 7

LEADERSHIP STYLES OF SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS IN THE PANHANDLE OF TEXAS: A COMPARATIVE STUDY

Bonnie Beyer-Houda
Connie Ruhl-Smith

> ... leadership styles once exhibited prima-
> rily by females are now becoming the norm
> for all school leaders interested in creating
> educational environments capable of meet-
> ing the complex needs of modern society.

WITHOUT QUESTION, leadership and, concomitantly, those assum-
ing leadership functions can be found in any organization. Leader-
ship makes its presence felt throughout the organization and is char-
acteristic in all actions taken by the organization (Bass, 1990). However, no one
definition for leadership is accepted, either by the practitioner or the academi-
cian. Wiles and Bondi (1993) note that over 130 formal definitions of leadership
exist in the professional literature. These definitions include such phrases as:
imposing one's will; getting a man to do what you want him to do; binding the
group together; and, the process of influencing (Wiles and Bondi, 1993). Al-
though, clearly, no formal definition has been accepted, several critical aspects
of leadership have recently gained much consideration. With changes in the
work/educational environment, there has been a growing realization that a
successful organization must be lead by one who can choose "purposes and
visions based on key values of the work force and . . . can move followers to
higher degrees of consciousness, such as liberty, freedom, justice, and self-actu-
alization" (Bennis & Nanus, 1985).

Attributes like those listed above, and ones of similar ilk, are often referred
to as characteristics of "transformative leadership" (Burns, 1978). Transforma-
tive leadership has been differentiated from traditional leadership via several
of the following dichotomies: transformative leaders have a vision for the orga-
nization, while traditional leaders are focused on the "bottom line;" transfor-
mative leaders encourage and accept change, while traditional leaders embrace
the status quo; and, transformative leaders empower the employee, while the
traditional leader seeks to maintain power and control (Aburdene & Naisbitt,
1992).

Many of the characteristics attributed to the transformative leader are, like-
wise, characteristics commonly found in female executives (Rosener, 1990). As
stated by Rosener (1990): "women leaders made . . . reference to their efforts to
encourage participation and share power and information, two things that are
often associated with participative management" (p. 12). Rosener also found
that women leaders were succeeding in leading modern organizations because
of, not in spite of, characteristics generally considered to be feminine in nature
(1990). These "feminine characteristics" are also being touted in the educational
arena with similar vigor to that found in the business/industrial world. Studies

examining leadership styles in educational settings have found females to be cooperative, empathetic, and less controlling than their male counterparts (Loden, 1985); females were also viewed to be more caring, nurturing, and focused on relationships with people (Haring-Hidore, Freeman, Spann, & Wooten, 1990). These characteristics appear to support the movement from transactional to transformative leadership.

Another issue integral to changing leadership perspectives is the restructuring efforts in schools. As defined by Corbett (1990), restructuring is the making of major changes in a school's organizational structure in order to obtain different results. Possibly the most notable and powerful example of such restructuring can be found in the concept of site-based decision making. Harrison, Killion, and Mitchell (1989) have defined site-based decision making as a process that:

> . . . brings the responsibility for decisions as close as possible to the school . . . defining how school staffs can work collaboratively to make these decisions . . . creating ownership for those responsible for carrying out decisions by involving them directly in the decision-making process and by trusting their abilities and judgments . . . (p. 55).

Successful change like that described above requires new leadership behaviors. As Gibbs (1991) emphasizes, these new behaviors will include inviting participation, serving as a team member, and consistently encouraging bottom up change.

Principals for Our Changing Schools: Preparation and Certification (National Commission for the Principalship, 1990) was published in an attempt to redirect institutions toward such preparation of school administrators. This redirection was targeted toward the acceptance of these new paradigms for leadership behavior, as well as the establishment of new models for leadership preparation. As the National Commission for the Principalship forcefully stated: " . . . old scientific paradigms have become antiquated" (1990). In a companion document prepared by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration, Principals for Our Changing Schools: Knowledge and Skill Base (1993), concepts such as: collaboration, delegation, empowerment, role modeling, and networking were not only discussed but were included as critical elements of effective modern school leadership. Although debate concerning each of the aforementioned characteristics will continue well into the next century, it appears that the need for continued research into transformative or feminine leadership characteristics has been well established.

Methodology

The survey was conducted in the Region XVI Educational Service Area of the Texas Panhandle. The population sampled in the study included principals and assistant principals of elementary, middle/junior high and high schools throughout the region. Participation was voluntary and respondents were assured that their responses would be confidential and used for research purposes only. Demographic characteristics requested from the respondents included: gender, age, administrative position held, number of years in position, school level, and student population. On the survey, respondents were asked to respond to each of 33 statements in one of five categories: Strongly Disagree, Disagree, Uncertain, Agree, and Strongly Agree.

In December of 1994, 252 survey questionnaires were mailed along with a cover letter from both researchers. Respondents were furnished with a stamped, self-addressed envelope to return forms directly to the researchers. Within four weeks a total of 196 surveys were returned, yielding a response rate of 77.77 percent. One follow-up yielded an additional 8 responses for a grand total of 204 surveys returned, and a final response rate of 80.95 percent. Surveys were sent to 163 males of which 133 were returned yielding a total response rate of 81.59 percent. Surveys were sent to 89 females of which 71 were returned yielding a total response rate of 79.78 percent.

The four domains of leadership as outlined in Principals for Our Changing Schools: Knowledge and Skills Base (1993) published by the National Policy Board of Educational Administration were utilized as a base for the survey. Briefly, the domains can be identified as:

1. *Functional* — including leadership, information collection, problem analysis, judgment, organizational oversight, implementation, and delegation;

2. *Programmatic* — including instruction and learning environment, curriculum design, student guidance and development, staff development, measurement and evaluation, and resource allocation;

3. *Interpersonal* — including motivating others, interpersonal sensitivity, oral and nonverbal expression, and written knowledge;

4. *Contextual* — including philosophical and cultural values, legal and regulatory applications, policy and political influences, and public relations.

The survey results were divided into the four leadership domains and compared and contrasted to leadership styles and behaviors suggested in school reform literature and efforts. All questions on the survey fell into one of the four domains. The percent of responses by female and male school administrators to each of the statements were compared and contrasted to female and male leadership styles as summarized by Auberdeen and Naisbitt in Megatrends for Women (1992), and supported by a variety of leadership research literature. Each question was also correlated to a specific leadership style or behavior that is called for as essential to effective and successful practice in the arena of school reform. This final point of triangulation included available research on school reform and suggested leadership styles directed toward improved student achievement.

Findings
Functional

In the Functional domain, collaborative planning, flexibility, shared decision-making, and reflective practice are key elements of successful leadership. In this arena, 8.4 percent more female than male administrators strongly agreed that they seek opinions of others before making decisions, and 8.2 percent more females strongly agreed that they included others in the development of the campus mission. Both of these behaviors relate directly to collaborative planning. In the area of flexibility, 16.3 percent more females agreed or strongly agreed that it is not difficult for them to alter decisions once they are made. Shared decision-making also ranked high among women, as 16.3 percent more women than men strongly agreed that feedback is the most important factor in l decision-making. Women also utilize reflective practice but do not depend

upon and become routinized in their decision-making as 13.3 percent of women respondents strongly disagreed that their decisions become routine based on past knowledge and practice. In addition, 12.2 percent more females than males stated that empowerment does not hamper their decision making capacity.

Programmatic

When looking at instruction and learning, measurement and evaluation, and student guidance, the survey results leaned toward female administrators having those interests and behaviors, which have been identified in the litera-ture, to better serve students and improve academic achievement. Female ad-ministrators outranked male respondents by 20.7 percent in the strongly agree category stating that they make a point of learning and keeping updated on new procedures to enhance classroom instruction. Student achievement on tests was another area in which 15.0 percent more females than males strongly agreed that they examined test scores on an on-going basis. Finally, 10.2 percent more female than male administrators agreed or strongly agreed that they facilitated interprogram planning so that the work of counselors and teachers is comple-mentary.

Interpersonal

Brainstorming, questioning, listening, and consideration are all activities which motivate others and demonstrate personal sensitivity. In this category, 22.5 percent more female administrators strongly agreed that they use brain-storming to promote solutions to school problems. In addition, 14.0 percent also strongly agreed that effective questioning enhances their ability to successfully complete tasks. Interpersonal sensitivity is demonstrated more by female ad-ministrators, as 12.5 percent more females strongly agreed that they make time and opportunities to listen to others' personal concerns. In the areas of task and consideration, 10.6 percent more males strongly agreed that they give equal attention to task performance and consideration of faculty personal needs. In this category, 21.1 percent of female respondents, or 9.8 percent more female than male administrators were uncertain whether they gave equal attention to both task and consideration.

Contextual

Educational policy and political influences, public relations, and legal and regulatory applications form and support the bureaucratic foundation in which school systems are based. In a very interesting turn around from what is often stated in the literature, survey results showed that 10.9 percent more female administrators agreed or strongly agreed that the control of information is es-sential to successful school leadership. Women did state that their positions were more difficult to attain than male respondents. Males respondents agreed or strongly agreed by 14.9 percent that their present position was relatively easy to attain. Conversely, 19.7 percent more females disagreed or strongly disagreed on the ease of attainability of their present position. Women also disagreed or strongly disagreed by 8.2 percent more than male respondents that they were able to utilize memberships in various community organizations to enhance their personal image.

Conclusions

This study was conducted in an attempt to examine commonalities and differences between male and female administrators. Three significant seg-

ments of the professional literature were used in order to allow for such an examination. These segments included: transformative leadership, educational reform, and recommentations for the preparation of educational administrators. The survey instrument utilized was created through the compression of key elements from each of the aforementioned bodies of literature.

Survey findings strongly indicate that female administrators agree with leadership styles that include collaborative planning, flexibility, shared decision-making, and reflective practice. These behaviors are within the functional domain of leadership and are often referred to as characteristics of "transformative leadership" (Burns, 1978). These findings, likewise, support the contentions of the National Commission for the Principalship regarding skills possessed by effective principals. As stated in Principals for Our Changing Schools: "effective principals . . . cultivate strong interpersonal relationships . . . heighten motivation and mutual trust . . . recognize the value of recognition . . . and delegate authority to increase vitality" (1990).

Programmatic strengths of women, according to the survey responses, are evidenced in the areas of instruction and learning, guidance and counseling and measurement and evaluation. These strengths appear to correlate strongly with student related issues and the need to link improvement efforts to those educational issues most strongly related to students (Thurston, Clift, & Schacht, 1993). Issues of this nature become especially important when dealing with at-risk students. A review of the literature substantiates the need for principals to take a proactive role in areas such as instructional strategies related to student success, frequent analysis of student data, and the use of performance data to encourage and support effective instructional practices (Mendez-Morse, 1991).

Women administrators also show a strong preference for brainstorming, listening, questioning, and considering others' personal needs. These characteristics are frequently cited as critical interpersonal leadership characteristics (Thurston, Clift, & Schacht, 1993). Such characteristics have been found particularly crucial when developing collegial work environments — environments that recognize the importance of school culture and the ability of such culture to facilitate or impede change (Boyd, 1992).

Finally, in the contextual domain, women strongly agree that their positions were difficult to attain and admit that they do not utilize community membership(s) to enhance their image. In another component of this domain, it was interesting to note that more women than men considered the control of information essential to leadership. This is in direct opposition to the existing literature, which, up to this point, had listed such control as a predominately male leadership characteristic (Aburdene & Naisbitt, 1992; Rosener, 1990). Without direct interview data available, the authors of this work can offer only a conjecture regarding this finding. Such a conjecture might deal with the need for information ownership based on instructional improvement (i.e., test scores as a vehicle for the advancement of student learning) and not as a vehicle for employee domination. Further investigation regarding this contention should be initiated.

As a final dimension of this study, findings appear to indicate that male principals and assistant principals are moving away from the traditional trans-
ــ ⁺ᵗ¹onal leadership style. Certainly many extrapolations can be made from this

finding; however, the most prominant inference rests with the immense degree of inservice and preservice training that has illuminated the inappropriateness of the fit between traditional leadership styles and the dynamic nature of current school enviroments (Martin & Wilson, 1990). In keeping with this inappropriate fit metaphor, the findings of this study indicate that women also no longer feel pressured to administer via a traditional leadership model.

Findings of this study appear to strengthen the contention that leadership styles once exhibited primarily by females are now becoming the norm for all school leaders interested in creating educational environments capable of meeting the complex needs of modern society. Possibly the words of Lugg and Boyd (1993) best summarize the importance of this study:

> We need to restructure our schools following a "communitarian" rather than bureaucratic model . . . building strong collaboratives within schools . . . [creating] structures and processes that increase collegial interaction . . . While it is relatively easy to conjure up a vision of a school brimming over with caring adults . . . it is another matter to develop such an environment. For [proactive] administrators, building and maintaining a collegial atmosphere always remains "in process" (p. 256).

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Chapter 8

FEMALE PRINCIPALS: COMMUNICATORS OF QUALITY FOR THE 90'S AND BEYOND

Carolyn S. Carr

> *Language has been shown to play a major part in both the construction and transmission of all types of inequality.*

A CROSS the United States surveys repeatedly show that fewer women than men by far can be found in the role of school principal, regardless of the levels of schools examined. My study of such information in Texas recently revealed that less than one percent of the eleven hundred school districts could boast two or more female principals at all three levels of public school administration: elementary, middle, and high schools. Clearly more women can be found at the elementary level, but the discrepancy exists even there. The reasons behind this discrepant finding are elusive. When we consider issues such as gender equity and the shortage of school administrators in many communities, the importance of understanding and remedying this situation begins to be more clear.

Informal conversations on the issue of why more women are not selected as school principals, especially at the secondary levels, sometimes result in references to the 'less powerful images' of women when compared with men, and the importance of a 'strong person' in this key school position. At the secondary level this sentiment is especially common. A search of the literature reveals numerous studies which may add some clarity to this issue of opportunity for female administrators. The study to be described here explored and described the language and communication manifested in the micropolitical behavior of five female school principals in school settings. Focus on the actual communication behaviors of female administrators within their work settings has helped to reveal the micropolitical world within which female educators function. The focus on micropolitical behavior as expressed in language has revealed patterns and strategies which have led to success among these particular females in acquiring and maintaining leadership roles in education, specifically the principalship.

What the Literature Reveals

Communication skills have been recognized repeatedly as a critical element in the exercise of influence. Language expressing dominance and authority creates a very different persona from that evoked by the language of reinforcement and helping (Edelman, 1984). Available information about female school administrators is limited, and what does exist is often gathered through survey, creating a general picture rather than the sustained in-depth description developed between researcher and subject in qualitative research.

Numerous studies document the differences between men and women, and the dominance of men built into the very structure of society, including language and speech. Language has been shown to play a major part in both

the construction and transmission of all types of inequality. Thorne and Henley (1975) claim that language is a key element in the maintenance of the larger political-economic structure of society. This study is not meant to point out differences between men and women. Instead, it approaches observations of particular female principals from the point of view expressed by Deaux and Major (1990):

> The analysis of gender is ill served by a reliance on inflexible and often ephemeral conceptions of the nature of woman and man. Attention to actual behavior, in contrast, demands a model that recognizes variability and similarity — as well as stability and difference (p. 90).

Deaux and Major claim that behavior of women and men in a situation has depended upon the interplay of three elements: "the self-definitions and goals of each participant, the beliefs and expectations of the other and the context in which the interaction takes place" (p.97). Observed gender differences have been only one of many possible outcomes of interaction. Another has commonly been the utilization of power, which becomes an important element in this study. Feminists have argued that language is a symbolic system closely tied to a patriarchal social structure, and that 'theft of language' has been part of women's state of relative powerlessness (Daly, 1978; Rich, 1979; Spender, 1980).

Examples of such powerless language were described earlier by Lakoff (1975) and included the addition of 'tag questions' to statements (such as 'isn't it?'), use of weak expletives ('oh dear'), and 'fluffy' adjectives of approval ('divine') or disapproval ('horrid'). Neutral adjectives such as 'great' and 'terrific' were less common in female speech, as were expressions of humor and joking, or the use of colloquialisms. Lakoff's early work described women who employed hedges of all kinds ('kind of', 'just') and avoided expression of strong opinions. The effects of these and other usages described in Lakoff's later work (1990) have been to weaken female language and characterize it as uncertain, docile, trivial, of low status and power. Further, personalisms such as 'in my opinion; or 'I think' have conveyed self doubt (Fishman, 1978; Hoar, 1985; Kramerae, 1974; Sapiro, 1983; Zimmerman & West, 1975).

Other researchers added nonverbal cues and conversational inference to the communication act, signaling how semantic content was to be understood. Missed cues have led to misunderstanding and miscommunication (Coates, 1987; Dierks-Stewart, 1980; Gumperz, 1982; Mehrabian, 1981). Lakoff (1990) stressed the collaborative style of female conversation. Coates (1987) posited that women use questioning to continue conversation, whereas men use questioning to gain information.

Other nonverbal characteristics of women demonstrated in research through comparisons with men have been: preference for closer positioning during conversations and smaller personal space boundaries (Eakins & Eakins, 1978; Evans & Howard, 1973; Hall, 1966; Mehrabian, 1972), greater eye contact (Exline, 1963; Henley, 1977), more frequent smiling (Halberstadt, Hayes, & Pike, 1988), and more frequent touching (Dierks-Stewart, 1980; Henley, 1977). Speaking like men, or code-switching, has been one way women have tried to minimize their inequality in status, but this only placed them in a 'double bind' of being seen as having compromised their femininity.

Overview of the Study

Clearly much of the research cited above is dated. How do professional women of the 90's talk? The research questions of this study were: What are the verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors manifested by female school principals in their work related settings? What are the micropolitical strategies employed by female school principals in their verbal and nonverbal communications? What is the nature of micropolitical communication behaviors of female school principals? The research described below adds potentially important information to the available database by shedding some light on these topics.

At the outset of the study certain limitations must be noted, as with any qualitative study. Access to these subjects was obtained through the establishment of common ground in our professional lives. As researcher, I shared their profession as a school administrator, and our personal lives had many commonalities. We were all middle-aged and middle class. We all had at least two college degrees. All had been educators for more than a decade, and principals for more than one year in districts where they had been previously employed for several years. I shared Anglo ethnicity with three of the women; the other two were Hispanic. All but one of us were married and had children. In addition, we all shared a common interest in helping women gain entry to a male-dominated field.

The results of this study tell the 'stories' of five women; they are not necessarily generalizable to the larger population. The observed settings probably did not present a comprehensive picture of the communication patterns and contexts of all female school principals. The assumption was made at the outset that the observations and interviews accurately represented these principals' true beliefs and practices. The nature of the invasive observations through tape-recording and video-taping may have inhibited or changed the observed communications in some way. Through member-checks and on-going peer review during the course of the research, the effects of these possible limitations were hopefully minimized.

Methodology

The methodology of the study was the same for each of the five subjects. We established a schedule for observations which included activities and events common in the lives of school principals in addition to two full days of continuous observation. The events included a parent conference, a student conference, a teacher conference, a staff or departmental meeting, a community or PTA meeting and a faculty meeting. All observations were tape-recorded. The staff meeting and faculty meeting were also videotaped. For each principal there were a minimum of fifteen hours of tape recordings transcribed and two hours of video tapes analyzed to discover the findings reported here. Because of my initial finding that more females were employed as principals in elementary schools I included principals at all three levels: two elementary principals, one middle school principal, and two high school principals. The rationale was that I might observe how they functioned in similar or dissimilar ways, and thereby gain insight into the discrepant hiring practices mentioned earlier. I kept a log throughout the observations, making drawings of body positions or placement in rooms, and notes about events which the tape could not record. Additionally, after each observed event, short unstructured interviews with the subjects al-

lowed member checks of what I had seen to aide in interpretation. At the conclusion of the observation period with each subject a longer semi-structured interview focused on the personal history, values, and philosophy of each subject in order to develop a deeper understanding of behaviors and motivations. This also enabled me to compare observed behaviors with espoused beliefs.

Findings
Verbal Communication Patterns

At the conclusion of the study analysis of the data revealed some very interesting patterns among these five principals. Categories of verbal communication which emerged included skilled and persistent use of active listening techniques. The five women employed minimal responses such as 'um umm,' 'right,' 'okay,' 'yeah,' and 'uh huh' as prompts to encourage further communication by the speaker. The category of vocabulary included use of strongly positive words such as 'excellent,' 'super,' 'good,' 'great,' and 'wonderful.' Negative connotations or words were rare. The use of colloquialisms such as 'hard core,' 'class act,' 'squared away,' and 'down the road' were found only among the high school principals, but, curiously, not among the elementary or middle school principals. Qualifiers or 'hedges' such as 'kind of,' 'just,' 'well,' and 'I guess' were present, but occurred with widely varying frequencies among the five women. The most common finding in this category was the use of complimentary terms in reference to other persons.

Usage patterns varied among the subjects more than their vocabularies. The high school principals tended to speak in phrases rather than complete sentences, and to interrupt others frequently in supportive or overlapping conversation, behaviors more commonly associated with males (Tannen, 1994). Questioning was used powerfully and frequently by all the principals in order to elicit more information or encourage further discussion. This was interesting in light of Lakoff's (1975) research which found tag questions and interpreted them as signs of weakness. The principals used metaphors in their language to express their ideas. The fourth verbal category was the use of humor, common among these women in their verbal interchanges. Much laughter, even at themselves, was common throughout the observation periods with each principal.

Nonverbal Communication Categories

Five categories were observed in the nonverbal communications of these principals. In appearance the secondary principals tended to be more conservative and businesslike in dress. The elementary principals tended to dress less formally. For example, one wore walking shorts and a sweater to school on one occasion during the observation period. The other wore highly coordinated and brightly colored outfits on every day of the observation period.

The standing or seated positions in groups chosen by each principal represented power. In meetings they sat at or near the head of the table, and close to the room entrance. In faculty meetings all remained standing even when they were not presiding over the session. All used their hands actively and expansively in very expressive ways when speaking. Only infrequently were they observed to clasp their hands in their laps.

Facial expression was a category which revealed extensive eye contact as a common behavior, as well as head nodding in conjunction with conversation. Frequent smiling was also a shared behavior. Rather than a sign of submission

(Lakoff, 1975), these behaviors seemed to encourage conversation. Of the five principals, three wore reading glasses. In meetings these three commonly used their glasses to signal close attention to either a discussion topic or a speaker, either removing or putting them on in an apparently strategic fashion.

Body positioning was another category in which patterns were observed. The middle and high school principals tended to shift in their seats frequently, rather than sitting in one position. They used expansive arm positions, such as extending an arm across the back of their own chair or one next to them, rather than sitting in a traditionally feminine manner, with arms close to their sides in a closed body position (Mehrabian,1972). The elementary principals demonstrated the closed position predominately. Legs were frequently crossed at the knee by all five. They were also observed touching others on the shoulder and hugging students.

Micropolitical Strategies

These principals' behaviors frequently fell into proactive patterns which could be described as micropolitical strategies. Five of these strategies were identified as categories common to all the observed principals, and consisted of conscious behaviors calculated to obtain preferred outcomes. The strategy of organization was demonstrated by each of the principals through her consistent use of behaviors such as planning, note taking, time management, and staff preparation. When each principal left her office she invariably carried some type of notebook on which to make notes as she walked the halls. She would then record requests and problems of persons she encountered, as well as general maintenance items, or topics requiring some communication with faculty or staff. Each kept a desk calendar on which her daily agenda was written, and which she consulted frequently during the day. Each prepared agenda for meetings. Each met with her secretary in the mornings to prepare for the day and to check activities such as material being prepared for distribution.

A second strategy modeled by all five principals was the use of interpersonal influence. Each principal used the team approach in her management style, including persons in decisions which affected them or their work or to which they could make an important or informed contribution. All worked very closely with their assistant principals and delegated responsibility to them easily. Interestingly, all shared the frequently less appealing responsibilities related to the schools, such as time beyond the school day attending extracurricular activities. Each demonstrated a positive approach to situations and people with whom they came into contact, frequently using these contacts also as a networking opportunity related to the school, its activities or resources. Each principal demonstrated a strong sense of personal awareness, commenting frequently, without being asked by the researcher, on how and why they behaved in certain ways. Reflection on their own behaviors was a commonly observed pattern. Another common behavior was involvement on a very personal level with others, both faculty and students, when areas of concern arose. All were observed inquiring about family or personal issues which were not necessarily public knowledge.

Another representative strategy was negotiation. Each principal saw herself as a change agent in her school and acted frequently to model that behavior by initiating programs, counseling with teachers, and meeting with community representatives. Each acted as mediator in conflicts or disputed situations. All

65

acted to build the trust of others in not only herself, but also the school and district. All five of the principals participated actively and frequently in disciplinary actions with students and with faculty, when necessary. The fourth strategy is related to the third and represents environmental framing often associated with 'learning organizations' (Senge, 1990) and effective schools (Marshall, 1992b). Each principal used symbols, both in language such as metaphors, and in gift-giving, to express caring for others. One of the high school principals spoke consistently of her several assistant principals as 'the other principals,' demonstrating her team attitude of shared responsibility in a manner which the assistants greatly appreciated. The atmospheres of these five schools reflected a team spirit rather than a hierarchy, though the staffs demonstrated respect for the positional power of the principals. One telling remark by an athletic director about one of the high school principals showed this staff spirit by commenting that the entire faculty felt that this principal was "to die for!"

Finally, each of these principals was an active advocate for education. Each demonstrated an awareness of equity through attention to gender, ethnicity, and age issues. Each was an avowed and open advocate of children and their healthy development and achievement in school. All expressed commitment to the act of mentoring persons who were entering the educational profession. Two were currently serving as official mentors to university interns. All facilitated further professional development of some of their faculty members by scheduling to allow them to attend university classes or staff development opportunities.

Conclusions

In the final interviews with these five principals each was asked if she saw herself as 'powerful.' Interestingly, none would accept this as an accurate label. They did admit to having 'influence.' The former term was rejected because each felt it had negative connotations such as 'aggressive' and 'pushy,' whereas their own early familial socialization patterns had led to an aversion for such behaviors. In their professional lives, however, each admitted that 'assertiveness' was sometimes necessary to obtain her goals.

Another interesting parallel among these five female principals was their expressed concern for 'doing the right thing' as opposed to 'doing things right.' Each admitted spending extensive time at school beyond school hours, evenings and weekends, in order to accomplish the 'paper work' necessary. Each commented on the importance of family support which allowed this time commitment.

Ball (1987) writes of the "preferred view of professionalism" (p. 91), referring to just such behaviors and strategies as these five female principals exhibited. Many of these have long been considered examples of low personal power, typical of females. For these principals, however, they were highly effective micropolitical strategies. These strategies clearly enabled exchange and reciprocity in team work, mutual decision making, and collegiality (Blase, 1989; Blau, 1964; Hoyle, 1986). The stabilizing effects of such mutual exchange have long been reflected in organizational literature (Gouldner, 1960; Homans, 1961). The findings of this study reflect those of Marshall (1992a) in her research of atypical leaders, and her claim that with such "values guiding the flow of action, ⌐ools could be more human, fair, equitable places" (p.383).

Clearly, the findings of this study are not conclusive or generalizable due to limitations of sample and size. Further study and increased data related to practicing female principals is required for such application. There are, however, several reviews of literature on women in school leadership roles which echo these findings (Marshall, 1992a; Shakeshaft, 1987). These findings give possible direction or topics for future research by pointing to the effective practice of these principals:

— verbal and nonverbal language differing from the traditional stereotypic female practice;

— interpersonal relationship rather than dominance;

— promotion of the welfare of others rather than personal power;

— environmental framing and ceremony for mobilizing support and quieting opposition; and

— use of "persuasion, collaboration, consensus, and affiliation rather than confrontation, coercion, or threat" (Carr, 1995).

These same points are important for consideration by administrative preparation programs and by school boards intent upon hiring and developing effective administrators for schools of the 90's and beyond. The old stereotypes and assumptions about the behavior of women do not fit the professional images emerging from research such as that reviewed here. The importance of language, verbal and nonverbal; and the strategies of caring and collegiality demonstrated in this study raise the issue of including interpersonal communication skills as an essential part of the training of educational professionals. How ideas are expressed shapes how they are perceived (Pfeffer, 1992), and by implication, how the speaker is seen as well. This study revealed a new view of female principals, no longer the stereotypic subordinate or somehow 'deficient' school administrators, but strong and influential principals whose practice reflects clearly the behaviors associated with effective school leaders.

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68

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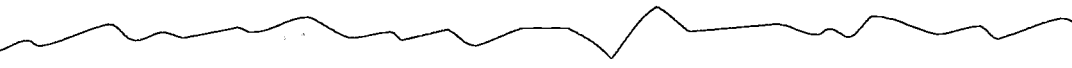
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WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Voices of Power

70

Chapter 9

WOMEN IN POWER:
LESSONS IN LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

Bonnie Braun

> *Given the historical placement of men in educational administrative positions, women would be wise to develop leadership skills that could give them an advantage in the competition for positions of power — positions where women can make a difference in the lives of students, their families, teachers and school staff.*

W HEN MEN AND WOMEN move from disciplinary specialties into educational administrative positions, few are trained in the skills necessary for successful administration of an educational institution. Fewer still are skilled as administrative leaders — people who go beyond managing to leading. With all the challenges facing educational systems today, the need for skilled administrative leaders is acute.

Given the historical placement of men in educational administrative positions, women would be wise to develop leadership skills that could give them an advantage in the competition for positions of power — positions where women can make a difference in the lives of students, their families, teachers and school staff — positions that can make a difference for our communities and our country.

To enhance their competitive position, women should develop their administrative leadership knowledge and skills in areas identified by administrators as key to success — understanding of public policy and politics, resource acquisition allocation and management, public relations and marketing, personnel, group leadership, diversity, change, futuring and communications.

Developing such skills can be done through self study. A number of self-help books and audio visuals exist. There are some existing programs designed to train women for administrative positions in higher education though few are devoted to elementary and secondary positions.

Women need to evaluate options for leadership development and consider the orientation of each. Many tend to be technique-oriented, i.e., using processes and techniques, without attention to the developmental nature of leadership. Steven Covey refers to this as "principle centered approach to leadership", which begins internally and moves to external manifestations. (Covey, 1988).

Learners who look internally and know themselves are empowered to draw on their strengths and weaknesses to determine which behavior is called for in each situation. If a woman wants to move into educational administrative leadership, she needs a range of skills which include self-analysis, contextual analysis, and administrative competencies, and such skills can be gained through developmentally-based learning.

There is some evidence that women may not get this kind of growth experience in male-oriented learning environments. One way to deal with this situation is for individual women to search on their own for developmental experiences to effectively prepare them for movement into these positions. Another way is for women to come together to discover, integrate, apply and learn the principles of appropriate administrative leadership.

In essence, this is precisely what home economists in higher education began to do in the mid-1980's. The profession, which is now known as Family and Consumer Sciences, was faced with the need to enhance the viability of its academic, outreach and research programs. It faced an inadequate supply of competent, committed, home economics-trained administrators ready to start their career in entry-level administrative positions and capable of managing and leading units in colleges and universities and related educational units. The profession also identified the existence of glass ceilings that were keeping professionals from moving out of home economics units and into central educational leadership roles. The shortage of skilled women and the institutional blockage put the profession at risk.

What follows is a brief description of how a group of women changed their situation. What they did, and the lessons they are learning, can be applied by other women in other educational systems.

Case Study: A Lesson in Leadership Development

In 1988, faced with the need to have a cadre of skilled educational administrative leaders, the Association of Administrators in Home Economics (AAHE) unanimously accepted the recommendation of the Long Range Planning Committee, chaired by the author, to develop a comprehensive plan for professional development of emerging and experienced administrators. Based on that response of its membership, the Board appointed a new Professional Development Committee (PDC), also chaired by the author, comprised of a diverse group of administrators who had participated in varying developmental experiences and who were committed to the need for professional development of themselves and others.

The PDC created a taxonomy of needed competencies as a first step in designing the curriculum. (Martin and Braun, 1992) It was validated by members of AAHE. Using the weighted validation, a five year curriculum for both emerging administrators and administrators with longevity was created.

Because AAHE was not the only professional association concerned with leadership development, it was joined in 1992 by three other organizations to pool intellect, energy and creativity as well as monetary resources to deliver the curriculum. A consortium, now know as the Family and Consumer Sciences Administrative Leadership Council, was ratified by the member organizations and is charged with delivery and financing of the curriculum.

In 1992, the first two-day workshop based on the curriculum was conducted for experienced administrators. Its focus was cultural diversity from an administrative viewpoint. Then, in 1993, a week-long curriculum was held for high school and college emerging administrators at the University of Reading, U.K. That workshop resulted from a presentation, in Germany, of the taxonomy of administrative competencies by the author's colleague. In 1994, a week's workshop for emerging administrators, including five from other countries, was held at the University of Georgia.

