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Welcome to a New Journal!

Marilyn L. Grady, Editor
Barbara Y. LaCost, Associate Editor

We are very excited about the possibilities inherent in this new journal. The publishers who identified the need for the journal and who are sponsoring this showcase of scholarship on women in educational leadership deserve acknowledgement for their enterprise. The support we have received from our professional colleagues in many disciplines has been spectacular.

The success of a journal is determined by a number of factors; but for us, the most important factors are the readers and the contributors. We have witnessed the unfortunate demise of fine academic journals due to a lack of subscribers and contributors. Therefore, the future of the *Journal of Women in Educational Leadership* (JWEL) rests with you—we hope that you will subscribe, submit papers, and spread the word!

The manuscripts featured in the inaugural issue of JWEL reflect a small slice of the broad range of topics germane to the study of women in leadership. They are just the beginning. The authors examine topics that reveal personal as well as professional challenges in settings that include elementary and secondary schools, tribal colleges, and a university academic department. The reports include personal stories derived from interviews and self-reflection, an examination of theoretical perspectives in relation to problems of administrative practice and a new leadership theory. The manuscripts suggest the diversity, depth and complexity of the scholarship that exists concerning women in educational leadership.

In this issue, Valerio explores a topic that is fundamental and exclusive to women, their roles as child bearers and mothers. She reports the stories of five women who were pregnant as unwed teens during the last five decades of the twentieth century. The women's stories are framed by the historical literature that tracked societal attitudes and public opinion concerning unwed teen pregnancy.

Krumm describes the leadership traits of four women tribal college presidents and the influence of organizational culture and language on leadership. The tribal college presidency is unique since the number of women who serve in the presidential role in the tribal colleges is higher than in other post-secondary settings. According to the 2002 roster of member colleges reported by the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 42% of the tribal college presidents are women.

Lyman provides a portrait of collaborative leadership in practice. The Soul Sisters model leadership in their pursuit of a shared vision in a challenging, high-risk educational environment. The portrayal of these individuals highlights their personal contributions to student achievement.

The differences in the Soul Sisters' personal, cultural and educational backgrounds contribute to the richness of the portrait. The article is a testament to the leadership possibilities that exist in educational settings.

McGovern-Robinett and Ovando address the challenges and contributions of women principals serving in male-dominated, secondary school settings. Through their report of the leadership experiences of three women high school principals, they broaden the understanding of female educational leadership at the high school level. The integration of the literature on culture, gender and leadership is prominent in the manuscript.

Wesson and Carr reflect on their understanding of a change process grounded in theory, defined by practice, and influenced by an executive coach. The manuscript is written in the voices of the department chair and the executive coach. The department chair identifies her postmodern visionary belief system and her role in a leadership department "riddled with dilemmas." The executive coach defines her role as coach and describes how the transformation of the department chair occurred.

Brown and Irby present a synergistic leadership theory. They note that the theory was developed by female researchers, utilized a female sample and included the female perspective. The gender-inclusive theory includes attributes, experiences and abilities inherent in both male and female leaders. The theory is applied in an analysis of narrative vignettes of four female leaders.

Together these writings form the beginning of a scholarly discussion of the directions, choices and challenges facing women in educational leadership.

A Historical Multi-Case Study of Five Women Who Experienced Pregnancy as Unmarried Teens

Marilyn Valerio

Multi-case study methodology was used to explore the experiences of five women from five different decades who became pregnant as unmarried teens. This historical view was developed by interviewing participants about family, social, and cultural contexts in which the event occurred. A clearer understanding of teen pregnancy resulted when the participants' stories were triangulated with decade literature. Four themes emerged: How They Got There, What Followed, Lifelong Impact, and Literature Over Time. The study supported the need for families and communities to engage in meaningful dialogue with their youth and to implement strategies that foster primary prevention of teen pregnancy. In addition, further research is needed on the outcomes of programs established to prevent teen pregnancy and on the relationship between environmental support and personal resilience of women who experience this event.

Every year almost one million teenage girls in the United States become pregnant.

Contrary to common perception, teen pregnancy in the United States cuts across all groups and is not unique to poor, minority, and disadvantaged youth. Approximately 50% of the teens who become pregnant give birth, 29% to 40% obtain therapeutic abortions, and the remainder abort spontaneously (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1999; Maynard, 1997; Stevens-Simon, 1992). Teen pregnancy significantly impacts our nation's fiscal and human resources. Though this impact cannot be measured solely in monetary terms, in 1994 alone, the federal government spent an estimated \$25 billion on social, health, and welfare services for families of teenage mothers (Grimes, 1995).

Sexual activity among all teenagers in the United States has increased dramatically during the last three decades (Grimes, 1995; Public Health Service, 1990). Studies find that sexual activity at earlier ages results in frequent and unintended pregnancies (Alan Guttmacher Institute, 1999; Public Health Service, 1990). Birth rates to teens declined overall since 1991; however, births to single teenage women in the United States remain higher and a public concern. The birth rate to unmarried women ages 15-19 years increased

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from 15.3 per 1000 in 1960 to a peak of 44.5 per 1000 in 1994 and declined to 41.5 per 1000 in 2000 (National Center for Health Statistics, Teenage Births, 2002).

The rise in births to unwed teenage girls raises significant issues in our society related to women, families, and cultural values. Welfare reform directly impacts young unwed pregnant teens in the system and cuts in federal welfare and state program budgets are one mechanism in place for controlling teenage pregnancies and births. If the concern of policy makers stems "from deep-seated feelings about morality and single parenthood and from anger about welfare payments" (Goldenberg & Klerman, 1995, p. 1162), risk exists for increasing the negative outcomes of teen pregnancy. Reforming the welfare system requires a clear understanding of the issues that influence the occurrence and perpetuation of teenage pregnancy. The continued persistence of teen pregnancy may signal conflict between aspired versus real and/or changing societal norms and mores (Eyer, 1996; Luker, 1996). Creation of effective policies and interventions is imperative to the well being of young teenage women, their children, and society as a whole. Concerns expressed about teen pregnancy need to be addressed but with a more comprehensive understanding.

Much of the literature on teenage pregnancy focuses on teen birth rates, related statistics, and on the outcomes of teen parents and their children. This focus on statistics and outcomes contributes to a stereotyped public perception of unwed teen pregnancy. Qualitative study of the actual experiences of pregnant teens is critical to the development of equitable and effective public policy and intervention programs. In addition, discovering how women from different decades describe their unmarried teen pregnancy experiences deepens the perspective. In their research, Brown and Gilligan (1992) suggested that the dominant culture in our society is "out of tune with girls' voices." (pg. 10) An historical interpretation of teen pregnancy through the voices of women who experienced pregnancy as unmarried

teens provided an opportunity to better understand this phenomenon and its evolutionary relationship to societal norms.

The purpose of this qualitative study was to gain a historical view of unmarried teen pregnancy from the experiences of five women from five different decades (the 1950s through the 1990s) who became pregnant as unmarried teens. The research questions were based on the assumption that an historical view of teen pregnancy influences its interpretation as a contemporary social issue. The overarching question for this study was:

- How do five women from five different decades describe their experiences as unmarried pregnant teens?

The following sub-questions were used to provide a more comprehensive focus:

- What is the context that surrounds the event of unmarried teen pregnancy for each of these five women?
- How do the participants describe their own responses to and the decisions about unmarried teen pregnancy?
- How do the participants describe family reactions to and involvement with their pregnancies?
- How do the participants describe social and cultural attitudes toward unmarried pregnant teens at the time of their pregnancies?
- How do the five descriptions of unmarried teen pregnancy correspond to professional literature and regional media at the time of each pregnancy?

Procedures

The issue of teen pregnancy is fraught with complexity and no simple explanations or solutions exist. Through the use of historical research, the interrelationships of the past history and present status of teen pregnancy were explored. A contextual, intergenerational study of five women's experiences permitted better understanding of the past and its relevance to the present (Brundage, 1989; Stake, 1995; Tuchman, 1994). The longitudinal perspective of this method allowed study of the fundamental societal beliefs and the evolution of social mores and behaviors that women and girls interpret as influencing their lives. The study of relevant documents, artifacts, archival records, and quantitative data played an important role and provided a means of surrounding the transcribed words of the informants with other interpretive information from each decade. Each individual story became vital and, together, the collective presented a historical collage that has the potential to shed light on other teen pregnancy experiences.

Researcher Role/Data Collection

The conceptual framework used to explore these women's experiences was "the creation of voice-centered, relational method" described by Brown and Gilligan (1992). This method acknowledged the uniqueness of each woman's voice and the dynamism of the relationship between informant and researcher. My goals became to listen to each participant's

voice and to capture the thick, rich description of the teen pregnancy experience while maintaining individual differences. The imperative existed to balance interpretive findings with what was observed. What was to be known came from the informants and their insider viewpoints.

The primary method of data collection was the interview. The number and length of interview sessions varied and were guided by the need to saturate the data. In addition, some participants recorded written thoughts and shared photographs and other memorabilia from the time periods of their lives during which the pregnancies occurred. All interviews were audio taped and transcribed. Participants reviewed transcripts for content verification. Telephone follow-up was used to supplement and clarify information.

Participants

Purposeful sampling and the technique of “snowballing” were used to select participants. Five women from five different decades who experienced unwed teen pregnancy participated. Use of identified guides helped me to find women who fit the study criteria and were willing and able informants. The criteria included: age (13-18 years old), representative of a decade between the 1950s and the 1990s; single at the time of conception; medical confirmation of the pregnancy; and ability to share memories, decisions, and insights related to the experience. The focus of the study required that participants be questioned about sensitive areas and that a trusting relationship be developed with them. Their identities are protected in this essay.

Analysis Procedures

Each case served to help in understanding the phenomena or relationships. The analysis of the data began with sequencing the data, developing preliminary coding, finalizing the coding, sorting information into folders, and finally, analyzing for patterns and themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). Each phase of the analysis entailed data reduction and interpretation. Categorical aggregation and direct interpretation of data depended on the search for patterns. Use of a matrix facilitated cross-classification of themes and generation of new typologies. The end result of the analytic process was higher-level synthesis, an understanding of identified patterns and themes within the study.

Verification Methods

Interviews provided a window to these women’s behaviors, feelings, and interpretations of life events. The research process, thus conceptualized, became an interpretive process that was value-laden and biased. Clarifying researcher bias, rich thick description, triangulation, member checks, and an external audit were the procedures used as verification methods (Creswell, 1998; Stake, 1995). Triangulation brought together more than one source of data, thus, providing corroborating evidence (Creswell, 1998; Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Use of period literature and peer review by women who experienced unwed teen pregnancy but were not study participants served in this process.

Use of Literature

Critical review of health, education, and sociology literature facilitated the process of framing the research questions and identifying an appropriate methodology. The collection and analysis of the field data provided patterns and themes that were compared and contrasted to professional and popular periodic literature for assistance in interpretation of the findings and for setting the context of each woman's experience.

Stories

Five women who experienced unwed teen pregnancy participated in this study: Margaret from the 1950s, Anna from the 1960s, Debbie from the 1970s, Jennifer from the 1980s, and Elizabeth from the 1990s. Each woman described her story of teen pregnancy and memories of the times. These women's stories are the heart of the research.

Margaret

Margaret was 17 years old and a senior in high school when she became pregnant. Margaret is unique because she meticulously planned her teen pregnancy together with the young man she later married. They celebrated their 40th anniversary during the study.

Margaret was the oldest of three children. She grew up in a rural Midwest community and lived on a farm for the first 15 years of her life. Her parents were of European descent and farmed. At times her father drove a truck. Her mother stayed at home. Margaret loved school and made lasting friends easily. What Margaret endured, however, was a violent and abusive home life. Much of our discussion evolved around the impact that this environment had on her family.

As the oldest child, Margaret had household and childcare responsibilities. Her mother would help in the fields, and Margaret, as young as 9, had to make meals and watch over her younger brother and sister. She recalled, "I had to do a lot of that even with my sister being a baby in my arms; I was responsible for watching her while they worked in the fields." Remembering her role in the family brought back the reality of Margaret and her siblings witnessing and listening "to fighting and the horrible fights that they had with the beatings. He beat my mother every day. I can't remember a day of my life, the first 15 years of my life, that there wasn't blood on every wall." The violence of her childhood prompted a burning desire as she was growing up to "find the right guy and get the heck out of there—that's all I could think of." Her resolve to get out of her home strengthened as she matured.

Church and school became symbols of hope to Margaret. Her father banned church attendance by his family, but her mother secretly allowed her to attend. However, there were consequences to pay. When he found out, Margaret recalled "he beat my mother terribly." The ongoing cycle of abuse strengthened her resolve to change her life. "I had this determination that I was not going to be like that. I would never be like my mother and let somebody beat on me and

take it.” Her developing faith provided support to efforts made to control her own life and decisions. For Margaret school was a positive, nurturing environment and ultimately the path out of her life situation. Margaret stated, “School was very important to me.... I really wanted to learn.” She remembered two particular teachers stating, “They were always there encouraging me and rewarding me with compliments for accomplishments that I did do.”

Margaret started dating at 13. She remained focused on finding the right boy to take her away from home. By senior year Margaret had a steady boyfriend and they frequently discussed the idea of marriage after high school graduation. Margaret made it very clear to him from the beginning of their relationship that “...I was not a promiscuous girl, contrary to what my father really believed.” From the options the two young people discussed, Margaret concluded that “the only possible way we’re going to be able to get married is if I’m pregnant and I would have to. And of course that perked his ears right up.” She never had sexual intercourse with anyone until the decision was made to become pregnant. During this same time Margaret had a class on human sexuality that included family planning methods. The male teacher identified methods for planning a pregnancy and provided Margaret with the knowledge she needed to plan an escape from an unbearable home situation.

Before initiating the plan, Margaret visited her father’s lawyer. She discussed with him what actions her father might take should she become pregnant as an unwed minor. When asked about the boldness of this action, she stated “well, you have to – I guess I had to know where I stood. So then I went to find those answers before.” Her courage came from the strong conviction that she must leave home but that she must also know what consequences she might face. When she thought she might be pregnant, Margaret went to the doctor “who brought me into this world, [and] by the way, knew circumstances that surrounded my childhood and my home life.” The doctor confirmed her suspicions. Armed with this confirmation, Margaret went home to tell her family.

After telling them her news, her mother reacted with anger and “slapped me across the face.” Her mother’s anger died after her initial outburst. Margaret described the reaction as multi-dimensional—“I think that she had high hopes too if you come right down to it.... It was her first born of course. It was a stigma I think.” Her father’s response was more violent. “The first thing my father did was hit me, and I ended up in a corner. I wasn’t hurt. I was scared to death!” Her father eventually relented but with lingering malice. The wedding was one week later and Margaret left home that day. Margaret demonstrated both determination and resilience. She summed up her approach to living, “Life is worth living, very much so. This world is beautiful, and I think God has made this world for each of us to live in for a reason....”

In the 1950s, teenage pregnancy was not uncommon. However, Margaret recalled that most teenage women who delivered babies were married. To become pregnant as a single woman often had one expected outcome – marriage. She had a conspicuous lack of memory related to the role of media and teen

pregnancy. "I don't know if I do [remember]? I really at that time didn't pay a lot of attention to the media to be honest with you, I just didn't." She did not recall any public discussion of teen pregnancy in the newspaper, on the radio, or on the television. Sex education was not the norm. Margaret stated that she knew more because "I fortunately lived on a farm, and of course I did know a lot more about things than a lot of them knew." Margaret reinforced the notion that single pregnant teens were often banished, and a teen did not attend school if she became pregnant. These women were hidden away from the community. The dominant response of the community was "they did frown on it even at that period of time...you were to be married before you became pregnant." Yet, Margaret chose to become pregnant outside of marriage at a time when she depicted her choice as directly opposing the cultural norm.

Anna

Anna became pregnant twice as a single teen. She was 16 years old when she became pregnant for the first time. Anna was born in a small Midwestern city and lived there most of the first eighteen years of her life. Her parents were of European descent and attended a Protestant church. Her father worked as a professional in health care and her mother stayed at home until she was about 10. Anna's role in her family was influenced by birth order.

She was the oldest of four children. When Anna's mother began working part-time outside of the home, she actively assumed childcare and household responsibilities. Anna's mom wanted to work and "wanted to help Dad out. Dad was struggling with a new practice, so she decided to sell insurance." Anna recalled that this transition increased the tension between her and her mother and that most of her efforts to please her mother resulted in criticism and lack of success. "I was made to work a lot by my mother at a really early age.... I was my mother's little slave." These memories were not happy ones; she described a more positive relationship with her father, but stated that her dad "had a heart attack when he was 37, and was lucky to live 25 years after that."

The family went to church regularly. Anna described associations within the church and other outside activities. The outside involvement provided an outlet from her home environment. Anna did not describe school, classes, or teachers with much detail. She attended a large high school and did not remember any specific teachers. As a teen, Anna wanted to make her own decisions. She remembered times of conflict with her parents and particularly her mother. "They didn't care for some of them [decisions], but I had my own mind. Too strong for my mother, she didn't deal with it very well." She described herself as "a little rebel." Anna believed that the impetus for the rebellion came from the unfairness of the childcare and household duties delegated to her and "the disgust I had for my mother and the way I had been treated." To Anna, life at the time of her adolescence was turbulent.

Anna dated in high school and became sexually active. She recalled, "I didn't even care about boys until fifteen, fourteen maybe." She remembered her education about sex "as a combination of what her mother told her, a film

at school, and my own feelings and senses.” Her second sexual partner, Tom, fathered her first child. Anna described their involvement as positive and sex as “a great learning experience! Sex made me feel content, cared for, and loved.... I guess I didn’t care about school, just Tom.” To her, this relationship was “really good. It was an escape from a family situation.” When they were dating they talked about pregnancy. She recalled “yes, we said we’d deal with it when the time came.” Anna and Tom did not really think seriously about birth control. “Not really, you know.... We talked about it a couple times but couldn’t really figure it out. We were too young you know.”

Anna became pregnant in the late winter of her sophomore year in high school. She described her initial reaction to the possibility of a pregnancy as “scared, horrified. I wasn’t embarrassed. Scared to tell my parents....” Anna described her parents’ responses as “something like, ‘oh no this can’t be, you’re too young, don’t even think about getting married.’ My mother called me a slut, more than once.” Her parents made decisions with outcomes that she did not want, and Tom’s family went along with their decisions. She was a minor and living at home, and adoption was the only option offered. Abortion was not legal, and single parenthood was not acceptable. There were arguments, “I was told my parents were too old to raise another child, and I needed to be a lot more educated and more mature to raise a child.” She recalled that eventually “my parents, myself, and Tom agreed that adoption was our only alternative. I was devastated. I was put into an unwed mothers’ home in another city, the Children’s Home.... Tom’s draft number was up so he joined because you got a better deal if you joined the army.”

The birth was premature and following the delivery of a baby girl, Anna chose not to see or name her newborn. “No, I could have, but that would have even made it harder to give her up, and I had to. I didn’t have any choice.” Anna returned home in late summer and was made to return to the same high school. She experienced “sadness for losing the baby’s father to the Army—devastation, depression, for never being able to have the baby that we made. And hate for my mother.” She resolved to leave home and stated, “after my daughter’s birth, I secretly decided to do *anything*, even get pregnant again *which I did do*, to get out of my parents’ house.... I found a boyfriend and got pregnant again four months after she was born.” Anna told her parents she would not give up another baby. She married the child’s father and moved out of her family home.

Anna’s first pregnancy occurred amid the turmoil of Vietnam and the civil rights movement of the 1960s. She described a generally negative societal response to unmarried pregnant teens. It was a “no-no,” an event that signaled embarrassment for families and communities. Her memory was that a young woman “who gets in this situation is a slut. It was practically a crime as far as social circles were concerned.” Anna lived with “a lot of gossip. I quit school and just kinda stayed to myself. I didn’t need other’s responses.” She left school stating, “They [school] wanted you to quit when you started to show.” When she became pregnant, she became isolated. She withdrew from activities at school, in church, and in the community—“all of this ended when I

became pregnant—not my choice – my mother’s.” This choice was one that was encouraged and tacitly sanctioned by the community. Anna believed that pregnant teens “deserve to be treated the same as they were treated before this happened.... There’s no room for lies when it comes to giving up babies.... There should be nothing hidden.”

Debbie

In August of 1972 at the age of 18, Debbie became pregnant. It was the summer after high school graduation and she was college bound. She dated in high school but “graduated from high school a virgin.” She summed up the fateful summer as a “coming of age” that ultimately changed the course of her life.

Debbie was the oldest of four siblings. She grew up in a small town in the rural Midwest and her ethnic heritage was Norwegian, English, and American Indian. She described her family as “the strong, silent type.” Her dad was the principal of the high school in town and a lay minister in their church. She described her mother as quite competent doing what moms did. Debbie did some child care but stated that she was not close to her siblings. In her teen years, this translated into a desire to get away, “I couldn’t wait to leave home.”

As the oldest child, Debbie believed she especially challenged her parents as a teen “...I wasn’t bad. I just made some stupid decisions.... I pushed but I didn’t – I bent rather than broke the rules.” The family did not discuss or share information, with most decisions made by her parents. She talked about expressions of affection in her family, “...Mom would always push my dad ‘don’t kiss me in front of the children’ and that kind of seems strange to me.... I don’t remember sitting on my mom’s lap or—I remember giving her a peck on the cheek now and then. Dad was the one for the bear hug, wrestling on the floor. She was just there.”

Debbie’s family was very involved in a fundamental church as she was growing up. She was required to attend every church function but did not recall any church members significantly influencing her life. In school Debbie “took the advanced or the college bound courses” and studied Spanish in grade school, high school, and college. She remembered all of her teachers and “their little idiosyncrasies” but did not remember “teachers as standing out or being role models or mentors.” Debbie remarked, “I was very sheltered as a child. I went to school. I went to the ball games. We did a lot of family-oriented, church-oriented things.”

For Debbie the summer after graduation from high school signaled a move toward independence. Debbie’s summer relationship led to her first sexual experience. She did not remember thinking of pregnancy as a possible consequence. She recalled thinking “that always happens to someone else. I never – I thought that I would be perfectly safe.” She knew contraception existed “...but had no idea how to obtain it.” She described pressure in the relationship with the 21 year-old man and stated the sex was not mutually desired. “Well, I was afraid. And, I was, I don’t know, I was just thinking that, you know, if I lose my boyfriend that the world would end so I said,

well all right.” Debbie’s reaction to her sexual encounter was, “Well, I was shocked and disappointed in myself, you know, that I would lose all of that firm resolve and of course the religious upbringing, you just don’t do that.” She gave up much of what she had been brought up with and believed that her “self-esteem and self-respect were totally ruined at that point.”

Not knowing that she was pregnant, Debbie went to college as planned. A friend she made at school went with her to the doctor when she suspected her pregnancy. When her suspicions were confirmed she remembered, “I cried all the way home from the doctor’s office because I was upset, anxious, I was nervous. I thought, ‘how could this happen to me?’” She did not tell her parents or the father of her child for a while. “I did tell him later—gosh, I was like—about three months before I managed to get home on a weekend to see him, tell him, and of course denial – automatic denial was his response.” She told her parents the same weekend. “My dad was going to – he’s not a violent person but he was upset – get a gun, and he’d never touched a gun in his life, to make him marry me. And my mom said no, that would not work and she wanted me to get an abortion.” Debbie did not remember if abortion was legal, but, for her, the only option was to keep her baby as a single mom.