Resource persons for these workshops are current and retired practicing administrative leaders in the profession, as well as central administrators. For the former, the presentations become a professional development experience as well as offering the participants opportunities to interact with a diversity of administrative leaders. For the latter, the workshops become a means for learning more about the profession — a marketing tool for the administrative leaders who are preparing for positions.

The Council is now planning for future group and individualized learning experiences, including the potential for distance educational options. The Council, which received both individual and corporate funding for the workshops to date, is working on a resource development plan to underwrite future offerings.

A research base to undergird the workshops is being generated by the author and associates. They are collecting summative evaluation data and personal data from the participants. The personal data will further test the research of Cantor and Bernay that produced five secrets of power of women in positions of leadership. (Cantor & Bernay, 1992). The findings have implications for parents of girls, as well as women, who want to develop leadership skills.

The research team is also investigating learning styles and their possible impact on leadership ability. In addition, an analysis is in progress which will compare Myers-Briggs Indicators of workshop participants to national and international samples of male and female educators and administrators.

The research base also includes evaluation data. Information collected to date supports the conclusion that a developmentally-appropriate administrative leadership learning experience for women has the following characteristics:

1) Conducted using interactive style (participants engage in dialogue, discussion and reflection).
2) Centered on principles that could be applied over time in many settings.
3) Focused on individuals.
4) Based on research, supplemented with personal experience and perspective.
5) Conducted using a variety of learning methodologies to account for differences in learning styles.
6) Evaluated with a variety of tools allowing participants multiple means of feedback.

Participants in the workshops held at the University of Reading and the University of Georgia rated each characteristic and the overall workshop using a 10 point scale. For the UK, the overall score was 9.1; for the UG, 8.9. The high ratings are significant in light of the research of Porter and McKibben who reported that the average rating of leadership development programs they studied was 6 on a 10 point scale. (Porter & McKibben, 1988).

Based on the Council's experience in designing and delivering developmental leadership programs, members believe they are making a difference for women emerging in positions of educational leadership. They are also encouraged by the placement of colleagues in key positions, including the recent announcement that the president of the American Association of Family and Consumer Sciences, and a resource person for the 1994 workshop, has been named the new Provost of Virginia Tech — its first female Chief Academic Officer.

Closing Challenge

If one group of determined female, educational administrative leaders can band together to design, deliver, and fund developmentally appropriate administrative leadership programs, others can as well. The lessons they are learning and the results of their efforts can be broadly applied to women aspiring to educational administrative leadership positions in public schools, as well as higher education. Indeed, women can learn to lead. The future of education may just depend on our will to do so.

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Chapter 10

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:
THE WINTER AND THE WARM

Carole Funk

> *Because women have become such a vital*
> *part of the administrative team, . . . the rules*
> *have changed.*

W OMEN in educational leadership positions, in spite of their increasing numbers in the field, continue to face unique problems that result largely from their entry into a male-oriented culture with games and rules that they sometimes find bewildering and ever changing. Although the "leadership advantage" attributed to women leaders by Helgesen (1990) has resulted in more acceptance of their roles, they still must deal with many disadvantages caused by the negative views of female administrators held by male peers, parents, and employees of both sexes (Edson, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989). There is evidence, however, that as more women occupy administrative roles in education, many are beginning to report that gender is no longer a major problem in their jobs or a major source of job dissatisfaction (Funk, 1994).

The advantages and disadvantages, the "Winter and the Warm," experienced by women in leadership positions in public education were explored through an analysis of their responses to personal interviews conducted by Texas Woman's University graduate students with 57 female administrators in the Texas Metroplex public schools. The results of the content analysis of the interview data revealed the negative and positive aspects of their jobs that give evidence of the job satisfaction and job dissatisfaction factors for these women executives.

The Winter: Job Dissatisfiers
Negative Aspects for Female Administrators

Although a surprising number of female administrators stated that there were no negative aspects specific to gender (the most frequent response), nearly as many women noted that many problems that they faced were related to their sex. The most frequently mentioned problem areas were:
- Having to "prove themselves" in the workplace because of their gender
- Balancing home life with career
- Dealing with the "good ol' boy system"
- Having inequitable role expectations (higher for female administrators)
- Being expected to play the "superwoman" role

In their responses, one administrator reported that "not being taken seriously" was a continuing source of frustration; others felt that "we are not as respected as we should be." As one female principal noted:

The most negative aspect is having my faculty and staff believe I am not capable of handling my position just because I am a woman. Some people just cannot accept a woman as an administrator; they still see administration as a male-dominated field. I proved time and time again not only am I capable of handling my position but am also capable of any position bestowed on me.

Other comments revealed problems with: "fathers from different cultures who do not consider females capable of performing non-domestic functions;" "expectations that I can be the secretary, nurse, etc. as well as an administrator;" "not having a 'wife';" and "having my family suffer because . . . there's not much time off."

Stressors for Female School Leaders

A second aspect of the "Winter" for female school executives was revealed in their responses to questions regarding the most stress-producing factors in their professional lives that included (in order of frequency):

- Constant demands on their time
- Heavy workload
- Supervision and evaluation of personnel
- Problems with communication
- Bureaucratic problems with central office

The "time crunch" and "heavy workload" stresses were aptly described by one principal who said:

It's the same being a female as it is for a male — 10 million things coming down on you! Every day my mail comes from the "ad" building, and it's about two inches thick, and a lot of that has a time limit on it. I've got to respond immediately. We're into site-based decision making, and not only do I have to do my campus, but now I'm responsible for the district training. My assistant and I together have to do 147 observations. I've got some brand new teachers out there, and I have not been able to even darken their doors. I just cannot get it all done in one day!

Others commented that "too much time is devoted to paperwork and too little time is left to be a real instructional leader;" "constant interruptions prevent me from completing my 'to do' list;" "last minute planning and changes from central administration can wreck havoc in plans and agendas"; and "supervising poor or mediocre employees and dealing with irate parents is stressful and difficult."

Obstacles and Pitfalls

Many women school executives, especially those working in districts with few female administrators, report that their gender was the number one obstacle in their career paths. The obstacles most often reported include:

- "Simply being a female"
- Ethnicity (being a minority and not being a minority)
- Age (too young or too old)
- Lack of family support
- Guilt over time away from home/family

Other obstacles included too little time (tight schedules, too many roles), politics, insecurity, and too many years in the classroom. Comments related to discrimination based on gender included the following:

A "small town mentality" makes people feel that a woman can't possibly handle a million dollar budget — athletics, coaches, etc.

I was the only woman principal in my cluster, and it was really difficult for the "good ol' boys" to recognize me as an equal.

I do think it would have been easier if I had been a male. I do believe that women need to exceed males in knowledge, skills, and experience in order to be hired over a man.

Major pitfalls that these female school administrators identified and advised their peers or aspiring female leaders to avoid at all costs if they are to be successful in the administrative careers were:
- Falling into traditional female stereotypes
- Being unfair, partial, and inconsistent
- Having "romantic involvements" in the workplace
- Behaving in an unprofessional manner
- Allowing others to take advantage of you
- Having low self-confidence

According to these female leaders, the stereotypes that should not be reinforced by women in administration are being "too": soft, babyish, feminine, weak, emotional, sensitive, "cheerleader-y;" acting like a shrinking violet or good ol' girl; and whining, nit-picking, complaining constantly, or being indecisive. Related comments regarding pitfalls include:

Whining is a no-no! Men can get together with all this comradeship and the "ain't it awful's" and the "poor me's." Women cannot do this — not even among themselves.

Most adults appreciate someone who is enthusiastic, but they are frequently turned off by female administrators who are so "gung ho" that they are overbearing.

Unprofessional behavior is never accepted in a woman when many times men can get by with it. Examples are telling dirty jokes, not dressing professionally, and any questionable relations with the opposite sex.

The Warm: Job Satisfiers
Positive Aspects of Female Leadership

Many women in this study reported that there were no negative aspects of their jobs that were specific to gender and indicated that they felt that both men and women administrators have the same types of problems. As one respondent indicated, "It's the same for a female in administration as it is for a male." Another indicated that she had experienced no problems because "our district has an unusually high percentage of women in administrative positions." Other related comments included:

Nothing that is negative is specific to being a female administrator, just being an administrator! Paperwork!!! Having to call someone in because something is going wrong or teachers are having problems.

My problems, trying to juggle many things at once, being away for numerous meetings, trying to change to innovative strategies schoolwide, are not typical of women only! All administrators face these same problems.

Sources of Job Satisfaction
The greatest sources of job satisfaction for female school administrators that provide them with motivation in their careers include:
- Achievement and success of students and teachers
- Working with and helping others
- Personal success (making a difference)
- Successful task completion

Other satisfiers include the development of successful programs ("an instructional plan that actually works"), relationships between and among these administrators and their employees, teachers, students and parents; recognition of their accomplishments ("the pats on the back I get from my employees"), and improved morale of teachers and staff. Other comments related to sources of satisfaction are:

The achievement and success of students, as well as progress in the school overall, give me my greatest satisfaction as a principal.

My greatest satisfaction in my job is knowing that perhaps I've made a difference in the lives of some of the children I serve.

Gender-Free Leadership
Over three-fourths of these women stated that women did not have to take on the characteristics of male administrators in order to be successful in their leadership roles. They agreed that "good leadership is gender-free" and that "characteristics of successful administrators are not gender related." Related comments are:

It's not a difference between men and women; it's a difference between being a good leader and not being a good leader, and that's dependent upon other qualities than male characteristics.

I feel that all administrators need to be good listeners, problem solvers, motivators, managers, and instructional leaders.

We can be tough without being callous. Consistency, ability and knowledge are important characteristics for either sex.

I do not have to play like a man, be like a man, or look like a man, but you do have to be tough like a man and go in there and do it the same

way a man would do it — the same touch, direct lingo, firmness — and you can do that without losing femininity.

Responses to the questions included advice to other female administrators presented in order of frequency: be yourself; be nurturing, compassionate, supportive, sensitive, caring, and humanistic; be tough, strong, and firm; be honest and open, and be more assertive. In relation to this advice, comments included:
You have to establish your own identity, show your own values and must not be confrontive or abrasive to prove yourself. I do not try to be the manly, tough person. Some men resent it when women try to be more "male." I am who I am! Genuineness and credibility cannot be an act.

Absolutely not!! The most successful people I know within education are females. The perspective of a female is most effective in dealing with school-related issues.

Another gender-related question asked of the respondents allowed them to describe characteristics that they, as female leaders, must have that males in their positions do not have to possess. These women stated most frequently that both males and females needed the same characteristics. A smaller number who disagreed mentioned most frequently: compassion, empathy, patience, self-control/calmness, and being assertive. The following comments note agreement and disagreement:
There are no male characteristics that females "have to" possess, but I believe their enhanced creativity and sensitivity is beneficial.

More of everything? Truthfully, this is not a real problem in either my current or former position.

I have to be calmer — can't show the anger because it's viewed as "irrational." The same behavior would be viewed as assertive in a male.

Women have to be willing to do more of their own work; men get other people to do the majority of their work — it's a strange sort of delegation. Women take ownership in their work and do it; men have other people do their work and take ownership of the results.

Enormous patience — a man can be decisive, forceful, and quick to decide. A woman must be more patient and investigative. Mistakes are not looked upon as easily for women as for men. When a man makes a mistake, they say he will do better next time. When a woman makes a mistake, that wouldn't have happened if she were a man. A man who loses his temper is justified by the situation. A woman who loses her temper is a "bitch."

When answering a question about how they learned to play the game by ---n's rules or if they played by a different set of rules, the most frequent

response was "I play by my own rules" by maintaining my own values. integrity, and principles, being honest, professional, acting appropriately, being a team player, and being fair, open and objective.

Fewer women stated that they learned the rules and how to work within the existing system, while an almost equal number said they do a "little of both" or modify the system. A small but adamant group of women stated that they didn't play by men's rules at any time. The voices of the women describe their feelings on this issue:

> I do not play by a separate set of rules. I am confident that I can do a good job, and I try to let my school and my job performance reflect that. If I have to be expressive and bold, I will!

> I played by a different set of rules. I got my job through networking and took my old principal's position. He didn't want someone who would play the game by men's rules. I attached myself to a rising star.

> I am still learning what the rules are!

> Because women have become such a vital part of the administrative team, I think the rules have changed!

Summary and Conclusions

1. While there are no sources of gender-related job dissatisfaction for many Metroplex female school leaders, others felt that being female was an important negative factor in their administrative roles. The number of female administrators in the school districts in which these women work seem to be a factor in their role acceptance by peers, faculty, staff, and parents.

2. The greatest sources of job satisfaction for these female executives was helping others to succeed and to achieve their maximum potential. Personal achievement (intrinsic satisfaction) and positive interrelationships in the workplace were also important satisfiers.

3. Lack of time and extremely heavy workloads were the major stressors for Metroplex female administrators. Resulting workloads are exacerbated by constant interruptions at work, unreasonable deadlines, bureaucratic red tape, and endless meetings.

4. Many women school administrators feel no gender-related obstacles in achieving positions in administration; however, almost as many stated that problems related to their simply being female were the major obstacles they had to overcome.

5. Female administrators feel that they do not have to assume male characteristics in order to be successful in their roles. Most believe that the characteristics of a successful leader are gender-free.

6. Most women leaders "play the administrative" game by their own rules; however, many learn to work within and modify the existing system.

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81

Chapter 11

CHALLENGES FOR WOMEN OF COLOR IN HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Brenda Sanders Dédé
Lillian B. Poats

Women of color face special obstacles in achieving success and equity. They are victims of both racial and sex discrimination.

WOMEN make up more than one-half of the workforce in the United States. In 1985, only about 35% of a total 1,243,374 full time executives, managers, or administrators in higher education institutions were women, of these women administrators, 86% were white, non-Hispanic; 10% were black, non-Hispanic; 2% were Hispanic; 2% were Asian/Pacific Islander; and less than 1% were American Indian (Touchton, 1991). It can be determined from these statistics that the plight of minority women is even greater in the area of management and decision making positions. There are many instances where this can be documented, however we cite here the breakdown of the attendance at a meeting of the Operating Council of a consortium group several years ago in a large southern state. The 15 persons present at the meeting included 11 men and six women. Of the six women, one was a minority and one was the secretary/recorder. The one minority woman present at this particular meeting was only an observer and could not actively participate in the discussions nor could she vote on any of the issues presented. This is a clear indication of the lack of minority women in decision making positions. In 1994 numbers have increased but the male representation on the Council is still greater than the female representation.

Another blatant act committed against women is the act of paying women less money to do the same job as their male counterparts while both possess the same educational background and qualifications. In a Houston Post article published in November of 1991, it was stated, "Women with four years of college earn roughly the same salary as men with only a high-school diploma, ... at every education level, women make less money than men with the same amount of schooling." According to the Houston Post article, "The pay gap reflects lower salaries paid in fields traditionally dominated by women and the difficulty women have breaking through the so called 'glass ceiling' to higher paying positions." Further, it has been reported in the State of Florida that few Blacks and women are receiving tenure at Florida's nine public Universities. White males continue to dominate those seeking tenure (Cox, Matthews, & Associates, 1992). Women are making progress but the structure of employment in higher education is highly resistant to change. Women, however, continue to dominate at the directorship level, a supportive staff position outside of the policy making academic hierarchy.

As long as men dominate the administrative hierarchy, flexible promotions are o.k. at a lower level (Twal, 1992). Women of color face special obstacles in achieving success and equity. They are victims of both racial and sex discrimi-

nation (Carter, 1988). In the male dominated academic administration arena, women and support staff have a great value but no base of true academic power (Cullivan, 1990). This phenomenon can be viewed regardless of the type of institution. A review of the administrative staffs in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) reveals that the majority of the top level administrative positions are held by men; while women are relegated to middle management positions. It appears that the impact of such prejudicial behavior may be minimized by the ties of racial identification.

Major changes in the workforce are being predicted by economists, sociologists, and researchers. These changes and the gradual increase of the number of women in administrative positions in higher education can be attributed to the development of more egalitarian administrations and the decline of male domination in academia (Wilson, 1990). The impact of these anticipated changes will vary but are expected to be significant.

An agenda is needed to assess the impact of these changes on women in the workforce. There is a need to review strategies to provide women with the preparation and education to seek jobs that enable them to advance to self sufficiency and ensure that all citizens of America are working to secure the communities position in this competitive world economy.

The study was conducted to determine factors that contribute to the problem of the small number of females advancing to administrative/management positions on the campus of a Historically Black University in the southwest United States. The researchers looked at self perception of these factors by reviewing longevity, promotion patterns, educational background, and mentoring. And, while mentoring was not specifically mentioned in the questionnaire, it was addressed in the open ended questions.

One might assume that the environment at Historically Black Colleges or Universities (HBCUs) might be inclusive such that it would negate the need to embark upon research of this nature; particularly in light of the fact that HBCU's were born of exclusion. Aptheker (1989), describes the women's voice as such:

"Women have a distinct way of seeing and interpreting the world. This is not to say that all women have the same consciousness or share the same beliefs. It is to say that women of a particular culture or group have a consciousness, a way of seeing, which is common to themselves as women in that it is distinct from the way the men of their culture or group see things." This differing perspective provides the rationale for such research. Ferguson (1984), suggests that "present day organizations have been found to discriminate, devalue characteristics and behaviors stereotypically attributed to females, and perpetuate inequality." Institutions of higher education are no different from the organizations to which he refers; therefore, continuous review is imperative.

Methodology

Texas Southern University (TSU) is a state-supported institution with an enrollment of 10,800 located in an urban metropolitan city. TSU offers degrees that include the bachelors, Masters, Pharm.D., Ed.D., J.D., and Ph.D. The workforce at TSU is historically African American. In Fall 1993 the employee population was 1,062 FTE of which 51% was female.

An instrument containing 22 questions — closed and open ended — developed by the researchers was distributed to all female employees at the Univer-

sity. When the questionnaire was distributed, it was given to all categories of female employees — classified and nonclassified. Some of the specific positions receiving the questionnaire were Associate Vice President, Academic Dean, Secretary, Clerk, Patrolwoman, and Custodian, as well as females holding faculty ranks.

Analysis

Twelve percent (12%) of the respondents reported that their age was between 21 and 30 years of age while twenty-eight percent (28%) reported that their age was between 31 and 40. The largest group of respondents fell between the ages of 41 and 50 with thirty-seven percent (37%) indicating that their age fell in this category. On the other hand, seventeen percent (17%) indicated that their age was between 51 and 60; while only seven percent (7%) indicated that their age was between 61 and 70.

Respondents were asked to indicate the job title which they held. Responses were varied. The following categories along with the percentages of respondents were listed: Secretary (5%), Clerk (7%), Administrative Assistant (13%), Instructor (7%), Assistant Professor (13%), Associate Professor (9%), Professor (11%), Associate Administrator (2%), Administrator (18%), Manager (5%), Machine Operator (4%), Security (7%).

A review of the respondents also indicated that forty percent (40%) held faculty positions; thirty-six percent (36%) held staff positions; and twenty-five percent (25%) held administrative positions at the university. The average number of years of experience in the current position was 6.12 years.

A total of sixty-six percent (66%) of the respondents felt that gender was not important in achieving the position that they currently hold, while thirty-four percent (34%) felt it was important. Additionally, fifty-five percent (55%) of the respondents felt that gender was of no significance in their current position; while forty-five percent (45%) felt it was either an asset or disadvantage. Respondents were relatively evenly divided with twenty-five percent (25%) indicating gender was an asset and twenty percent (20%) indicating that gender was a disadvantage.

Individuals were then asked to indicate whether they had encountered certain behaviors in the workplace. These included having promotion/advancements stalled or denied because of their gender; patronizing treatment by male colleagues; exclusion from informal discussions because of their gender; resentment of their leadership role by male and female subordinates. In general female employees in this study felt that they had not encountered sexism in the promotion/advancement system (53%). Forty-eight percent (48%) felt they had encountered sexism occasionally or frequently. Some degree of patronizing treatment by male colleagues was reported with seventy-two percent (72%) indicating the presence of this behavior occasionally or frequently. Only twenty-eight percent (28%) indicated that they had not encountered patronizing treatment by male colleagues. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the female employees indicated that they had experienced failure to be included by male colleagues in appropriate informal discussions while forty-seven percent (47%) indicated they had not experienced exclusionary behavior.

Questions relating to resentment of their leadership role by male and female ubordinates were also included. Fifty-one percent (51%) of the female employ-

ees responding to the survey indicated that they had experienced resentment of their leadership role by male subordinates; while sixty-seven percent (67%) indicated they had experienced resentment of their leadership role by female subordinates. On the other hand, forty-nine percent (49%) indicated they had not experienced resentment by males while thirty-three percent (33%) indicated they had not experienced resentment by females .

Some interesting comments regarding the most dissatisfying aspects of their current position included comments on low salary; inequity in pay for female dominated positions; and one individual specifically identified sexism as a major problem in job dissatisfaction.

Of particular interest was the fact that among the individuals in the faculty ranks who have attained tenure ninety percent (90%) indicated that they did obtain tenure on time according to University guidelines. This was of special note in light of the concern for equal treatment in the tenure process in higher education.

When asked to rate their job satisfaction, sixty-seven percent (67%) of the female employees indicated some degree of satisfaction with their position while thirty-four percent (34%) were either ambivalent or dissatisfied.

Summary
The disturbing issue of this research is that it might be used to say to the public that "all is well" and that there is really no need for gender equity to be a major concern at the institutional level. The authors caution against this posture, however. Calvert and Ramsey (1993), cite the tendency for women not to "rock the boat" in order to be accepted by the mainstream and the need to avoid being perceived as radical as we function within the workplace as a major issue. The resulting effect is that females oftentimes attempt to function quietly within the system rather than question it. This same phenomenon can often be witnessed in the functioning of other minority groups within the larger system.

It has also been suggested that the male model assumptions are so deeply entrenched in American society that there is a lack of consciousness on the part of outsiders. In the case of higher education "women" may be regarded as the "outsiders." Within the framework of the Historically Black College and University this sense of being an "outsider" may be minimized because of the racial identification. Schaef (1981), likens it to pollution as he suggests that the ability to identify pollution is jeopardized until the individual is removed from the environment and experiences non-pollution. This phenomenon may very well form the basis of research findings which suggest that there are no differences between males and females in the workplace.

The focus of research should not be on perceptions because of their clouded facade. It becomes imperative that we look at objective numbers (salary figures for comparable positions, numbers of individuals in certain positions, etc.) if we expect to impact gender equity. The review of objective measures suggests that women face the same challenges in Historically Black Colleges. They are found in larger numbers in middle management positions with lower salaries. Even though the perception of the magnitude differences may be less, the challenge remains — to achieve equity in the academic environment.

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Chapter 12

FEMALE AND MALE ADMINISTRATORS' PERCEPTIONS OF PARENT INVOLVEMENT: DO THEY DIFFER?

Trudy Campbell

> *Regardless of the gender of the administrator, location of the school, or the grade levels of the building, to enhance the quality of parent involvement in schools principals must begin to reflect on their beliefs and ask how they might be affecting practice.*

A RECENT TELEVISION PROGRAM, "Learning in America: Schools That Work" (McNeil-Lehrer & GWETA, 1990), identified several characteristics which were common to schools where children really did learn. In each school, dramatic changes in behavior and test scores were attributed to the collaboration of teachers, a strong belief in schools as necessary to a democracy, independence from local districts, a commitment to children, and of most importance to this study . . . principals who shared authority and parents who were involved.

Although many criticize the effective schools research literature for its superficial treatment of parental involvement (Comer, Haynes, Hamilton-Lee, 1987-88), there are studies which identify key elements in successful (elementary) schools related to parents (Willis, 1987). These elements include: a) capturing the interest of the parents and others in the community; b) establishing and maintaining an expectation of shared responsibility between parent, community, and school for students' education; c) drawing parents into the life of the school; and, d) recognizing and rewarding parents for their attention, participation, and support.

This research report focuses on perceptions of parents' involvement in the school system as reported by public school principals. Through the use of semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, emergent issues related to parent involvement are identified and their implications for improving administrative practices are discussed.

Conceptual Base

The conceptual base for investigating principals from the perspective of the participant, is one that recognizes the existence and application of mental frameworks (Goffman, 1974) for the interpretation of daily events. The formation of these frameworks is a function of knowledge acquisition and culture and their use is linked to behavior (Charon, 1979; Goodenough, 1957; Spradley, 1972). While the frameworks held by individuals are unique, there are also recurring patterns where individuals come to expect certain behavior on the basis of these recurring patterns, accepted rules, or standards. In this study, members (principals) of the same culture (educational administration) are being examined to determine patterns or shared rules (perceptions of parent involvement) which may be affecting practice.

Methods

Twenty-nine semi-structured interviews of public school principals were conducted in several West Texas school districts over a period of one year. Table 1 describes the characteristics of the principals interviewed and code numbers (used for citations in the findings).

TABLE 1
Characteristics of Principals

Level	Code	Gender	Community Size*
K-12	P1	M	S
	P2	M	S
H. S.	P3	M	L
	P4	M	L
	P5	M	S
	P6	M	S
	P7	M	S
J. H.	P8	M	S
	P9	M	S
	P1O**	F	S
	P11	M	S
	P12	M	L
Elementary	P14	M	L
	P15	M	S
	P16	F	L
	P17	F	L
	P18	F	L
	P19	F	L
	P20	F	S
	P21	F	S
	P22	M	S
	P23	M	S
	P24	M	S
	P25	M	S
	P26	M	S
	P27	M	S
	P28	M	S
	P29	M	S

*Small (S) communities are those with only one high school and a population less than 25,000. Large (L) communities have more than one high school.
**This middle school contained only the sixth grade.

During these interviews, the principals were asked to discuss the topics of typical duties they performed on the job, what types of problems they encountered on the job, reasons for entering and staying in their profession, and what roles they played for the key participants. Only the topic of role relationships (parents and their involvement in schools) is being reported here.

The analysis format is one discussed by Taylor and Bogdan (1984) and involved three distinct phases: a) an ongoing discovery phase; b) coding the data 1d refining one's understanding of the subject matter; and, c) discounting data

or understanding the data in the context in which it was collected. Transcripts of the taped interviews were coded by topic area and then placed in synthesized forms (using the language of the principal) in matrices to examine emergent themes.

Given the qualitative research design of this study, certain limitations for interpretation and application of the results must be considered. For example, the administrators were selected (29) using purposeful sampling to reflect the range of school characteristics. There is no assertion made that the findings are generalizable in the traditional quantitative sense. The findings do report patterns of beliefs exhibited by this group of administrators. Finally, it is also recognized that this study focuses only on the belief systems of the principals. Clearly, a similar study of the parents' perceptions should be considered in future research efforts.

Findings
Differences Related to Gender

Although there was no attempt to randomize selection of the principals to be interviewed, the total group replicated current patterns of representation with respect to gender (with the highest percentage employed in elementary settings). Therefore, the differences in responses according to gender of the administrator applied only to the elementary level.

Female elementary principals differed most notably in their perceptions of their role in providing special services to the parents and children. Only one male elementary principal noted his role as a human resource and another commented the special services were a result of state and federal mandates (rather than by choice). Women commented on providing food, clothing, counseling, and special classes for parents.

> For instance, today our parent liaison and I are going to get clothes for some of our students. We make sure they have food and we try to see to it that they get the proper nutrition as much as possible.

> As far as parents, sometimes I serve as counselor, resource person when they need to know some places to get information that would be helpful to them in their personal lives.

In addition to women reporting their role in providing special services to parents and children, women differed in that they were much less likely to report the need to improve parent participation (0% of the females, 30% of the males);

> We don't really have that many organized activities for parents). the negative experiences of the parents

> Elementary female principals also were less likely to report the negative experiences

parents may have had as children in schools and the lack of support or challenge to authority these experiences may have caused (33% of the females, 60% of the males).

Parents usually come in when they feel like their child has been wronged. And we don't have the automatic support that was prevalent in schools 20, 25 years ago. Finally, women administrators in elementary schools were not as likely to verbalize the belief that their school maintained a very positive relationship with parents (33% of the females, 70% of the males).

We sent out a survey to every parent in the school asking them to do a report card type thing on us, and we were very successful. We got good marks.

Differences Related to Location and Building Level

Although analysis by gender illustrates a number of differences between between males and females at the elementary level, the location of the schools also accounted for some variance in the responses. Principals of schools located in small communities discussed more frequently and in more detail family and home conditions.

I visited yesterday with a guardian whose children were taken forcefully from her home. You deal with parents that deal with abuse.

I've only had one in the last several years that expects you to go get the kids in the morning when it's wet and muddy and bring them home that evening when the buses can't do the dirt roads.

Finally, when the data were analyzed with respect to grade level, three differences in responses were noted. First, junior high/middle school principals were the only ones to discuss the need to follow the chain of command when dealing with problems.

We use the chain of command here.

If a parent comes to me before speaking with a teacher, my recommendation is that they talk with a teacher.

The other difference between responses according to grade level concerns elementary principals. The majority of elementary principals repeatedly stressed the importance of communication with parents.

We encourage good communication between the parents and teacher and also between the parents and the office. We don't have a local newspaper, so our "Friday Notes" has become the local newspaper . . . we do everything from give kittens away to sell refrigerators.

Perceptions Shared By All Groups

While gender plays a significant role in the perspectives of the administrators (with minor differences based on location and level of the school), several themes emerged from the analysis of the entire group of principals interviewed.

First, principals generally view themselves and their schools as having good, caring relationships with the parents.

> It's a healthy relationship with the parents coexisting with the teacher or the principal. We've had real good attendance from our parents. Last year, at the end of the year, we sent out a survey to every parent in the school asking them to do a report card-type thing on us, and we were very successful. By and large, we got good marks.

> Ninety-eight percent of the parents are cooperative. If you are having problems with the parents then you need to go back and evaluate yourself to see what you're doing.

Second, even though principals perceive that they have good relationships with parents they also note that the level of involvement is not what they would like it to be. It is characteristically a small, dedicated number who are active in the Parent-Teacher Association/Organization or those who act as volunteers in the classroom.

> I wish that every parent could be an involved parent.

> I also work with the PTA. These are parents who truly want to improve the school. However, there are not enough of them.

> I think that parents a lot of time don't know how to get involved.

A third common theme among principals is the conflict between the "ideal" reason for interaction and what "really" happens most of the time. A large number of principals called attention to the occurrence of negative interactions before or to the exclusion of any type of positive conversations.

> Then there is another group of people who call only as a last resort and they call out of desperation.

> I wish that I could first come into contact with them due to good reasons.

> Parents usually come in when they feel like their child has been wronged. Parents automatically assume that someone at school is wrong if their children go home upset.

The fourth theme consistent across groups involves expectations to act as a communicator. Most agree that communication (problem-solving, providing feedback or information on student progress, public relations, and being there to listen) is a key function of the administrator. In fact, listening appears to be the main strategy for problem-solving.

> I feel like it is my responsibility to listen to what they have to say. That doesn't mean that anything really needs to be done, they need comforted.

We never will refuse to listen to a parent. Sometimes we don't always agree with everything they say, but you know, we want to listen to them and take their suggestions.

If we can do something to make them and their child happy that's fine, on the other hand, I don't run the school.

Implications

The analysis across groups indicated very strong similarities in responses with respect to perceived positive relationships, desire for more involvement, motive for interactions, and expectations to be a communicator. These consistent themes are certainly supportive of the current literature citing successful schools.

Assuming that one's perceptions (mental framework) are linked to behavior, findings from this study have implications for amending current administrative practices. Regardless of the gender of the administrator, location of the school, or the grade levels of the building, to enhance the quality of parent involvement in schools principals must begin to reflect on their beliefs and ask how they might be affecting practice. Given the tendency to report positive relationships with parents, administrators should ask: How do I know this is an accurate perception? Is this perception true for all groups of parents? For principals who believe parent involvement is still at a superficial level (volunteers, pep assemblies) questions should include: What kind of involvement is most beneficial to the students? What kind of involvement is valued by parents? When principals perceive that parents are primarily involved in schools only when there is a problem, ask: Am I overlooking other forms of involvement because problems require more energy or time and occur in emotionally charged situations? What can I do to establish positive interactions with parents before a major problem occurs? Finally, given the belief that communication is a key function of an administrator, ask: What are my strengths and weaknesses in communicating with parents? What will I do to improve my skills?

While there are many things to be learned from examining principals' perceptions of parent involvement in the schools, when the data are analyzed according to the gender of the administrator additional questions must be addressed both by practitioners and researchers. These questions should include: Is the role of providing special services a function of the socialization of women to be "care givers" (or related to such things as the economic conditions of the school population)? Why would women not report "negative" experiences of parents or the lack of involvement? Are these experiences not considered problematic, or is it inappropriate to share "negative" remarks with the public (researcher)? And, why would women be less likely to report good, strong relationships with parents? Do these relationships not exist or once again, is it inappropriate to "brag" to the public? Engaging in research and reflection on all of these questions will become critical as schools seek to establish effective parent involvement to obtain successful schools.

92

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93

Chapter 13

RAISE THE GLASS CEILING: WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Brit Watwood

Although this research indicates that feminine traits are desirable in education administration, the female administrators who are promoted tend to imitate the career patterns and leadership styles of men.

WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS in colleges and universities in the United States remain few in number. Women have not achieved their potential because of a glass ceiling that robs women of their dignity and the institution of their talents. It is time to correct the disparate treatment that women have faced in the past. Women have traditionally encountered problems of role discrimination, access discrimination and treatment discrimination when they have attempted to enter a male-dominated profession (Nixon, 1987). "While a determined few may reach the top, many have abandoned their goals ... after a decade of slogging in a world where men still call the shots" (Maynard, quoted in Grondin, 1990). Some gains are evident in entry-level positions and faculty positions, due in large measure to Title IX affirmative action measures, but the challenge now is to raise the ceiling so that these qualified people can move into the higher levels of educational leadership. It will take a proactive effort to overcome the barriers women have faced in the past ... and continue to face today.

Current Statistics

In 1909, Ella Flagg Young predicted:

> In the near future, we shall have more women than men in charge of the vast educational system. It is a woman's natural field, and she is no longer satisfied to do the larger part of the work and yet be denied the leadership (McGrath, 1992).

Her words have not yet come true for either public schools or higher education. The glass ceiling is evident when one examines the percentage of women serving in higher education leadership positions. Women serve as Chief Executive Officers in about 10% of the colleges nationwide, but excluding women's colleges, women only lead about 6% of state colleges and universities (Kaplan and Tinsley, 1989). Although the total number of administrators has substantially increased in the past twenty years, men continue to outnumber women as administrators by a ratio of 6.6 to 1 (Sagaria, 1988; Johnsrud, 1991).

Many administrators come from the ranks of faculty. In the last twenty years, women faculty with PhD's have risen from 11% to 40%, and employment of women is up to 30%. However, as Figure 1 shows, although the number of tenured men increased from 64% to 71% between 1976 and 1992, the rate for men has remained at 46% during the same time period (UNL Panel Discus-

sion, 1993). Women full professors are averaging 88% of the salary of men full professors. A compra-ratio study showed that the differential between men and women at the associate professor level is substantial and favors men, while the differential at the assistant professor level is also substantial, but favors women (Bereman and Scott, 1991). Affirmative action programs appear to be making an inroad into the entry level positions. However, even after twenty years of affirmative action, the pay gap overall has slightly <u>increased,</u> rather than decreased, from 9% to 11.5% (UNL Panel, 1993).

Sex Differences

It is useless to deny that there are differences between men and women. The question to be asked is whether those differences affect a woman's ability to be a school administrator. With men as the predominant force in administration, women are often competing on an unequal playing field. For some men, being equal means being the same - an unnecessary and unfair measurement standard. The predominantly male administrators carry with them a set of expectations concerning traits associated with administrative positions, and are reluctant to accept candidates who deviate from those expectations (Porat, 1991).

Male leaders typically try to lead from the front; women tend to use more facilitative leadership techniques. Men tend to see communication as a tool for the acquisition and maintenance of power; women see communication as a bridge to understanding. Women try to achieve consensus, men go with majority rule. Women are more into team building and less into hierarchical arrangements. Women are more likely to be interrupted when talking; people (men and women) are more attentive when men talk; people respond more extensively to men's comments than women's comments; and women get less eye contact during meetings (Sandler, 1988; Porat, 1991). These factors all affect how women are viewed as they compete for top administrative slots. Adolph notes that "the problem with measuring everyone against the white male standard is that you set up a sizable portion of your work force for failure" (McGrath, 1992).

This dual standard is evident in many areas. Marriage is seen as positive for a male administrator and negative for a female, resulting in only 43.7% of women administrators being married versus 87.8% of the men (Sagaria, 1988). Women are channelled into teaching assistantships (60% female) instead of research assistantships (10% female), because women are perceived to be nurturers rather than researchers (UNL Panel, 1993). Men tend to be judged by their accomplishments, while women are judged by their accomplishments, their appearance, and their ability to raise a family (Sandler, 1988). During one study, identical vitas were shown to department chairs. When the vitas had a male name, they were recommended for associate professorships. The same vitas, with a female name, were targeted for assistant professorships (Sandler, 1988). Although many women put off childbearing until later in their career, the very fact they can have children impacts their selection chances as an administrator (DeGregoria, 1988). Career choices for women are thus much more complex than for men.

The good news is that the patterns are slowly changing. In seven studies of administrative performance, no sex-related differences were detected (Porat, 1991). Socialization has also changed. Surveys of women entering college in 1970 showed the top priority for 77% was to raise a family, followed by various cial concerns. Seventeen years later, the majority of women wanted to do well

95

financially, and to be seen as an authority in their fields (Evanoski, 1988). More women have entered the work force, and daughters of working mothers tend to perceive the masculine and feminine roles as less extreme than do daughters of homemaker mothers (Trinklein, 1987). As more women move into higher education, they will achieve a critical mass, where sex differences will no longer play a major role in their careers. Sexual harassment will decline, female mentors will be available for the entry-level women (and men), and the differences in perceptions will cease (Grondin, 1990).

Career Path

Women tend to note lack of experience, lack of education, personal and family responsibilities, and lack of mobility as obstacles to upward mobility (Kaplan & Tinsley, 1989). They do not, however, tend to list male bias as an obstacle, even though the statistics support the observation that women have not been promoted as administrators by the male leadership. Compounding the problem is the perception by some women that administrative positions are out of their reach.

Through past socializations, women may not have conceived of a career in education administration. Men typically entered education with administration in mind as an end goal, whereas women typically saw teaching as their end goal. A 1983 study of female superintendents found that only one of fifty had planned a career as a superintendent (Matranga, 1990). A 1989 study also demonstrated that 20% of the men, but only 3% of the women, had a career orientation at career start (Greenglass & Burke, 1989). Fewer women complete administrative training programs, and fewer therefore compete for open positions (Whitaker & Lane, 1990). Less than a third of women administrators have the doctorate degree, compared to more than half the male administrators (Kaplan & Tinsley, 1989).

Much of an administrator's experience comes through job mobility. A common myth is that women cannot move due to family responsibilities. In fact, women administrators want to move and stay competitive, as shown by Figure 2 (Sagaria, 1988). A national study of 1,389 women administrators found that 78% would move more than 50 miles to accept a desirable job (Sagaria, 1988). Although career paths have been different for women and men, the attitudes towards career mobility do not vary significantly between the sexes (Stockard, 1984). However, historically, institutions tend to move women from within an institution, while picking men from outside the institution (Johnsrud, 1991). The implication is that it is easier to trust an unknown man coming from outside the institution, but one would want to observe a woman candidate on campus before moving her into an important leadership position.

Through affirmative action, women have become very competitive with men at the entry-level positions, but they remain clustered at the bottom of the pyramid, and are more likely to be staff than line. The three positions most often held by women are registrar, librarian, and director of financial aid (Kaplan and Tinsley, 1989; Johnsrud, 1991).

In addition to being clustered at the bottom of the pyramid, women also tend to cluster in "soft fields" or marginalized markets, such as English, foreign languages, and education (UNL Panel, 1993). These are often the fields disproportionately reduced during budget cuts (McMillen, 1991).

96

Many are recognizing that the lack of mentors places women at a disadvantage over men. Several universities have formed "old girls' networks" to counterbalance the existing "old boys' network" (DePalma, 1991). With changing attitudes, more men are now acting as mentors as well. Cross-mentoring had been frowned on in the past or trivialized due to sex role attitudes (Whitaker and Lane, 1990). With more women moving into administration, there will be more role models available, helping destroy old stereotypes.

Leadership Traits

Female attributes such as *sensitivity, cooperativeness, accomodativeness,* and *team building* are increasingly seen as terms associated with effective leadership; and attributes associated with Total Quality Management (Deming, 1986; Heron, 1991; Porat, 1991; McGrath, 1992). Successful women leaders demonstrate high levels of skill in communication, problem solving, organizational savvy, team building, instruction, and curriculum (McGrath, 1992). They are self-confident, and do not appear to get hung up on gender (unlike their male counterparts).

A survey of male superintendents found that they felt confident in their abilities in operations, facilities, and finance, but were weak in communication, implementation of new instructional systems, curriculum development, and teacher evaluation. These weaknesses in many cases were strengths noted in female administrators (McGrath, 1992).

Although this research indicates that feminine traits are desirable in education administration, the female administrators who are promoted tend to imitate the career patterns and leadership styles of men. Given few role models, it is understandable that women would follow the male standard, but it has costs. Society expects women to "act like women," and labels those who do not as impostors (Porat, 1991). A woman is therefore damned if she does and damned if she does not. Both the woman and the institution lose - the woman due to high stress and the institution due to unfulfilled potential and loss of the very leadership styles it needs.

Solutions

Women have historically been trivialized when they have attempted to displace men in power. An indicator of this lies in the number of women gaining business degrees, a degree held by many college administrators. Women are clustered at the bottom of this pyramid as well, with 70 percent of the 2-year business degrees and 55 percent of the baccalaureates being earned by women. However, women make up only 36% of MBA's and 12% of the business PhD's (UNL Panel, 1993). Likewise, a survey of all degrees conferred in Connecticut in 1986-87 demonstrated that women earned the majority of total degrees, but were under-represented at the doctoral and first-professional levels (Highsmith, 1988). These numbers do not suggest that women are less capable, but rather that they have not been given the chance to move into the upper levels of management. This pattern is true in education as well. The first action that must take place is a recognition of the inculturized behavior patterns that exist and a conscious effort to affect change.

Campuses need to see women as a major growth industry and excellent opportunity for the future. By the end of the decade, 75% of those entering the work force will be minorities or women. At the same time, a large percentage of

college administration will be turning over, through either retirement or mobility moves. Past inequalities could be reduced or eliminated by proactively targeting women for leadership positions that are opening through these moves.

Colleges should aggressively attack differential treatment — closing pay gaps, examining and correcting hiring practices, evaluating women on accomplishments and not home life, and educating male peers on ways to improve the professional climate on campuses. Institutions of higher education sometimes do a poor job of educating themselves, but education remains the most powerful weapon against male hostility. With understanding comes responsibility (UNL Panel, 1993).

Women need to be more proactive. They should not ignore differential treatment, but actively work to eliminate it. They should highlight their own accomplishments and work to improve inclusiveness in the curriculum of all disciplines so that the many accomplishments of women in all fields are recognized by males and females alike. Women role models are needed both for networking and encouragement. More women administrators are needed in the K-12 arena, to act as role models during young women's formative years. Women make up 75 to 80% of the teachers in elementary school, and 50% of the teachers in high school, yet only 18% of the elementary principals and 3% of the high school principals are women (Greenglass and Burke, 1989). Women need to be encouraged to enter education administration as a career field, and role models already in the field need to reach out to them and build alliances for tomorrow. Programs modeled on Hofstra University's "Women in Education" course are needed to highlight education administration as a career for women and give them the tools necessary for success in that career (Shakeshaft et al, 1984).

Summary

In his book, The College Presidency, Ritchie (1970, p. xi) states, "[w]hatever may be the shortcomings of the American college president, he ..." {italics supplied}. Ritchie was president of two colleges from 1953 to 1969, and in his day, women were normally only presidents of women's colleges. His gender insensitivity is understandable given the time period, but it also reflects the thinking of many administrators who gained their posts during the past forty years. The same mindset should not prevail today. One should not assume that education administrators are, or should be, male. The fact that education remains male-dominated demonstrates it is in serious need of evolution. The coming large turnover of campus administrators provides the opportunity to take advantage of this highly capable work force, a workforce noted as having "the right stuff" for leading colleges and universities into the next century.

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Chapter 14

WOMEN IN LEADERSHIP . . . THE FUTURE EDGE

Barbara F. Erwin
Kay W. Harmless

> *The role of school personnel is vastly chang-*
> *ing and the customer expectation goes be-*
> *yond the academic needs of students to in-*
> *clude social, emotional, physical and psy-*
> *chological needs.*

SCHOOLS are continually coping with declining revenues, a lack of inno-
vations, creativity and risk taking on part of administrators and teachers,
a reluctance to change, and a demanding client population coupled with
aging staff. With these challenges there is a need for a new and more sensitive
style of leadership that has an awareness of and an appreciation for "high
touch." Leaders must anticipate, innovate and excel. Our place called school has
expanded beyond the three R's but the workforce has not; client needs are not
being met. The role of school personnel is vastly changing and the customer
expectation goes beyond the academic needs of students to include social, emo-
tional, physical and psychological needs.

Patricia Aburdene who co-authored <u>Megatrends for Women,</u> indicated
"Women are transforming every walk of life from religion to sports and politics
to business." Aburdene goes on to say, "this is the first generation of women
who have lifelong careers." She notes that those in their late 30s and 40s have
been working for 20-25 years.

Adele Scheele, consultant, says that a key to leadership is the ability to take
risks. "We are taught not to hurt ourselves, to be careful. Women are social and
men are competitive. Women have egos, but they don't have the same egos and
men." Scheele indicates women don't necessarily care who gets the credit for
something, just as long as the problem is resolved.

Both indicate the workplace is in for big changes as baby boomers—those
born from 1946-1964 — move into leadership positions. It has been said that the
1990s is the decade for women. Women are taking over leadership positions in
every walk of life from media, politics, business, sports, religion and education.
The Lilly Endowment of Indianapolis has funded a proposal through Tipton
Community Schools, Tipton, Indiana, to explore the changing role of leadership
from a female perspective. It was the intent of Erwin and Harmless, grant
recipients, to apply this information to females in the educational arena of
leadership.

Female leadership in Indiana is scant. Less than three percent of the top
level school superintendents are female. According to Indiana Department of
Education statistics, a growing number of females are entering the central office
and the high school principalship, but still the percentages are low. Deborah
McGriffin, Edison Project, said that women comprise two-thirds of the American
ching staff but only nine females hold top leadership positions in 47 of the

largest national school districts. "The controversy . . . is about America's deep-seated ambivalence, even hostility, toward power in the hands of women" ...was written by a curator of the National Museum of American History on the influence of First Ladies.

Through a process of personal interviews with prominent females, such as Dorothy Rich, author of <u>MegaSkills,</u> Jane Alexander, chairman, National Endowment for Arts, Carolyn Warner, former Arizona Superintendent of Public Education, Vicky Bailey, Federal Energy Commissioner......and a written survey, Erwin and Harmless obtained information about the female perspective of leadership. The resulting document serves as a resource for those females looking at a lifelong career with successful leadership.

Defining The Survey Results

What makes women in leadership/management effective? risk takers? change agents? political? In essence, what does it take for women in management roles to play the "old boy" game effectively? Survey data is briefly described as follows:

How did you achieve your present leadership position?

Over half of the women responded that they set goals to move ahead methodically and they were in the right place at the right time. Few thought it was "sheer luck" that landed them in their current position. Connections with the "right" people were also important.

With whom do you find it easier to work?

Overwhelmingly respondents felt that there was no difference working with either males or females. This indicates that women have no preference with whom they work and that it is as easy to work with men and women.

Do you find it more successful to work with...

Women leaders prefer to work with small groups first, then individuals, large groups and finally alone. They understand that you have to work with all types of groupings depending on your purpose, but each type has its advantages. Forming a team, sharing ideas, and coming to consensus are all important, but developing relationships with others is a strong need.

How do people who work for you describe you?

Successful women state that employees describe them with these top descriptors: sets high standards, enthusiastic, caring, risk-takers, helpful and self-disciplined. Comments added indicate that women are fun and passionate, dedicated and knowledgeable but very goal oriented.

What networks have assisted you in getting to a top leadership position?

Colleagues form the strongest networks, followed by professional organizations. This supports the comments that women are focused and organized in their professional work.

Who inspired you when you were growing up?

Parents were the most influential forces during formative years with respondents indicating fathers slightly more often than mothers. Comments indicated that women were raised in a supportive environment and received inspiration from female role models they knew or read about.

What best describes your leadership style?

Women consider themselves motivators and supporters but caution themselves about being too much of a perfectionist.

How Many years have you been in management? What is your age?

The majority of women have been in management from 11-20 years and are between the ages of 46-60 years old.

Defining Interview Results

Interviews with Dorothy Rich, Jane Alexander, Vicky Bailey, and Carolyn Warner gave these personal insights into leadership. All four indicated perseverance was essential to their success. Being optimistic and ready for any new challenge that would come their way aided them in their travel to the top.

All had a strong support network from family and friends. Their current leadership role has "evolved" . . . getting there was not serendipitous or calculated. But these women had the support and skills to be successful when they found themselves at the right place at the right time.

These four women had family obligations and did not take those with any less significance than their management positions. The old premise of women not being successful family members was not found by these researchers. In fact, their families supported their efforts, and in Dorothy Rich's instance, her children were her sounding board for many of her ideas.

These women demonstrated eternal optimism in the light of adversity . . . Jane Alexander's drive for changing the importance of the Arts immediately following the negative impact of Maplethorpe; Carolyn Warner's unsuccessful bid for Governor followed by her noteworthy consulting career; Vicky Bailey's move as a single parent, from her hometown community to the nation's capital to become Federal Energy Commissioner. These are but three examples of the determination of women. Women are flexible, fluid, enthusiastic and passionate, even when others would surrender.

Harmless and Erwin also found these women to be gracious and down to earth as they gave their time in interview situations. Even with extremely busy schedules and important agendas, Alexander, Bailey, Rich and Warner all found it necessary and critical to be role models to assist other females in reaching the top.

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Note: This was a speech delivered at the Women in Leadership Power Luncheon, Indianapolis, Indiana, March 11, 1994.

103

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Voices of Transformation

104

Chapter 15

LEADERSHIP, GENDER, AND EMOTIONALITY: YESTERDAY, TODAY, AND TOMORROW

Marianne Reese

> *. . . research suggests that when women or men take on tasks stereotypically associated with the other sex, those experiences affect their emotional functioning. That is to say these differing types of interactions foster different emotional skills.*

I N A SIGNIFICANT STUDY of 165 top business executives, Chris Argyris (1966) found that 84% of the executives felt that it was a sign of immaturity to express feelings openly during decision-making meetings. Through studying approximately 265 decision-making meetings and analyzing nearly 10,000 units of behavior, Argyris specifically isolated three basic values held by the subjects of his study. They were:

   a) The significant human relations are the ones which have to do with achieving the organization's objective.

   b) Cognitive rationality is to be emphasized; feelings and emotions are to be played down.

   c) Human relationships are most effectively influenced through unilateral direction, coercion, and control, as well as by rewards and penalties that sanction all three values. (Argyris, 1966)

The business executives surveyed were all male, and the study was completed almost three decades ago. Yet, have these values or beliefs changed? To some degree they have, but in my opinion "not nearly enough!"

As more and more women obtain positions of leadership, greater effort is being expended to identify, distinguish, and compare women and men in such positions. Sergiovanni (1992) rather succinctly summarizes the findings of such efforts by noting that

   men tend to emphasize individual relationships, individual achievement, power as a source for controlling events and people, independence, authority and set procedures. Women, by contrast, tend to emphasize successful relationships, affiliation, power as the means to achieve shared goals, connectedness, authenticity, and personal creativity. (p. 136)

In my reading concerning gender differences specifically in relation to organizational leadership, I generally find a "hands off" mentality regarding the specific issue of emotional differences or expressivity as noted in Sergiovanni's listing. However, you and I know they exist!

My intent in this article is to focus on the area of gender and emotion as it relates to organizational settings. This attempt is not to prove emotionality as being an effective, meritorious display in the workplace of the 21st century, nor to prove one sex's prowess for leadership over the other. Rather it is to seek

a general understanding of gender differences regarding emotion and its display and to recognize these differences as opportunities for growth.

Let me first share three more recent and personal examples reflecting the issue of emotionality in organizational settings. Following these examples, I will discuss some of the relevant findings on emotion evolving from research focusing on sex, gender, and communication. Lastly, I will address the ever present question "So what does this mean?"

Emotionality in Organizational Settings . . . A Personal Reflection

A common fear most women who hold management or leadership positions share is that of becoming "too emotional" and perhaps crying in certain work situations. This fear is predicated on the belief that crying will be seen as a sign of weakness and, as Argyris found so many years ago, immaturity.

I'm 5'10", concrete sequential, blunt, and I like to debate issues. But, there have been occasions in my workplace that I have teared up and my voice has quivered when I had deep feelings about an issue.

When first **IT** happened to me, I was a director of instruction for a public school system and was discussing the philosophical basis for a to-be established alternative school: "prison-like" or "more nurturing and supportive." I held the latter position and my superintendent the former and there was nothing I could do to change his opinion/decision. I was shocked, embarrassed, and panicked all at one time at my emotional response. Later, as a superintendent, I was unable to rein in my emotions on several occasions during board meetings. Though the effect on me has lessened through time, I never truly knew the effect on the others . . . and still do not.

A second example occurred during an amiable discussion turned excitant debate with two fellow professors and myself. The topic was the recent <u>Doe v. Taylor</u> case and specifically dealt with the question of how much responsibility a female student should bear with regard to a sexual relationship with a male teacher. My two fellow professors (both truly "fellows") supported the idea that the high school student should bear some of the moral responsibility (read *blame*) for the teacher's criminal act. I supported the notion that no high school student, regardless of age, could truly consent psychologically to such a liaison in such an uneven power position (not to mention legally!).

Before my citing common law relevant to this issue, the discussion was ended with the statement "I'm not going to discuss this any further because I can see you're getting emotional." On reflection my voice did tighten, I countered arguments, and probably I spoke more stridently. I did get emotional, but not irrational! The discussion/debate did end, no hard feelings, but it did end with that statement.

One last occurrence not directly involving me, but no less personal, follows. During the October 1994 televised debate between then candidate George Bush and Governor Ann Richards, Governor Richards on several occasions displayed emotion as she spoke of her concerns for the elderly, the young, and Texas in general. Her voice seemed at once to reflect love, compassion, sorrow, and reverence of and for those expressed concerns. She closed that evening's debate by saying that Texas needs not only a governor with a brain, but a heart.

The following day a newspaper interviewed citizens regarding that debate. f the comments published, one leapt out at me. One of the men interviewed

had found most notable the fact that George Bush stayed focused on the issues and did not get *emotional*. To have done so was obviously interpreted negatively by this man and most certainly by others not interviewed.

I believe the real issue is not whether emotionality should be present or expressed in the workplace, but rather all of us accepting as fact that emotions are inherent; cannot be left at home like a pet while we work; tend to be gender-related; and are aspects of communications!

Research Findings on Sex, Gender, Emotion, and Communication
On Communication

Carol Gilligan (1982), a Harvard psychologist, notes that "men and women may speak different languages that they assume are the same . . . creating misunderstandings which impede communication and limit the potential for cooperation and care in relationships" (p. 173). To understand more fully this statement, one needs to understand that there are three basic elements which form a communication: a message, a situation or context, and a message source/ receiver.

A message is any symbol or set of symbols, verbal or nonverbal, to which someone attaches meaning. It is estimated that nonverbal elements such as facial expressions or voice account for 50 percent to as much as 90 percent of the meaning receivers take from a given message (Bate, 1993). Crucial to under-standing miscommunication and the sexes is the realization that men and women do not tend to use the same nonverbal symbols and do not necessarily attach the same meaning to a given communication event as meaning varies with one's experiential base. Additionally, psychologists have found that we develop ste-reotypes when information is lacking specific to another's situational limita-tions. Labels such as "male chauvinist pig" or "scatterbrained broad" are borne from such voids of information.

On Sex and Gender

The terms *sex* and *gender* are sometimes assumed to be synonymous; they are not. One's sex is dependent upon the genetic composition determined at inception and refers to the biological characteristics of males and females. Gen-der, however, is not a biological given, but rather socially learned and treated as a behavioral ideal to achieve (Bate, 1988). Most typically the terms *masculine* and *feminine* are assigned to gender-related behaviors. It is important to note, however, that there is no universal, concrete linkage between sex and gender. That is to say being male does not necessarily equate with being masculine nor being female with feminine. Thus, the concept of psychological androgyny has developed. Psychological androgyny refers to an individual's interest and abil-ity to demonstrate a range of behaviors combining the interpersonal strengths and skills of both men and women (Bate, 1988). Recognizing a range of behav-iors as productive and desirable minimizes the tendency to stereotype behaviors as "mannish" or "effeminate."

On Emotions

Emotions are not simply inner feelings, but rather have certain cognitions as precursors. For example, in the emotion of fear, there is the cognition or aware-ness of an element of danger; in anger, the awareness of an offense. Emotions, then, are value-laden descriptions of a social situation which become encoded in communications (Solomon, 1993).

On Gender and Emotion

Brody and Hall (1993) provide a very thorough overview of the research on gender and emotion. They conclude that findings are consistent with the perspective that gender differences in emotion are adaptive for the differing roles (gender-linked division of labor and life tasks along instrumental and socioeconomic lines) that males and females play in our culture. Brody and Hall suggest that

> . . . the emotions that women display more (warmth, happiness, shame, guilt, fear, and nervousness) are related to affiliation, vulnerability, and self-consciousness, and are consistent with women's lower social status and power, lower physical aggression, and their traditional gender roles (including child caretaking and social bonding...). Greater male anger, pride, and contempt are consistent with the male role of differentiating and competing with others, in which the goals are the minimization of vulnerability in order to maximize the chances of success. (p. 452)

One other interesting gender difference worthy of note involves the expression of emotion. Of the four modes of expression (physiological means, behavioral acting out, facial and other nonverbal cues, and verbal expressions), females primarily use nonverbal and verbal modes as opposed to males who use the physiological and acting out modes. This differential use of expression modes creates yet another area for conflict and misunderstanding.

Some theorists believe that gender-stereotypic traits and possibly expressivity itself are biologically based (Lewis, 1985; Ahern, Johnson, Wilson, McClearn & Vandenberg, 1982). For example, a biological predisposition to be nurturing might lead an individual whether male or female to choose human service work. Yet, there is growing evidence that gender differences in emotion are indeed socialized by peers, by parents, and through language (Brody & Hall, 1993).

So What Does This Mean?

Women's roles in our culture continue to change. Women entering the workplace and taking on positions of authority and power are upsetting the traditional gender roles as are men who leave the workplace to become "mister moms." The effect of these changes is yet to be fully documented. However, research suggests that when women or men take on tasks stereotypically associated with the other sex, those experiences affect their emotional functioning. That is to say these differing types of interactions foster different emotional skills.

So, what does the foregoing portend or suggest relevant to the increase of women in organizational positions of authority? To address this question, let me first share four predominant options Bate (1988) offers to both sexes in order to modify one's communication style. They are:

> Heightened gender identification: the man or the woman exhibits and defends intensely his or her sex-typed verbal and nonverbal patterns.
> Gender reversal: the person moves forcefully in the direction of emulating the other gender communication ideal.
> Gender neutrality: the communication behavior is intended to be free of any identifiable links with either sex-typed style.

> Inclusive or androgynous style: strengths of both sexes's traditional styles are respected, and wide variations are allowed in fitting behavior to circumstances. (p. 235)

I believe many would agree that as women first began to move into organizational leadership positions, the masculine gender style was emulated. That is option two, gender reversal, was chosen. Women took assertive training seminars and "dressed for success" in the most tailored of outfits.

However, for today and for tomorrow, it seems that the inclusive or androgynous style is both viable and desirable. It is the only option which recognizes the ability of men and women alike to modify our actions and extend our behavioral ranges. Is this not what we want with regard to all perceived diversity . . . to respect and allow for variations, wide variations?

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109

Chapter 16

THE FEMININE AGENDA:
TRANSFORMATIONAL AND CREATIVE LEADERSHIP

Teresa Langford

> *By relying less on the traditional authoritar-ian prototype and more on facilitating skills, members become ideally engaged in the work of the organization.*

NUMEROUS STUDIES (Glazer, 1991; Norris, 1994; Norris & Achilles, 1987; Sergiovanni, 1984) have focused on the changing role of the school leader. The new approach to educational leadership embodies the feminine perspective, which is dichotomously linked to the mechanistic, top-down, patriarchal leadership system currently dominating school cultures (Glazer, 1991). The re-examination of current practices in school administration and the increased understanding of a holistic methodology, as an alternative to the traditional management of schools, place feminine management in the fore-front of school restructuring (Glazer, 1991). The feminine perspective emerges from women's experience and articulates women's beliefs, values, and attitudes, which question the stereotypical practices residing in the hierarchical view of educational systems. The feminine agenda is based on themes of self and rela-tionships and poses a liberating force to shape an alternative vision of nonbureaucratic, nonhierarchical structures (Glazer, 1991). The feminine agenda values the natural attributes of transformational leadership as a futuristic model for change, based on creativity.

Changing Leadership Roles

Throughout education, there is evidence of the need for change (Rothman, 1990; Rowley, 1991). Educators point to the traditional school leadership style as the principal obstacle to growth, development, and improvement (Norris, 1994; Norris & Achilles, 1987; Thompson, 1991). Studies in educational leadership have focused on the lack of upward mobility among women, referring to the dominance of the male culture, which asks the female leader to change or adapt to a logical, factual, objective system to succeed (Birley, Morrison, & Van Glinow, 1990; Greyvenstein, 1988; Natho, 1991; Pounder, 1990).

The fluidity of the ever-changing society influences the need to move away from the traditional, educational management style to a more innovative and creative style (Rosener, 1990). Managers in fast-growth and fast-change organi-zations have the opportunity for opening up "new solutions, new structures, and new ways of leading" (Rosener, 1990). Organizations such as these create opportunities for androgynous leadership styles and the celebration of feminine leadership characteristics combined with patriarchal leadership characteristics. Rogers (1988) summarizes the paradigm as "a whole new form of leadership in which the management of meaning replaces the management of resources as the benchmark of excellence." The non-traditional leader attends to the culture of

the organization, the thoughts, emotions, and interactions that shape people's lives and enables them to feel like important stakeholders in a valuable enterprise (Rogers, 1988). Transformational or holistic models rely on charasmatic appeal, inspirational appeal, intellectual stimulation, and individual consideration, or both intellect and emotion.

Effective Leadership and Androgynous Styles

Leadership involves the ability of a change agent, without the use of coercion, to affect the behavior of the followers in his trust (Gibson, Ivancevich, & Donnelly, 1991). The effective leader typically works to influence others and to accomplish organizational goals (Gibson, Ivancevich, & Donnelly, 1991). This takes visionary holistic thinking skills (Norris, 1994).

Gardner (1990) describes the talents of leaders in respect to six categories: 1) they think in the future 2) they think globally, rather than in analytical pieces and parts; 3) their influence is far reaching, even beyond the limits of their assigned followers; 4) they intuitively recognize the aura of leader and follower interaction and emphasize inspiration, motivation, and values; 6) they strive to revitalize and change the current structure to deal with the demands of a changing external environment or internal organization.

The new vision of leadership is about a holistic, androgynous style. When the understanding of goals is clear and a consensus for expectations is present, sequential/rational methods, characteristic of the masculine, logical style, are easily used for charting the course of the organization; however, when administrators are looking for new ways to provide long-term education restructuring, the transformational, intuitive leadership styles, valued by females, become important (Norris, 1994).

Manz and Sims (1990) propose that the new visionary leader is a developer who instructs, commands, and leads others to initiate and innovate. The leader as developer envisions new forms and images and inspires creative solutions by providing a conducive environment for followers to use insight and analysis as complementary skills (Norris, 1994).

Authors suggest that feminine leaders are well equipped to handle the emerging problems of organizations because they possess the qualities of a change agent with attributes of creativity, flexibility, and orientation toward people rather than things (Loden, 1985; Norris, 1994; Shakeshaft, 1986). Shakeshaft (1986) proposes that a broader view of leadership could focus on interpersonal relationships and reactions, rather than on measured outcomes.

Transformational leadership emphasizes masculine and feminine traits of rationality and care. Transforming leaders possess key feminine attributes of concern, empathy and intuitiveness. These same attributes are promoted in the literature on effective leadership styles (Shavlik & Touchton, 1988).