She returned home at the end of her first semester of college to live and work until her baby was born. Living at home was difficult, “I was still under their rules. I couldn’t go shopping for baby things because I would have had to borrow their car and gone and they said no.” She was isolated and aware that persons in the community were shocked by her condition. Debbie found living at home stifling, and her goal became independence. When her baby was seven months old, Debbie moved out of her parents’ home.

Debbie lived in a very small, rural Midwest town. She remembered that teen pregnancy outside of marriage was “a shock to everyone. They kept it very hush, hush, quiet...even the shame and guilt associated with it were very, very damaging to a person....my dad almost lost his job.” In the church community that Debbie and her family were part of, unmarried pregnancy was a serious sin and “that was one of the Ten Commandments, so that was pretty bad.... I mean that’s what church is for – for sinners.” This event was seen as a travesty and not easily, if ever, forgiven.

Debbie talked about being part of the first group of 18 year-olds who got to vote. She remembered that time as “a coming of age – maybe an introduction into the adult world.” Vietnam and the hippie movement were less of an influence for her. She acknowledged that “a free love attitude... might have altered some of my thinking somewhat by just being around.” Debbie described the media presentation of teen pregnancy as “one of those staggering statistics. It didn’t come on the six o’clock news.... It was a shameful, guilty thing that people tried to brush under the rug.” In this milieu, her mother wanted her to have an abortion, her father to marry, but she was 18 years old. Debbie made a conscious choice to have her child as a single mother and to live “totally alien to the mom, the dad, and kids—that kind of a family life, that church-oriented” foundation she earlier described as intrinsic to her own life.

Jennifer

Jennifer sat before me a mature, gainfully employed college graduate. However, at age sixteen, she was a pregnant, unwed teen. This event followed the trauma of incest that began when she was 13 and ultimately led to her isolation from family and peers. The circumstances that contributed to her teen pregnancy were interwoven and complex.

Her mother was 18, unwed, and living at home when she was born. In Jennifer's extended family, teen pregnancy outside of marriage was not unusual, but the expected outcome was marriage. Her mother, forbidden to marry by her father, lived in disgrace. She and Jennifer moved after she was born. Jennifer had vivid memories of this particular period in her life. She came to know Thomas, the man her mother eventually married and that she grew up believing was her father.

Jennifer and her mother moved back in with her extended family when she was three. Her family was Mexican and Catholic and lived in a conservative mid-sized town in the Midwest. Jennifer recalled the impact that her ethnic background had on her behavior as she was growing up, "I'm light-skinned, so I'm light enough to pass, but if you saw my family, you'd know my family is Mexican. So I always kind of hid that around. I didn't really talk about my family or invite people to come over to my house or anything like that."

Jennifer remembered her grandparents as her primary caretakers, "My mom worked all day during the day so... I knew what the rules were by my grandmother." Jennifer described her grandmother as verbally aggressive and at times physically abusive to her and other family members. Her grandfather abused alcohol and Jennifer remembered him as the "rule-maker." However, he left the running of the household to her grandmother and the rest of the family. She felt a sense of confusion about the rules and their inconsistent application. Although education was not a family priority, Jennifer had positive memories of grade school.

Her mother remained single until she married Thomas when Jennifer was nine years old. However, Thomas moved into her grandparents' home with them when she was eight. As she got older, Jennifer described herself as a sullen "unbelievably angry child." Contact between her mother and her occurred only when they would fight. Jennifer explained "I was always angry at my mother because I thought she thought he [Thomas] was the greatest thing since sliced bread, and I knew he wasn't."

At age 13, Thomas began sexually abusing her. The abuse occurred for three years in the very home where Jennifer grew up with strict rules about her behavior, especially with men. Jennifer found even the comments made by the man she believed to be her father confusing and difficult to understand. "I mean... TV shows would come on about sexual abuse or something like that and he would say 'if anybody ever did that to my little girl, I'd kill them.' And, I would always think, 'well that's kind of weird 'cause it sounds like exactly like what's going on.'"

Secrets characterized Jennifer's life. When she was a sophomore in high school, she went on birth control pills because "my dad put me on the pill."

Jennifer became more and more depressed and ultimately suicidal during the spring of her sophomore year. She "slashed her wrists," bandaged them, and went to school. A friend asked about the injuries, and Jennifer told her what was happening at home. Her friend's mother initiated an investigation and subsequent interventions by social service and the police. Jennifer was hospitalized for several months. Following her discharge, Jennifer, a ward of the state, lived with a foster family. She eventually returned to her grandparents' home. By this time, she had learned that Thomas was not her biologic father and he was gone from the home, but the environment remained unforgiving, reinforcing blame and guilt.

Jennifer continued to be moody and rebellious. She began dating a man who was seven years older than she was. The instability of her home life and her acceptance by this man ultimately led to a relationship that was ongoing and intimate. "He was the rich man's son and so for me it sort of was like a... flip in the face of the town." Jennifer became pregnant in the spring of her junior year. When her pregnancy was confirmed, she remembered "I went through a state of denial for a long time. I was terrified." For Jennifer the pregnancy "confirmed that I was some kind of a whore or something like that." When she told the father of the child he was emotionless and disappeared for a month. Her romantic notions of getting married and a "house with a white picket fence" evaporated. When he returned he talked about abortion that for her "wasn't an option." She resigned herself to doing "this" alone, thinking, "I'll be fine."

Jennifer worked at a restaurant fulltime and continued in school although she did not do well academically. She dressed in "big leggings and the big shirts over them – the '80s kind of thing." She wore her waitress uniform with the apron over it and was not noticeably pregnant at five months. One day at work she picked up a heavy bucket "and felt a stretch and a tear or a snap – it's what I remember thinking, like a snap." Jennifer miscarried. Jennifer's mother did find out about the pregnancy before she miscarried. Her reaction was one of hysteria and chastisement, "You know your life is over, it's over... of everything that's gone on this had to happen to?" She never knew if her grandparents were aware of the pregnancy. For Jennifer the miscarriage ended her hopes of someone to love and be loved by, replacing them with the burden of another loss.

In the 1980s, Jennifer remembered the media's emphasis on getting an education. She could choose to continue school in spite of her circumstances. The public response to teen sexual activity and pregnancy remained openly negative "...where people were feeling horrified at numbers of teen pregnancies and teenagers having sex." In her high school "it was like... you're a slut... you are one of those bad girls." Television after school specials focused on problems and issues facing teenagers and their families. She also recalled discussion in church classes about premarital sex, "it's wrong, wrong, you just shouldn't do it.... You are a bad girl." Peers had a more "romantic notion" about relationships and their importance. There was an "it won't happen to me mentality... and a naughty, nice aura about having sex."

Jennifer talked about differences in geographic and cultural attitudes about single teen pregnancy. She believed it was "more shameful in an Anglo culture" and more difficult for girls in small towns. She believed that her own family's response to her as a sexual person related primarily to the incest and "...because I was damaged goods." Jennifer struggled with many demons. The pregnancy she experienced in high school was a low in her life and "the loneliest point in time for me – the absolute loneliest.... I have an incredible amount of pride for the person that I am today in this room... my life is – sometimes it's lonely. But, I am everything; I am everything that has been my life, my whole life."

Elizabeth

Elizabeth was 18 when she became pregnant. She was a first semester senior at a small Catholic high school in a mid-sized Midwest town. Her pregnancy was a "shock" to her and "stunned" her family and school.

Elizabeth was the youngest of three children. Her family heritage was Irish Catholic. Her father was a successful businessman, and her mother was active in her children's schools and devoted her life to raising the family. Elizabeth believed she and her siblings were given opportunities to make decisions and were achievement oriented. Elizabeth did not resent being the youngest and actually "I think I was given more opportunities as the younger child."

Elizabeth described her father as a pillar citizen who "held a long-standing respectable position in the community." At home he was a positive influence as well. She stated "my dad was very complimentary, always gave us kids 'kudos' for everything we did...." She further described him as a "very religious person, life for him is black and white. You do it or you don't, either it's right or it's wrong. He doesn't muddy things up and he doesn't bend rules." Elizabeth believed that her mom "was who you could talk to about stuff. But of all the children in my family, I'm the most like my dad. [But] in the household, if you made the aggregate of the three kids, mom definitely had the greater impact."

Elizabeth described her family members as strong role models but not "very conversational." Family talks were not the norm. She commented that she was "actually pretty comfortable with the boundaries that my parents set." Elizabeth as a teen made the decision not to have sex before marriage and "that was the ideal that I held...that is the scary part to me that I had made a decision and still backed down on it." Elizabeth learned about sexuality primarily from "girl talk." She recalled "in my freshman year, early in high school, that a priest in a theology class discussed with us what he called heavy petting and that, none of that was appropriate because it was the precursor to sex which was, of course, inappropriate." She did not remember that sex was discussed in other classes. At home, Elizabeth recalled "Mom wasn't comfortable discussing these things with us a lot.... I think she sort of slipped by and maybe kept an eye [on us] hoping we knew it, but [she] never sat us down and talked about it."

Elizabeth specifically identified the impact of the media on her awareness of sexuality. She postulated that TV and movies influenced her participation

in a premature sexual relationship. "The media, I believe, did and even more so does now, present sex as a reality in everybody's life.... It is so present that I am certain that I had sex earlier because of TV and movies.... I had seen it so many times."

Elizabeth dated in high school. The father of her child was "the first person that I had more than two dates with....and I got pregnant either the first or second time I ever had sex in my life." Elizabeth acknowledged the fact that she did know pregnancy could be an outcome; however, the outcome of intercourse was not directly equated to pregnancy. Elizabeth knew that she "would not have chosen to have sex if it wasn't my boyfriend's choice. I mean, I was a willing party, but it was definitely a case of appeasing him.... I was susceptible to his pressure." His parents allowed the young couple "to watch TV in his room on his bed with the light off." Elizabeth remembered that they were actually home the night that she got pregnant.

When she began to suspect that she might be pregnant, she chose to find out with a home pregnancy test. Elizabeth was anxious and fearful of the outcome. When the test was positive, she told her boyfriend, and later, her mother who became "sort of the rock because I was losing it." Telling her father, however, "was a miserable thing to do.... It was very tough to tell him." She believed he was "clearly disappointed in me." Her life at home and school changed. She was no longer the "scholar athlete"; rather, she became "this pregnant girl, in my mind and, I think in other people's eyes.... I lost any distinction." Her family supported her, but there was a price.

Through the turmoil, Elizabeth remained involved in school and extra curricular activities. She continued to attend church and participate in community activities. Shortly after she confirmed her pregnancy, Elizabeth was confronted with rumors at school. In a theology class, she boldly addressed the situation. "...I asked the nun if she would mind leaving the room because I wanted to talk to the class.... I sat down with 25 people, and told them.... It was just easier not keeping it to myself." She believed that she "stunned the whole school, very much surprised them. I was the 4.0 student, three-sport athlete; just everything had gone right in my life and [it was] pretty straight and narrow too. I wasn't the wild girl in the class by any means. I think I very much shocked people." A pregnant Elizabeth graduated with this senior class.

From the beginning Elizabeth and Josh considered alternatives. Josh mentioned abortion and they discussed marriage and adoption. For Elizabeth abortion was never an option. Her parents accepted Josh and this acceptance eventually allowed her "to choose to take my distance from him." They dated for another year and a half "hoping to make it work." He participated in the birth of their child, but one year after originally scheduled, she and her daughter left together to complete college and make a new home.

Elizabeth believed that attitudes in the 1990s about teen pregnancy were more open and accepting. She remembered her own feelings of invincibility and felt that teens hear information but often do get the message – the messenger is

talking to someone else. She identified relevant misinformation and beliefs held by and acted upon by young adolescents. Elizabeth stated that the media was saturated with sex and "...made it look like that's what everyone was doing." She identified a common assumption made by teens about other pregnant teenagers. Those outside the experience assumed "that it was the hundredth time that they had had sex [and then] that they were pregnant. And they were people that I sort of thought were a little wild." Moral character as well as personal behavior became vulnerable to uninformed judgment.