Transformational Leadership and the Feminine Style

The development of transformational leadership theories with their emphasis on interaction begins to individuate a feminine leadership pattern (Loden, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1986). The transformational leader is not the hierarchical, traditional leader, but a new type of leader whose tasks are significantly unlike traditional leader tasks (Loden, 1985; Norris, 1994). Transformational leaders skilled in leadership patterns that inspire increased worker performance by

encouraging all points of view. The leader effectively aids in facilitating agreement between opposing points of view to develop consensus problem solving models (Loden, 1985). Because of their reliance on a non-hierarchical relationship with colleagues, transformational leaders are often thought to have a personal gift or ability, which joins all members to the ideals of the leader (Loden, 1985).

The transforming leader helps raise aspirations and helps shape the values of followers (Loden, 1985). By relying less on the traditional authoritarian prototype and more on facilitating skills, members become ideally engaged in the work of the organization. Transformational leaders develop the best of masculine or feminine styles in themselves and others (Loden, 1985).

Transformational leadership is closer to the leadership prototype that people have in mind when they describe their ideal leader and is more likely to provide a role model with which subordinates want to identify. Transformational leadership joins the "needs, values, and goals" of both leaders and followers (Rogers, 1988). "What is important is not so much the mastery of technical skills, but rather what the leader stands for — who he or she is" (Rogers, 1988).

Transformational leadership creates an environment where the leader and followers' hearts and minds join as one. It involves an action and a reflective process which begins with intellectual invigoration of one mind to another mind and concludes with emotions of one heart to another heart (Connelly, 1993). Individualized consideration depends on the treatment of followers on an individual level with leader care and concern demonstrated for all in the organization. The follower is never relegated to an inferior status, but exists on an equal plane with the leader. The leader considers the followers' needs and interests to be important (Kirby, Paradise, & King, 1992).

Professional managerial positions in the business world, once perceived to be non-traditional, feminine roles (Jennings, 1991), are seen as natural, traditional, female roles in transformational leadership (Rogers, 1988). Transformational, or extraordinary, leadership sets new boundaries that embellish the traditional values of feminine attributes with a primary value emphasis on relationships (Rogers, 1988). By combining rationality, or knowledge by experience with individual consideration of others, transformational leaders use both masculine and feminine styles to lead others to themselves (Kirby & Paradise, 1992; Rogers, 1988).

Transformational, or interactive leadership, is a model that can be utilized by both male and female leaders alike. Although the facilitating skills inherent in transformational leadership may come more naturally to females, due to early socialization patterns, males as well as females use transformational styles successfully (Loden, 1985; Rosener, 1990). Transformational leadership fuses the integration of culturally accepted masculine and feminine roles.

Feminine Values and Management Style

Some minimal gender differences in management style are predictable, based on the traditionally held disposition of women. Personality theory imports the traditional value of the emotional, affiliative responses of females to others (Jung, 1982). However, there is a body of research that finds no gender difference between managerial traits on global characteristics of supervision, power, or motivation (Dipboye, 1987; Morrison et al., 1987; Powell, 1988).

School leadership has been dominated by logical male attitudes at the level of the superintendency (Norris, 1985, 1986). Research indicates that female administrators have had to adapt and conform to the cultural expectations of the established male leadership style (Shakeshaft, 1986; Weller, 1988). However, the predominance of a left brain, logical system in school administration appears to be moving more toward a right brain, intuitive style, at least at the principal or school supervisor level (Norris, 1985).

Traditional western leadership has valued masculine, animus characteristics for centuries (Rogers, 1988). However, Rogers (1988) characterizes western leadership as shifting from the patriarchal, hierarchical, power model to one that is more relational and constructive in order to accommodate feminine values. She cites the paradigm shift across many disciplines from an emphasis on competition, separateness, and rationality to an emphasis on relationality and participativeness. This paradigm shift is in response to current research models that have expanded the model of leadership to include feminine values (Shakeshaft, 1986). Rogers (1988) quotes from W. Bennis' book Leaders: "Leadership is morally purposeful and elevating, which means, if nothing else, that leaders can, through deploying their talents, choose purposes and visions that are based on the key values of the work force and create the social architecture that supports them." Feminine values, then, as well as patriarchcal values, must be recognized in all realms of moral leadership.

The idea of "servant leadership," which acknowledges the feminine style of leadership, suggests that the "leader makes judgments on the basis of competence and values, rather than on self-interest" (Sergiovanni, 1992). The feminine style, according to Sergiovanni (1992) is a natural servant leadership vehicle because the feminine style values individuals as part of the whole, achievement of meaning, collegiality, and the building of community. Sergiovanni (1992) believes that leadership can be a variety of styles resulting from a combination of psychological, bureaucratic, moral and authoritative types. Thus, servant leadership, or moral based leadership, according to Sergiovanni (1992), embraces the holistic style of both feminine and masculine approaches. Sergiovanni speaks to the value of feminine leadership in educational administration. He states (1992): "Female principals need to feel free to be themselves, rather than have to follow the principles and practices of traditional management." Current research (Sergiovanni, 1992) shows that servant leadership, which embraces traditional feminine values is gaining importance for male and female leaders alike.

Rogers (1988) describes feminine values as akin to "love and duty, mutuality, cooperation, and affiliation". Rogers observes that, although much has been produced by modern technology with its emphasis on the scientific analytic method, the transition from cause and effect focuses away from the patriarchial values of "objectivity, independence, and rationality" . . . to themes embracing a "network of relationships" (Rogers, 1988). This dialectical value shift is seen in the emergence of a "holographic" world image, rather than a mechanistic world image (Rogers, 1988). Organizational culture as a determinant of outcomes as noted by Norris (1994), Sergiovanni (1992), and Rogers (1988) posit the importance of the complexity of interrelatedness and group sharing to produce the vision that each one holds, which is somehow contained in the whole. Current organizational culture emphasizes holistic tendencies, as opposed to linear causal models (Rogers, 1988).

Valuing the Feminine Style

In Women Who Run With the Wolves, Pinkola Estes (1992), a Jungian analyst, resolves to uncover the instinctive feminine nature, which has been covered over for many years by societal expectations. She remonstrates that society has encouraged the feminine psyche to supplant natural, feminine abilites and values with mechanistic activity, in order to fit into the surrounding culture. Pinkola Estes (1992) explores myths, fairy tales, and stories to rediscover the nature of the feminine psyche. She compares the feminine nature to that of wild wolves who have: "keen sensing, playful spirit, and a heightened capacity for devotion." Her analysis and insights focus on the feminine qualities of creativity, endurance, relationality, intuitiveness, and adaptiveness. She uses vibrant visual imagery of "Jesus-God" sunsets, lakes at dusk, babies toes, poetry, and resonant sounds to describe the instances when the true feminine nature is unmasked to reveal women's longing for what they value most: creativity or dreamtime, and loving relationships (Pinkola Estes, 1992).

However, Pinkola Estes (1992) also reviews the necessity of opposite energy in women, the masculine animus, which manifests feminine ideas and creativity to the outer world. The animus acts as a catalyst to put the creative images, dreams, and feelings into effect. Without the animus the creative, aesthetic ideas of beauty, love, and innovative, intuitive thoughts are never put into action or consciousness. Also, without vigilance, feminine instincts can be abandoned to a lifeless value system, according to Pinkola Estes (1992). When feminine ideas become subdued and part of the larger collective, the meaning of feminine existence can be lost. This can particularly happen at age 35 or midlife, according to Jungian psychology, if feminine individuality is sacrificed for an organization, association, or for familial concerns that eradicate feminine individuality (Pinkola Estes, 1992).

Thus, Pinkola Estes (1992) sums up feminine values and individuality with the concept of passionate creativity." This fiery creativity can be described as "freshness, newness, potential, and newbornness" that spins the webs of relationships, upon which femininity depends. It can be destroyed and poisoned easily by a society that undervalues the feminine. Because of this undervaluation of the feminine, society continues to pose the questions to those who do hold feminine value systems: "But are you a real writer, (artist, mother, daughter, sister, wife, lover, worker, dancer, person)?" "Do you really have anything to say that is worthwhile (enlightening, will help humankind)?" (Pinkola Estes, 1992)

Research by Attanucci and Willard introduced by Gilligan (1988) find that women who rely on culturally defined scripts for success in the workplace often abandon the experience of connection with their children and families and favor decisions away from relationships and toward independence. This independence is the "superwoman" image, which often results in depression. Oppositely, if women consider children and family in all decisions about work, symptoms of depression do not appear. Jungian psychology also postulates the risks involved as modern woman has entered traditionally masculine fields of work (Jung, 1982). Jung (1982) states that women may be doing great psychological harm as they integrate too many aspects of the animus into consciousness.

Feminine Organizational Culture

Loden (1985) depicts a feminine organizational culture in which a harmonious balance of the analytical and conceptual style exists. Based on the stereo-

typical myth of male and female managerial styles (Shakeshaft, 1986), logical decision making has been seen as a masculine-dominated theory, whereas intuitive decision making has been stereotypically associated with female decision making. However, research shows that logical and intuitive decision making styles are not specific to gender, but may be specific to situations, work environment, or the leader's organizational position (Shakeshaft, 1986; Norris, 1985). Bowles (1990) postulates that if masculine and feminine structures were in equilibrium, organizations would be more coordinated and natural, with opportunities for individuals to explore their own "personal myth." He suggests (1990) that if the feminine anima could be valued and expressed in organizations, the benefits would be a balanced, "organic" system with smaller work units and more self-leadership. Jung (1982) and Pinkola Estes (1992) describe a fine line in which masculine and feminine synergy are balanced in the individual, organization, and society. Norris (1988, 1994) suggests that management is a holistic process calling for both logical and intuitive leadership styles.

Summary

School restructuring to develop innovative responses to educational and societal problems has influenced the need for transformational leaders who employ a holistic management style (Norris, 1994). The transformational model is woven from balanced thought patterns of knowledge, inspiration, and feeling. Transformational leader characteristics inspire followers to fully develop their talents. The leader uses both logic and intuitive thought in this process.

Transformational leadership views feminine leadership traits as natural complements to masculine traits. This leadership style offers full participation to male and female leaders alike. However, transformational leadership offers female managers an opportunity to capitalize on traditional personality traits, which may be dependent on cultural socialization patterns or symbolic unconscious archetypes common to all mankind (Jennings, 1991; Jung, 1964)

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116

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117

Chapter 17

WOMEN'S LEADERSHIP AND TRANSFORMATIONAL PRACTICES

Johnetta Hudson

> *Collaboration, cooperation, participatory decision-making, and shared vision are some of the descriptors of transformational leadership and women's approach to school administration.*

AMERICAN EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS have failed miserably to educate certain segments of the population, most notably African-American and Hispanic children. The clarion call for educational reform has been resounded. If we are to be a vibrant and competitive nation into the 21st century, all children must have the academic and social skills necessary for employment in a post-industrial, information-based economy. Traditional hierarchical and authoritarian approaches to school reform have not succeeded in producing educational programs which decrease the gap between low and high performing students. A different leadership style is needed to affect substantive changes in our schools.

Decentralized authority, expanded roles for teachers and parents in the decision-making process and an increased emphasis on complex instruction and active learning have been recommended increasingly by reformers (Hallinger, 1992). Those adults who are closest to students should make decisions about changes that are needed in the school's educational program. This premise highlights a new role for principals (and teachers) in problem finding and problem solving — a new role increasingly referred to as transformational leadership.

Transformational leadership is a term espoused in the works of James MacGregor Burns on leadership. Burns states (1978),

> the transforming leader recognizes and exploits an existing need or demand of a potential follower . . . the transforming leader looks for potential motives in followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result of transforming leadership is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents.

At this writing transformational leadership is the most recent trend in educational administration. Collaboration, cooperation, participatory decision-making, and shared vision are some of the descriptors of transformational leadership and women's approach to school administration. The purpose of this chapter is to make the case that women more often than not are already transformational leaders. Studies on female and male approaches to leadership document that there is a distinct difference in the way women and men manage. Charol Shakeshaft (1989) wrote that not only are women's day-to-day interac-

tions different from men's, women's styles of administration offer contrast—sometimes subtly, sometimes dramatically. Traditionally women's administrative styles have not been valued as an effective means of getting the work done. Women principals and superintendents who solicit input from teachers, students, and parents; who nurture and guide their school communities have been viewed as weak, indecisive and perhaps not in control. Those who operate in the "enforcer" mode are viewed more respectably. Fortunately, a new day has arrived. The new call for administrative leadership is how women have been stereotyped; it is a call for engagement, participation in decisions, paying attention to the human side of organizations, and raising the place of individual efficacy over organizational efficiency. The restructuring movement calling for the empowerment of teachers, site-based management, and decentralization of authority is in line with the positive stereotypes of female leadership (Schmuck, 1995). Hence what follows is a discussion of how women's leadership style in facilitating a discourse, fostering collaboration, building consensus, resolving conflict, and creating caring communities are transformational practices.

The journey of school transformation requires stakeholders to critically examine those aspects of the school culture which have not served the needs of all students. They must engage in a process of creating a new paradigm of teaching and learning. Women administrators are more likely than men to facilitate this discourse as part of their daily interactions with teachers. Female superintendents and principals interact more with teachers and students than men do. They spend more time in the classroom or with teachers in discussions about the academic content of the school than do males, and they spend more time outside of school hours with teachers (Fauth, 1984; Gilbertson, 1981; Gross, 1964, 1976; Pitner, 1981) as noted by Charol Shakeshaft (1989). The discourse should revolve around the essential purpose of teaching and learning and how best to create a safe, healthy, caring school community in which all persons are respected, supported, and encouraged to learn and grow (Hudson, in press). Transformational leaders look for ways of decentralizing the decision-making process while simultaneously globalizing the vision. Assisting others in developing this vision is one of the attributes at the foundation of feminist leadership. Regan and Brooks (1992) described these attributes as collaboration, caring, courage, intuition and vision. They defined vision as the ability to formulate and express original ideas, persuading others to consider the options in new and different ways.

The challenge facing educators, parents, and community leaders is to collaborate as co-partners in the creation of a shared vision. Women value the contribution which others connected with the organization have to make. They do not view themselves as being the only source of knowledge and expertise and furthermore do not view soliciting assistance as a sign of weakness. According to Shakeshaft (1989) women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools. She further states that women involve themselves more with staff and students and ask for and get higher participation, and maintain more closely knit organizations. One can only assume then that schools run by women are more effective learning organizations than those run by men with traditional autocratic leadership styles. Democratic leadership styles foster healthy debate and constructive conflict throughout the process of facilitating consensus.

Arriving at consensus on a new teaching and learning culture is not an easy task. This discourse is wrought with resistance to change, with disagreement as to the essential purpose of schools, with questions about instructional strategies and programs which are best for all students. Conflict can then be a sign that stakeholders are engaging in a reexamination of educational practices which undoubtedly result in a new mission and new strategies. Conflict is an essential component of transformational leadership and may be defined as a problem, issue or organizational hurdle to be overcome. As leaders galvanize followers around conflict, the leader motivates followers using group ethics; cultural standards and personal sensitivity in communications to bring people together around common concerns and issues (Strodl, 1992). Studies of women and men find that women's approach to the resolution or management of conflict differs somewhat than men's. Women are more likely to use collaborative strategies, whereas males use authoritarian responses more often (Bendelow, 1983; Hughes & Robertson, 1980) as noted by Shakeshaft (1989).

Schools of the future must value a multiplicity of voices with respect to race class and gender. Census data tells us that by the year 2000 minority student enrollments in our schools will exceed 30%. Minority children who have histori- cally been miseducated require teachers who genuinely care about them as human beings; who understand and respect their cultural differences; and who will enable their academic growth through meaningful and challenging instruc- tional activities. While the miseducation of minority children has occurred in schools headed by both males and females, schools run by women hold more future promise. Throughout the centuries women have been relegated to the role of caretaker of children and men. In recent years they have counterscripted the roles of stay-at-home mom, nurse and teacher to travel the path to school admin- istration. Even in donning the dress for success attire and stepping into positions typically held by men, they take with them the attribute of caring for the people in the organization and knowledge of instructional content and methodology. Shakeshaft (1989) states:

> Women give more attention to the importance of individual differ-
> ences among students, they're more concerned with delinquency-
> prone pupils, and they pay more attention to the social emotional
> development of the child. Women administrators are more instru-
> mental in instructional learning than men and they exhibit greater
> knowledge of teaching methods and techniques. Women spend more
> time with . . . marginal students . . . . Women administrators not only
> emphasize achievement, they coordinate instructional programs and
> evaluate student progress. In these schools and school districts,
> women administrators know their teachers and they know the aca-
> demic progress of their students. (p. 173).

Transformational leadership focuses on the development of both teachers and students. Leaders engage individuals in a cyclical process that produces: a shared vision, effective strategies, functional implementation, meaningful as- sessment, and continual modification as new factors influence progress and success. In this process traditional power relationships are eliminated in order to establish a trusting and open climate within which all members are free to release individual creativity (Association of California School Administrators, ⁻793). In spite of the fact that women are invisible in the literature on transforma-

tional leadership Gosetti and Rusch (1995) believe that this may be the dawning of a golden age of opportunity for women.

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121

Chapter 18

WOMEN'S VOICES: NEW INSIGHTS

Joan Prouty

> *Men and women learn to speak in particular ways because those ways are associated with their own gender.*

I N THE KINDERGARTEN CLASSROOM, the five year olds play at centers. A small group of girls disagree over the roles in a favorite enactment of a common family scene — adults putting children to bed. After a few minutes, differences settled, the play scene progresses. Phrases such as "but it was your turn last time; now it's mine" and "you'll like the smallest baby part — ya get to say wa-wa -wa over and over" are only a few of those heard as the girls negotiate their roles in efforts to keep everyone involved. In another group, four boys create a structure from a group of plastic and wooden blocks and logs. Although agreement prevails on the intent of the structure, major differences occur over the how and the where the different parts should go. The languaging during these encounters consists mostly of informing and insisting until the next child becomes more insistent, etc. A hierarchical structure among the participants prevails; however, positions in the structure change often.

In the last twenty years, sociolinguists have gathered and documented a large body of research on the ways language is used in the United States (Heath, 1983). The scenarios of children at play reflect an area of research that examines gender relative to conversation conventions. Language conventions from childhood continue into adulthood. Discussed here are some aspects of language conventions, women's and men's different conversational conventions or rituals, and how these differences can affect women in the workplace.

Growing Up With Conversation

The research of sociolinguists studying oral language usage shows that even in young children, patterns of conversational style are influenced by gender. Growing up in middle class America, boys and girls tend to play in sex-separate groups where different ways with words, different conversational rituals, are practiced and reinforced (Tannen, 91). Girls use language to negotiate more often, to persuade, and to discuss while the language interactions of boys are more often attempts to show knowledge or expertise. Girls learn in childhood that sounding too sure of themselves can make them unpopular with their peers and even with some adults.

Boys and girls learn to play under different rules. Boys expect to play in hierarchical groups; girls play to keep others involved and part of the group. Boys learn to downplay doubts; girls learn to downplay certainty (Tannen, 1994). These different purposes undergird the conversation conventions that develop. Other research studies on gender and oral language document similar findings (Ainsworth-Vaughn, Nancy, 1992; Carli, Nancy, 1989; Churchill, Caryl, 1982).

Language Theory

Since the early 1960's, information from cognition and language research has shown us how children develop great expertise as they internalize the structure, lexicon, and meaning within the language of a culture. Also we know that the when, how, and what to say (pragmatics) of any given conversation exchange is part of the cultural patterns of a language and is also learned as we grow up. As a result of the recent sociolinguistic research on gender, we see more clearly the role of gender as a major influence in these learned conversation conventions.

Conversation Conventions/Rituals

Conversation conventions are rituals we have learned and internalized from early childhood. Rituals are ways of doing something with built-in rules. Sociolinguists speak of conversation rituals as the ways we say something and the understanding of these ways of speaking among the other speakers in the conversation (Tannen, 1994).

Linguistic research clearly states that there is no oral language ritual or usage better than another. From the linguistic point of view, all ways of speaking are analyzed for purpose and intent and how meaning is portrayed. In more recent studies, however, researchers such as Deborah Tannen have examined the influence of gender on different conversation rituals and how these differences affect perceptions about knowledge and expertise.

When all participants understand the ritual or convention, it works well, and for many of our language interactions, that is the case. In fact, this ritual nature of conversation is the key to its success. However, when conversation rituals are taken literally, misunderstandings can occur. In Tannen's research, she uses the metaphor of cross-cultural communication to explain the possible misinterpretation of the message and/or of the intent of the speaker from differences in learned conversational rituals (1994).

Since conversational rituals are learned conventions and habits over a lifetime, we can see that these rituals become automatic within a group. However, the role of gender in rituals does not represent universal attributes, but instead, represents patterns of behavior from the speakers' cultures. Gender influences are culturally mediated, and they reflect the language user's speech community or culture.

Research Generalizations

The linguistic studies show that men and women as a group often speak in certain ways. To find a pattern from a mass of data is the goal of scientific research. Of course the pattern is not applicable in every instance or for every person. Oral language patterns and rituals are a matter of degree, not absolute differences. "Men and women learn to speak in particular ways because those ways are associated with their own gender." (Tannen, 1994). Other influences affecting conversation rituals, in addition to gender, include geography, region, class, religion, and ethnicity, as well as age, occupation and personality The influence of gender on conversational style is linked to each of these attributes of culture. So we see that these gender-based ways of speaking reflect the images that males and females have about themselves, the appropriate ways they have ned about behaving and talking as a woman and as a man.

Studies show that American men place more value on independence and autonomy. Women, on the other hand, are likely to place more relative value on involvement (Tannen, 1994). These cultural influences about ways of talking are internalized by all of us, regardless of our sex. In fact there is evidence that in certain situations, some women as well as men may react negatively when a woman uses converstional conventions that are more often associated with male rituals. And the parallel can also exist. Men who use conversational rituals more often associated with those of women can possibly be misunderstood in some situations.

Windows of Insight

The research on conversational rituals affords us a unique view into the talk that drives the daily operations of the workplace where more and more women are in formerly male-dominated positions. A second major influence focusing on socio-language interactions has been the philosophical stance of critical theory that has created a paradigm shift in approaches to management in the business world and in many professional fields (Schon, 1983.) Critical theory has been the impetus in education for the move towards more collaboration, the use of consensus as opposed to unilateral decision making, and the evolution of a managerial model quite different from previous models (Smyth, 1986).

Women's ways of speaking and interacting are inherently inclusive and foster connection and are particularly ready-made for the collaborative approach of critical theory to decision making. Together, these two bodies of knowledge — the linguistic study of women's ways of speaking and the stance of critical theory — have given us new insights and focused us in new ways on existing attitudes about leadership and competence in the work place.

Conversation in the Work Place

The workplace historically reflects male ways of interaction, decision-making, and operation. Since women and men have internalized different ways of speaking, the discussion and problem solving between and among them can be subject to misinterpretation. It is often the conversations in meetings and in daily operations where leadership and competence are evaluated by coworkers and managers. However, Tannen (1994) maintains that with awareness and understandings of women's and men's conventions, the workplace can improve perceptions about women's abilities.

Questions

An area of possible misunderstanding involves the ways women ask questions. For example, when a woman asks a general question about how the components of a job should be divided among the group, she is usually using that kind of conversational ritual to open discussion from everyone to negotiate what will work for each group member. If a male co-worker in the group hears this as a literal question and not a ritual, he may begin making assignments for each person, skipping over the wanted discussion and negotiation. If the difference in styles is not understood, it is possible that the male is perceived as arrogant, and the female is perceived as unsure of herself. Actually, each is immersed in different conversational rituals at that time. And "... when ways of speaking are not recognized as conventions, they are taken literally with ;ative results on both sides." (Tannen, 1994).

Opinions

Women often couch opinions in ways to keep others involved and to avoid sounding like the only one with expertise. But with co-workers unfamiliar with this ritual, women's knowledge and expertise can go unrecognized. And over time, without earned recognition, advancement can be affected.

With awareness of conversation rituals, participants are better able to understand a speaker's purpose and intent. However, in important situations where such awareness is in question, women can be flexible with their conversational style so that their purpose and intent are not overlooked.

Negotiating

In Nadler and Nadler's work (1987) women's learned conversational style of discomfort with boasting worked against them in negotiation of higher salaries and promotions. Negotiating with a superior unfamiliar with differences in women's and men's conversation rituals can put a woman in a no-win situation. Again, in important situations where other participants may misunderstand, women can adjust their conversation ritual accordingly.

Presentations

The appearance of confidence in speaking, or the lack thereof, can play a major role as management listens to presentations of work and of projects, perhaps determining which projects receive confirmation. The research shows, however, that there is a wide variety of individual styles in presentations and that these styles may or may not reflect the speaker's confidence or even truthfulness (Ekman, 1991). Women are more likely to downplay their certainty, men more likely to downplay their doubts. Downplaying certainty becomes second nature to girls and women as an appropriate behavior, a learned conversational ritual. Tannen encourages that awareness of differences in speaking is a prerequisite for the listener in making good decisions as well as for the presenter in making good presentations (1994).

Indirectness

Different people have different ways of asking people to do a certain job or rework portions of a product. Women's ways with words often favor a more indirect approach. Indirectness is not insecurity, however. Participants not aware of this conversation ritual can misunderstand the message or perceive the indirectness as a sign of weakness or insecurity.

Using What We Know

The implications from sociolinguistic research on the influence of gender on conversation rituals can be one more way for women to analyze who gets heard, who gets recognition, and who gets promoted in the work place. Also critical theory has opened new opportunities for women whose internalized ways with words fit so well the precepts of involvment of all participants towards consensus building.

The workplace historically has operated with the tradition of men's rituals. Women's converstion conventions are different and can often be misunderstood. However, a great many workplaces are now forging new ways of getting the best people for a job, recognizing their strengths, welcoming their input, and maintaining human satisfaction. Awareness and better understanding of conversational rituals becomes essential in order for women's competence and leadership to be fully recognized.

125

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126

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Visions of Power

127

Chapter 19

DEALING WITH INFORMAL POWER STRUCTURES: EFFECTIVE STRATEGIES FOR FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS

Linda Skrla

> *Understanding and working effectively with the informal power structures in place in one's school, district, and community is the key to that all-important perception.*

D ON AND LISA were both campus administrators in the same Texas school district. They became romantically involved with each other, and when they were caught in a compromising situation, they were asked to resign. Five years after this event, Lisa has faded into the relative obscurity of an elementary teaching position in a district fifty miles away, but Don is now president of the school board.

Therein lies a lesson for female school administrators. The same behavior that proved to be a fatal career blow to Lisa was actually seen as _status enhancing_ for Don by the members of the informal power structure in place in the community.

The fact that women are underrepresented in public school administration is well documented. The relatively small number of female principals, supervisors, and superintendents is alarming, but of even greater cause for concern is that the women in these positions continue to face discrimination, tokenism, and the "glass ceiling" barrier to the top positions.

While various schools of thought exist as to the causes of these persistent barriers, the theories advanced fall into three basic categories. According to Dohrmann, the three commonly given explanations are: (1) the characteristics of a successful administrator are typically male qualities (2) sex-role barriers bar women's entry and promotion (3) the informal structure of the system forms a barrier that women do not have the information or mentor system to surmount.

Studies have not borne out the first two theories, but the third, the informal power structure, is undoubtably the most formidable opponent a woman school administrator will ever face. Far more terrifying than an irrational parent, a special education hearing, or an armed student is the bewildering set of unwritten rules and regulations to which men seem to have been given the key, while women have not. Nichols & Golden found that:

> bureaucracies have an informal structure that is not recognized or understood by the uninitiated . . . the informal structure consists of "rules, groupings, and sanctioned systems of procedures" that are just as real as those of the formal structure, although they are not officially recognized.

If female administrators are to "make it," more than competence is required. Doing one's job well is a necessary, but not sufficient condition for being a cessful school official. Effectiveness depends not only on how good at the job

one actually is, but on how good one is perceived as being. Understanding and working effectively with the informal power structures in place in one's school, district, and community is the key to that all-important perception.

Working Within the System

Male administrators may have been given entree' to the system automatically, but it is possible for women administrators to make a conscious decision to learn, and use informal power structures to their advantage.

The following are strategies which female school officials could apply to successfully work within the existing system (using some terminology that the "good ole' boys" would be comfortable with):

Know whose ballpark you're playin' in.

A vital first step for new or aspiring administrators is to identify the power structures in place in their schools and towns. One method of doing this would be to systematically identify the holders of one of the five types of informal power identified by Bell, Hill & Wright: positional, reputational, social participation, influence, and decision making.

What are you gonna do if they cuss ya?

Accept (for now) the things that cannot be changed. This question was actually asked of a prospective female junior high assistant principal by a school board member. Although the phrasing of the question reflected the rural orientation of the board member, its intent was to express concern for the ability of the woman to handle the job. Overlook the dialect and answer the concern.

Toot your own horn.

No one likes a braggart, but positive public relations are invaluable for any administrator. Women must overcome their culturally-induced reticence and take credit for their own accomplishments. Do a good job, and see that others know that you do.

Dance with him what brung ya.

Cultivate positive relationships with school and community leaders. Make the extra effort. Stop in the grocery store to ask about their children. Follow up on questions and follow through on promises. Men seem to do this instinctively. Women need to think about it.

If you can't say something nice, say nothing at all.

Everyone with whom one comes in contact should be treated with what Carl Rogers called "unconditional positive regard." People have a *right* to be just as they are, even if that is difficult, ignorant, and/or downright mean. Everyone, be it board member, bus driver, custodian, cafeteria worker, student, teacher, or parent is entitled to be listened to and treated fairly. Even when it is necessary to disagree, disappoint, or discipline, it should be done with tact and understanding. Being right does not give one the right to be rude. Jim Walsh, a special education litigation attorney from Austin, claims that women administrators are sued three times as often as their male counterparts for this very reason.

That handbook and policy manual ain't written in stone.

Remember that student handbooks, campus administrative policies, and board policy manuals are intended only as guidelines for administrators. Being a campus leader is more art than science, and dealing with young people in ifficult situations often requires a touch of humanity and a judgement call.

Men seem to have more faith in their own instincts in difficult circumstances. Women tend to rely on "the book." Law and policy are good *foundations* for decisions, but they are not prescriptions.

Be a "good ole' girl."

Women must help each other. Men have their informal networks firmly in place, but female administrators can guide, mentor, and nurture each other just as successfully. Rather than seeing other women as competition, women should do as Nichols and Golden suggest and help each other "learn the ropes, the unwritten rules and expectations;" tell each other "where to look, how to look, who to ask, and when to do what."

The effective use of informal power structures is one of the major differences between men school administrators and their female counterparts. Given the normative view of the situation in public education today, this is perhaps not as it should be. However, a female administrator whose goal is to "help kids" should look instead to the descriptive view. Understanding her role in the system and how to use it to her advantage will ultimately benefit the students under her supervision, and that should be the reason that everyone in the education business gets up in the morning.

Note: This was a speech presented to the Women in Educational Leadership Seminar, Sam Houston State University, Huntsville, Texas, September 10, 1994.

130

Chapter 20

BUILDING A NETWORK FOR WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Marilyn Grady

> *Women who become adminsitrators report that they received encouragement or sponsorship to do so.*

A FTER YEARS of reports and laments, the number of women in administration positions in educational organizations is minimal. The bleakest readings are the summaries that enumerate the minority percentages of women holding various administrative titles.

The struggle to gain leadership positions continues in the 1990s. A survey conducted by The Executive Educator and Xavier University shows that women are best represented among the ranks of elementary school principals (39.7%), followed by junior high/middle school principals (20.5%), and high school principals (12.1%). The lowest percentage (10.5) of female school administrators work as school superintendents (Natale, 1992). In 1991 fewer than six percent of superintendents were female; so the numbers are increasing.

Female administrators in postsecondary institutions have long been a beleaguered minority. Despite affirmative action requirements of the 1970s that mandated the placement of more women in faculty and administrative positions, women are still underrepresented in postsecondary administration. Colleges and universities in the United States employed an average of only 1.1 senior women at the level of dean and above per institution according to the Office of Women in Higher Education (Reisser & Zurfluh, 1987). Women tend to remain concentrated in a small number of lower-status areas that have been traditionally viewed as women's fields, such as nursing and home economics, or in support roles, such as student affairs.

The attempts to identify causes for the paucity of women in administrative positions are legion. Solutions to the imbalances are found in actions taken by individuals and groups who seek to facilitate and advocate for the careers of women. Two actions that hold promise are sponsoring or mentoring women and providing professional development activities or workshop opportunities. Results of a recent survey and interviews support this action agenda for the resolution of this disparity.

Methods

Individuals at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln have been working to develop and foster women as educational leaders since 1986. Through the leadership of a faculty member, the department of educational administration has organized and sponsored an annual national conference focused on the training and development of women as educational leaders. The conference has served over 950 educators throughout the country in various ways. Grady and ohling-Philippi (1987) examined the needs and training interests of women

administrators at the K-12 and postsecondary levels. These topics have served as a focus for the Women in Educational Leadership Conference and other staff development efforts.

The study reported here was undertaken to identify the benefits derived from attendance at the conference and to identify topics of interest for future conferences. A survey instrument and telephone interviews were used to identify the benefits of conference attendance and topics for future conferences.

Nine hundred and fifty individuals have attended the past annual conferences (1987-1994). Of the 950, two hundred forty-three individuals agreed to participate in the survey and interviews. The participants included educational leaders in K-12 and postsecondary education. Although conference participants were from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Malaysia, only subjects from the United States were included in this study. All respondents were female.

Results

Of the respondents, 127 were K-12 educational leaders and 116 were postsecondary educational leaders. In responding to questions concerning the benefits of the conference, the respondents noted that the primary benefit was the opportunity for networking. The comments made by respondents reinforced this benefit. A sample of the comments concerning networking includes the following: "To meet other women in educational administration," "continuing my relationship with individuals in similar careers," "support from colleagues;" "meeting with other professional women and being encouraged by knowing we all face stresses on our time, relationships, etc. . . but the rewards are there too;" "networking with other women in administration;" "association with others;" "meeting other professionals;" "listening to stories of others;" "networking, reinforcement, retooling;" "networking with other female administrators and administrative `wanna bees'," "inspiration along with information;" "meeting with administrators from other states;" and, "networking and creation of a support system."

A second benefit of the conference was meeting role models. Comments such as the following illustrate this benefit: "The conference helped to underscore the importance of women as role models as educational leaders." "Listening to and seeing women who are successful in educational administration proves that becoming an educational leader can be a reality for women." "The presenters and luncheon leaders are professional women who bring to the conference a standard of excellence which I personally/professionally value."

In response to questions concerning topics for future conferences, the respondents identified fourteen topical interests. These interests and their mean ratings are listed in Table 1.

Future Training Topics

The respondents indicated greatest interest in conflict resolution and communication. These topics are similar to the areas of development that are requested by women who are in managerial positions in other fields (Reskin & Ross, 1992).

132

TABLE 1
Future Training Topics*

	Total N	Total Mean	K-12 N	K-12 Mean	Higher Ed - N	Higher Ed - Mean
Conflict Resolution	206	1.534	122	1.410	84	1.714
Communication Skills	196	1.750	115	1.678	81	1.852
Use of Technology	200	1.875	118	1.907	82	1.829
Evaluation & Appraisal	203	1.892	121	1.868	82	1.927
Culture & Climate	197	1.929	116	1.922	81	1.938
Legal Issues	194	2.000	114	2.079	80	1.888
Motivation	194	2.005	114	2.026	80	1.975
Career Mobility	191	2.026	112	2.800	79	1.949
Staff Development	196	2.036	116	2.017	80	2.063
Group Technologies	196	2.082	117	2.060	79	2.114
Stress Management	195	2.129	118	2.017	77	2.286
Time Management	195	2.190	115	2.009	80	2.450
Financial Issues	194	2.237	112	2.313	82	2.134
Coping with Success	196	2.255	115	2.217	81	2.309

*Based on Likert-type scale with 1 representing greatest interest, and 5 representing least interest.

Conclusions

The results of this study confirm the need for networking and are compatible with other research efforts. For instance, according to Picker (1980), sponsorship is an important factor in climbing the career ladder. A sponsor can be helpful in a career by providing encouragement to enter administration or prepare for an upward move on the career ladder. In addition, a sponsor can provide inside information to which the aspiring candidate may not have access. Sponsors also can provide job-related opportunities to the aspiring individual.

Women who become adminsitrators report that they received encouragement or sponsorship to do so (Gyora, 1982; Dressler, 1981; Ellis, 1982; Mann, 1980; McGee, 1980; McNeer, 1982; Meskin, 1981; Napier, 1979; Sloan, 1980). With this in mind, it is discouraging to note that research indicates that women are not typically sought out (Giggleman, 1978) or encouraged for administrative positions (Sloan, 1980). Najib (1981) reports that women teachers perceive a lack of encouragement and Burleigh-Savage (1980) reports that women become discouraged about entering administration because they perceive unfair odds as a result of their gender (Grady, Carlson, & Brock, 1992).

The importance of sponsorship for women is amply noted in the literature. Sponsorship is particularly important to the development of women in educational administration. It is imperative for women who are successful administrators to identify and sponsor capable women to prepare for administrative roles (Picker, 1980).

After reviewing 194 dissertations concerning women in administration, it is apparent that women who hold administrative positions can serve a vital role in supporting other women seeking administrative positions. Also, professional development seminars, courses, and workshops are important to women seeking administrative roles (Grady & O'Connell, 1993).

Throughout the United States, the majority of the students enrolled in programs in educational administration are women (Grady & Wesson, 1994). Women who are certified as administrators and underemployed are a wasted resource to the education profession (Grady, 1992). It is clear that women must serve as role models and mentors for other women (Grover, 1992).

Professional development sessions that focus on administration - the job itself and the changing administrative role should be provided. These sessions would encourage female teachers to consider administration and would widen the pool of potential female candidates.

Professional development sessions should be followed by workshops for women who want to apply for administrative positions. These workshops would also be helpful in identifying women who should be encouraged to apply for administrative positions (Epp, 1993).

Programs should be designed to give women additional expertise in management and career planning, as well as to provide them with a supportive network. Programs should be highly accessible in terms of admissions policy, cost, and sites where the programs are offered. Career advancement as well as the development of leadership skills should be emphasized. Career counseling should be part of the program as well (Harding-Hildore, 1988).

Ultimately opportunities for skill development and networking must be provided if women are to attain and succeed in administrative positions. The challenge is to increase the number of women participating in the programs and to strengthen the network of mentors and role models in the profession.

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136

Chapter 21

STRENGTHS WOMEN BRING TO SITE-BASED DECISION MAKING

<div align="right">Gwen Schroth</div>

> *Sharing power and information, communication and collaboration . . . as requirements for site-based management, appear most frequently in studies of women in leadership positions.*

I N 1988 The Association of School Administrators, in conjunction with several other organizations, formed a task force to improve student achievement. One recommendation was school-based control. "America 2000: An Education Strategy," published by the US Department of Education (1991) concurred, stating that schools must be given the authority to make important decisions about how the school will operate. As schools have taken this recommendation to heart and moved toward site-based decision making, the role of the school administrator has changed.

Site-based management demands more than the managerial skills that once were adequate. Administrators must demonstrate their ability to collaborate, communicate, share, and facilitate (Marburger, 1991). Although they are to relinquish control over much of the decision making, principals are accountable for choices being in line with the common values and beliefs of the school (Sergiovanni, 1995). For women, this movement toward shared authority is a breath of fresh air. After all, what women have been doing for centuries is training others, usually their own children, to make their own decisions while keeping things in line with the family values and beliefs.

Along with years of practice at making a family system work by stressing cooperation and independence, women bring other strengths and intuitions to leadership. The purpose here is to demonstrate that these strengths are well matched with what is required of a leader in a site-based decision making model. The strengths that women bring to administrative roles, both in business and in education, will be examined first. Second, the skills required for implementing site-based decision making will be outlined. Finally, the match between the two will be analyzed.

Women's Strengths

Characteristics of female leaders have been well documented, both in business (Helgesen, 1990) and in education (Shakeshaft, 1987a, 1987b). Attributes of women in business are addressed first.

Female Executives

In an effort to identify the common qualities that business women bring to their work world, Sally Helgesen (1990) documented the daily activities of four prominent business women. The women she chose to study were: Frances Hesselbein, National Executive Director of Girls Scouts of America, Barbara

Grogan, founder and President of Western Industrial Contractors, Nancy Badore, Executive Director of Ford Motor Company's Executive Development Center and Dorothy Brunson, owner and President of Brunson Communications. Helgesen found some common traits. These women were:

— accessible, especially to subordinates
— focused on keeping relationships in good repair
— persistent in maintaining a focus of the long range, larger picture
— sharing of information and even found to schedule time for disseminating information
— supportive of others in making decisions
— viewers of communication as a high priority
— good listeners, especially to body language of others

These women also characterized their organizations as circular, with themselves in the center, gathering and transmitting information to others. Helgesen terms this the web of inclusion. Generally, the female executives were described as caring and responsive to others' needs. In the case of one of the women, meetings with men were begun by hugging everyone, regardless of their position. All four placed their families first in their list of priorities.

Rosener (1990) interviewed business women to determine their leadership styles. Her findings were similar to Helgesen's. These women voiced a strong belief that sharing power and information would create loyalty by signaling to workers that they are trusted and their ideas respected.

Female Administrators

Do the characteristics of female executives delineated by Helgesen appear in the research on women in educational administration? They do. In a study comparing female school administrators to Helgesen's executive women, Schroth (1994) found that female principals also depicted their organizations as circular. Other similarities were 1) a preference for face-to-face contacts rather than more impersonal phone or mail communication, 2) an attitude that unscheduled encounters were important, viewing these as opportunities for communication, 3) a commitment to reading 1-3 hours a day, and 4) a need to place interpersonal relationships first.

Shakeshaft (1987a), in reviewing the research on female administrators, found that women in educational leadership positions 1) make relationships with others central to all actions, 2) have teaching and learning as the major focus, bemoaning time spent away from instructional matters, and 3) believe building community is essential. That is, they are democratic, use cooperative planning strategies, are participatory, build coalitions, and encourage inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness. When compared to men, Shakeshaft (1987b) found that women tend to:

— have a higher percent of contacts initiated by others
— more often take paperwork home in order to be accessible during the day
— more frequently use cooperative planning in meetings
— have less interest in personal power and are more inclusive
— favor people-oriented projects
— place students first
— value beauty, freedom, happiness, self respect and loving

138

— shy away from pronouncements and rather use words like, "apparently," and "Do you suppose . . . ?"

— more often use language that shows consideration and concern

— listen more and remember more

— observe teachers more frequently and are more knowledgeable about the curriculum

— have more positive interactions with community members

Shakeshaft also found women to be highly task oriented. They emphasize teachers' technical skills, monitor lesson plans, and know what is happening in the classrooms.

When it comes to communication, women secure compliance from subordinates differently than men. Women "suggest" an action while men "command" it (Kurtz & Boone, 1994). Power is used differently. Women tend to use power based on charisma, work record and contacts (personal power). They attempt to enhance other people's self worth and to energize followers. Men base their power on organizational position, title and the ability to reward and sanction (structural power) (Rosener, 1990).

Strengths Required for Site-Based Leadership

What are the administrative strengths that are most desirable when implementing site-based decision making in a school?

Site-based decision making is a process for decentralizing decisions to improve educational outcomes through a collaborative effort by which principals, teachers, district staff, campus staff, parents and community representatives assess educational outcomes of all students, determine goals and strategies, and ensure that strategies are implemented and adjusted to improve student outcomes (Meno, 1992). For the administrator this calls for a whole new way of working with teachers. It means:

1. sharing decision making,
2. communicating and collaborating with teachers, parents and community members,
3. training staff to become leaders as well as team members, and
4. continuously assessing outcomes, particularly in light of student outcomes. Each of these four components places unique demands on an administrator so they will be examined in turn.

1. Shared decision making.

Decentralizing decision making is the heart and core of SBDM. Enabling teachers requires them to actively participate in formulating a vision, planning, and carrying out strategies to reach that vision. Thus, teachers become leaders; the administrator becomes a leader of leaders (Sergiovanni, 1995). In a discussion of teacher empowerment, Maeroff (1988) names change in status, knowledge, and access to decision making as key areas for change. Empowerment is not possible while teachers feel small and insignificant, remain uneducated and uninformed, and are not encouraged to be consultative and collaborative. The leader must be able to relinquish control in order to blur the boundaries between leaders and followers, share information, and trust the staff to make reasonable decisions.

According to Block (1987), trust and agreement are the determining factors when it comes to influencing others and making them allies rather than adver-

saries. Eaker, Ranells and DuFour (1991), when listing leadership skills that are critical to a school improvement initiative, claim that the principal must be able to communicate, motivate, empower others, keep things in perspective, and do these things with warmth and humor. Sergiovanni (1995) feels that social inter-action is essential for promoting change, particularly when changing from the traditional to a leader intensive model of schools where everyone is a leader and everyone is a follower. For a leader this requires the ability to promote interper-sonal relationships among the entire staff. This must be done in an environment where interaction is possible. Unfortunately, teachers are people who function primarily in isolation in a setting where interaction is not promoted (Rosenholtz, 1984).

2. Communication and collaboration.

In order to decide what goals to set and who is to do what to reach them, teachers, principals, parents and the community must work together and do so despite disagreements. Cooperative planning, coalition building and collegial-ity are all characteristics of SBDM. Sergiovanni (1995) claims that "When com-bined with purposing, leadership density, and enablement, collegiality is an important strategy for bringing about the kinds of connections that make schools work and work well in a nonlinear and loosely structured world " (p. 241).

Barth (1986) warns of confusing congeniality with collegiality. Congeniality refers to friendly relationships among teachers and can be observed by the loyalty, trust and easy conversation that occurs between staff members. Collegi-ality, on the other hand, comes from high levels of collaboration between teach-ers and teachers and principals. When a principal fosters collegiality the observ-able outcomes are mutual respect, shared work values, cooperation, and focus on instruction.

3. Staff Development.

Teachers identifying areas for training and then conducting it themselves is an important aspect of SBDM. In a study of three schools that practice shared governance, Karant (1989) found that supervision and training of teachers by peers improved teacher collaboration as well as student learning. To make staff development meaningful under SBDM the administrator must students. feel strongly about improving instruction, for teachers as well as for

Teachers who are knowledgeable are less apt to stand back, according to Maeroff (1988). Therefore, to encourage quality involvement, a broad range of opportunities for training must exist. Teachers need to learn how to form a common mission with accompanying strategies. They need techniques for deal-ing with the inevitable conflicts that arise when teachers, administrators and parents interact to resolve problems that have important consequences. Mike Cohen from the National Center on Education and The Economy feels that site-based management is actually limited by how much teachers are trained in problem analysis and decision making (Brandt, 1991). Cohen feels that training goes beyond skills development to curriculum and instruction changes. "You need to deal with authority and decision-making responsibility, with prepara-tion and staff development for teachers, with new forms of instruction, new curriculum, and new assessment tools" (p. 55).

4. Assessment and Student Outcomes.

Under SBDM assessment takes two forms. The first is teachers continu-sly taking stock of where they are in regard to common goals. For one school,

140

site-based management included placing the entire teaching staff, secretaries, aides, and some parents and community members on one of five committees which worked to improve some aspect of the school (Schroth, 1993). Once each six weeks everyone met to share progress, gather new information, and, possibly most important, to encourage one another when strategies failed. The result was renewed energy and enthusiasm.

The second form of assessment regards student outcomes. This means not only checking test scores but also monitoring the level of student inclusion in the school improvement process. Some important questions are: Do students feel heard? Are students active in what happens around here? To make sure that both types of assessment are ongoing, the administrator must orchestrate meetings, observe teachers, and pay close attention to the concerns of students.

Female Strengths Match Requirements of SBDM

The characteristics needed for successful implementation of SBDM show up repeatedly in the studies of women in leadership positions. The parallels are clear. Sharing power and information, communication and collaboration, the first two areas listed above as requirements for site-based management, appear most frequently in studies of women in leadership positions. These are women's greatest strengths, appearing over and over again in the research on women in business as well as women in education. The third area, concern for staff development, is evidenced by the priority women place on teaching and learning. Their knowledge of and interest in curriculum and instruction provides a sound basis for staff development. Their concern for collaboration and information sharing is the framework for teacher conducted training. Concern for assessment , the last ingredient of SBDM, shows up less directly in the studies on women and may be their weakest area. Women are task oriented, continuously observing classrooms, checking plans, and making sure people are doing what they should be doing, all of which are aspects of assessment. Women's high concern for students and their ability to bring about collaboration among teachers can be linked to the site-based need for student and teacher involvement in evaluation. But it may be that, in the area of assessment, the male managerial style of leadership is what is called for when it is time to check the level of student involvement, monitor test data, and evaluate the program's success.

Restructuring is inevitable. In Texas, site-based management has been mandated. Right now it is a matter of finding the administrators whose qualities are best matched to the unique requirements of site-based management. Women's strengths are a good match. For men, it may require nourishing qualities they possess but which have been put on hold. Working through such complicated issues as empowerment and collegiality and expanding responsibilities for teachers and students is complex. It may, in fact, require the strengths of both men and women to pull it off successfully. Rosener (1990), in discussing the ways women lead, states it well. "The women's success shows that a nontraditional leadership style is well suited to the conditions of some work environments and can increase an organization's chances of surviving in an uncertain world. It supports the belief that there is strength in a diversity of leadership styles"(p. 125).

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142

Chapter 22

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION:
DEALING WITH INSTITUTIONAL CONSTRAINTS

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> *It is obvious that organizational structure can be designed to enhance, or conversely, limit opportunities for women. Women who are already working in higher education should continue to strive for change <u>within</u> the university system.*

INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES impact directly career opportunities for women in higher education. These practices should foster the success of women rather than place obstacles in their paths. Existing barriers to "advancement, including promotion, tenure, and academic administrative promotions, can create an atmosphere on campuses that send the message that women are not first class citizens" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, Austin, 199). Hiring procedures may also make it more difficult for women to work at institutions of higher learning.

Effect of Change on Career Opportunities for Women

Confronted with financial instability, declining enrollments, and restrictive federal aid policies, institutions of higher education have modified employment practices resulting in a detrimental situation for women. One such example, identified by Bowen and Shuster, is the increased reliance on part-time faculty to subsidize departments as full-time tenure track positions are phased out or as enrollments increase in specialized areas (German, 1989). Part-time, defined here, means all faculty employed to teach less than the full-time teaching load.

Myers wrote that women, historically, dominate the population of part-time faculty at all levels in higher education, 38.7% to 52% (German, 1989). German, (1989) also notes that of those employed in the part-time status ". . . [91%] are unranked or outside the normal channels of academic advancement." As full-time, tenure track positions decrease, the probability of seeing an even greater percentage of women in the part-time ranks is likely to increase. Women may be unable to advance to full-time or administrative positions from these part-time positions.

Lindsey, asking the question, "Where does the academic path lead for women Ph.D.s?" reports that most serve ". . . in two- and four-year state colleges . . . with heavy teaching loads and administrative responsibilities . . . . They are likely to be instructors and assistant professors" (Lindsey, 1994). Following existing trends ". . . the prevalent prediction for the next 20 years is that women will

continue to inundate lower and part-time faculty ranks and suffer the brunt of economic constraints in education" (German, 1989).

Opportunities and Mobility

Some women have been able to obtain full-time, tenure track positions through geographic relocation. Being able to change from the institution of one's initial employment is likely necessary and considered an important factor in academic success (Ezrati, 1983).

In reporting data of dual-career families, Ezrati states, "married female academicians are less likely than others to utilize mobility as a career tool" (1983). In a survey of microbiologists who were married to professionals, 81% of the women and 72% of the men reported enthusiastic support from their spouses. Of the female respondents, 90% said they would relocate for professional reasons only if their spouse could find satisfactory employment prior to moving. In turn, more than 75% of the male respondents said they would relocate for professional reasons whether or not their spouse had satisfactory employment prior to moving (Ezrati, 1983).

Issues of enforced mobility (when the spouse accepts a new job) and immobility (when person is unable to relocate due to spouse's employment) are more likely to be directed toward the wife than the husband (German, 1989). Barbee suggests that when a major effort is made to recruit the wife of the dual-career family, hiring officials are more likely to accommodate the husband with a tenure track position than vice-versa (Barbee, 1990).

Berger and Foster reported that societal standards continue to perceive men's career as more important than careers of women. (Barbee, 1990). Some reexamination of that standard should be observed as more women enter professions and positions traditionally confined to men.

The university can remove some of these obstructions by promoting equity through fair hiring, tenure, promotion, and payment policies. The university environment should allow the individual to become informed about, and to question these issues.

Institutions should reexamine research, teaching, advisement, and committee assignments. New or non-tenured faculty members should be supported by more experienced or tenured faculty members in a climate of trust and collegiality. Newer faculty members should not have unwanted or unfair assignments thrust upon them. For example, "junior faculty should not be expected to teach an overload of large service courses because tenured faculty don't wish to teach them. Nor should junior faculty be expected to carry particularly heavy undergraduate advising loads to relieve senior faculty of undergraduate advising" (Stanford University, 1993). Newer faculty should not be expected to serve on as many committees and may even need to have reduced teaching loads until they become effective teachers. Newer faculty members may also need help with research and publication requirements. The less experienced faculty member should not be penalized for the need for this support when being considered for tenure or promotion.

Universities should give males and females equal teaching loads, research expectations and advisement assignments. Or they should "reexamine the teaching and research expectations for all faculty . . . . Institutions might consider hiring faculty members in either primary research positions or primary teaching ions and evaluate them accordingly" (Hensel, 1991).

Hensel states ". . . the evidence suggests that women are as capable and as productive as men in the academic arena" (Hensel, 1991). However, it takes women two to ten years longer to be promoted than their male counterparts (Hensel, 1991). Therefore, universities should review their promotion policies for biases and to remove barriers for women. Factors other than research and publications should be considered. Austin reported from a study done by Tidball which compared males and females and found that "substantially larger percentages of women than men affirm that teaching effectiveness rather than publications should be the primary basis for promotion" (Austin, 1984). Student evaluations may be used as a method of judging teaching effectiveness. Yet, "student evaluations indicate that women's classroom performance is often evaluated more critically than men's" (Hensel, 1991). Women more often accept "the role of mentor or nurturer for students, which takes a great deal of time, and for which little or no credit is given in consideration for promotion and tenure" (Texas Higher Education Coordinating Board, Austin, 1991).

The university should provide funding for and opportunities to attend leadership workshops. Women should also be encouraged to strive for administrative positions. Further, the university should establish one-year administrative internships so that women can explore administrative positions and receive necessary training and experience.

It is obvious that organizational structure can be designed to enhance, or conversely, limit opportunities for women. Women who are already working in higher education should continue to strive for change <u>within</u> the university system.

The typical work environment defines women as outsiders, therefore complicating their "work lives in ways men seldom experience" (Wood, 1994,). Personally, this conflict for women is especially painful because their innate nature values relationships among colleagues as a precursor to their "sense of fit." The organizational climate in higher education continues to promote, if in a subtle fashion, cultural and structural barriers that are not only internal but also external barriers to the emotional health of women employees and therefore the organization (Marshall, 1993).

Networking

Professionally, women miss a primary source of "information and support" associated with the benefits of male-oriented, informal networks (Wood, 1994). Both formal and informal networking fulfills many needs for women in higher education. Relationships with colleagues are crucial to personal and job satisfaction. Because most informal networks are largely or exclusively male, women often feel unwelcome. Further, "feminine socialization does not encourage them to assert themselves and claim position in a group" (Wood, 1994). In fact, women feel a sense of tokenism and in attempts to bond with men eventually emulate typical male behavior including talking loudly and using profanity. As a result, women avoid networking which is a primary source of communication and support (Wood, 1994).

Mentoring

In the world of higher education, a mentor is more than a trusted friend, s/ e is a "senior colleague who advises and assists a junior employee in building

a career" (Wood, 1994). Unfortunately, women are much less likely to have mentors than majority men (Wood, 1994). Even in graduate school, female "graduate students spend less time with faculty, are less relaxed when they do, and feel they are not suitable" as mentees (Lindsey, 1994). Women continue to be isolated in this male-dominated environment for numerous reasons, including that men sometimes feel uncomfortable mentoring women for fear of sexual connotations or innuendoes. Further, men may simply feel uncomfortable working that closely with women because of a lack of knowledge about female development and psychology. Whatever their reasons, this practice "perpetuates the status quo in which white men gain assistance in climbing the corporate ladder while women . . . receive little help" (Wood, 1994). Women usually have no one to assist them in shaping their experiences to gain access into the present system, but many have not actively pursued mentor/mentee relationships and the subsequent benefits.

Strategies and Advice

Organizational socialization in higher education negatively affects women's ability to fit comfortably, ultimately deterring their sense of personal professional success (Marshall, 1993). On the whole, however, professional women have not proactively addressed the tangible and intangible inequities that have continued to exist. Professional women do not have to be passive recipients of structural and cultural barriers. In fact, it is time for women to "own the change" that is forthcoming, with personal growth in attitudes and behaviors being the impetus to organizational development (Marshall, 1993). The following innovations describe what professional women can do who seek to challenge pervasive issues of masculinity or any other source of inequity.

1. Develop networks and advocacy groups which promote the sharing of ideas, contacts, strategies for advancement, and information (Wood, 1994).

2. Provide support for other women, emphasizing a sense of fit with others similar to themselves (Wood, 1994).

3. Personally and willingly sponsor less experienced mentees (Tinsley, 1985; Wood, 1994).

4. Foster interactions with male colleagues to promote gender-neutral networks, professional development opportunities, and effective communication systems (Tinsley, 1985; Wood, 1994).

5. Seek to recognize subtle, unintentional discrimination and inequity through gender-awareness training that helps men and women to respect and affirm each other as professionals and colleagues (Wood, 1994; Tinsley, 1985).

6. Implement a rotation system enabling both men and women to perform different jobs to increase women's chances for development (Wood, 1994).

7. Be committed and actively involved with CEO's and governing boards (Tinsley, 1985).

8. Conduct research that elucidates gender-linked barriers and strive to make institutions responsive to the needs of all constituencies (Tinsley, 1985).

146

9. Use the collective power of professional women's groups to insti-
tutionalize gender-neutral policies and practices (Tinsley, 1985).
10. Seek to change mindsets that contribute to inequity, be willing to
take risks, and make a commitment to advancement (Tinsley, 1985).
11. Seek ways to improve credentials when possible (Tinsley, 1985).
12. Increase the visibility of qualified, capable women in profes-
sional circles (Tinsley, 1985).
13. Recruit, support, and recommend professional women (Tinsley,
1985).
14. Develop personal relationships with both men and women, espe-
cially superiors (Tinsley, 1985).
15. Seek to choose and be a role model for other women. The exist-
ence of female role models is the most effective method to increase
the number of women in leadership positions (Benton, 1980).
16. Attend conferences, join organizations, and volunteer for com-
mittees (Benton, 1980).
17. Develop a positive self-concept and confidence in ability (Benton,
1980).
18. Be motivated and determined to succeed (Benton, 1980).
19. Define specific organizational nuances so that women can work
with the system.
20. Assist female junior faculty and executives in making well-in-
formed choices, a benefit available to male professionals (Marshall,
1993).
21. Create "gender-friendly environments" including non-competi-
tive organizational structures and gender-inclusive materials
(Marshall, 1993).

As women work together within a non-competitive environment they will
be able to change the organizational structure of the university. The barriers to
the advancement of women can be removed as one life touches another.

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148

Chapter 23

BREAKING TRADITIONS:
SUPPORT FOR WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION

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> *Factors contributing to conflict between family and work include lack of time, stress related to work, not being able to be as 'domestic' as desired, too much to do, and pressure to do well.*

I N 1990, 57.5 % of all women age 16 or over were in the labor force, and it is estimated that by the year 2000 this percentage will have reached the mid-seventies (Lindsey, 1994; Ries & Stone, 1992). This long-term trend will result, ultimately, in the convergence of male and female labor force participation rates. According to Lindsey (1994) the most remarkable feature of this trend is the increasing number of married women and married women with children in the workforce. The labor force participation rate of married women has become more like that of never-married women over the last 30 years. In 1990, nearly two-thirds of all married women were employed outside the home (Lindsey, 1994; Ries & Stone, 1992).

The trend has not developed without problems arising for many of our social institutions, including higher education. As Lindsey (1984) has noted,

perhaps the most surprising finding is that there have been substantially fewer changes in the past twenty-five years than most Americans expected. Wage discrimination continues. The bulk of women are still located in low-paying, boring jobs with no future for growth. Even professional women have not found doors for advancement opening at the rate that social, legal, and political action had hoped to attain.

However, these problems have continued to exist unnoticed or unaddressed. Individuals and institutions are working toward creating a society and work environment conducive to the success of all individuals. New strategies are being developed to help more women. Yet, in implementing these strategies there are real problems which must be overcome for change to take place (Lindsey, 1994). The purpose of this paper is to discuss specific actions that can be taken related to women's goals and aspirations and incorporating family and work life to support, encourage and enhance the place of women in higher education.

Women's Aspirations

As Bell and Chase (1993) report, previous research attributed women's lack of leadership roles to their internal lack of leadership aspirations (Estler, 1975). Even though Adelman's 1991 study confirmed that parents set lower aspirations daughters than sons, Widnall (1988) reports that a study at Stanford Univer-

sity (Zoppert & Stanbury, 1984) shows no significant difference between the aspirations of men and women college freshmen. Additionally, the number of freshmen women who plan to complete terminal degrees has increased significantly in the last 20 years (Astin, 1990). In view of these educational aspirations, it is not surprising that men and women's career choices are more convergent than before (Astin, 1990). Therefore, the hypothesis that women's lack of leadership roles can be more attributed to external factors than internal barriers seems logical (Estler, 1975; Bell & Chase, 1993).

Although various studies of the 1960's and 1970's indicated that women were more likely than men to lower their career aspirations (Adelman, 1991; Bayley, 1990), recent findings show that this trend cannot only be stopped but also reversed. Henley and Bartle (1990) found that participating in Women's Studies increases career aspirations for all women and significantly so for women of color. A study by the Commission on Professionals Science and Technology (1987) suggests that women are more likely to be self-supporting and to have less confidence in their abilities than males (Widnall, 1988). Widnall (1988) also suggested that the lowering of aspirations and the dropping out of graduate school could be stopped with sensitivity to women's needs/roles by higher education institutions.

Therefore, it seems that women's aspirations and their fulfillment can be increased by:

1. Providing and encouraging participation in Women's Studies;
2. Educating parents, teachers, and females about career choices;
3. Increasing internships and work programs that allow leadership roles for women;
4. Increasing financial support for college women;
5. Increasing campus sensitivity to the dual roles of women; and
6. Increasing sensitivity to discrepancies in educational opportunities due to gender.

Incorporating Family and Work

According to Hensel (1991) "nearly one half of the women who stay in academe remain single or childless, which raises the question of how work/family conflicts influence the choices women make." A faculty career is demanding with the average professor working approximately 55 hours per week (Hensel, 1991; Bird, 1984; Dublon, 1983; Weishaar, Chiaravalli, & Jones, 1984). When other responsibilities are added for the woman in higher education, such as child care and home maintenance, a woman can work 70 or more hours per week (Hensel, 1991). Also, women in higher education who choose to have children are often pursuing tenure or promotion during the peak of their childbearing years (Hensel, 1991). The consequence of this situation is that women are less likely to "succeed" in the traditional sense in higher education because of the structural constraints placed upon them by attempting to have both a family and career. It has been noted that women in academia continue to be paid less than men, are promoted more slowly and receive tenure at lower rates (Manning, 1993).

A number of recent studies have examined differences in career paths and success for men and women in higher education and have noted the areas related to family of greatest concern for individuals (Selke & Collins, 1994;

Weishaar, et al., 1984, Bird, 1984; Dublon, 1983). Factors contributing to conflict between family and work include lack of time, stress related to work, not being able to be as 'domestic' as desired, too much to do, and pressure to do well. Weishaar, et al., (1984) noted that the most often cited concern about balancing family and career was "too much to do" rated first, with "pressure to do well" rated second. How, then, can colleges and universities create an environment that is supportive for both males and females in relation to family?

1. Stop the tenure clock for one year. Allow women the opportunity to adjust to the addition of a family member without the added pressure of the tenure clock ticking away. This intervention is especially important for women, and is quickly becoming an issue for men as well. A growing number of men who chose to be highly involved in childrearing are now entering the workforce and are experiencing added stress.

2. Provide on-campus child care/elderly care. As more and more women enter the workplace, it will be necessary for institutions to provide high quality, on-campus childcare. This care should be flexible, accessible and, as noted in the research, affordable. Also, as our population ages, care for the elderly should be considered. With the "baby-boom" moving toward the elderly years it is likely that many families will not only be caring for the young but may also be caring for the elderly.

3. Provide the opportunity for flexible schedules that allow faculty members, within reason, to work classes, etc. around family obligations. Present well formulated and understandable maternity leave/family leave policies for both males and females. It has been noted that because of the unusual schedules in higher education six weeks may not be feasible for the faculty member or the department within which they work. Institutions should consider longer leaves (semester/quarter) with or without pay.