Elizabeth recalled, "I was very aware of what my parents' values were. The second step that we missed, that was very key, and that I hope to do with my children, is [to] explore them.... So I had the ground rules, the values, I knew what they were, but, if you talked about application of those – that's what we missed." Her actions belied the aspired values. Elizabeth believed that teen pregnancy altered her life path. The challenge she faced was that "it sort of erases your past and you become a pregnant teenager instead of someone who's done whatever else your record shows." She, however, remained determined to accomplish the goals she set before her pregnancy. A deeply rooted faith supported her resolve, "I'm not going to let a mistake damage the 'me' that I've built."

Themes

Themes emerged from the participants' stories and the literature reviewed. The themes included: How They Got There, What Followed, Lifelong Impact, and Literature Over Time.

How They Got There

Family structure and dynamics. The impact of family structure and dynamics was consistent. Family relationships that they described, especially with their mothers and fathers and for one her grandparents, framed the issues of control that four of the five clearly identified. One person did not describe rebellion against parental rules and expectations, but she lacked the skills to apply their values and beliefs to real-life situations. Religious and cultural norms of the participants' families mediated expected behaviors and the consequences for their deviations from the norms. Normal adolescent development triggered the desire in these women to question family values, beliefs, and expectations and to explore alternatives.

Family communication patterns. For a variety of reasons, these five women as teenagers and their families did not engage in meaningful communication. The participants did not explore with their families the basis of norms related to sexuality. This absence, together with the lack of general communication, intensified the disparity between family expectations and teenage desires.

Community attitudes. There was a consensus among the women that the unwed pregnant teen was not accepted in the community, and for most, the

consequence of this visible violation of sexual behavior was ostracism. They all lived in the rural Midwest and in or near small or medium-sized towns. For the 1980s' and 1990s' participants, there was less exclusion, but their perception of acceptance remained tenuous. School was discussed by all of the women, and overall, the participants remembered school policies that seemed to exclude or isolate pregnant teens. Church was not remembered as an open or forgiving place. The participants from the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s did not link the media to individual sexual choices and behaviors. However, in the 1980s, Jennifer clearly recalled the "campaign" against teen pregnancy and the classes and posters in school. In the 1990s, Elizabeth directly related her choice to become sexually active to television and movie portrayals of sex.

Lack of meaningful dialogue. The family, social, and cultural context in which these women lived contributed to a lack of meaningful dialogue. All five participants identified the consistent family pattern "we did not talk." This lack of open, reciprocal communication at home impacted their exploration and understanding of expected roles and behaviors. This was particularly significant for them in the area of human sexuality. Compounding this dilemma was the absence of genuine dialogue about human sexuality in schools, churches, and other community settings. There was no forum with adult role models for these women as teens to question or explore conflicting knowledge and information on sexuality. In later decades, the message of public media was left undisputed. The information for all of the participants came from a variety of sources and, in many instances, their peers. This helped to better explain the positive responses these women gave to the question "Did you know about contraception?" They had been given information on sexuality and contraception but did not internalize or explore the information as a basis for their own actions.

Tug of war for control. For these participants, a struggle for control of their lives existed between them and their external environments. When telling their stories, all of the women recognized, either directly or by assumption, family and community expectations for them. However, what remained at odds were the inherent differences in the aspirations and expectations that existed between them as teens and those of family and community. No matter what they knew intellectually, their own personal feelings, motivations, and relationships were more powerful drivers. This discord was compounded by lack of dialogue and their adolescent development and behaviors. For two of the women, serious family dysfunction served to accentuate the conflict. In addition, Anna, Debbie, Jennifer, and Elizabeth did not internalize the information they had on pregnancy and contraception and believed at that time "it wouldn't happen to them." Margaret was the only one to purposefully apply what she learned about sexuality.

What Followed

Reactions and responses. No matter what framed their initial thinking, the reality of pregnancy triggered a variety of reactions and common

responses. The responses they shared in common arose from the collision of their internal motivators and external realities. When pregnancy occurred, all of them reported "feeling scared." Facing their families was a primary source of this fear. All five women identified feelings of shame either for themselves, their families, or both. Two had personal remorse resulting from disappointment in self. For all of them, loss and sacrifice resulted from becoming an unwed pregnant teen. The loss varied from loss of self-respect to loss of distinction and innocence. For two, the loss was a real child.

Choices and consequences. There were choices made by each of these women once they became pregnant. These occurred on a continuum from those decisions made independently to the choices impacted by family input. All of them medically confirmed their pregnancies. Margaret, Anna, Debbie, and Elizabeth immediately revealed their pregnancies to their families. Jennifer did not. All of them shared the information with the young men who fathered their children. Each of them faced consequences once the pregnancy was known.

Lifelong Impact

...ever after. Teen pregnancy tested them. For Debbie and Elizabeth, this event was their first truly difficult life challenge. For Anna, teen pregnancy was bittersweet and became the challenge of a lifetime. Margaret and Jennifer responded to teen pregnancy as one more in a series of "tests" of their ongoing ability to adapt and survive. The participants in the study were bright, articulate women. They demonstrated competency and courage as they handled the challenge of teen pregnancy, and, for some, teen motherhood. They persevered in the face of discouragement and disappointment and for one, against all the odds. They expressed regrets and lingering anger. Self-doubt and unresolved issues remained. Resiliency allowed them to regroup and go on living. All faced uphill battles, and each found varying degrees of peace and meaning in their lives. Margaret and Debbie were at points of resolution. Anna has never completely healed, and Jennifer and Elizabeth's journeys continued.

Literature Review

Historical professional literature and popular media surround the stories of unwed teen pregnancy. Themes identified from the women's stories focus the literature review and provide an important historical window into the evolution of teenage pregnancy.

Rates and numbers. The impact of changes in the birth numbers and birth rates for women ages 15-19 and the rise in the rate of births to unmarried 15 to 19-year-old teenage women are displayed in Table 1. Teen birth rates fell overall in the 1990s; however, the proportion of births to unmarried teens continued to rise, from 14% in 1940 to 67% in 1990 and 79% in 2000 (National Center for Health Statistics (2002b). A majority of teens choosing to give birth are not marrying.

Table 1
Birth Rate to All Women Ages 15-19 as Compared to Birth Rate to Unmarried Women Ages 15-19 Selected Years:
1950-2000

Year	1950	1957	1960	1970	1980	1985	1990	1993	1994	1995	1997	2000
Birth Rate*	81.6	96.3	89.1	68.3	53.0	51.0	59.9	59.6	58.9	56.8	52.3	48.7
Birth Rate**	12.6	15.8	15.3	22.4	27.6	31.4	42.5	44.5	46.4	44.4	42.2	39.6

*Rate per 1000 women **Rate per 1000 *unmarried* women

Source:

¹(1950-2000 all women and 1950-1997 unmarried women) National Center for Health Statistics. (2001). Selected measures of teenage childbearing: United States, 1940-2000. *National Vital Statistics Report 49* (10). Hyattsville, MD: CDCP. Retrieved November 22, 2002 from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr49/nvsr49_10.pdf

²(2000 unmarried women) National Center for Health Statistics. (2002). Birth rates for unmarried women by age of mother: United States, 1970, 1975, and 1980-2000. *National Vital Statistics Report 50* (5). Hyattsville, MD: CDCP. Retrieved November 22, 2002 from http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/nvsr/nvsr50/nvsr50_05.pdf

Birth rates and numbers were most often reported for white and black teenage women. The birth rates reported were consistently higher for black women 15-19 years than for white women in the same age group; however the actual number of births from 1950 to 1999 was greater for white teens 15-19 years than the number of births to black teens aged 15-19 years. The larger overall number of births to white teenage women was often overlooked and perpetuated the public perception that black teens have greater numbers of actual births than white teens (Table 2).

During the last 40 years, the birth rate to 15 to 19-year-olds as a group declined overall. In the late 1960s and the 1970s, however, increased numbers of teenage women precipitated an increase in the actual numbers of births to this group. These elevated numbers, coupled with the increase in births to unmarried teens, helped fuel societal concern over an epidemic of teenage pregnancy; a concern that still exists.

Causes and attitudes. Attitudes about teen pregnancy come from deep-seated beliefs about sexuality and the roles of women and men in society. In earlier decades, unmarried teen pregnancy represented a visible violation of tacitly held sexual mores. Teenage women were held accountable for violating these social norms. The civil rights movement and the sexual revolution of the 1970s changed women's rights and roles, challenging the status quo that included responses to teen pregnancy.

The role of media was given frequent consideration. As early as the 1950s, educators questioned the impact of television on children. Television, "rock 'n roll" music and movies were implicated in the changing sexual behaviors of youth. During the next four decades, authors continued to cite the increase in sex information available to youth through explicit movies, books, music, and television. In the same time period, the number of home television sets more than doubled. In the late 1980s and 1990s, the media was described as delivering wildly conflicting messages to adolescents that promote the value of sex and sexiness. Simultaneously, these same youth heard from home, church, and school, the message that premarital sex was wrong.

Marriage, abortion, and adoption. The 1950s and 1960s literature discussed options for the unwed teen as primarily marriage or adoption. Pregnancy out-of-wedlock was hidden. By the late 1960s and through the 1990s, the increase in the number of births to single teens and the decreasing numbers of marriages and relinquishments for adoptions were issues in health and education literature. In 1973, abortion became legal in the United States. The proportion of teen pregnancies ending in abortion increased from the early 70s through the late 80s and then began to decline (Table 3). Overall, abortion statistics in the literature were less current and differed more from source to source than birth statistics due to a lack of national data. In the 1999 literature as in previous decades, abortion remained a divisive and emotional issue for policymakers and the public.

Table 2
 Births to White Women Ages 15-19 as Compared to Births to Black Women Ages 15-19 Select Years: 1950-1999

Year	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	1997	1999
Births* White 15-19	318.8	372.7	458.1	443.8	463.6	410.1	393.6	324.6	354.5	349.6	342	337.9
Births* Black 15-19	98.1	108.4	118	141	171.8	161.4	147.4	130.8	151.6	133.7	130.4	127.2

*Births reported in 1000s (adapted from exact number and rounded to nearest hundred).

Source:

¹(for both rates 1950-1997) Ventura, S. J., Mathews, T. J., & Curtin, S. C. (1998). Declines in teenage birth rates, 1991-1997: *National and state patterns. National Vital Statistics Report*, 47 (12).

²(both rates for 1999) U.S. Census Bureau. *Statistical abstract of the United States: 2001. (121st edition)*. Washington DC, 2001.

Table 3
 Percentage of Pregnancies among Women Ages 15 to 19 Ending in
 Abortion Per 1000 Women in That Population: Select Years 1972 to 1996

Year	1972 ¹	1976 ¹	1980 ¹	1984 ¹	1988 ¹	1991 ¹	1994 ²	1996 ³
Percent	24	39	45	46	45	38	31	29

Source:

¹(1972-1991) Alan Guttmacher Institute (1994) in Maynard, R. A. (Ed.). (1997). *Kids having kids*. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute Press;

²(1994) Alan Guttmacher Institute. (1998). *Facts in Brief: Teen sex and pregnancy*, 1998 [On-Line]. Available: www.agi-usa.org/pubs/fb_teen_sex.html;

³(1996) Ventura, S. J. (1999). Declines in teenage birth rates 1995-1998: updates of national and state patterns. *National Vital Statistics Report 47* (14). Retrieved July 27, 2002 from <http://gateway2.ovid.com:80/ovidweb.cgi>

Policies. The participants' recollections of school involvement with teen pregnancy paralleled the changes recorded in the education literature. Until 1972, school boards set their own policy about attendance of pregnant students and often excluded them or moved them to alternative settings. Mainstreaming pregnant and parenting students was resisted by some, and the debate about where these women should go to school and what impact they had on the behaviors of other students continued into the 1990s.

Sex education was consistently argued. As early as the 1950s, many parents, religious leaders, and health and education experts believed that sex education should be taught in the schools and the community. The consensus then and now was that sex education needed to be a collaborative activity between parents and community institutions. However, during the last 50 years, policy regulating sex education and teen pregnancy prevention often did not reflect the viewpoint of this consensus. Instead, it was most often established by vocal public and organized political entities.

Learnings

Learnings occurred in three major areas. The first area, the fit of historical study methodology with the topic, included insights gained related to methods. Finding the 1990s participant was most challenging. The closeness of the event for the 1990s participants may have made the event too recent to be discussed. Developing meaningful relationships with all participants depended on a trustworthy environment. The women who expressed the most comfort with their choices about teen pregnancy, both then and now, were easier to interview. Finally, all of the informants reiterated the value of reviewing and expressing feelings and beliefs about their unmarried teen pregnancy.

The second area of learning occurred from the real experiences described by the participants. Through the decades the impact of family, culture, communication, community, and human sexuality intertwined. An understanding

of the consistent and influential role of their families in responses to and resolutions of teen pregnancy developed. The overall lack of communication and effective coping strategies within the participants' family units precipitated events leading to teen pregnancy and fostered a lack of support with its disclosure. In addition, all of the participants had some knowledge about sex and contraception but did not discuss with family or community members the broader implications of what it means to be a sexual human being. This mirrored a concern expressed in the literature during the past fifty years. The women in the study also described a lack of consistently internalizing what they learned about sexuality if it did not apply to their lives at the moment.

The third area of learning, the view of unwed teen pregnancy over five decades of literature, contributed to an understanding of the conceptualization of teen pregnancy and the options and choices that were made by the study participants. Over the span of the five decades, the pregnant teen was often the visible target for those wanting to place blame or to fix "the problem." A credibility gap in the media emerged from the literature review. Policy dilemmas faced by schools and school boards were identified. The ongoing development of government and social policy in response to trends in the increasing numbers of single pregnant teens and their families corroborated outcomes experienced by the participants.

Recommendations

There is need for the development of intervention strategies for prevention of unmarried teen pregnancy and to meet the needs of women who have this experience. The participants' stories support the need for programs to proactively improve relationships and communication among parents, teens, and community resources. Communities must come together to engage in meaningful dialogue, to collaboratively assess the needs of their youth, and to develop and implement strategies specifically designed to foster primary prevention of teen pregnancy. The study demonstrates the need to provide teens the opportunity to explore their perceptions of sexual roles and expectations with significant adult role models. The value of implementing personal and family counseling resources for women who become pregnant as unmarried teens is underscored by these women's experiences. In addition, the study demonstrates that women of all ages who experience unmarried teen pregnancy benefit from the process of sharing their reflections and decreasing their sense of isolation.

Finally, the study supports the need for continuing research by health, education, and sociology professionals on the complex issues surrounding unmarried teen pregnancy. Greater understanding and knowledge on how and when women develop the ability to "disagree openly with others, [and] to feel and speak a full range of emotions" will facilitate the development of strategies to strengthen the assertive skills of adolescent girls (Brown & Gilligan, 1993, p. 30). Further research is also warranted on the outcomes of

specific programs established to prevent undesired teen pregnancy. Those found to be effective can be better supported and replicated. Continued research on the relationships between environmental support and personal resilience on the outcomes of women who experience unwed teen pregnancy will enlighten approaches used with this population.

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The Symbiotic Relationship of Leadership and Culture

Bernita L. Krumm

This article concentrates on two areas: individual leadership roles and the influence of organizational culture and language on leadership. Women tribal college presidents offered their perspectives on the presidents' leadership roles, visions for the colleges and behaviors, strategies and insights on leadership.

Women in Leadership

In the past, leadership studies focused on men; the majority of college presidents are men. Despite a 7% increase in the number of women presidents between 1975 and 1995, only 453 of 2903 institutions (16%) were led by women (ACE, 1995). Independent two-year institutions led with 27% (38 of 143) having women in CEO positions. The number of women leaders in tribal colleges, however, was higher.

In 1992, Ambler reported that women presidents led 10 of 28 (39%) of the member colleges in the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC); three served in acting capacities, and an eleventh woman president was on leave. In addition to the college presidency, "Women serve[d] the tribal colleges in a variety of other expected and unexpected roles, as vice presidents, deans, vocational education directors, cultural studies teachers and board members" (p. 10). In 1996 the roster of AIHEC member colleges indicated that 10 of 31 (32%) presidents were women. The 2002 roster of AIHEC member colleges lists 14 women presidents (42%), two in an acting capacity; three hold doctoral degrees and one an education specialist degree.

The majority of tribal colleges are two-year institutions with characteristics similar to community colleges. DiCroce (1993) reported that "two-year colleges appear[ed] to be at the forefront in placing women in their presidencies" (p. 80). She hypothesized two possibilities: (a) The higher percentage of women presidents reflected the gender composition of the student body and demonstrated a "strong commitment to the values of open access, diversity, and inclusiveness." (b) "...the steadily rising number of women presidents in the community college may simply be a result of the institution's lower hierarchical status in academe" (p. 80). Women presidents in the tribal colleges are natural providers of information about the role of women in higher education leadership.

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Tribal College Leadership

Since the beginning of the first tribal college (Navajo Community College, Tsaile, Arizona in 1968), tribal college leaders have guided their institutions in providing educational opportunities previously inaccessible to many American Indian students. These leaders assumed responsibility for problems that included the lack of proper funding and facilities; political controversies; difficulty recruiting and retaining faculty (both Indian and non-Indian); student concerns that encompassed financial, transportation, and childcare concerns; and in many cases, problems beyond human control caused by the environmental and weather conditions.

Tribal college leaders assumed the responsibility for lowering the barriers that separate their institutions from mainstream society. Boyer (1995) described tribal colleges as "institutions that bridge two worlds. They are built on a foundation of tribal culture and values, but teach the knowledge of both Indian and non-Indian communities. In this way they are cultural translators, sitting on the fulcrum between two very distinct societies" (p. 15). Tribal college presidents operate that fulcrum; they are responsible for identifying the direction and setting the course. "Leaders look forward to the future. They hold in their minds visions and ideals of what can be. They have a sense of what is uniquely possible if all work together for a common purpose. They are positive about the future, and they passionately believe that people can make a difference" (Kouzes & Posner, 1987, p. 79).

Badwound and Tierney (1988) wrote, "The struggle for tribal community colleges is to understand their organizations from their own perspective, as well as that of the dominant society" (p. 9). To gain the respect of constituents, tribal college leaders must demonstrate appropriate leadership qualities, including

wisdom and spirituality. Wisdom is attributed to those “who have consistently demonstrated adherence to Indian values and who possess visionary qualities to lead; spirituality is “a condition that is neither learned nor certified, but is attained through the workings of a higher power or being” (p. 12).

According to information gathered by the Carnegie Foundation (1989), “In the early years the tribal college presidents were frequently people committed to tribal development but with little experience running a college. They tended to view the tribal colleges as tools to help provide economic and social parity with the Anglo community. Increasingly, presidents today are strong leaders with a background in education or administration” (p. 32). Becenti (1995) reported that 3 presidents of 31 AIHEC member institutions were non-Indian.

Fowler’s (1992) study on tribal college leaders found that the concept of leadership in the tribal college “had three aspects: leadership in general, the vision, and the leader’s personal characteristics” (p. 160).

Leadership in general involved the ability to respect and cooperate with tribal governments and individuals, to delegate, to reflect the values and morals of the tribe, to be accountable, to be knowledgeable, to be consistent, and to be a positive role model. Leadership vision addressed a shared vision, the ability to communicate direction and clearly portray the vision, and the ability to know and implement the mission statement. The personal characteristics needed by the leader were honesty, fairness, kindness, energy, creativity, thoughtfulness, strong work ethic, strong spirituality, and good health (p. 161).

Becenti (1995) used the Leader Behavior Description Questionnaire-Form XII to profile the leadership of five American Indian higher education institution presidents. The participants (four male; one female) scored highest in the category Predictive Accuracy, a characteristic Becenti related to their ability to maintain control under uncertain economic situations. They enumerated institutional goals that related to stabilizing the financial status of the institution, providing educational opportunities for tribal members, and establishing campus facilities (pp. 91-92).

Working with tribal boards comprising highly educated individuals and tribal elders with little or no formal education called for presidents to “be competent in complex organizational theory, and at the same time [to] maintain competence in tribal culture, language, and theory” (Becenti, 1995, p. 93). Responsibilities deemed to be important were “working with tribal governments, working with students, being a good leader, providing clarity in mission, establishing vision, and motivating staff” (p. 93). Becenti concluded, “The tribal college presidents are the driving forces behind the success of the tribal colleges” (p. 98).

Reflections on Leadership

At the time of the study, four women tribal college presidents were interviewed: Dr. Janine Pretty On Top, President of Little Big Horn College,

Crow Agency, Montana; Dr. Verna Fowler, President of College of the Menominee Nation, Keshena, Wisconsin; Ms. Tanya Ward, President of Cheyenne River Community College, Eagle Butte, South Dakota; and Ms. Margaret Perez Campbell, Vice-President of Ft. Peck Community College, Poplar, Montana (former president of Ft. Belknap College, Harlem, Montana). In 2002, Fowler remains as college president; Campbell is Vice President for Community Services; Pretty On Top and Ward are not listed as employees at their respective colleges.

Janine Pretty On Top

Pretty On Top believes that good leadership is “not only good judgment, but it’s a real educated understanding of what the organization is. What are things that this organization must be about—at all times, not just sometimes.” There must be an awareness of the business that needs to be done, “the breadth and depth of the vision and the purpose of the institution.” She believes good leadership must have the “discipline to stay within the resources that you have.”

The institutional mission has to be protected. “I have to see if something fits within the mission of the institution. And I have to always protect the institution.” Leading the college is not something that can be done alone. “The presidency is not in isolation. But I have a central role that I can’t lose sight of. It isn’t just something fun to do. You must always ask, ‘Is this really what the college was chartered to do? Does it promote our survival? Does it help us be better and stronger?’”

Leadership is a “process of building consensus.” Janine attempts to find a “common ground” in working with others in problem solving. She consults a cadre of advisors prior to making decisions. Because she knows them well, she has a sense of their perspectives. “I’m not isolated from their wisdom even if I don’t have immediate access to them when a problem comes up.” She believes it is important to listen to others. “I have been a seeker of advice. And I think that if anything, a leader in the Crow context needs to be a seeker of advice. You don’t always have to use it, but you have it. It broadens your ability.” Pretty On Top seeks advice and takes time to consider the action before making a decision.

In Pretty On Top’s estimation, leaders must be perceptive about their effectiveness. “There’s no amount of song and dance that can make people accept you. If they think you are a person of good judgment, they will already know it and they’re not frivolous in that you’ve long earned that respect . . . it isn’t shallow. It’s long earned. It’s something that’s very formidable.” In a tribal community, the reputation of the individual provides the credentials for leadership.

A person who is afforded the title of leader is someone who’s tried and true over many years, not because they’re simply hired for that position, although the choice would lean on a long-term credential. But a community in a tribal setting is one that has already known the leader’s life, and they’ve already tried

and tried him. They understand what it is you do in your life to show your commitment. So there's no mystery about that. If people wish to be led by you, they will be.

Verna Fowler

Fowler expressed her belief that "everybody has within themselves a desire to know, and to understand—a sense of curiosity." She continually asks questions: "How can this be done better? How can things be improved?" She described her leadership role:

First and foremost, I see myself as one who has a vision and has a direction worth heading. My job is to persuade the others to follow me in that direction—not that I'm the only one who develops that direction. I have to develop that direction and vision by being in tune to and listening to the faculty and the staff and the community, so I can get some sense of what they want as a tribal college. I have to be able to listen well enough to pull all those aspects together and fashion that vision that these people can buy into and say, "Yes, that's it. That's where we want to be; that's where we want to go."