Conclusions and Implications

It is obvious that structural and personal constraints impact the aspirations and level of success for women in higher education. It is obvious, as well, that this impact is detrimental in most instances. Hopefully, however, as more and more women pursue graduate education and consequently, faculty and administrative positions, colleges and universities will find it necessary to create an environment that will take into consideration the 'total' employee. Such a stance would result in the implementation of policies, such as the ones mentioned, to enchance the satisfaction, achievement, and productivity of women in higher education.

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WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Visions for Purpose

Chapter 24

DEALING WITH GENDER DIFFERENCES IN COMMUNICATION AND LEADERSHIP STYLE

William Kurtz
Mike Boone

> *Understanding language style differences will not make those differences disappear. But it will make the work place a more familiar, nonthreatening, and ultimately a more productive environment.*

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS spend a great deal of time communicating with others, and from time to time, most administrators experience communications problems. Many believe that these communication problems may be related to gender. Indeed, there is a substantial body of existing research which suggests that men and women communicate in fundamentally different ways. The ability to communicate clearly and effectively is one of several factors that determine leadership effectiveness. Environmental limits placed on a leader and the development of an appropriate leaership style also shape how effective a leader will be. But if communication plays the major role, environment and leadership style can function to create an operational atmosphere that may reduce or eliminate the effects of gender on communication. The discussion below focuses on understanding and dealing with gender's impact on communication and then proposes a "gender neutral" approach to leadership.

Gender and Communication

Stereotypical male and female communication pallerns seem to differ enough that misunderstanding between the genders is not only possible but probable. Communication patterns are established early in childhood and are reinforced through subsequent educational experiences and socialization into adult roles. By the time men and women reach positions of leadership in the schools, patterns of speech are so ingrained they seem to be innate.

Several years ago, Scott (1979) enumerated some of the differences in stereotypical male and female spoken language patterns:

> Women use correct speech forms more often than men and enhance verbal expression through differences in voice pitch, loudness and rate of speech rather than through slang expressions.

> Women frequently employ language that encourages community building and is more polite than that of men.

> Women listen more than men and remember more of what all participants in a conversation had to say. Men interrupt more often and recall less of what women say.

154

> Women look at a speaker when they are speaking more often than do men and listen for emotional and personal issues, while men listen for "facts."

In face to face conversations, then, women generally tend to be more polite, are less likely to interrupt and are less likely than men to use language that is aggressive or puts others down.

Shakeshaft (1987) describes the effects of stereotypical language patterns on the behaviors of male and female managers. For example, women managers commonly give co-workers and subordinates more information, encourage better effort from them and place greater importance on interpersonal relations than do male managers. Both men and women subordinates tend to rate female managers as more effective communicators than male managers. Women school administrators spend more time communicating with others, more time in scheduled and unscheduled meetings and on phone calls than do male administrators. Women administrators often have a higher people orientation than their male counterparts and use more personal adjectives in their speech. Women managers, whether in the private sector or in the school setting, tend to talk more to their subordinates than men, to supply more information and to be more receptive to subordinate's ideas.

The roots of gender differences in communication style can be traced to childhood. Linguist Deborah Tannen (1990) contends that men and women grow up in different worlds and, consequently, that male-female conversation is in fact cross-cultural communication. Consider, for example, the way in which children play in our society. Boys tend to play outdoors in large groups that are hierarchically structured. There is a group leader who tells the others what to do and how to do it and resists being given orders by the other boys. Status is achieved by giving orders and making them stick. Boy's games have winners and losers and complicated systems of rules that are frequently the subjects of protracted arguments. Boys are also heard to boast of their skill and argue about who is best at the game. Little girls, on the other hand, play in small groups or in pairs and the center of their social life is a best friend. Within the play group, intimacy is important and status differentiations are measured by relative closeness. In most of the games little girls play, everyone gets a turn. Many of their activities have no winners or losers. Girls are expected not to boast of their skills or to show that they think they are better than another girl. Girls don't give orders. They express their preferences by suggestions, and the suggestions are usually accepted. Girls are not accustomed to competing for status in an obvious way. They are more concerned with being liked. These differences in the ways boys and girls are socialized are reflected in adulthood in the ways men and women use talk to create relationships, the manner in which males and females secure compliance from co-workers and subordinates in the work place and the relative weight placed on male and female talk in mixed gender work groups.

Men and women build work place relationships with others in gender unique ways and employ speech differently in that process. Women typically use speech to construct close interpersonal relationships, to create connections and to build a sense of community. Men tend to build relationships through shared activities, often sports-oriented, and use speech as a means of negotiating

a position within a work group or as a way to preserve independence. Women frequently mix business and personal talk as a way to establish comfortable relations with co-workers and subordinates and to provide a basis for working together productively and efficiently. Men consider personal talk an unwarranted intrusion or interpret it a display of sexual interest and out of place in a business setting. Men confine work place talk to business matters, while leaving personal talk for leisure or break times.

Men and women also secure compliance from subordinates in different ways. Women "suggest" an action and men "command" it. Women frequently employ an indirect style of speech when requesting assistance from a co- worker or subordinate. While women understand this manner of speech, men do not. For most men, whose style of speech is direct, this indirectness is perceived as manipulative and slightly dishonest. Men in positions of authority in an organization give orders in a bold and direct way because that is how men have learned to establish and reinforce their authority in a group. On the other hand, women typically perceive the direct male speech pattern to be "militaristic" and imperious. From the woman's point of view, authority is established by position in the organization and does not have to be constantly reestablished and reinforced through speech patterns. It is sufficient for her to make her wishes known to gain compliance. In mixed gender work groups, such a wide divergence in the ways men and women use speech opens the door to conflict.

As more women take their place as educational leaders, it becomes vital that the genders learn to overcome communication differences. What steps can be taken to reduce inter-gender communication problems in the work place? We suggest the following as a place to begin:

Recognize that men and women have different communication styles. These styles are socialized into us and are part of our identity as men and women.

Neither blame nor shame should be attached to style differences. They simply are.

Understand why men and women use language differently. Learn to interpret each other's messages and be able to explain your own in a way that a colleague of the opposite gender will understand and accept.

Never draw conclusions about personality or intentions based on speech style differences.

Understand style differences for what they are. This enables us to be nonjudgmental and to negotiate style differences without either assessing, or assuming, blame.

If we approach male-female communication differences as a cultural problem it is possible to explain why misunderstandings occur without assessing blame or demanding that one gender change its style. Indeed, to demand that men learn to talk like men or that men change their communication styles to

talk more like women is to threaten each gender's sense of identity and to invite open hostility (Tannen, 1990). The key to overcoming gender differences in communication lies in understanding what is actually being said and why it is being said in a particular way. Understanding language style differences will not make those differences disappear. But it will make the work place a more familiar, nonthreatening, and ultimately a more productive environment.

A "Gender-Neutral" Leadership Style

Leadership style is the sum total of the personal characteristics, interpersonal skills, life experiences and orientations toward others one bring to the leadership situation. Conventional wisdom holds that effective leadership has traditionally been defined by the performance of men in a variety of organizational positions (Rosener, 1990). This has produced a stereotypical "male" leadership style, characterized by competitiveness, use of hierarchical authority, a high need for control by the leader and unemotional, analytic problem solving. "Male" leadership is best described as *transactional*. Recently, however, feminist scholars and others have argued for the existence of a stereotypical "female" leadership style. The female style is characterized by cooperativeness, collaboration of leader and subordinates, lower need for control by the leader and problem solving based on intuition and empathy as well as on rationality. The stereotypical feminine leadership style is best described as *transformational*. There are dissenting views of the impact of gender on leadership style (Donnell & Hall, 1980; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Johnson, 1994), but by and large it is assumed that men and women lead in substantially different ways.

Can these stereotypical differences in leadership styles be overcome or neutralized? We believe that they can. Some leadership styles tend to exacerbate gender differences. These are *singular* styles that advocate a unitary position. The interactive, transactional, collaborative and hierarchical models are examples of these singular styles. What is emerging as a more effective style of leadership, especially in terms of reducing the effects of gender differences, is the *contingency* approach. Contingency leadership consists of analyzing the critical variables of the situation and then choosing the appropriate leadership style. Three assumptions are basic to contingency leadership: 1) there is no one best way to organize and administer schools; 2) effectiveness is contingent upon the appropriateness of the style to the given situation; and 3) selection of the style to be used is predicated on a careful analysis of significant contingencies in the situation. (It should be made clear that the contingency style is not "doing whatever seems to work.") Use of this style seems to speed up the process of the leader becoming legitimized.

A contingency style requires that the leader work from a well-defined set of beliefs (Burnham & Hord, 1993.) First, s/he must conceptualize the school as a network of interdependent and interrelated parts that work together to produce an educational outcome. The leader must know that one element of the system cannot be changed without impacting the total system. Second, a knowledge of psychology enables the leader to recognize the importance of an environment in which people are mentally healthy, work together without fear and learn how to go about improving their own work. Leaders must recognize that human beings have a need for relationships and a natural desire for learning. Subordinates need to be acknowledged for their contributions, rewarded for their personal

development and encouraged to collaborate with one another to achieve common purposes.

Contingency leadership requires leaders to understand how adult learning occurs. Human learning is an on-going process of experience, reflection and inquiry. Learning takes place, as Burnham and Hord put it, through "experiencing a new situation or coming into contact with a new idea or theory and developing a theory, then finding ways to test that theory" (p. 31). One's theory can be modified or discarded for a new one as a result of finding new evidence or by adding to one's store of knowledge. Leaders must also know how to use data to solve problems and make decisions. This means using statistical tools to make informed decisions about student achievement, demographic data, drop-out statistics, attendance patterns, etc.

It is our belief that the effects of gender can be minimized by a contingency leadership style. In fact, it is critical that subordinates see the "real" you and get used to your own personal characteristics as a leader. Effective leadership is a combination of the ability to communicate clearly, to understand the communication of others, to analyze situations and choose the proper leadership approach, and to gain the support and acceptance of subordinates. These elements are interactive and really do not exist in isolation. Anyone, regardless of gender, who is willing to study and work at developing the knowledge and skills required can become an effective leader.

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158

Chapter 25

EQUITY ISSUES FOR WOMEN AND MINORITIES IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

<div align="right">Linda Hampton Wesson</div>

> *Although women comprise a majority of the nation's public school teaching force, most school administrators are white males, and at the highest level in public school administration, the superintendency, there seems to be a great deal of resistance to gender and minority integration.*

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS generally come from the ranks of teachers. Therefore, a historical perspective of women and minorities in teaching provides a framework for understanding the role of women and minorities in educational administration.

White males did almost all formal teaching in this country until the late eighteenth century, and it was not until the end of the colonial period that women began to teach in elementary school. But by the end of the nineteenth century women outnumbered males in the teaching profession. This was due in part to the high demand for males in the private sector and the rapid growth of the elementary school (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Recent figures (Feistritzer, 1990) indicate that this trend is escalating; since 1985, 78% of new teachers hired were women, and 92% were white; only 5% of the teachers hired since 1985 were African–American; 2% were Hispanic and 1% was Asian. The number of Native American teachers hired since 1985 is negligible (Feistritzer, 1990). So while the number of women in the teaching profession is increasing, the number of minority teachers is declining. In part this decline of minority teachers may be accounted for by circumstances that are similar to those in the African–American community as reported by Perkins (1989):

> In the 1980s blacks began in increasingly larger numbers to take advantage of the fact that professions other than teaching usually are more financially rewarding and prestigious. Black communities have always held educators in high esteem, but as communities have become more integrated, and teachers have moved their residences from the communities in which they teach, teacher status among blacks has dropped. As the number of black professionals grows in other fields, teachers lose significance. In addition, because society evaluates one's worth and status according to income, low salaries have contributed to the decline in teacher status within the black community as it assimilates the values of the larger society. (p. 363)

Although the gender of students is fairly evenly distributed across educational levels, women teachers are concentrated at the elementary level and decrease in number in middle, secondary, and postsecondary institutions. Table

1 gives a picture of the gender stratification in teaching and administration for American K–12 public schools and both public and private postsecondary institutions (Bell & Chase, 1993).

TABLE 1
Gender Stratification:
Proportion of Female Students/Faculty/Board Members/Leaders

	Students	Faculty	Board Members	Leaders
Postsecondary Level	54.4%	27.3%	20.0%	11.3%
Secondary Level	48.8%	52.0%	34.7%	5.6% (supts) 7.6% (prins)
Middle Level	48.6%	57.0%		23.0%
Elementary Level		87.0%		37.0%

Source: Bell & Chase, "The Underrepresentation of Women in School Leadership," in Catherine Marshall (ed.), The New Politics of Race and Gender, 1993.

The racial and ethnic stratification of faculty, leaders and board members in the education system in American schools is even more striking than the gender stratification. Table 2 shows that, particularly in K–12 public schools, faculty, educational leaders, and board members in the United States do not closely reflect the racial and ethnic diversity of the student body. While 16.1% of elementary, middle, and secondary students are African–Americans, just 8.2% of the teachers are African–Americans; while 9.9% of the students are Hispanic, only 2.9% of the teachers are Hispanic. The middle school level has the highest representation of African–American principals (9.3%) and Hispanic principals (2.1%). But at the highest levels of K–12 administration and policy making, namely the high school principal, the superintendent and the school board, minorities are even more likely to be missing. Only 4.6% of the high school administrators are minorities; only 4.2% of the superintendents are minorities, and among the nation's school board members, 3.4% of the members are minorities (Bell & Chase, 1993).

Similarly in private and public postsecondary institutions, the number of African–Americans, Hispanics and American Indians are smaller proportions of faculty, presidents and board members than the students they represent. Asians, who comprise 4% of students in postsecondary institutions and 4.7% of the faculty, are an exception to this pattern.

Although women comprise a majority of the nation's public school teaching force, most school administrators are white males, and at the highest level in public school administration, the superintendency, there seems to be a great deal of resistance to gender and minority integration (Bell & Chase, 1993). This is true despite the increased reservoir of highly and suitably qualified women.

160

TABLE 2
Race/Ethnic Stratification,
Proportion of Leaders/Faculty/Students/Board Members

	Leaders	Faculty	Students	Board Members
Postsecondary Level	8% Min 92% Non-Min	4.5% AfrAmer 4.7% Asian 2% Hisp .3% NatAmer 88.5% White	8.9% AfrAmer 4% Asian 5.5% Hisp 8.9% NatAmer 77.8% White	6.3% AfrAmer .6% Hisp 90% White 3% Other Min
Secondary Level	Superintend'cy 2.5% AfrAmer .3% Asian .6% Hisp .8% NativeAmer 95.8% White Principals 3.1% AfrAmer 1.5% Hisp 94.7% White			
Middle Level	9.3% AfrAmer 2.1% Hisp 88.1% White	8.2% AfrAmer 2.9% Hisp 88.8% White	16.1% AfrAmer 2.8% Asian 9.9% Hisp .9% NatAmer 70.4% White	2.2% AfrAmer .1% Asian .8% Hisp .3% NatAmer 96.5% White
Elementary Level	7.8% AfrAmer 1.5% Asian 1.5% Hisp 1% NatAmer 87.9% White			

Source: Bell & Chase, "The Underrepresentation of Women in School Leadership," in Catherine Marshall (ed.), The New Politics of Race and Gender, 1993.

Barriers Impeding Change

Kanter (1977) suggested that uncertainty in the organization makes homogeneity of the management group important to its members. Having studied corporate organizational structure, she concluded that the higher the level of management in the organizational hierarchy, the more discretion the occupants have in performing their job responsibilities and the more unclear the criteria for determining their success. Therefore, management seeks to fill its ranks, particularly at the highest level of management, with those persons that best fit the existing norm. Kanter showed that often those whose social characteristics are different from the management group are clustered in positions that have well–defined criteria for determining success or they served as experts rather than decision makers. Wheatley (1979) adapted Kanter's theory to public schools and postulated that this attempt by management to reduce uncertainty by requiring homogeneity in its management group placed constraints on all teachers and had definite negative implications for women and minorities.

This theory helps explain the career patterns for minorities that has been identified by Valverde and Brown (1988). They noted that minority administrators are assigned to special programs and schools with large concentrations of minority students. Research on African–American superintendents has also shown that they are often appointed to systems with inadequate financial resources (Scott, 1980, 1990; Revere, 1987; Sizemore, 1986) or districts with a large concentration of minority students who are economically disadvantaged and have low achievement test scores (Moody, 1983; Townsel & Banks, 1975). Furthermore, research by Revere (1987) and Sizemore (1986) found that African–American superintendents who are women are found clustered in and around cities.

Hugh J. Scott (1980), the first African–American superintendent of the Washington, DC school district, noted that when urban districts became fiscally overburdened and the students they serve are racial minorities, white superintendents are reluctant to take the positions. He predicted over a decade ago:

> The expansion in the ranks of black superintendents will be related to whites not wanting to deal with the engrossing problems of cities. Black superintendents will inherit the effect of increased societal deterioration, unabated decline in academic achievement, deficient financial resources, higher percentages of black students and students from low–income families, a majority of black activists on the school board, a large number of blacks in the community and demands from vocal blacks in the community. (p. 188)

But in the South, these kinds of employment patterns did not begin until after the Supreme Court desegregation ruling in 1954. According to the research of Coffin (1972), during the 1960s the number of African–American high school principals in 13 southern and border states actually dropped over 90%, and the decline of elementary principals could have been even greater. This loss had an overwhelming effect on the African–American community, because the school principals were often the most prominent citizens in the community. The loss of these role models created a leadership vacuum in these communities that has not since been recovered.

Ortiz (1982) used the social science theories of socialization and role to provide a means for understanding the occupational and organizational participation of women and minorities in school settings. She defined socialization as those changes which occur in persons as they participate in an organization and concluded that minorities and women do not interface with the school organization in the same manner as white administrators. She explained this difference in part by the placement of women and minorities in special projects and schools with minority populations.

She noted the importance of principals and other key administrators in this socialization process. These educators are the gatekeepers and provide the socialization opportunities for aspiring administrators to progress. Valverde's research (1974) agreed with this, and also found that minorities are excluded from administrative positions mainly because they are not sponsored. It is evident that since only 4.6% of the secondary principals and 4.2% of the superintendents are Native Americans, Asian, African–American and Hispanic and only 7.6% of the secondary principals and 5.6% of superintendents are women, the numbers of women and minorities in the gatekeeping positions are simply not

equal to the task of sponsoring and socializing women and minorities into educational administrative positions in any substantial way.

Another set of explanations for the underrepresentation of women and minorities in educational administration centers on public policy trends and their effect on equity. Clark and Astuto (cited in Bell & Chase, 1993) explained that after 1980 the attention paid to equity was replaced by a focus on excellence. This change is exemplified in the 1983 report of the National Commission on Excellence in Education, <u>A Nation at Risk</u>, which focused on learner outcomes and the need for excellence while disregarding the issue of equity. The education reform debate, which began in the middle eighties, also ignores issues of equity. In fact, a content analysis of 138 articles on this educational reform movement shows that gender equity occupied less than 1% of the articles (Sadker, Sadker & Steindam, 1989).

Ragins and Sundstrom's (1989) synthesis of the literature on power and gender in organizations provides a useful model for understanding the underrepresentation of women and minorities in administration. Ragins and Sundstrom define factors for analysis in terms of individual factors, interpersonal factors, organizational factors and societal factors. They also note while there can be a great deal of overlapping in these factors, the larger aggregations, (societal and organizational) have a stronger impact on the smaller aggregations (interpersonal and individual). This analysis is consistent with the work of Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkison (1986) who summarized the importance of these "larger aggregations:"

> The larger body of organizational literature suggests, irrespective of attitudes and training program, that no real change will occur until it is accompanied by broader societal change. That is, the basic problem of the exclusion of minorities and women from administrative positions is the subordinate role of women and minorities in all parts of society. (p. 137)

It seems that while organizational theory may reveal implicit prejudices as well as informal rules and practices that exclude women and minorities from educational administration, the constraints external to the organization may have a more powerful effect on equity.

Recent Demographic and Educational Trends

This gender and racial stratification in public school administration is becoming more striking and disturbing as the demographics of this country change. Statistics (Feistritzer, 1990) show that the number of white teachers who will be teaching people who are racially or ethnically different from themselves will continue to rise dramatically. This is not only because of the changing demographic picture in this country which forecasts that the minority population in United States will increase from 30% to 38% between 1990 and 2010 (Hodgkinson, 1991) but also because of the reduced number of people of color, who are entering teacher preparation programs (Feistritzer, 1990).

Corresponding to an anticipated student population increase is a projected need to hire more teachers and administrators. The National Center for Education Statistics (1988) reports that the demand for new teachers is expected to increase by more than 35% before stabilizing in 1995, with most of the increase occurring at the secondary level where the increase is estimated at 80%. The

demand for hiring new administrators is more difficult to estimate due to the scarcity of national survey data on administrator turnover, but a 1988 study by the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP) reported that 35% of current high school principals were 50 years of age or older, suggesting that a substantial number of high school principals will be eligible for retirement in the next 10 to 15 years. And the data indicate that the average age of high school principals is higher in larger school districts and communities; a fact that will have implications for the hiring of women and minorities, who have previously been more successful in being selected for these jobs (Pounder, 1990).

But filling numbers, quotas and targets with certain types of administrators is not the answer to the equity issues in educational administration. Einstein's maxim that we can't solve problems with the same intelligence we had when we created them certainly can be applied to this complex issue of equity in educational administration. Just as corporate America is using new paradigms to accomplish the enormous task of redefining the production and distribution of goods and services in a free–market global economy (Senge, 1991; Peters, 1988; Wheatley, 1992: Block, 1991), so educational leaders need to reach out to each other and free themselves of some of the constraints that traditional assumptions have imposed on the definition of educational leadership. A part of these traditional assumptions centers on the perceived need by those at the highest level of administration and policy–making to define leadership in terms of homogeneity and control.

The importance of educational leaders trained to value diversity and see the need to expand their view of reality should not be minimized. If this nation is to survive as a democratic society which is competitive in the international arena, the full participation of all its citizens is necessary. This participation is dependent to a large degree on the ability of educational leaders to create systems that celebrate the multifaceted possibilities existing within schools today and see differences as a "valuable resource for enriching the tradition of democratic pluralism" (Giroux, 1994). These are the kind of leaders who will have skills in "empowering students who typically struggle in schools (e.g., students of color/ different ethnicities, students with disabilities, students of lower social classes)" (Capper & Jamison, 1993).

To be this kind of leader and have access to the leadership roles in educational administration in the twenty–first century will be an exciting venture. Here are some tips for equal access and treatment in educational administration.

Tips for Success
Know Yourself
The most important ingredient for success is honest and objective evaluation of your strengths and abilities as well as your aspirations. This self–assessment is a continual process which helps you understand your strengths and abilities so that you can put your energies where your talents and interests are.

Be Prepared
Credentials and work experiences are an important part of success in educational administration. Be selective about the preparation program you chose;

enroll in a preparation program that will best help prepare you for the job of an educational administrator. As you are working on your credentials, set realistic goals for yourself and seek work experiences that will enable you to be a qualified candidate for leadership positions.

Analyze and Strategize

Analyze your career situations and strategize your career moves so that each move will maximize the potential for achieving your goals. Don't lower your own expectation for yourself; make career decisions based on the vision that you have for yourself.

Negative Work Experiences

Work at turning negative experiences into positive factors to be utilized in reaching your goals. Negative experiences give you information that can be useful to you and to others; these kinds of experiences have been used by many as a modus operandum for high motivation, determination and a set of survival behaviors that dispel illusions and help elicit change.

Critical Factors Affecting Advancement

Be aware of three critical factors that affect advancement: structural barriers, role compatibility and organizational fit. In order to be the right person at the right place at the right time and to get the job you want, critically analyze how structural barriers (those barriers that are in place in the organization), role compatibility (the fit of your talents and the needs of the organization) and organizational fit (how well you fit into the structure of the organization) will impact your advancement.

Affiliate

Don't be trapped by historic divisions between races and genders; join state and national professional groups (i.e. National Association of Secondary School Principals, NASSP; American Association of School Administrators, AASA; Association of Supervision and Curriculum Development, ASCD) that include people from various groups, classes, and races.

Share Goals

No one can be successful in a vacuum. It takes support from others as well as support to others to be successful. Establish "win–win" relationships; that is relationships that are supportive for both parties. These are the kinds of relationships in which you can share goals, be a mentor and establish networking ties.

Find a Mentor and Be a Mentor

A mentor is a person who you want to emulate; it is someone you respect not only for the position they hold but because of the skills they use to successfully execute their responsibilities in that position. As you learn from a mentor, you also learn by being a mentor; your personal growth will be enhanced if you also become a mentor to someone else.

Network

Networking is an information giving and receiving system. It is the process of developing and using contacts for information, advice and support (Duvall, 1980). These kinds of contacts are very useful in accomplishing your goals.

TABLE 3
Mentoring Functions

Career Functions	Psychosocial Functions
sponsorshop/promote/recommend	role modeling
exposure/viability	support and encouragement
coaching	counseling
protection	friendship
set challenging task/performance standard	encourage risk taking
share expertise	enhance self-confidence
provide needed information	help formulate career plan
	act as sounding board
chance to observe/learn by association	facilitate move from classroom
arrange administrative experience	arrange access to other administrators
advise on salary negotiations	provide feedback on progress

There is a fairly close relationship among sharing goals, mentoring and networking. Mentoring and networking can form a comfortable overlap. The sharing of information, the benefits of mutual support, the potential for tutelage and guidance are all features common to sharing goals, mentoring and networking (Swoboda & Millar, 1986).

Pavan (1987) lists mentoring functions that show the importance of mentoring and the ways in which mentoring can be effective. Table 3 shows these mentoring functions which are divided into career functions and psychosocial functions. The career functions of a mentor deal with how mentors can help advance your career; the psychosocial functions deal with how mentors can give social and psychological support to you as you develop career plans and move from the classroom to roles in administration.

Summary

As educators reach out to each other in these kinds of ways, they will be better prepared to meet the challenge of leadership in tomorrow's schools not with fear, anxiety, frustration or discussion only of standards in the traditional way, but with the expectation of a celebration as they work together to improve education to meet the needs of a pluralistic population.

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166

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Chapter 26

SO YOU WANT TO BE A SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENT?

Vicki Kivell

> *You will only be successful as a superinten-*
> *dent if you learn to work with the Board of*
> *Trustees. But you cannot learn to work with*
> *the Board until you are a superintendent.*
> *No other job in education prepares you for*
> *this.*

A S THE DECADE OFTHE 1990s reaches its midpoint, women are begin-
ning to find their place as school superintendents. After years of popu-
lating the teaching force, women are breaking their way into the top
administrative levels. A 1993 Executive Educator survey reported that 11% of
the superintendencies in the United States are held by women, up from 4.2% in
1987 (Jones, 1994). In Texas the percentage of women superintendents is ap-
proximately seven percent — 74 out of 1050 districts in 1994. Of the approxi-
mately 14,000 superintendents leading America's schools, 50% plan to retire in
the next decade. These retirements will expand the opportunities for the top
district leadership spot to include even more women (Hoyle, 1993).

How can you, as a woman administrator or teacher, prepare for the
superintendent's job? In 1993 the American Association of School Administra-
tors Commission on Standards for the Superintendency developed eight stan-
dards for the superintendency (Hoyle, 1993). Each of these standards relates
directly to a specific area of expertise required for success. Experience as a
superintendent and research into successful (and unsuccessful) superintenden-
cies suggest the addition of two more standards — making a top ten list for
aspiring superintendents.

Let's look at the eight standards from AASA. First is a brief summary of the
elements of each, then specific suggestions to consider in preparing for that
aspect of the superintendency.

1. Leadership and District Culture: (Vision, executive leadership, shaping
school culture and climate, empowering others, and multicultural and ethnic
understanding)

> Suggestion #1: Consider the power of vision. As superintendent you
> are ultimately responsible for not only developing the vision of the
> district, but also modeling that vision for others in the district and
> empowering them to share the vision. While visions vary somewhat
> from district to district, viable visions all center on students and
> learning. By the time you are a superintendent, you should have a
> vision that is clearly defined.
>
> Suggestion #2: Executive leadership includes having a "tool kit" with
> sufficient leadership tools to meet the challenges of daily leadership
> in the district. While many women have a participatory and inclusive
> style of leadership, it is to your advantage to study the literature on

leadership and to pay close attention to the leadership styles of your colleagues.

Suggestion #3: Empowering others is much easier at the principal's level than it is at the superintendent's level. As principal you are elbow to elbow with teachers and parents; as superintendent you are one step removed from the daily life on the campus and are interpreted to many staff and community members by others (media and principals, for example). Learn to communicate clearly, to spend time listening to others, and to watch for opportunities to reward those who buy into the vision.

Suggestion #4: Several of these standards suggest an understanding of multicultural and ethnic diversity. Learn what this means for you as a superintendent. For all our children to be successful in our public schools, they must all be valued by each of us. Model this for your staff.

2. Policy and Governance: (Developing procedures for working with the board; formulating district policy, standards, and regulations; and describing public school governance in our democratic society)

Suggestion # 1: Working with the Board of Trustees is the most vital job of the Superintendent. Attend every Board meeting you can, both those in your district and those in other districts. Attend Board workshops. Listen and take notes. Ask your superintendent to explain to you his/her rationale in setting the agenda, discussing items, remaining silent, and any other nuances you notice.

Suggestion #2: District policy will govern your actions as superintendent. Read your district's policy manual. It contains elements you never knew existed. Learn to check the policy manual before you make decisions; making this a habit before becoming superintendent will save many sleepless nights.

Suggestion #3: School governance is a process of democracy in action. Recognize this and appreciate it as you see it unfold in your district.

3. Communications and Community Relations: (Skill in articulating district vision and purpose to the community and media; responding to community feedback; building consensus to strengthen community support)

Suggestion # 1: Every Board of Trustees wants a superintendent who communicates well. The paradox is that the more and better you communicate, the more and more people expect you to communicate. Learn that this is a rule of life! And don't let it frustrate you into avoiding communication.

Suggestion #2: Articulating vision and purpose to the community and media must be done over and over again. You must communicate consistently and persistently. Writing a newspaper article may work for you; so may a call-in radio show. It's important to have a plan for communicating and to follow that plan.

Suggestion #3: Responding to community feedback and building consensus are two roles of the superintendent that require time and expertise. Work on your listening and feedback skills every day and in all situations. This may be the best training you get for the super-

intendency. Learn everything you can about communication — verbal, nonverbal, and written — and practice it.

4. Organizational Management: (Skills in gathering, analyzing, and using data for decision making; framing and solving problems; formulating solutions to problems; use of quality management to meet internal and external customer expectations and to allocate resources)

Suggestion #1: The skills needed for gathering, analyzing, and using data are straightforward and sequential. Learn them.

Suggestion #2: Framing and solving problems and formulating solutions to problems is somewhat more complex. Learn to examine the situation and determine the problem before solving it. Many times, involving those who will implement the solution in the analysis takes you most of the way to a solution.

Suggestion #3: The easy problems were solved by someone else. You will never get easy problems to solve as a superintendent; many times they are seemingly impossible. So remember that "today's problems were caused by yesterday's solutions" and make decisions that take you closer to the district's goals, not further away.

5. Curriculum Planning and Development: (Skills in designing curriculum and a strategic plan to enhance teaching and learning, using theories of cognitive development; employing valid and reliable performance indicators and testing procedures; describing the use of computers and other learning technologies)

Suggestion #1: Find opportunities to design curriculum and instruction. Read everything you can find on learning; this field is exciting and dynamic. As the "head learner" in a learning organization, you need a strong base in learning.

Suggestion #2: Recognizing valid and reliable performance indicators and testing procedures is important for your data analysis. Study tests given in your district; understand their nuances.

Suggestion #3: Become technologically competent. Know what is available now and anticipated tomorrow. Understand technology's impact on students.

6. Instructional Management: (Knowledge and use of research findings on learning and instructional strategies and resources to maximize student achievement; applying research and best practice to integrate curriculum for multicultural sensitivity and assessment)

Suggestion #1: Study student achievement and look for programs and plans that lead to enhanced student achievement. When you examine an instructional program, analyze the research on that program.

Suggestion #2: Apply what you learn from research in programs you design and administer.

7. Human Resources Management: (Skill in developing a staff evaluation and assessment and supervisory system to improve performance; skill in describing and applying legal requirements for personnel selection, development, retention, and dismissal)

Suggestion #1: A school district is only as good as the individual teacher in each classroom. Learn to recognize good teaching; study

assessment systems. Learn to relate assessment to the job description for all positions.

Suggestion #2: Learn personnel law. Personnel issues have the capacity to carry liability for you and your district. Learn to ask legal counsel before taking drastic personnel actions.

8. Values and Ethics of Leadership: (understanding and modeling appropriate value systems, ethics, and moral leadership; exhibit multicultural and ethnic understanding; coordinate social agencies and human services to help each student grow and develop as caring, informed citizens.)

Suggestion #1: Model ethical and moral behavior every day. Remember that you are the district to many in the public; there is no "off time." You are superintendent 24 hours a day, even at the grocery store.

Suggestion #2: Schools will never have the resources to solve all our students' problems. Learn to work with other agencies to develop coherent systems for children.

Two additional areas are of such importance to success as a superintendent that they are added as separate areas below.

9. Finance and Budgeting: (fiscal management)

Suggestion #1: As superintendent you are expected to lead the district to live within its means. Learn how to do this. Work with your district business manager to learn budgeting and financial processes.

10. School Board/Superintendent Relationships: (ability to work with an elected Board of Trustees)

The publication Roles and Relationships: School Boards and Superintendents by AASA and NSBA reports that superintendents are faced with increasing numbers of single-issue board members and micromanagement by one or more board members, leading to shorter tenure as a superintendent (AASA and NSBA, 1994). Executive Educator surveyed 50 superintendents who left the superintendency altogether before retirement; the three primary incentives to leave the superintendency were: (1) poor superintendent/board relationships; (2) conflict with school boards over education priorities, and (3) conflict among school board members (McKay & Grady, 1994). The following suggestion may lessen your possibility of becoming an "early leaver".

Suggestion #1: Meet with your Board prior to your first official Board meeting as superintendent in a workshop setting. Use this meeting as an opportunity to learn from the Board what they expect from you in Board meetings. If you have been attending Board meetings, you will have a list of questions to ask the Board. If a consultant handled the superintendent search, it is helpful to have that consultant run the workshop.

Many superintendents have no exposure to closed or executive sessions until they are in the midst of their first one as superintendent. Use this workshop to not only learn the parameters the Board desires, but also to establish your professional parameters for these meetings.

You will only be successful as a superintendent if you learn to work with the Board of Trustees. But you cannot learn to work with the Board until you are superintendent. No other job in education prepares you for this.

Once you become a superintendent a few other suggestions will help you survive and, yes, enjoy the job.

Suggestion #1: Remember to work with the Board and to meet their needs. If you are not successful in keeping the majority of the Board members satisfied with your leadership, little else will matter.

Suggestion #2: Develop a network of other superintendents. You will need informal feedback and advice from others who sit in that chair.

Suggestion #3: Keep your sense of calm and your sense of humor. You cannot know everything or be prepared for every pie that hits you in the face. Remember to model courtesy and calmness in each situation.

Suggestion #4: Above all, remember the children. Use what is best for children as your decision point and you won't be off very often.

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173

Chapter 27

WOMEN CANDIDATES FOR THE SUPERINTENDENCY: BOARD PERSPECTIVES

Margaret Grogan
Mary Henry

> *We have yet to reconceptualize the superintendency and other educational leadership in ways that broaden the position away from a warrior, military, or business mentality, as the only way, and toward the development of new storylines, including developing minds and community.*

THIS PAPER is based on data collected in three studies in a northwestern U.S. state. The first was a study conducted in the Fall of 1993 of a superintendent search process used by a rural school board. The four school board members were interviewed over a period of six weeks two or more times for approximately 90 minutes each time. This particular board had just completed the superintendent search and had hired a new superintendent. The second study, in 1994, was of 27 women aspiring to the superintendency. Each participant was interviewed once or twice for a total time of approximately 60 - 90 minutes. The third study was a school and community study (1992-1994) conducted in a school district in a university town. The data were gathered in interviews with the board members and superintendent and from observation of School Board and community meetings. What follows is a preliminary look at some important connections between the studies against the background of literature on what school boards are looking for in a superintendent and how women fare under the circumstances.

There are few women superintendents of K-12 public school districts in the United States. Although increasing numbers of women have leadership positions in schools in the principalship and the assistant superintendency (Restine, 1993), women and especially minority women are still seriously underrepresented. Traditionally the superintendency has been held by white males. Pavan (1985) found that during the years 1970-1984, women superintendents accounted for 3.3 percent. Shakeshaft (1989) shows figures for female district superintendents that range from 1.6 percent in 1928 to 3.0 percent in 1984-85. Feistritzer (1988) reports a nationwide study conducted in 1987 revealing that 96 percent of public school superintendents were men. Even more recent statistics show only a slight increase with women superintendents at 5.5 percent in 1990 (Blount, 1993), climbing to 7.1 percent in 1993 (Montenegro, 1993). The 1992 Study of the American School Superintendency, tells us that of the more than four million professional educators in the United States, fewer than 1,000 women guide the 15,000 school districts in executive leadership positions (p. 9).

Therefore, to draw attention to the process of hiring women at this level me of the important questions asked in the studies were aimed at finding out

what is going on at the application and interview stage of finding a superinten-
dent. In the board study, for instance, participants were asked to talk about how
they narrowed down the pool. They described what they were looking for in a
superintendent and how they interpreted the paperwork. They focused particu-
larly on the influence of the consultant and his screening team at the outset and
then on their own judgment later in the process. Similarly, the 12 participants in
the aspirant study who had had experience applying for a superintendent's
position were asked to talk about the reactions and responses they received both
from school boards and consultants. Ten of those also spoke about their experi-
ences in interviews for a superintendency. The school board members and the
superintendent in the school and community study were asked about their
perceptions of the superintendency and why the school district had never hired
a woman superintendent.

Theoretical Approach

In what follows we use a framework of feminist poststructuralist theory to
reveal processes and discourses that constrain or limit women's access to the
superintendency. Feminist poststructuralist thinking suggests that all mean-
ings and possibilities are socially constructed, not merely through social struc-
tures, but through multiple discourses embedded and created in language and
culture. In other words, discourses form what Davies (1989; 1993) calls
storylines that are circulated in the language and culture, positioning people in
a variety of ways. Davies notes that the feminist "storyline" analysis pays at-
tention not only "to the content, but also metaphors, the forms of relationships,
the patterns of power and desire" created (Davies, 1993) (Also see Walkerdine
& Lucey, 1989). It is not that the structures or rules of society mandate women
out of the superintendency, much more subtle meanings are contextually cre-
ated, making the superintendency problematic for women. One's gendered sub-
jectivity is created in interactions with others, whereby storylines are formed –
from one's own experience in the world, as well as from the positions made
available (Davies 1989). For example, the position of the superintendency may
assume meanings for women candidates as "experienced" or "lacking experi-
ence." Poststructuralist theory thus helps in making the effects of dualisms into
"male" and "female' experiences *visible*, and hence we can work toward rewrit-
ing storylines to include a much wider range of possibilities for women and the
superintendency.

Our own values are embedded in this approach, in the choice of the study,
the questions we asked, and the meanings attributed. We are both feminists, who
have found insights in all the various feminisms (liberal, Marxist, radical,
poststructuralist) but who have found a poststructuralist approach most useful
in this study in its attention to the processes of discourses at work. Most of the
respondents in the study argued that they are committed to equity and social
justice, yet in many cases their actions belie their words (*e.g.*, board members
who have never hired women superintendents). Thus, we need to look beneath
surface meanings for what is happening at a more subtle level.

Common themes that emerged in the study have to do with experience, and
how experience is interpreted. Just as Worrall (1995) found that at the vice-
principalship level of selection, the board's selection procedure is geared toward
men, "solidly based on male principles of competition and career advancement,

despite the board's insistence to the contrary," we found that "experience" was perceived in androcentric ways. We will discuss the following elements of the notion of "experience" as it is seen by board members: (a) budgeting and finance experience; (b) experience in a sizable district; (c) experience with discipline and control; (d) desired "fit" with the "needs" of the school district; and (e) experience with and advocacy by powerful others, such as consultants.

"Experience" Storylines

A main issue was the societal expectations of a woman in the role of superintendents, although the participants in the board study vehemently denied being in any way prejudiced in their attitudes towards women candidates. As one board member put it:

> I'm a believer that we have a lot of women leaders out there that are overlooked because of their sex and I think that's a terrible thing — a terrible waste . . . I don't look at gender when I look at something — if they're equal in experience — that's what I go on. (MBM)[1]

The innocent remark at the end of the quotation is the key to the attitudes of the majority of the board members in this study. What appears to be a level playing field in terms of experience is deceptive.

Budgeting and Finance

One of the aspirants explains that after her interview

> I asked for feedback and they said nice things and it just came down to experience... it [couldn't have been] a fear of my lack of experience in construction and all. I mean I managed $66 million worth [but] they still didn't think I had enough in budgeting and finance. (SA)[2]

Thus, it is not a matter simply of experience, although that cannot be discounted. More precisely it is how the experience is perceived. Rees (1991) argues that "Women must not only *be* competent, but they must *be seen (or perceived)* to be competent" (p. 8) (emphasis in the original). Indeed, as the aspirant study revealed, women candidates for such positions, no matter how well qualified in terms of on-the-job experiences or academic preparation, are invariably seen as women first and administrators second (Grogan, in press). Duke (1986) links this phenomenon to leadership behaviors. He argues that

> the behavior of a leader does not constitute leadership until it is perceived to do so by an observer. . . . while a leader may consciously seek to create meaningful impressions, ultimately the determination of meaning resides with the observer . . . (p. 14-15).

This reinforces the point that school board members and consultants who act as gatekeepers must perceive the candidate as potential leader of the school district. The ability to project oneself as a credible superintendent resides only partially with the woman herself.

Consequently women candidates appear to have two struggles. Not only do they have to acquire on-the-job experiences that are often gender exclusive, such as financial expertise and construction know-how, but they also must prove to the satisfaction of the board who is interviewing them that this experience has fit them for the challenges in that district. Chion-Kenney (1994) quotes an example of a female area superintendent who was in charge of 51 schools but who was rejected out of hand as not having superintendency experience by a board that

had demanded it as a prerequisite for further consideration. Because she did not answer to a board they would not even consider her. Such a decision would seem to be based on criteria for exclusion that had little to do with the skills and abilities of the candidate.

Size of District

Most of the board members in the first study stated that one of the deciding factors in narrowing down the pool of 80 to the five finalists was the candidate's experience in a "sizable" district. When pressed for a more exact description opinions differed. One participant explained that:

> we were looking for someone that had handled a fairly sizable num-
> ber of people. .... we thought that a principal from a small school just
> wouldn't have had much experience. We did have a rancorous situa-
> tion — a lot of bad feelings with the principals and . . . you know a
> principal from a small school would have been kind of out of his
> league. (MBM)

In this particular search it became clear that the size of district was related to the supposed experience a candidate would have had in supervising others, in the variety of incidents he or she might have handled. This was due to the acrimonious situation that existed in the district between the board and the powerful group of principals who had caused the previous superintendent much trouble. As the board member quoted above remembers the conflict, he speculates on the possibility of a woman handling it.

> . . . knowing the situation as it stood then — I would have thought
> that dealing with the five principals — fairly macho type people —
> that a woman would have had a couple of strikes against her. (MBM)

Discipline and Control

One of the superintendent aspirants also came up against stereotyping with regard to discipline embedded in notions of control and authority. In her case she has been given feedback from board presidents more than once referring to discipline as the reason for not hiring her.

> Some of them have said things like our high school has some real
> discipline problems and we felt we needed someone with a strong
> discipline background. (SA)

However, the board member above maintains that if a woman candidate in the pool had been experienced enough, he would have been prepared to con-sider her. It is interesting to note though, that like the other board members, he cannot recall more than one woman's application. There were at least ten women in the original 80 although none of the participants could recall exactly what the number was. The only two women candidates that really stood out in their memories were quickly and easily eliminated early on. One was a woman super-intendent who was leaving her district because of problems in her district.

> [she] had problems with people in her district — with people I mean
> say like parents — there was not a good fit between that particular
> administrator and the district . . . the whole situation didn't work out
> real well. (FBM)

The other was a woman whose paper work was excellent but who took other superintendency before the search really got under way.

> she was one of the best qualified and we knew that she was applying
> to another district and . . . she had been selected by the other district
> before we got to the [interviews]. (MBM)

That school board member goes on to dismiss other women candidates as
not "impressing [him] at all — they were out of state." Having made up his mind
that knowledge of state regulations was a must, the board member was easily
able to cross the other women candidates off the list.

> it was a matter of — as soon as we found an application that didn't fit
> we just set it aside narrowing it down. (MBM)

Here the women candidates are up against a perception of lack of experi-
ence, when in fact they may have had extensive experience in critical dimen-
sions of leadership, particularly in the ability to communicate and work with
people.

"Fit" with "Needs"

Needless to say the notion of "fit" was quite inflexible for women candi-
dates. As the board president described it:

> The types of experiences they had was a key thing . . . at the time the
> big thing in my mind was alternative high school — somebody who
> had had experience in that, somebody who had had experience in
> construction, ... somebody that had had experience in fiscal things.
> . . . we had some negotiations problems and I wanted somebody who
> could come in and deal with that. (MBM)

According to the board president, the best way to ensure that the slate of
candidates that they eventually interviewed would be able to meet the chal-
lenges as he outlined them was to hire a consultant. They engaged the services
of the state school board association who sent a team out to the district.

> What they did is they screened 80 applicants and based on their
> experience and knowledge — they selected what they called the top
> five based on the things we wanted in a superintendent. ... time was
> short and with each of us having jobs . . . we just really didn't have the
> time, I felt, to be a fair and honest judge of who we select — so we
> allowed them to screen the applicants and recommend the best five.
> Some of us went down and screened applicants as we could — to me
> an insurmountable thing to do . . . .(MBM)

Thus, at this stage in the search process, boards like the one in the study
really appear to delegate a great deal of responsibility to the consultant, espe-
cially if he or she gains and keeps their trust.

Powerful Advocates

Women candidates need to depend on a consultant's personal knowledge of
themselves. As one of the aspirants in the second study puts it:

> I think that the consultant has so much influence over who gets
> picked that you really have to have a lot of people out there who
> know who you are and when it comes down to taking five or ten
> names to the board . . . that you can have somebody that will value
> whatever your particular experience is. (SA)

Some argue that search firms can aid the non-traditional candidate by pre-
senting a diverse range of candidates (Love in Chion-Kenney, 1994). "Some

search firms will really promote women or make sure they get a fair hearing or educate boards that it's not only illegal to discount women, but they're going to lose out on some good candidates if they do" (Shakeshaft in Chion-Kenney, 1994). However, it seems to depend both on the kind of consultant used and the kind of district. The rural district in the first study placed a great deal of faith in the consultant's educational and regional expertise. They firmly believed that by themselves they would not have known enough about the candidates' professional strengths and weaknesses to make an informed decision. But far more powerful, the consultant's ability to bring them critical personal information about the candidates, was his biggest asset.

> The screening committee we used — I think there were five of them — those people all have knowledge of superintendents — they've all had experience working with our state association and with the administrators association . . . they could pretty much tell us or they pretty much knew themselves how to find out things that we wanted to know. (MBM)

> the screening committee came out to our district — the files never left our office — they came out to our district and they went through all these . . . . You have probably one of the best methods of communication in any society — it's the grapevine and so when they're going through these forty people if they know one was booted out for some reason or if this one's an alcoholic . . . or people who have been interviewed many many times or if they're just ready to retire in another year . . . they can screen people out and get it down to ten or twelve pretty quick . . . . (FBM)

If the consultant is male, even with his best intention to promote a women, he may have difficulty convincing board members that a women is the best candidate for the superintendency. In the best case, described in the next example, the male mentor may actively promote a woman candidate for the superintendency, but his efforts may be thwarted by conventional wisdom and a tradition of male executive leadership of schools, and a perception that a woman is different and therefore perhaps unable to carry out the role.

> A consultant in a search for a rural superintendency explained that he believed strongly in the woman candidate, but continually met resistance from the other members of the committee because of the perception that she had a Ph.D., and therefore would not be able to "get her boots dirty." Since it's men in rural areas who typically wear "boots" and get them dirty, it seemed to be a case of a gap between the image of the superintendent as a "shit kicker" and the image of the academic woman. The woman candidate had to show that she was a doer, not just a thinker, and that she could relate to the rural community as an active participant. Also, the doctoral degree was seen as a barrier for this woman, since she was perceived as a distant and intellectual, but if she did not have the doctoral degree she would also have been labeled as not adequately credentialed. (Fieldnotes, CS3)

As the aspirants see it, a woman really needs someone in a powerful position like another superintendent or a university consultant to "go to bat for her".

Without this sometimes a woman is included on the final slate for political reasons.

> sometimes it's political for the townspeople and political for maybe the female members of the board and political for their staffs . . . I think that at a certain point in this process I really felt myself the token female [finalist]. (SA)

In the third study, in an interview with the superintendent, the following comments were made:

> We hire women and minorities *because it is the law, not for altruistic* reasons. It is the same for the superintendency. Some women will be hired but they do not necessarily get the mentorship and support that they might need to be successful. In my classes there were a number of very competent women and some men. Now the men have all been hired, and to my knowledge not one of the women. I have talked with them and *its the sponsorship that they seem to feel they have missed out on*. If you are not supported and promoted then you are not going to get an interview. (male superintendent, CS)

The law can be one reason put forward by consultants to interview a woman candidate, but the law alone does not serve to advance women into the superintendency if there is not a commitment also on the part of the hiring committee to hire a woman. The use of the word, "altruism," indicating concern for the welfare of others, selflessness, shows that hiring a woman may not be perceived as in the best interests of the school district, but rather is something done for the altruistic social cause of gender equity. Until such time as the hiring of women superintendents is perceived as a *good* in and of itself, not a sacrifice to be made, then women will continue to be subject to screening out of the interview process and the position.

One particularly bitter experience with a consultant is related by an aspirant who has been a finalist on a number of occasions but who has not yet been able to gain the superintendency of a district larger than the small one where she is already superintendent. She says:

> the last position I applied for they narrowed it down to two, myself and someone from the [central region] that had had some problems there . . . and the board decided not to hire [either of us]. They hired the consultant — the consultant that had been sent in to lead them in their search for a new superintendent and I was pissed. I was . . . I really felt the process stunk at that point. (SA)

Without doubt the search for a superintendent is shaped in many ways by the consultants or search firms that a school board hires to help. Some of them like the one used in the school board study have really been nothing more than extensions of the "old boys network." However, recently such firms or agencies are expanding beyond the state school board associations. In February 1994, the School Administrator reported briefly on 23 independent firms that handle superintendent searches. Of the 23, only 7 stated that a woman was principal of the firm or co-principal, although several were quoted as having one or two women associates. One wonders if anything has changed significantly or are these search firms merely national versions of the regional kind.

School Boards That Hire Women Superintendents

What kind of school boards hire women superintendents? Marietti and ...t (1994) found that both female-majority and male-majority boards do. In

contrast to the popular belief that women board members are not likely to hire a female superintendent, they found that "female-majority school boards over-hired female superintendents" (p. 383). Similarly, Radich (1992) shows that school boards with a high proportion of women serving on the board are more supportive of women candidates for the superintendency.

In the school and community study, only in the last five years have women served on the school board:

> We (two women) came onto an all-male board. We were the only women who had ever served on this board. Gender was a real issue with the previous administration. We felt we were not really listened to, that we were both laughed at. And the newspaper headlines ran, "Mom wins school board election." It was very degrading. We were seen as moms only. We had to break through the good ol' boy system. But we were able to hire someone (a male superintendent) who is much better at working with us. We don't always agree but we work well together. And we are respected. (board member, CS).

In this case, the hiring of a more open-minded male superintendent who could work well with women board members was perceived as enough of a radical change for this school district. Thus, breaking the status quo, with women demonstrating leadership in multiple arenas of school life, including the board, would seem to be helpful in creating new storylines, and new opportunities for women in the superintendency.

The general profile of a school board that hires women based on Marietti and Stout's (1994) research is that the members are older, have slightly higher social and economic status, are more cosmopolitan, and are more likely to be directors of a K-8 district. There is also evidence that female superintendents are hired in districts that have relatively high numbers of female administrators. If this is true then it is not surprising that a woman was not considered for the superintendent of the rural district in the board study reported in this paper. The board members, two women and two men, were certainly older but they were not particularly high status. Only one woman had a master's degree. The two men had been in various kinds of agricultural business but they were not farmers. They had served as regional consultants or salesmen of farm products. The other woman was a homemaker who had spent many years in the schools as a teacher's aide. There was only one woman principal in the district at the time. Individually, all the board members appreciated the need for a major change in the district. Their focus was on technology and the growing needs of a population who did not fit in the regular school. But collectively they were not looking for a change that was also perceived as a "risk." Going outside the district by hiring a search consultant was a radical change from past practice. The board members were not willing to depart further from established ways by hiring a woman superintendent.

Conclusion

This study explores some of the storylines created as to how and why women superintendents are viewed as a "risk," less "experienced," less able to work with building and construction, sizable districts, disciplinary issues, not "fitting" with the "needs" of the school districts, nor receiving the advocacy of powerful figures such as consultants. Based on this work in the public schools,

we have found that the superintendency continues to be socially constructed as a male arena. Male images predominate, of paternalism, autonomy and utilitarianism. Words that characterize this approach include, "budgeting and finance," "construction," "discipline," "power," "sizable districts" — and the list could be extended to include such terms as "winning out over the competition," "fighting opponents," "conquering the problem," "executing decisions," and "executive leadership."[4] Board members, both women and men, seem to buy into the idea that administration is characterized by an androcentric style of leadership, which may be alienating to some men and many women candidates for the superintendency. Since public schools have been constructed as a bureaucratic hierarchy, it may be perceived that men are best in the "executive leadership" position of the superintendency. In contrast, a feminist view of organizational structures and leadership may be more collaborative and horizontal/lateral, a view at odds with established policy and practices. While we have moved in recent years to such concepts as shared decision-making and site-based leadership, the "giant" of public school systems remains a hierarchy with carefully segmented and delineated roles and responsibilities, and a top-down chain of command.

We have yet to reconceptualize the superintendency and other educational leadership in ways that broaden the position away from a warrior, military, or business mentality, as the only way, and toward the development of new storylines, including developing minds and community. The work of the superintendency is not merely the management and direction of a corporation, but a moral endeavor, with a focus on teaching and learning, collaboration and building community, with an underlying ethic of care (Henry, in press). Women, with their extensive years of service in education as classroom teachers, are in many cases superbly prepared to lead a district. A good leader does not have to personally carry out all fiscal responsibilities, facilities management or discipline matters. The leader *does* have to be accountable for hiring and leading others in a collaborative effort for the education of students. Women can challenge critics of their "experience" level, create new storylines, taking up leadership such as school board membership and helping to redefine the superintendency in ways that make sense to them.

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182

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183

[1] Participants from the board study will be identified by the initials "M" (male) or "F" (female) "B" (board) "M" (member).
[2] Participants in the aspirant study will be identified by the initials "S" (superintendent) "A" (aspirant).
[3] Participants in the school and community study will be identified by the initials "CS".
[4] Philosophically, the male images are those of the "warrior", stemming from the work of William James 1958/1970, and also Kantian positions (Noddings 1994, 59-65).

184

WOMEN AS SCHOOL EXECUTIVES:

Visions for Reflection

Chapter 28

REFLECTIONS FOR WOMEN IN TRANSITION: LOOKING BACK TO JOB

Marion Czaja

> *As the opportunity for women to serve in top administrative roles becomes more prevalent, so should information increase to support their efforts in leadership.*

F ROM THE EARLIEST YEARS of my life I can remember my grandparents and parents remarking that "Life is transitory" — short, fleeting or brief. As I advance in years and reflect on those three words, appreciation for their meaning grows. Reflections can be turning points to assist in moving through transitions as we all experience what Viorst (1991) calls necessary losses — those caused by separation, death, moves, job changes, traumas, and combinations of these experiences.

Transition is ". . . the psychological process people go through to come to terms with the new situation. Change is external, transition is internal" (Bridges, 1991). Changes and transitions may be completed gracefully with seeming ease or awkwardly with much noise and confusion. What makes the difference? Understanding what to expect and knowing what to do to influence your own and others' psychological process in moving through transition.

As a female administrator for the last sixteen years, I have had many opportunities to manage personal as well as organizational transition. I have served as an assistant principal, acting principal, coordinator of instruction, K-12, and as superintendent in three different districts. With each change of position, a move was necessary. Most important was the psychological process or the transition process that accompanied the move.

According to Bridges (1991), the transition process has three phases: (1) an ending, (2) a neutral zone and (3) a new beginning (p. 5, 6). He writes that transition ". . . begins with letting go of something" (p. 5). This is followed by ". . . no-man's land between the old reality and the new" (p. 5). The last step is the new beginning itself (p. 6).

As noted by Nicholson and West (1988),". . . job changes are frequent events in managers' lives, and are also events of great personal importance to them and to their organizations" (p. 2). In the field of education, top level managers (superintendents) have a relatively short life-span in any one position.

Whether a change in position is voluntary or involuntary, transition is part of the process. Even when the change is voluntary, transition is not easy. When looking at job changes for men and women, Nicholson and West (1988) found that differences were seen in three points:

> . . . anxiety before [the] last job move, satisfaction after [the] last job move, and growth opportunities in [the] present job. First we can see that women are more anxious than men about their job moves—

hardly surprising in view of the generally more radical nature of their moves, and the fact that women, much more than men, are entering environments dominated by the opposite sex. Women are also initially less satisfied than men in their new jobs, though they tend to find more growth opportunities" (p. 202,203).

Another researcher, Audrey McCollum, (as cited in Waldrop, 1991) tracked forty-two women over a two-year period after making a move and found that only half felt at home in their new location and almost one-third had sought professional help because of anxiety.

What can be done to move through the transition (not change) process smoothly? Reading, reflection and experience lead to the following recommendations for the process:

Phase One — Letting Go

1) Let go. Say good-bye. If you can, do this in a formal way to mark the parting.

The easiest move I made occurred when a formal farewell party was given for me. I had an opportunity to express my gratitude to the community, to say good-bye, and to receive their blessing as I moved to a position in another district.

2) Identify what primary factors or forces in your life you are losing. Include secondary losses too. For instance, in moving from an agency position to a superintendent's position, I lost my peer group, my old role and as a result, my sense of competence in that role.

3) Identify what you are gaining. In moving to my first superintendency, I gained an opportunity to apply my leadership skills in a new way, to view occurrences differently, to learn in new circumstances and grow through new and sometimes unexpected situations. I gained in status, monetary reward, respect from peers, and self-confidence.

Phase Two — Walking Through the Wilderness

1) Learn as much as you can of the factual situation of your new district — beyond what you learned for the interview. Track the demographics, the finances, the achievement of students, the faculty, and the community power structure and communication structures. This additional knowledge will build your confidence to work with the new community that you now serve.

2) Learn the people — staff and community members. Both facts and people must be made part of your knowledge or data base just as you and your expectations become part of theirs. Visiting with all staff in small groups, large groups and/or on an individual basis is a good start. Listening, exchanging inquiries and encouraging brainstorming to identify strengths and weaknesses can result in providing a lift for everyone. Building trust is an essential step to the next phase. This period of time in moving from one administration to another is very stressful. People are neither "here" nor "there." People are waiting for you (as the administrator) to lead the way. They wonder how much change will be made, when changes will be made, and for what purpose(s) changes will be made. Recognizing their transition process will help you to deal with your transition process.

3) If you are in charge, clearly outline job roles and relationships by either affirming people in their current roles or redefining their roles. Understanding expectations will help each person begin to come to terms with the "new," which is very much wrapped up in you. If you are in the superintendent's position, the

board of trustees should have an understanding of and/or should have given approval of the new roles — depending on what these may be.

As you define yourself to your staff through both words and actions, so they define themselves to you. A team spirit begins to develop through this mutual understanding. A new organization with a new beginning results, and you begin to feel as though you are coming out of the wilderness and settling in a new home.

Phase Three — A New Beginning

Beginnings and starts are different and deserve to be distinguished one from the other. "Beginnings involve new understandings, new values, new attitudes, and, most of all, new identities" (Bridges, 1991). Starts are small pieces of the beginnings, an event or series of events. Beginnings have more to do with psychological aspects — culture, climate and beliefs.

Without carefully working through Phase 2, the Wilderness or Neutral Zone, it is difficult to move an organization into a true beginning. People must understand the vision and mission and know how they fit in the plan of action. When these are developed collaboratively, the purpose is shared and activities are aligned to create what has been seen as the future. You must be able to clearly express the purpose, paint the vision and help each person understand how they are an important part of the process in fulfilling the vision.

Bridges talks of four steps: (1) explaining purpose, (2) painting a picture, (3) creating a plan, and (4) giving each person a part to play (1991). In education, these steps translate to mission, vision, strategic plan and action plan.

One strategy that I have used as a superintendent new to a district was to ask all employees to indicate strengths and weaknesses of the district through a short survey. Results were summarized and fed back to the staff who were then involved in developing a vision, mission, and strategic plan. Strengths were highlighted and all the small successes that had already occurred as starts were recognized as we initiated a new beginning.

In summary, research indicates that a woman's experience with transition seems to be somewhat more difficult than that of a man. Steps that women can use to assist in the transition process as they move into different positions have been discussed. These are:

> 1) letting go, 2) listing loss of primary and secondary forces, 3) listing the gains, advantages, 4) learning the factual background of the new district, 5) learning the people of the new district, 6) clearly defining or redefining roles and relationships, 7) collaboratively building a vision, mission, strategic and action plans.

The study of transition, particularly for women, deserves attention because it appears that very little research has been done on this topic. As the opportunity for women to serve in top administrative roles becomes more prevalent, so should information increase to support their efforts in leadership.

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189

Chapter 29

WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION LEADERSHIP POSITIONS

Lee Ann Nutt
Christina L. Berry

> *You do agree, then, that women are to take their full share with men in education, in the care of children, and in the guardianship of other citizens; whether they stay at home or go out to war, they will be like watch dogs which take their part either in guarding the fold or in hunting and share in every task to far as their strength allows. Such conduct will not be unwomanly, but all for the best and in accordance with the natural partnership of the sexes.*
>
> *Yes, I agree.*
>
> *It remains to ask whether such a partnership can be established among human beings, as it can among animals, and if so, how?*
>
> *I was just going to put that question.*
>
> *Plato's* <u>Republic</u>

SOME 2500 YEARS since this Socratic dialogue took place, the debate over Plato's then-revolutionary proposition that women take their full share in every undertaking has been somewhat muted by social and economic realities. It is perhaps time to engage in discussion and examination of the second question: whether and how such partnerships can be established? As relatively young women scholars in higher education who have aspirations toward leadership positions, we and our spouses have asked and answered these questions repeatedly among ourselves. Each richly variegated discussion renders a panoply of conclusions. Each journal article, book, and interview gives new color and shading to the picture we paint of our potential futures. Whether and how indeed? Which is the better pathway? Married or single? Childless or not? Should we ask our husbands to consider their own occupational choices in light of our personal career goals? Dare we say aloud that since presidential search committees may look askance at a spouse's business interest or occupation, it is better to be unmarried? Do we make decisions about whether or when to have children based on such selfish considerations? We know that even now the demands of family, friends, professional associations, church, work, and school are sometimes overwhelming. Do we then hedge our bets on family choices, knowing that we may be ceding irretrievable territory? Or do we choose motherhood, knowing that we may be delaying, or perhaps sacrificing,

our opportunities for advancement? There is angst, sorrow, frustration and a certain amount of anger in these discussions. We know several male college presidents whose spouses are employed in satisfying occupations, who have several children, and who seem untroubled by these concerns.

This work was written in order to clarify the discussion. We first examine the current status of women in higher education leadership positions. Second, we speculate on the possible causes and reasons behind the present circumstances. Third, we offer some of our own recommendations for research and change in the area of women leaders in higher education. We believe that while specific data may pertain only to the higher education sector, it is easy to make comparisons and draw tentative conclusions from this relatively small group of female education executives. Sadly, it is difficult to believe that institutions of higher education differ greatly from other educational entities in their biases, values, and issues in regard to women in leadership positions.

Current Status of Women in Higher Education Leadership

In 1990, twelve percent of college presidents were women (Ross, Henderson, & Green, 1993). In the 1990 cohort, women accounted for 287 presidencies, while 2,136 men filled the executive seat (Ross, et al., 1993). Community colleges account for higher numbers of women college presidents, with 14.5 percent female presidents reported in a 1993 National Institute for Leadership study (Vaughan, Mellander, & Blois, 1993). Of the 230 women surveyed for a 1991 American Council on Education publication titled Women in Presidencies, 78 were members of religious orders (Touchton, Shavlik, & Davis, 1993). The rise in the number of female college presidents in the past five years has been largest in two-year institutions, but of all newly appointed presidents in 1990, women held only 150 positions in institutions other than two year colleges (Ross, et al., 1993). In public institutions from 1986 to 1990, trend lines show an increase in the percentage of new women presidents hired, but the actual number of women college presidents increased from 1986 to 1990 by only 16 (Ross, et al., 1993).