Fowler believes the president is also a figurehead, a person who instills pride in others. People need to "feel secure in their jobs, and take pride in them." She looks for high standards, high ethics, and a value system in her leaders. She tries to maintain those herself "so the people who work here have some belief that I'm true to my word. That—I may not have all the answers, but I do know something about education and higher education, so that they have some confidence in me when I speak."

Fowler emphasized being "willing and ready enough to sometimes listen to people" as being important in a working relationship. Sometimes her role is "more counselor, sometimes it's more personnel [director]—listening to people and what their problems are." People want to know that their concerns are heard. "It's just that they want to know that somebody's hearing them and somebody understands and knows what their concerns are so they aren't lost in the shuffle. You have to be willing and ready to do that."

She believes that the role of an administrator is to enable faculty to provide students with those skills to find answers. "You're not the head dollar, you're the servant. You're the servant of the faculty because their role is teaching. Our primary mission is teaching. We have to make it possible so that the faculty can do their absolute best." Sometimes that meant Fowler had to "pitch in" and do whatever needed to be done. "Sometimes things don't get done, and so you have to go and do it yourself." She does not expect others to do what she is unwilling to do herself. "Just that you don't act like the menial jobs are beneath you. I've always taken the position that I can't expect anybody to clean bathrooms unless I also do it, so that they know I know how to do it myself. I just don't hesitate to tackle any kind of job that isn't done."

Tanya Ward

Ward depended on a core group of people who communicated her needs to others and who “can take the time to sit down and explain. I sort of use them as the conduit.” Tanya believed participation of the faculty develops ownership in decisions. Faculty need to be “empowered.” She delegated responsibility and extended her faculty the right to make choices with the expectation that they will utilize that prerogative. She did not want them to be afraid to make mistakes; right or wrong, they should make a decision and be willing to admit it when they’re wrong. Ward preferred that they grab “the bull by the horns—right or wrong, and admit it if you’re wrong. There’s nothing wrong with that.”

Ward did not view her position as having glamour or prestige; her task was to achieve accreditation and doing so was hard work.

I view it as being the old workhorse to accomplish a means, accomplishing a big task and getting accredited. That’s how I see it. I don’t really see the position as glamorous. There’s nothing to be glamorous about in this point in time. It’s work. This is the place where it starts and it’s top down. It doesn’t come bottom up. This is one of those tasks that’s driven top down. So I don’t see the position really as glamorous or as prestigious. It’s doing the work.

Ward saw her leadership as providing consistency and continuity. “My leadership is in terms of reading about change for the better, or accomplishing something. . . . I don’t see myself as being dynamic—at all. I see myself as maybe providing consistency, a continuity.” Her leadership “usually involved improving something to make it even better, to be the vehicle for improvement.” Education, “the salvation of the Indian people,” was a big part of that improvement. Education enables people to make choices, an ability that comes with knowledge. “It [education] just gives you a better understanding of who you are and what you are and what you choose to be. It just gives you better choices. That’s what we need out here. The ability to make the choice and to choose what’s right for us.”

Margarett Campbell

Margarett’s experience as a past president of Ft. Belknap College and of AIHEC, focused her attention on college mission. “If the tribal presidents remain mission-oriented and are able to sift through and sort through the requests that are made of them. . . . those things that are meaningful need to be brought back to the governing board and discussed.” She believed that the mission is foremost. “Everyone has to know the mission, believe in the mission.” Leaders are change agents and need to be open-minded. “I see leadership, people in leadership, as being change agents. And in order to do that you need to be open to learning and open to respecting a wide array of values and opinions.”

She stated her belief that participation facilitates change and described her leadership style as “inclusive and participatory. I try to involve a broad base

of opinions, values, and expertise.” Individuals need to know they are respected and valued. “The value of a person’s leadership could be weighed by determining if the individuals that are in subordinate positions feel like they’re valued members of the team, feel that their skills and values are respected, and understand and buy into the mission.”

“One of the key characteristics or factors of leadership is decision-making.” Making decisions means being able to defend those decisions; making decisions also means being able to admit mistakes, and Campbell declared, “And oh, I’ve made so many mistakes.” Admitting error is important because “once you admit you’ve made a mistake, people seem to respect you for that. I don’t know if it’s they see you as, ‘Oh, she’s human, too. She makes mistakes,’ or they respect the fact that you admit it.”

Campbell stressed that people in leadership are change agents who “need to be open to learning, and open to respecting a wide array of values and opinions.” She defined leadership as “the ability to enable other people to maximize their skills and energy in a common direction for a common reason.” Mediation is an important part of communication in the tribal college community. In tribal communities, everyone knows each other. “So in a community like ours we spend a lot of time mediating, trying to help both individuals see the value in the other and respecting each other.” Campbell wanted her leadership judged by “how well other people working with me function. Because if I’m working really, really hard—I could be doing a great job at say, some project, but I’m not a leader unless I’m able to enable others to do the same.”

Culture and Language

In *Look to the Mountain*, Cajete (1994) explained that tribal education is really “endogenous education, in that it educates the inner self through enlivenment and illumination from one’s own being and the learning of key relationships” (p. 34). He characterized a basic element of Indian Education as the recognition that “each person and each culture contains the seeds that are essential to their well-being and positive development (Cajete, 1994, p. 29). Culture, “all learned patterns of thought and behavior, whether conscious or unconscious, shared by all members of a social, ethnic, or linguistic group” (Houser, 1991, p. 17), provides the foundation for education in the tribal colleges. Focusing on the development of the individual, tribal colleges “maintain a strong focus on the cultural heritage of the local people” (Conti & Fellenz, 1991, p. 18) with an aim of “human resource development for the tribe” (Cross & Shortman, 1995, p. 37).

Tribal colleges are “flexible and responsive institutions” (Boyer, 1995, p. 10), that “promote the self-determination aspiration of Indian people” and draw on tribal history and culture as they “strive to integrate traditional disciplinary knowledge of mainstream society into their academic programs” (Badwound & Tierney, 1988, p. 14). Tribal culture is central to Indian Education and provides the basic element in establishing the tribal college

mission. Each mission statement clearly declares that the tribal college will "preserve, enhance, promote, and teach" the tribe's culture and language. This common element is aimed at providing students the opportunity to learn more about their tribe's culture and history, build their identities, and instill pride in their heritage.

This commitment to reclaim cultural heritage undergirds the mission of the tribal colleges, reinforced through the framework of their curricula. A "commitment to reaffirm traditions" (Boyer in *Carnegie*, 1989) and the focus on "incorporating culture into the curriculum is imperative if tribal colleges are to meet their stated goals" (Cross & Shortman, 1995, p. 34). This cultural framework is more than an effort to "add elements of native thought and philosophy" to their curriculum; tribal colleges "want their curriculum to be as fully reflective of their culture as Harvard is of western culture" (Boyer, 1995, p. 45).

The task of incorporating culture into tribal college curriculum is a difficult one. Cross & Shortman explain: "The reality is that incorporating culture into the curriculum is a formidable task given that most tribal colleges must first develop the materials about their own cultures" (1995, p. 35). Not only must these tribal colleges develop materials, they must also "define what, exactly, contemporary American Indian culture should look like" (Boyer, 1995, p. 45). As summarized by Conti & Fellenz, "No situation[al] factor is more important at tribal colleges than the philosophy of the institution. Tribal colleges have a definitive mission and a community responsibility. This must be reflected in the curriculum and in the way the curriculum is formulated" (1991, p. 22).

Tribal colleges strive to advance the understanding of Indian culture. Their curricula "work to express evidence of culture—through ceremonies and the teaching of language, for example—even on reservations where the culture is almost lost and few, if any, members speak the language fluently. In this way, they are bringing the active expression of culture back to life, making it the common currency of the tribe once more" (Boyer, 1995, p. 45). Preserving the native language is a monumental undertaking because few native language speakers exist. Students who learn the language in school or special programs may not receive the reinforcement of speaking the language at home. The tangible evidence of culture is in the pow wows and native study courses, but the intangible influence of culture is "carefully embedded throughout the entire curriculum, in the philosophy of teaching and the general mood of the institution" (Boyer, 1995, p. 16).

Tribal colleges strive to provide culturally relevant content that will reinforce the basic values of the community. Their goals "are neither competitive nor meritocratic...generosity, reverence for the earth, and wisdom are basic values" (McNickle, 1973, in Badwound & Tierney, 1988, p. 11) that connect tribal college education with cultural philosophy. Although tribal college education supports development of the individual, the goals reflect group interests (Badwound & Tierney, 1988) and work toward the development of the community. They are "truly *community* institutions...building new communities based on shared traditions...challenging the conditions that plague

their societies and continue to threaten their survival” (Boyer in Carnegie, 1989, p. xii). Tribal colleges continually examine their missions in the context of what it will mean for their communities. Each undertaking is evaluated in terms of consistency with mission and appropriateness for the community. The relationships of tribal colleges and communities are reciprocal. Just as states rely on their higher education institutions as “repositories of knowledge...so too do tribal communities look to their colleges for information and guidance” (Boyer, 1995, p. 14).

Little Big Horn College

Little Big Horn College exemplifies the efforts of tribal colleges to use tribal culture and knowledge as the foundation for learning. According to Pretty On Top, tribal knowledge is part of “the context of virtually any course” offered at LBHC; she believes that level of integration is related to “the level of respect that we have for knowledge that’s held by people, the value of it and its place in the curriculum.” Developing the curriculum, as well as all other areas of the college to include tribal knowledge is congruent with the mission statement. Janine explained the relevance of the mission statement to culture:

It says we respect the knowledge and scholarship of the tribe. And if we do, then we’re going to find it [tribal knowledge] everywhere in the curriculum. It’s going to permeate even the methods that we have in delivering the learning environment, in the student services...the ways in which counseling is delivered, or admissions or application. All of the ways in which we relate to one another we’ll be able to apply Crow knowledge to those ways.

Integrating tribal knowledge into every discipline is not an easy task. Decisions have to be made in regard to what is important, how the information relates to the rest of the curriculum, and how to deliver the information. Some decisions are more easily made than others.

In that regard, we’ve had lots of hard work to do because if we recognize Crow knowledge as integral to the curriculum, then we have to be willing to understand how that curriculum, how that knowledge fits into the greater field of the academic curriculum, whether it’s in history or it’s in economics, or if it’s in teaching the language and so on. And we have to speak to that knowledge in terms of other academics because those courses have to be translated or articulated. They have to be transferred. We have to handle that knowledge...we have to package it; we have to grade level it; we have to do all the things that academics do with knowledge, with information, with the Crow information.

Curriculum components that reflect the knowledge of the Crow culture garner more loyalty from college personnel than do those that lack the cultural element. When adjustments to the curriculum must be made, those parts that are most culturally cohesive are maintained; those lacking a cultural

foundation are subject to change. "Our cultural knowledge...has been reflected in the curriculum and...we have been most loyal to that curriculum. Others we can trim back or we can expand or we can alter or we can even trade, but there's a cohesiveness to the tribal studies that needs to be preserved and respected and I think that we're very loyal to that."

LBHC developed archives containing over 700 running feet of materials, photos, and tapes relevant to the Crow culture. Students are encouraged to complete cultural research projects and to seek out additional cultural knowledge from their families and other community members. Pretty On Top expressed her belief that the archives are an additional indicator of "how our cultural context, our cultural knowledge base is reflected in this organization." The archives show the "distinctive chartered purpose and that is protection of the history and language of the culture of the tribe."

I think the most powerful construction I get from my culture is the way in which I communicate with other people. Within the organization it would be with members of the faculty and staff—whether it's to correct some problem area or concern area, or whether it's to move work along that needs to be moved along to complete a task that's short or long term in nature, and that has to do with respect. It has to do with saying things without being so directive as to be insulting, to take a certain approach in a written document that is positive but yet motivating but yet task oriented. We have this to do; we set deadlines; and we get the work done.

Students are required to take two classes in the Crow language and in composition and speaking as part of their general education requirements. The premise is that to be fully capable of speaking and writing in English, students must first be competent in speaking and writing the Crow language. Achieving competence in written and spoken English is an important objective for students at LBHC. "We're concerned that people know how to do research papers and that they can speak in public in English, because our primary language here is Crow. So to be fully capable academically in English is an extremely important objective for our students to reach."

Some distinct differences exist between the Crow language and English, differences that not only present barriers to communication and understanding, but may also be reflective of differences in cultural beliefs. The Crow language is structurally different, so the aim of language instruction is to help students understand their chronic mistakes. Fundamental differences in structure include the use—or lack—of the past verb tense, gender pronouns, and possessive pronouns. Janine explained:

For instance, there is no past tense in the Crow language. And our Crow people tend to use the past tense in English anywhere they want. They use it for present, future—they use it any time they want, because the distinction between the past and the present is only contextual in Crow; it's not grammatical [*sic*].... We also don't have gender pronouns, like he/she. We just have person, the person

pronoun. And we don't have ownership, so there's the possessives—all of those "her tent," "his," and so on, and so those things are sort of interchangeable. His and her are virtually interchangeable if you listen to Crow English.

LBHC faculty, staff, and board members also have opportunities to expand their knowledge of Crow culture and language. With permission, they can take up to six credits, tuition free, of any course offerings. In this way, the college facilitates individual growth in knowledge of tribal culture and language. "It's really been a good way to facilitate the development, especially in, for instance, tribal languages, tribal studies, in that whole area of interest for non-Indian people—but for Indian people as well."

Additionally, faculty development opportunities are ongoing in the areas of language, culture, and teaching methodologies. Faculty received instruction specific to teaching tribal college students and American Indian adults. According to Pretty On Top, LBHC had a faculty development grant "to learn about the language and the culture from eminent scholars in our community. They're also interested in teaching methodology and they've had a series of classes and speakers on teaching in the tribal college, teaching American Indian adults."

Pretty On Top and others at the college recognized the need to be sensitive to the cultural needs of the community. "In the community itself the college is sensitive to certain times of the year and we recognize certain important holidays, certain community involvement that's very important to the Crow people." Being respectful of cultural and individual needs during times of sickness or death in the family is a means of demonstrating and preserving respect for the culture. Faculty and staff members are not penalized for time spent with their families during bereavement. Janine listed those practices as some of "the most serious ways in which you can respect people for their membership in a culture and their obligations to their family."

College of The Menominee Nation

For Fowler, tribal language is the means to bringing back the Menominee culture. "I think it's the language that helps us really understand what Menominee culture is all about." Although she does not want to "minimize the drumming, the singing and dancing," she believes that the important concepts for Menominee people are found in understanding the language and the Menominee way of thinking, a way of thinking that is rich with metaphor. If Menominee "don't have some broad understanding of the language and the concepts, they would miss the Menominee way of thinking."

The Menominee tribe was a terminated tribe and because of this Fowler said, "We're a little bit different from a lot of other tribes because we're more acculturated." The termination policy was an attempt by the federal government to decrease federal responsibility for all Indian services, including education. National support for termination reached a climax in 1953 with the passage of House Concurrent Resolution #108.

The final result of Resolution #108 was the termination of two major tribes, the Klamath of Oregon and the Menominee of Wisconsin, and 59 small bands and tribes. The termination philosophy also had direct effects on elementary and secondary education for Indians. Federal Indian schools were closed in four states: Idaho, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Washington (Oppelt, 1990, pp. 25-26).

The result was that Indian students attended public schools that discouraged teaching about Indian culture. Although the Menominee language currently is taught to students in the local grade schools and the high school, it is not used by them. "In the grade schools and the high schools it's been taught for the last 20 years, but you don't see kids using it." Few native Menominee language speakers remain, and Fowler would like to utilize the expertise of those who do to run "immersion camps in Menominee language" to teach and preserve the language and culture. She believes that the minds of the people are the most valuable resource. "Menominee have terrific [resources] with all their trees here and the wonderful and variable resources. But we have a much more important and a much more valuable resource and that's the minds of our people."

Cheyenne River Community College

Under Ward's direction, the faculty committee at Cheyenne River Community College reviewed the college curriculum during Summer 1996. They looked at the course descriptions and how to incorporate the Lakota perspective. "We looked at incorporating the Lakota thought and philosophy where we could through the curriculum." Ward stated that curriculum should reflect the culture. "As a tribal college we need to be unique and there's part of the culture that should permeate throughout the course offerings that we have."

Developing a values course was a priority for Ward; values of the Indian people were the focus of a 1995 staff development workshop. Language was another priority area. "I see us as a tribal college including a lot of the culture and parts of the language and my next step is to orient the faculty into just some simple practices and greeting their students." Ward, who speaks Lakota fluently and taught language classes, explained that the Lakota language requires a different thinking process and is not contextually equivalent to the English language. "The thought process is very different from English." Sometimes there are no "English words to describe appropriately what we say in Lakota for thought. One word could conjure up an entire picture in your head. In English it may take a paragraph to describe that. That thought process is quite different."

Few students at CRCC are bilingual. Students of mixed heritage are less conversant in Lakota than those who are full bloods. "The west end are the full bloods and I would say...the majority of west enders that come will be bilingual." Although learning Lakota is a challenge, the language classes are filled. "The language classes are packed when we start. It's a difficult language to learn. Maybe 10% [of the students], if that, are bilingual."

In addition to Lakota language courses, CRCC offers a course in Lakota history and faculty are looking at developing a Lakota studies program. Some involvement with community members occurs through the cultural center. "We currently have a couple projects going on with the cultural center and the oral tradition—filming and recording of the oral tradition."

Fort Peck Community College

Campbell's position in the Department of Community Services at Fort Peck Community College afforded her the opportunity to work in community services, the area she found most enjoyable and meaningful as a tribal college president. Her current project at FPCC supports the tribal mission of "preserving and restoring the culture and the languages" through educating children in the native languages.

Right now I'm working on the development of two total language immersion schools for three, four, and five-year-olds...on the extreme east and west ends of this reservation...we will be developing an Assiniboine total language immersion program...and then we're doing the same for the Sioux language on the far eastern end of the reservation.

Through community outreach, FPCC will be a "change agent for the entire Fort Peck community in terms of economic development, language and culture retention, and occupational training." Campbell believes tribal colleges view their role differently than do other educational institutions. "The tribal colleges accept the responsibility for embracing all their students, bringing systemic change to education. We view ourselves as being responsible for improving the lives of all people while teaching and preserving our tribal cultures which make us unique as a people."

Although the degree of emphasis on culture and language and the level of integration in the curriculum vary among the tribal colleges, a major focus of the tribal college mission is to sustain tribal heritage. The expressions of culture in the tribal college as in the tribal community are "expected complements to the rituals of modern life." The tribal college of the future will help develop contemporary American Indian culture. The tribal college "will not only teach and reflect the culture throughout the curriculum, it will interpret and redefine culture to meet modern needs" (Boyer, 1995, p. 45).

Discussion

Models of leadership generally have common elements; models define a leader as one who possesses vision, and focuses on mission, serves as a role model for others, and enables others to take action or perform their roles. Although the terms may differ with a particular model, the ideas are similar. Bennis and Nanus (1985) presented a transformative model of leadership that outlines attention through vision, meaning through communication, trust

through positioning, and deployment of self. Kouzes and Posner (1987) defined a behavioral model of leadership that profiles inspiring a shared vision, enabling others to act, and modeling the way. Both models included other components, but shared these basic elements.

Commonalities of responses by participants in the tribal college leadership studies of Fowler (1992) and Becenti (1996) included an emphasis on vision and mission; and working with tribal culture, including tribal members and governments. Participants of both studies described their general leadership style as being participative and consultative, utilizing shared decision-making (Becenti, 1996; Fowler, 1992).

Leader attributes of tribal college presidents may be as diverse and numerous as the tribes they represent. Existing leadership theories may not provide the necessary framework to contextualize tribal college leadership; however, they do provide a foundation for identifying leadership characteristics personified by the four tribal college leaders in this study.

Vision is inextricably tied to mission in the tribal colleges. The vision for fledgling tribal colleges was to establish a means for tribal members to access higher education. Tribal colleges share "common ground." They are the vision of the past, a vision that continues to grow and change as the mission grows and changes. For the most part, that mission is directed by the chartering body, the governing board, or the tribal college board; defined by the needs and aspirations of the tribal community; and articulated by tribal college administrators and faculty.

Fowler precisely defined a visionary leader when she described herself as "one who has a vision and has a direction worth heading." Listening to others and synthesizing all the data helped her "fashion that vision" so that others endorsed its validity. Tanya envisioned a college curriculum that incorporates Lakota thought and philosophy and focused on her vision and goal of achieving candidacy status for Cheyenne River Community College.

Pretty On Top emphasized that decisions were made by considering what fit "the breadth and depth of the vision and the purpose of the institution." For Pretty On Top the vision continues to change, "...it's like climbing to the top of one of the hills in the Big Horns. You climb the hill you see, but when you get there you see another peak and so on." Campbell stressed the need for everyone to "know the mission, believe in the mission."

Because the mission of tribal colleges is to "preserve and protect" the culture and language, tribal culture impacts leadership. To ensure that the focus of the institution remains centered on the mission, tribal college leaders must be knowledgeable of culture. Badwound and Tierney (1988) stressed the importance of the values—beliefs defined by culture—to tribal college leadership. "The leader in the tribal college is a facilitator and promoter of group values and interests. Instead of maintaining autocratic power by virtue of position, the tribal college leader develops authority by demonstrating competence and allegiance to the values which underlie the organization" (p. 13). Sergiovanni (1989) explained, "Leadership acts are expressions of culture. Leadership as cultural expression seeks to build unity and order within an organization" (p. 336).

Fowler stated that a leader must have a strong value system and model a sense of pride for others. Campbell expressed her belief that value and respect for others is important. Leaders work hard and function well with others; they "enable others to do the same." Pretty On Top talked about the value of teamwork, utilizing the skills of others, and investing "confidence and faith and the resources" in others.

Pretty On Top recognized the contributions others made to the success of Little Big Horn College and gave credit for their achievements. "Ownership" and "voice" were words she used to describe the faculty role in decision-making. Fowler prefers to give others "the opportunity to give their viewpoints." She emphasized the value of "listening" to others and allowing people to make their own decisions. Ward spoke of her desire to "actively involve the staff" so they develop a sense of ownership. Campbell described her leadership style as "inclusive and participatory," and said, "I try to involve a broad base of opinions, values, and expertise...I feel that the more participation that is invited allows for causing change and improvement."

"Empowered" was the word Ward used to describe how she wanted faculty to feel. She modeled accomplishing the task at hand through hard work like "the old work horse." Fowler talked about her willingness "to tackle any kind of job" that needed to be done; in the early days of her college, Pretty On Top assumed responsibilities that went beyond teaching. Campbell described a leader she admired as being "one of the most encouraging people" she ever met, a person who was able "to make others believe in themselves."

Pretty On Top, Fowler, Ward, and Campbell illustrate that tribal college leadership is not an act or a series of acts; it is not filling a position or playing a role. Tribal college leadership is not simply directing a process. Tribal college leadership is the embodiment of a lifestyle, an expression of learned patterns of thought and behaviors, values and beliefs. Culture is the basis of the institution; it formulates the purpose, process, and product. Tribal college leadership is inseparable from culture; leadership and culture are symbiotic.

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Soul Sisters: Origins and Accomplishments of a Unique Partnership

Linda L. Lyman

Leadership in poverty schools is essential for success. This article chronicles the partnership of a principal and a speech and language pathologist who have, together and with some angst, brought teachers in the school together to link language development with reading success. Since 1994, Aurthur Perkins and Pat Lindberg have refined a program that is based on common beliefs that children can be successful in schools, that poor parents care much about their children's victories at school, and that reading is the key to success in every subject. Clearly, this documentation of a successful collaboration between a content expert and building leadership reminds us that success for children in at-risk settings is possible through on-site assessment of strengths and implementation of strategies to meet challenges.