A gender comparison of the personal demographics of college and university presidents reveals strong differences. The 1990 marital status of college presidents (Ross, et al., 1993) shows 91% of the men and only 49% of women currently married. Of the women presidents, 21% never married due to affiliation with a religious order, as compared to 4% of the men (Ross, et al., 1993). The largest age group of women presidents was 46-55 (Vaughan, et al., 1993), with 40% between 45 and 49 (Touchton, et al., 1993). Age of presidents is fairly consistent between genders, but there are more women than men presidents in the 45-and-under age group (Vaughan, et al., 1993). Only 38% of those responding to a 1985 survey of personal data of women college presidents reported having children (Touchton, et al., 1993). The researchers regretted not having asked the ages of children, an item which might render implications for further research. Of newly appointed women presidents, only 14.6 reported that their spouses were not employed (Ross, et al., 1993). Among newly appointed males, 52.8% of their wives were not employed full time or part time. Female community college presidents report spending more than 50 hours per week on the job. Most community college presidents report spending some evenings and weekends on the job and most report spending 10 or fewer waking hours per week with their spouses (Vaughan, et al., 1993).

Since most studies indicate the most-traveled pathway to the presidency originates in the faculty and continues through increasingly responsible positions in academic administration, it is germane to the concern of women in leadership to attend to the trends and hiring practices among higher education faculty. In 1987 there were 489,000 full time college professors. Of that number, only 27.3% were women. The highest concentration of full time women professors was in two year colleges, according to The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac Issue, September, 1994. Furthermore, a 1989 study of attitudes and activities of full time faculty members in higher education indicated that one of the highest rated priorities was increasing the representation of women in the faculty and administration. Forty-nine percent of female presidents in higher education began their careers in education as teachers in elementary and secondary schools; more than half of women presidents at community colleges held teaching positions in K-12 schools as their first jobs after the baccalaureate degree (Touchton, et al., 1993).

A 1992 study of higher education executives' benefits and job perquisites asked what assistance to spouses was provided by the institution. Nearly 20% reported some sort of assistance. Of these, 62.1% provided staff and facilities to spouses for entertaining; 37.8% provided secretarial staff; 22.9% provide remuneration for involvement at institutions; 11.8% provide car or car allowance; and 70.8% provided general household assistance (The Chronicle of Higher Education Almanac Issue, 1994).

Recommendations for Further Research

Clearly, much intensive research is needed in order to empirically clarify the points we have raised. An investigation of the satisfaction rates of education executives and their spouses would offer prospective leaders an improved picture of the true state of family life associated with high profile positions. New and alternative pathways to leadership positions as described by the individuals who have succeeded might encourage otherwise reticent but talented candidates. Will the status of the executive role in education decline (as has the status of other formerly male-dominated professions) as more women and minorities enter what was once an almost exclusively white male bastion? How will leadership roles change as the education executive is more frequently addressed as "ma'am?" What strides have been made during the past twenty years to encourage non-traditional applicants to seek leadership positions in education? Finally, what do those in leadership roles suggest could be done to ease the strain on personal and family life?

Discussion and Implications

We admit that it would be fatuous to draw any certain and concrete conclusions simply from the statistics listed above. It is clear that a meta-analysis of demographic and qualitative research on women in leadership in education is needed in order to draw worthwhile conclusions. However, in view of that caveat, we find it fruitful to speculate and inquire whether some inferences may be drawn which would lead to research and more conclusive findings.

First, the relatively small number of women executives probably has a number of causes and correlations; it certainly has a number of consequences. If the infamous glass ceiling indeed exists in education, it is incumbent upon those

192

who have succeeded in shattering it themselves to assist other women in eliminating barriers to achievement by modeling, educating, advocating and interceding at the highest levels of power. A potential consequence of the small number of females holding top leadership appointments is the fierce competition it may engender. While males who fail to gain an appointment may assure themselves that another will surely come along, women may not be so certain. It is a clear and present danger that women might forego any tendency toward solidarity and collaboration in favor of their personal goals.

One possible repercussion of the marital and family demographics of women executives is that young women who aspire to the executive position can see that their predecessors have likely not "had it all." Women in such posts are half as likely as their male counterparts to be married and have children, which presents difficult choices for female aspirants. Does the family life of a woman executive deteriorate as a result of her ambitions, or has she chosen to forego marriage and children in order to gain her objectives? The fact that women executives are more geographically mobile than males (Ross, et al., 1993) and their spouses are more than twice as likely to be engaged in full time occupations indicates that being willing to take an executive position means that one must be unmarried; have a husband who can and will relocate; or be willing to negotiate a commuter marriage. The latter choice will require no small understanding on the part of one's board, who may or may not have some bias toward a visible spouse for public relations purposes.

The expectation of the visible presence of a spouse is clearly indicated by the statistics on institutional assistance to spouses. Obviously, at least one in five employers was sufficiently reliant on the role of the spouse to provide staff, facilities, cars, and household assistance for the performance of their "duties." Those women who, by choice or by chance, have no husband, may be automatically suspect. If single and not a member of a religious order, is she impossible to live with? homosexual? an aggressive shrew? self-centered? too driven? If married and vocally concerned about the impact of her career on her family, is she too family-oriented? not aggressive enough? male-dominated? child dominated? distracted by family demands? While the marriage rate of female executives is reflective of the general population, the 91% marriage rate of male executives strongly indicates a bias in hiring.

The pathway to the executive position is well-trodden and highly visible. Perhaps new trails should be blazed which offer alternative routes, safer passage and greater headway. According to Ross, Green and Henderson (1993), there is no evidence there will be a radical departure from traditional pathways; however, as more non-traditional appointments are made and those candidates succeed in their positions, perhaps presidential search committees will be more receptive to women executive candidates.

Does not the ultimate fulfillment of the human partnership as suggested by Plato require men and women to fully accept one another as equal beings? If women are to take their full share in this partnership, both candidates and board members must be willing to rethink their position on marriage and child rearing. Spouses and children will be perceived as fellow travelers rather than excess baggage. Trail-blazers and pathfinders must freely share their stories, their successes and their failures; further, they must be willing to share themselves as models, mentors and advocates. Faculty and community constituents should be

willing to reconsider old biases in favor of new and fresh perspectives. And most of all, women aspirants to executive leadership positions must look to the future with realistic optimism, knowing that the path, while difficult, will grow easier with every passing journey.

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194

Chapter 30

MIRRORS, BRICK WALLS AND SEE-THROUGH PANELS: AN EXPLORATION OF SOME OF THE BARRIERS TO LEADERSHIP OPPORTUNITIES FOR WOMEN

Anita Pankake

> *We must search for and be mentors to our-selves and to others!*

WHY MIRRORS, brick walls and see-through panels? These terms were selected for two reasons. First, they are catchy and likely to draw the interest of readers. I thought, once I have your attention, perhaps you will read on. The second reason for the terms relates to three kinds of barriers that women face as they seek leadership opportunities.

"Mirrors"are those barriers within ourselves that keep us from seeking leadership opportunities or taking advantage of them once found. Mirrors are usually related to self-concept and result in self-reinforced stereotypes. These are the barriers we put in our own way; however, they are also the barriers over which we have the most control. If we want the opportunities we can assist ourselves in reducing the barriers we create to reaching them.

"Brick walls" was selected to represent those large traditional, societal, and economic issues and expectations that are so real and so very hard to change. These are the issues for which legislation, commissions, and litigation are the means of changing. However, a favorite piece of advice I offer when a brick wall seems to have blocked progress is, "When you run into a brick wall, look for a loose brick". And so I believe with the barriers to be discussed here. Yes, they are daunting; however, given enough pressure in the right places even brick can be made to crumble.

The term "see-through panels" is used to identify the barriers that women create for other women. We can see other women in positions of leadership; we see women in positions to help others — females and males — but they don't. See-through panels are those barriers created for women by women "who have made it." They pull the aspiring close enough to see the desired achievements, but keep us separated from them and do not assist us in attaining them.

While these categories are convenient for titles in presentations and for organizing the content of this article, there are no clear-cut distinctions here. How could we separate ourselves as individuals and as a gender group from society as a whole? Are we not part of the make-up of the economic system? Do we not as individuals make up some parts of our role definitions? Multiple elements go into generating an individual's self-concept. Please be forgiving in the categoriz-ing and feel free to rearrange the content to other categories listed here or to those which you create that better describe the elements in your situation.

Not only was the title intended to catch your interest, but so was the intent for the wording of each of the major topics to follow. An attempt was made to capture the essence of each very serious subject in a catchy phase. Please do not __isinterpret the intent to be glib. Rather, the phrases were created to help you

remember the concepts long after you've completed reading the article. Each of the phrases is followed by some very serious content and some suggested strategies for overcoming the barriers discussed. So, please, read on!

Now That's Progress!

That women are now populating top leadership positions in greater and greater numbers has some mythical elements to it. While we pick up journals, trade magazines, and view talk shows featuring female CEOs, we may be fooled in to thinking that "leaps" have been made in the numbers of females in these top leadership positions. According to Jacobs (1989) the same profile people appear in many places. This tends to create an illusion then that there are greater numbers than reality would reveal. The illusion is created by interviewing and spotlighting the same women over and over. Also, Whitaker and Lane (1990) help burst the bubble of the great gains women have made in securing middle management positions in schools. They reveal that in 1928 55% of elementary principalships and 7.9% of secondary principalships were held by females. In 1984-85 those same positions were 16.9% and 3.5% females. While there is certainly reason to celebrate our gains, it is important to remember that over the long-term women have lost ground. This lost ground has had to be reclaimed and then added to in order to be where we are today. Unless we are willing to view the long-term history rather than year by year or even decade by decade, we can easily be fooled. The important message here is to be cautious about accepting at face-value any claims of progress.

Tending to the "Little Things" . . .

I often hear women say that they cannot take on the principalship or superintendency responsibilities at this time because they have children. I find this interesting especially in that males have children too — don't they?!? In fact, "having a family" not only doesn't deter males from seeking administrative positions, it is many times a motivator to do so! While it is true that leadership/administrative positions demand increasing responsibilities, it is also the case that scheduling flexibility and economic opportunities increase as well. It may well be easier to adjust one's schedule as superintendent to care for a sick child or to attend a parent conference than it is to do these things as a classroom teacher. Certainly, it is easier to locate quality child care when working with an administrative salary rather than a teaching salary. Another point to be made in this regard is that boards of education often want school leaders to be a vital part of the community. What better way to become involved in the schools than to have children who attend them?

The important message here is that yes, while some "brick walls" continue to exist regarding women as best to serve in the traditional role of nurturer of the young, a portion of this barrier is self imposed, i.e., a mirror. At minimum, don't assume that children and leadership positions are mutually exclusive. Explore your options before giving up or delaying your aspirations.

I Might Consider That Someday . . .

According to Schuster and Foote (1990), females hold fewer superintendencies than male and are older when they get these positions. They found that arly 36% of the women in their study were over 46 when they got the job. Only

14% of the males were over 46 when they secured the job. Additionally, more than three-fourths of the female superintendents had more than five years of teaching experience while only two-thirds of the male superintendents had more than five years teaching experience. Also in the Schuster & Foote study, female superintendents reported holding central office positions more often than males (59% versus 41%), but fewer principalships than reporting males (74% for women, 85 % for men).

Rarely do women say "at start" I plan to be superintendent. In fact, they do not regularly say the same thing about principalships either. The tendency is to say "I might wait to do that someday, if the situation is right." As females, we do not seem to focus on the line-administrative career path, but instead take the Doris Day "Que Sera Sera" strategy. Young male educators who state their career goals early are seen as "real comers;" young female educators who do this may be labelled as "pushy" or at best "unrealisitic" regarding what life is like. A quote from Dorothy Sayers' Guady Night, gets right to the point here, "There is perhaps one human being in a thousand who is passionately interested in the job for the job's sake. The difference is that if that one person in a thousand is a man, we say, simply that he is passionately keen on his job; if she is a woman, we say she is a freak."

Some of this is societal, i.e., brick walls. However, much of what needs to change is within our own control — mirrors — and the expectations and reactions we have for each other — see-through panels. Surely if each of us would work at changing the two within our control, bricks would begin to crumble. Set your goals early and encourage others to do the same!

A "Do It Yourself" Mentality

A "do it yourself mentality" can be a mirror or a see-through panel. It is a mirror when we as individuals seem to believe that accepting help is cheating, that learning from others is "the easy way' that if we do not do everything all by ourselves it can't be real. As a see-through panel, a do it yourself mentality to what women who "have made it" say and do to those women who are seeking leadership opportunities. Rather than providing the mentoring relationship to other capable, motivated and enthusiastic women, they are inclined to say through words and behaviors "I made it on my own, you will just have to do the same." Some of the literature has referred to this phenomenon as the "Queen Bee Syndrome" or the "Mafia Mothers." Whitaker and Lane (1990) put it best by stating, "For women to succeed in acquiring administrative positions in education, mentoring must occur" (p. 11). Women viewing other women as threats is using our time and energies in the wrong directions. Taking these self-inflicted and in-group inflicted restraints and using them to push against a brick wall or two would serve women leaders better and leadership in general to a greater good. We must search for and be mentors to ourselves and to others!

I Want to Be One But, I Wouldn't Work for One!

Sadly, many females want to be in leadership positions but actually voice their own objections to working for a women. There is an irony here that needs tending to. Whitaker and Lane (1990) referenced this situation when they identified a number of myths surrounding female administrators. They noted that among these myths is one that assumes communities are not ready for women

school leaders. However, they dispel this myth with data from an Oregon study indicating that 86% of the 800 residents surveyed would appove of a female superintendent and 84 and 90% approving of female secondary and elementary principals, respectively. Whitaker and Lane make a powerful point for us all to consider when they note: "If these data can be generalized, perhaps it's not parents or communities who keep women from the administrative ranks, but those in power within educational organizations" (p. 9). Those "within" include each and everyone of us.

"Working for a woman" or "Working for a man" isn't the point — or at least I don't think it should be. What each of us needs to be saying is I want to work for a leader, a stateperson for education; to not do so is to establish ourselves as builders of see-through panels and reinforcers of existing brick walls. Decide on those characteristics and behaviors you want in a leader and then seek opportunities to work for someone who possesses them whether that individual is male or female. Also, develop these characteristics in yourself and hope your colleagues want to "work with a leader."

A License to Hunt!

It is important to get the credentialing that you need to be in a position to bid for the jobs when they open up. You want to be ready and not let opportunities get by because you don't have the license. Whitaker and Lane (1990) report that fewer females than males complete administrative training programs and, therefore fewer apply for the administrative opening that occur. They go on to speculate that this may be because of the socialization process and/or to limited mobility and greater family responsibilities. Perhaps they are correct. However, where do such actions (or, in this case, lack of actions) put us when "the kids are grown" and something opens up in our own districts? At least by obtaining the appropriate credentials we are ready when the conditions do occur. Break the mirror of not being ready — get the program completed and have the license in hand. At minimum, give yourself the opportunity to compete.

All for One — Right or Wrong!

Sometimes women defend women when they shouldn't. Sticking together and sticking up for each other are important things to do. However, when incompetence, illegal, immoral or life-threatening situations are involved, sticking up for women because they are women is damaging rather than helpful.

Acting As . . . Assistance to . . . Associate for . . .

These terms can often indicate "killer" or "dead end" jobs. Be careful. Investigate to see what the responsibilities are and if there is a match between responsibility and authority. Do males have similar responsibilities? What are their job titles? What levels of authority do they have?

Watch Your Language!

This is a brick wall to which we as individuals and as a group contribute. So very early, girls learn that boys are leaders and they are followers or at best, assistant leaders. Strategy: Image successful women you know and admire when you speak of leadership, career choices, sports, etc. Be sensitive to the use ˌe pronoun "he."

Going the Distance!

Sometimes it is necessary to go where the job is and not wait for the job to come to you. Self-imposed or other's imposed geographic restrictions can limit the number of opportunities available.

Bakers Versus Breadwinners

Again, this is a brick wall with lots of us contributing brick and mortar. We must all be careful that we don't as a group or as individuals see women as second income earners. We must not believe that because they are women, the amount of money they earn is less important than males doing the same or similar jobs. We must take care that we do not, through words or actions, indicate that when things get tough and downsizing becomes an issue males should retain the jobs because they are the breadwinners. We know the statistics of the increasing number of households headed by women. Women are bread-winners!

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199

Chapter 31

A CAREER ADVANCEMENT TECHNIQUE FOR WOMEN: THE ADMINISTRATIVE PORTFOLIO

Genevieve Brown
Beverly J. Irby

> *Women felt more confident to expound on their strengths, to minimize their weaknesses, and take the offensive in a job interview . . .*

ECAUSE THE PERCENTAGE of women preparing to be educational leaders is increasing nationwide (Murphy, 1993), the needs, expectations, and interests of female students should be considered in designing leadership preparation and training programs. Women's ability to apply the information gained through coursework for career advancement purposes is of particular importance. Irby and Brown (1995) found that women enrolled in a leadership preparation program had a general lack of sophistication regarding career advancement, with no differences according to the number of hours completed in the program. Additionally, they found that these women exhibited a lack of self-confidence and high feelings of inadequacy. They suggested that leadership preparation programs address these issues through assignments that would alter naive perceptions of career advancement as well as improve self-confidence levels.

In an effort to validate the effectiveness of such assignments, 17 aspiring women administrators who were enrolled in a mid-management certification program were interviewed in the spring of 1995 to ascertain their perceptions of a career advancement assignment given in the course, Women in Educational Leadership. The assignment was to develop an Administrative Portfolio, defined as a "collection of thoughtfully selected items or artifacts and accompanying reflections that indicate an individual's experiences and ability to lead" (Brown & Irby, 1995). The specific aim of this research was to answer the questions: a) How do aspiring women administrators begin to develop an Administrative Portfolio?, b) Do they perceive the process of portfolio development as beneficial?, and c) Do they perceive the portfolio as beneficial in terms of personal growth and career advancement?. Following is a brief discussion of the Administrative Portfolio and a summary of relevant findings that would assist other aspiring women administrators in their career advancement.

The Administrative Portfolio

The artifacts that are selected to demonstrate abilities in various areas of leadership should be placed in a three-ring binder. A table of contents and divided sections with page numbers will facilitate review of the document by others. The process of portfolio development involves:

* selection of the artifacts,
* description of the artifacts and thoughtful analysis of the leader-
ship experience represented in the artifacts, and
* contemplation of future actions based on the analysis.

For career advancement purposes the Administrative Portfolio, which high-
lights leadership qualities that may not be readily apparent in the interview,
would be developed and given to an interview committee either prior to or
during the interview for an administrative position.

How Women Began the Development of a Portfolio

A variety of approaches to initiating the Administrative Portfolio exist, as
illustrated by the initial steps reported by the women in the study:

* Collected artifacts
* Went through files
* Developed an outline of the sections I wanted to include
* Developed a resume and started there
* Made a list of things I had done over my teaching career

This was the organizational step, where the women began to think about
their past accomplishments either through the actual contact with materials or
artifacts in their files, through reviewing their past through a newly developed
resume, through thinking about global areas of accomplishment such as awards,
committee work, leadership assignments, etc., or through simply brainstorming
as many things as they could think of that they had accomplished over their
teaching career that would demonstrate leadership. However they chose to
begin was a personal choice; the signifance lies in the fact that the beginning
steps lead to reflection regarding prior experiences and accomplishments, skills
acquired through these experiences, and areas needing attention.

What the Women Suggest to Place in the Administrative Portfolio

Along with the items mentioned above in the portfolio, the women were
asked what additional artifacts they would like to place in their Administrative
Portfolio. Following is a list of suggestions:

* Contracts
* Pictures
* Transcripts
* Letters of Reference
* Samples of Workshop Certificates
* Thank you notes from administrators, parents, and students
* Five year plan and philosophy of education
* Curriculum Revision Document
* Accolades
* Campus Committee Assignments
* Research Study Results
* News Articles
* Networking section with business

This is not an exhaustive list of artifacts for inclusion, but merely suggested
items that might be included for highlighting exceptional areas of expertise and
job performance.

How Women Felt the Administrative Portfolio Might Aid in Job Acquisition

The women continued to state the benefits of the portfolio with only posi-
tive comments regarding the portfolio's importance in job acquistion. The fol-
lowing represent their comments:
* I can readily recall things I've participated in during the interview
* All my information is available in one place
* It gives physical evidence of my talents; it showcases my talents
* When I used it, it got my foot in the door; I was immediately sent an
application
* Helps in my interviewing
* Made me articulate in my philosophy of education
* Gives me a more professional image; makes a professional impres-
sion
* Made me reflect on my professional growth as a leader; clearly
shows my leadership abilities
* Gave me a more holistic view of my teaching career and my leader-
ship skills

The women perceived the assignment as one which would remind district
personnel who they were, what they had accomplished, and what particular
skills they brought to the position in the case of their comparison of applicants.
This, they felt, just might give them the edge in getting the job.

How Women Felt About Portfolio Development

The women interviewed responded positively to the portfolio assignment.
Responses below are representative:
* Something I should have done earlier
* It made me organized and caught up
* I felt confident, great, qualified; didn't know I had done so much
* Realized I needed to be doing more
* It gave me a sense of accomplishment
* I was able to see areas of strength and weakness
* It helped me summarize and remember things forgotten
* This gave me a boost.

Data indicate that this assignment was relevant in that it aided these women
in two significant ways: a) it assisted in building self-confidence prior to their
going in for an interview for an administrative position, and b) it demonstrated
to the women the areas in which they needed expanded experiences; enabling
them to recognize "gaps," and aiding in targeting growth areas for goal setting.
The women indicated that this assignment would give them an important ad-
vantage in an interview. They felt more confident to expound on their strengths,
to minimize their weaknesses, and to take the offensive in a job interview by
presenting a thoughtful plan of remedial action and future development.

Conclusion

Studies of successful women leaders emphasize the importance of sophisti-
cation regarding career advancement, including goal setting, interviewing tech-
niques, skills in every area of leadership, and high confidence (Gardenswartz
and Rowe, 1987; Marshall, 1985). Results of this study indicate that the develop-
ment of the Administrative Portfolio holds much promise for addressing these

areas deemed critical to women's success in leadership roles. This leads the researchers to recommend that the Administrative Portfolio be regarded as an important tool for career advancement and, specifically, that a) development of the Administrative Portfolio be included as a component in leadership prepara- tion programs and b) women seeking leadership positions give serious consid- eration to the development of an Administrative Portfolio.

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203

Chapter 32

A QUIET RESISTANCE:
CRITIQUING GENDER ISSUES IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Leslie Patterson

> *As educational leaders, if we really want to address gender issues in public schools, we must use the language of critique to examine things as they are and to ask questions about how things should be and how we can move in that direction.*

APPROXIMATELY THIRTY TEACHERS helped themselves to coffee and doughnuts and settled into the student desks, visiting about the winter holiday just finished and the new semester about to begin. I was introduced as the speaker for the morning and announced my topic, "Gender Issues in the Classroom." We watched about ten minutes of "Shortchanging Girls, Shortchanging America," a video produced by the American Association of University Women. Then, in groups of three and four, the teachers read and discussed excerpts from Peggy Orenstein's recent book, Schoolgirls: Young Women, Self-Esteem, and the Confidence Gap (1994). For a few minutes the room was quiet as the teachers scanned the copied articles, but very soon, the talk began, and in about twenty minutes the groups came together. As the comments, the questions, and the stories went on, it became obvious that I would have to abandon my plans for the morning. Their talk was more important than anything I had brought to share with them.

During this ninety-minute discussion, these high school English teachers voiced the same issues we see in public debates of feminist issues. Some teachers expressed surprise that the treatment of girls in schools was still considered a critical issue. After all, they have girls graduate from this school and go to some of the largest universities across the country. Several said that they consciously tried to treat girls and boys the same; a few seemed certain that they achieved that goal. Others were actually more worried about the boys than the girls. At least the girls stay motivated and willing to work, but many of the boys opt out of the rigorous courses. Others spoke as mothers and as wives. One teacher spoke about the unusual number of pregnant students she teaches this year and her view that these young women need more from schools than they are getting now. Most of the teachers, but not all, were aware that sexual harassment is a significant problem among their students. Again and again, we heard comments about family and cultural influences — influences against which the teachers feel powerless. One of the most vehement comments was triggered by the chapter describing the efforts of the feminist teacher to include women and women's issues in the curriculum. The teachers reporting on this chapter agreed that this represented an overemphasis on gender and that they wouldn't want their sons in a class which focused so much on women's issues. The talk was ly, and the morning ended too soon.

That morning, those teachers taught me two things that all school leaders need to consider. First, although they are teaching the same subject, in the same school, in the same community, they do not speak in unison about gender issues. Second, although all agree that girls deserve the same opportunity as boys, I sensed a quiet resistance to any suggestion that teachers and schools could (or should?) make dramatic changes in an attempt to achieve that equity.

Henry Giroux, a leading speaker for equity in education, would say that this discussion, like others across the country, exemplifies the "language of inclusion," but that it does not yet demonstrate a "language of critique" (1992). In other words, we agree that girls should be included with boys as we make our best efforts to teach, but we have not yet begun to examine ourselves and our schools to decide what must change in order for that to happen. We certainly are not ready to move toward significant social action. I would argue that there is a quiet, yet strong, resistance among teachers to any explicit attempt to move beyond the language of gender inclusion to the language of critique and social action. This article will explore that argument.

Teachers as Transformative Intellectuals

Educators who engage in the language of critique, those who follow in the tradition of Paulo Freire (1970; 1971), Henry Giroux (1983; 1992), and Ira Shor (1987), believe that schools are cultural institutions. In schools, through both the explicit curricular content and the messages implicit in the structure and style of instruction, students learn their places in the culture. Because critical educators value democracy, they see teachers as having the power to help students learn to participate in democratic institutions. To do that Giroux (1992) argues that "we need to redefine the role of teachers as transformative intellectuals." (p. 20) Explaining that concept, Giroux goes on. . .

> . . . first, that teachers (as transformative intellectuals) are engaged. They are partisans, not doctrinaire. They believe something, say what they believe and offer their belief to others in a framework that always makes it debatable and open to critical inquiry. Second, to talk about teachers as intellectuals is to say they should have an active role in shaping the curriculum. . .in shaping school policy, defining educational philosophies, and working with their communities in a variety of capacities. Transformative intellectuals are aware of their own theoretical convictions and are skilled in strategies for translating them into practice. Above all, finally, it means being able to exercise power (p. 20).

As transformative intellectuals, teachers critique their work and their workplaces, and they move to make schools and society more democratic. As transformative intellectuals, teachers take the risks inherent in questioning the assumptions which ground our practices, those invisible assumptions that most of us accept as truth. Transformative intellectuals examine the familiar, question the obvious, and discover new possibilities for learning. To move toward that goal, we must use the language of critique.

What is the language of critique? John Smyth (1989) calls it "critical reflection." As I have used this reflective process in my own research and with preservice and practicing teachers, I have adapted Smyth's approach to include these phases:

1. Describe
   What are we doing?
   What is happening?
   What does the published philosophy, theory, and research say about these issues?
2. Interpret
   Why do we do it that way?
   How did it come to be?
   What does it mean that we do it that way?
   How does it affect our students?
   How does it affect our colleagues? our community?

   How does it affect the way I see the world?
   How does it affect my actions?
3. Evaluate
   Does it match our goals? our values? our beliefs?
   Does it match current theory and research?
   Does it make sense to do it that way?
4. Act
   So what are we doing to do now?

As teachers critique an issue for the first time, discussions may be unfocused, exploratory, and emotional — very much like the experience described above. As participants cycle back through this process again and again, discussions become more focused. Given more time, the group of teachers described above might very likely come to focus on the sexual harassment issue or the inclusion of women authors in the curriculum. In addition, as teachers collaborate in critical reflection, the need for data becomes obvious. Classroom observations, videotapes, test scores, surveys and questionnaires are a few of the kinds of data that can help these transformative intellectuals move forward. The most important concept is that all statements, all assumptions, all interpretations are open to critique and discussion. There is no official "line" as a result of these conversations. Each individual is assumed to be a transformative intellectual and is responsible for coming to conclusions and planning subsequent action. A group of teachers may agree on a list of goals or assumptions as a springboard for a project, but it is understood that all statements are tentative and open to critique. Unquestioned orthodoxy is the ultimate target of the transformative intellectual's critique.

A Quiet Resistance

Educators, both women and men, are seldom eager to challenge widely accepted school practices. In fact, the voices of critical pedagogists like Giroux are not widely known among public school educators. In addition, educators may not see it within their power to make sweeping changes. In the last fifty years, textbook publishers and test developers have actually had more to say about shaping our curriculum than have the teachers who are in daily contact with children and young people (Shannon, 1989). It is probably safe to say that most teachers do not see themselves as transformative intellectuals. They see their area of influence as their classrooms and their campuses. They focus on ʒing the children they see each day. For that matter, it is probably safe to say

that few administrators see their role much differently. Administrators may feel overwhelmed with management and public relations issues and may not attempt to take radical social action. What, then, are the issues preventing educators from participating in reflection, critique and social action?

The bureaucratic realities of school systems certainly interfere with the work of transformative intellectuals in classrooms and school offices. The daily tasks associated with record-keeping, behavior management, public relations, etc., steal the time and energy that teachers could better use in collaborative reflection. Lack of time is one of the critical barriers for teachers who want to participate in significant reform.

A second constraint is the culture of the school. Transformative intellectuals are nurtured in supportive environments—environments which support risk-taking, the exploration of unpopular ideas, and the asking of uncomfortable questions. In such a culture, teachers are confident that their actions can make a difference, and they are hopeful that we can solve the seemingly insoluble problems confronting public schools. Although many principals support risk-taking and innovation in instructional matters, it is more rare to find campuses where teachers are encouraged to address social issues like racism and gender discrimination in radically new or different ways. Community expectations exert strong pressure for the status quo.

Beyond those bureaucratic and cultural constraints, another reason teachers don't seem eager to take on the role of transformative intellectual is that most do not have the expertise. Since early in this century, teachers have been given the technician's role in the classroom. They have been handed the adopted textbooks and the district curriculum guide. The unspoken expectation is that the teacher is to implement whatever plan is already in place. Teachers across the United States have generally never been challenged to approach school issues with a language of critique. For the most part, our educational system values rote learning, conformity, and compliance — even among professionals. In graduate school, expectations are seldom different. Classes are often too large to accommodate discussions, and assessment procedures focus on tests of knowledge and application rather than evaluation and critique. When innovation is encouraged, it usually focuses on choices among approved instructional methods, not on issues open to radical social change. Teachers must learn how to participate as transformative intellectuals, and there is little in the current system to support that kind of learning.

The greatest challenge for teachers moving toward the language of critique and social action is their own history. Teachers are the recipients and the products of the culture they try to critique. Just as it is difficult for a fish to contemplate the nature of water, it is difficult for women teachers to contemplate gender discrimination within their schools. We have grown up negotiating these waters. We have learned to be successful here and we may not see these familiar situations as problematic. Ultimately, it is difficult to admit that we are the products of an oppressive environment. Once we admit that, we must admit that we have become and continue to be a part of the problem.

That difficulty is illustrated clearly in a case study written by Kristin Brennan, a young middle school science teacher, who teaches 7th grade students identified as gifted and talented. Brennan observed the class participation of her male students for a semester and concluded that :

Overall, this study has benefited me the most by exposing my own gender biases in the classroom when dealing with my gifted female students. I have come to understand that my expectations for my students' participation is the key to equalizing the extent to which they participate in my classroom. . .I now know that painting an accurate picture of what gifted females can accomplish if they assert themselves and learn to lead will no doubt become part of the hidden curriculum in my classroom (pp. 11-12).

As educational leaders, if we really want to address gender issues in public schools, we must use the language of critique to examine things as they are and to ask questions about how things should be and how we can move in that direction. That will mean joining with other teachers, both men and women, in critical discussions of books and articles that examine gender discrimination. It will also mean closely observing our schools, our students, and ourselves. Just as Kristin did, we need to make careful observations about how we interact with the boys and girls in our schools. We need to ask them about their perceptions, their expectations. Together, we need to analyze that data and to explore avenues for action. We need to face the possibility that our quiet resistance to radical change is at the heart of the gender problem in public schools.

That mid-year conversation among those high school English teachers could be the beginning of significant change for the girls and boys in their classes. Given time for reflection and discussion, adequate resources to support their own inquiry and that of their students, and the power to participate in campus changes, these teachers can make a difference in the way gender issues affect their students. Leadership decisions in our schools determine to what extent teachers are supported in their work as transformative intellectuals, and the teachers themselves decide whether to take the challenge. As teachers stand up to take that challenge, our quiet resistance will give way to noisy action.

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210

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212

NOTES

213

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