"All children can learn" is a contemporary mantra. In urban areas, schools that enroll large numbers of children from families with low incomes are failing to educate these children well. A few schools stand out by actually helping all children to learn. How do we explain those exceptional schools? Researchers, individually and in teams, have studied clusters of these schools and identified their commonalities in terms of components such as a curriculum aligned with standards, strong focus on language, a culture of caring and high expectations, parent involvement, and strong leadership (Scheurich, 1998; Carlson, Shagle-Shah, & Ramirez, 1999; Barth, Haycock, Jackson, Mora, Ruiz, Robinson, & Wilkins, 1999; Johnson & Asera, 1999; Sebring & Bryk, 2000; Catania, 2001; Haycock, 2001; Carter, 2002; Riester, Pursch, & Skrla, 2002). Interested in leadership practices and wanting to see for myself such an exceptional school, I arranged to spend one day a week at Harrison Primary School in Peoria, Illinois. Nothing in the research about effective high poverty schools prepared me for the unique partnership that I found at the heart of the school's successful educational program. The purpose of this paper, a slice from a larger qualitative case study, is to tell the story of this unique partnership between two unlikely soul sisters, Aurthur Mae Perkins, principal, and Patricia Gay Lindberg, speech and language pathologist.

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From January through April 2002, I spent a total of 85 hours on 12 different Thursdays at Harrison Primary School. During the first five visits, I shadowed Perkins and kept field notes. During the next five visits, I combined observation of Perkins with interviewing 19 of the 53 staff members, ranging from teachers to others in a wide variety of roles. During the two final Thursdays, I spent focused time in classrooms of every teacher I interviewed and conducted one final taped interview with Perkins. A total of 27 staff members completed written surveys designed to ascertain their views about what children living in poverty need from their teachers, principal, and school. I met Lindberg my first day at Harrison, sought her out for informal conversation numerous times, and conducted one lengthy taped interview with her. Both Perkins and Lindberg reviewed the initial draft of this paper and provided clarification and corrections. Both the triangulation of multiple data sources and this member checking process contribute to the trustworthiness of my analysis (Merriam, 2001).

Aurthur Perkins brings her life experience, intelligence, a personal mission, and a dynamic personality to being the principal of Harrison Primary School. The school serves a student population that is 99.7% poor and has a 53% mobility rate. Racial ethnic demographics reported on the 2001 school report card show a population 7.2% White, 89.3% Black, 2.3% Hispanic, and 1.3% Asian/Pacific Islander. Although 12 of the 37 schools in Peoria are on the state's academic watch list because of unacceptable levels of student achievement on state tests, Harrison is not one of them. Perkins is quick to say that the school's level of success would be even higher if the 53% mobility rate could be reduced. She became Harrison's principal in 1992, having taught kindergarten at the school since 1983. Aurthur Perkins is an outspoken, dedicated African American leader.

Pat Lindberg brings personal warmth, a brilliant smile, and intellectual fire to her work. She is a speech and language pathologist who has been

turned loose by a savvy principal to teach teachers what she knows about language development and how that links with reading success. She has teamed with Harrison teachers since 1994 to develop and refine what is now called the Harrison Initiative for Language Learning. Growing up in the white middle-class, she nevertheless developed a heart empathetic to any underdog and a lifelong commitment to social justice. Pat Lindberg views her work as a mission, sees great learning potential in every child, and is outspoken in her dedication to equitable and first-class learning opportunities for all children.

Fresh from an interview with both Perkins and Lindberg, *Peoria Journal Star* columnist Mike Bailey wrote the following in explaining the learning successes at Harrison Primary School:

How has she [Perkins] done it? First she surrounded herself with dedicated staff. She latched onto Lindberg, a speech pathologist who specializes in the language delays that afflict so many inner city children. Though from far different backgrounds, the two act like sisters, saying the same things at the same time, interrupting, and occasionally bickering. Lindberg is the brain expert. . . . Theirs is a provocative one-two punch of science and gut instinct.

It is also a marriage of values. They are adamant that all children can learn, that such should be expected and demanded. Anything short of that is racist. Making children "feel good" is overrated. They do not suffer those who don't buy into the same philosophy. They can be blunt.

They dismiss as "a middle-class view" that poor parents don't care enough about their kids to invest in their educations. Blaming parents makes it too easy to let educators off the hook. "If farmers and doctors operated like teachers, we'd be starving to death and letting blood," Lindberg says, twice, without apology.

There is no magic elixir, they insist. Reading is the key to academic success in every subject. (Bailey, 2001, p. A4)

The School's Setting

Harrison Primary School, which enrolls 475 children PreK-4, is located on the grounds of a large public housing project in one of the poorest areas of Peoria. The Harrison Homes Public Housing Project is home to families that include approximately 600 youth under the age of 20, with 281 of those five or under. Children from the project and surrounding neighborhood attend the school. The average annual income for a Harrison Homes household is calculated by the Peoria Housing Authority to be \$5,217. To get to the school requires driving into an area of two-story brick apartments, many of which are completely vacant with boarded-up doors and windows. A police car is not an uncommon sight. Built in 1901, the three-story school ambles out from its central core due to numerous additions and extensions. Entry into the school is possible through a number of doors. Although situated in a high crime part of town, the school doors are unchained.

Most visitors park along the west edge of the school and enter orange colored double doors on the side of the building. A wide hallway extends straight ahead, as well as to the left and right. The floors are shiny linoleum. The walls are brown brick halfway up, with cream-colored paint on walls reaching to the high ceiling. Florescent light fixtures, suspended from the 15 foot high ceiling, span the hall every ten feet or so and provide illumination for the colorful murals, prominent displays of student work, and artifacts of the school's history. The principal's office is to the right. The office and clinical space for the speech pathologist is upstairs on the second floor and down one of the many long hallways. On the days I was there, Lindberg was frequently in and out of Perkins' office.

The School's Success

The current learning successes at Harrison are no surprise to the principal or the staff. In the words of Joan Martin, a Harrison teacher since 1976, "When I first started teaching down here somebody made the comment that Harrison is the devil's island. People were placed down here because the district wanted to get rid of you and this was the place to make it happen." She described how Principals Dick Green (serving from 1982 – 1987), Ken Hinton (serving from 1987 – 1992), and now Aurthur Perkins "have turned this school completely around." Change began in the early 1980s with physical improvements to the neglected building. Today high expectations for students' achievement and behavior have become the norm, and Perkins has been central to that transformation.

Aurthur Perkins and the staff have developed and implemented a wide range of educational programs and supports for the children and their families. These included school uniforms, a variety of orderly procedures, a multi-faceted after-school program, incorporation of technology with computer programs such as *Breakthrough to Literacy*, an instructional focus on engaged learning, a comprehensive educational component for family members, and the *Second Step* violence prevention curriculum. Most of the professional staff members have been at the school ten years or longer.

Pat Lindberg is a major partner in the leadership of the school. She initiated and continues to guide the development of a significant and original classroom-teacher-delivered phonemic awareness instructional program that has evolved into the Harrison Initiative for Language Learning.

The state of Illinois implemented a new testing program, the Illinois Standards Achievement Test (ISAT) program, in 1998-1999. Based on newly developed state curriculum standards the test was considered to be more rigorous than the previous Illinois Goals Assessment Program (IGAP) tests. ISAT scores validated the learning success of the children. As reported in the *Peoria Journal Star*, "While students at Harrison have previously struggled on other standardized tests, this year proved to be much better for the school" (Brown, 1999, p. A1). In math, 70% of the students met or exceeded the state

standards, doing better than district wide or statewide results. In reading 51% met or exceeded the state standards as well. Brown continues,

Perkins credits much of the improvement to the Harrison Initiative for Language Learning, a reading and language program that was developed by school staff members and was implemented five years ago.... The school will continue to work with reading comprehension, which Perkins said should help improve student scores on the writing. (1999, p. A9)

Students from Harrison have continued to do well academically on the state tests. On the 2001 ISAT tests, 55% of third graders at Harrison met or exceeded the state standards for math, 64% met or exceeded the state standards for reading, and 69% met or exceeded the state standards for writing. Visitors to this newsworthy school have been many, including in 2000 then presidential candidate George W. Bush. When asked what educational research had made the most difference to the Harrison program, Perkins' answer was "the research that Pat Lindberg shared about phonemic awareness." The origins and accomplishments of their unique partnership offer insights to all persons in positions of educational leadership.

Origins of a Unique Partnership

Aurthur Perkins, age 63, grew up in a large, extended African American family that had more than its share of hard times. She describes herself as having been a "bossy" young girl who liked to take charge of things, an excellent straight "A" student with an uncanny love of reading. Born in Richmond, Indiana, her family moved first to Macomb, Illinois, and then to Peoria when she was about 10. She dropped out of school in eighth grade at age 13 when she had a baby. When the baby was born, Aurthur lived with her hardworking mother and two brothers in Peoria. She learned much from her mother, a college graduate, and a resourceful woman who could figure out how to make things work well. From her mother, who gave her strong support, Aurthur absorbed the value of work. Life was challenging but neither she nor her mother ever accepted welfare. Aurthur worked to help provide a living for the family and eventually also assumed the responsibility of caring for her brothers and mother after heart disease left her mother too ill to work. Her jobs always involved working with people.

Aurthur has been married for 49 years and has raised seven children, six sons and one daughter. For years she has been active in a variety of community endeavors and organizations, currently serving as Chairwoman of the Peoria Housing Authority Board of Commissioners. In fact, volunteerism led her to resume her education. A volunteer tutor at a school attended by her own children, Aurthur became outraged that so many African American children could not read and no one seemed to care. Determined to do something about this injustice, she went back to school in her late thirties to get her GED. She had two sons in college at the time. She continued with higher education until she earned a B.S. in Elementary Education from Bradley University in Peoria

in 1982. After a year of substituting, she began her teaching career at Harrison as a Pre-K teacher, moving into the kindergarten classroom after a year. Reflecting on her almost 20 years at Harrison, she said, "This is where my heart was, my roots were here. I came from a project myself, and I felt a kinship to the people of this area, this school. It just felt like this was home to me." Having earned her M.A. in Educational Administration from Bradley in 1990, Aurthur was ready to move from the kindergarten classroom across the hall into the principal's office when offered the position in late fall of 1992.

Pat Lindberg, age 57, grew up in Peoria in a two-parent middle class family with one sister who was thirteen years younger than she. She describes herself as having been an introverted, quiet, and shy young girl who loved to read. Right after high school she followed a boyfriend to college at Eastern Michigan University. Pat was unsure about a major but was interested in psychology. Arguing from the belief that female students would not pursue education beyond college and psychology careers required a graduate degree, a university career counselor talked her out of a psychology major. At the time, nursing or teaching were considered appropriate career choices for women, so Pat picked elementary education as a major. In the classes she learned quickly that this major was not a good fit, so she transferred to speech therapy before her freshman year was over. She actually chose speech therapy not because she knew anything about it, but because of the example of a resident assistant she admired who was a speech therapy major. Besides the elementary education major, the other thing that ended during her freshman year was the romance that had taken her to Michigan. Eventually Pat returned to Peoria, transferring as a junior to finish her B.S in Speech Therapy (1968) and M.A. in Speech and Hearing Science (1969) at Bradley University. She became a nationally certified speech and language pathologist (SLP) after completing the 300 hours of clinical practice requirements and passing the national test.

Pat has been passionate about social justice for decades. Her early sensitivity to injustice developed from having Jewish great-grandparents in her background and partly from books she read as a young girl. Her mother's attitude, unusual for the time, was that people who were different were simply more interesting. In college, when a sorority told her that her Jewish roommate would not be invited to join because she was Jewish, Pat told the sorority that she would not join either. Because of her adamant stand against the group's discriminatory position, she and her roommate were both invited to pledge. Pat also marched in college demonstrations in the 1960s for the civil rights movement. Additional learning experiences came in 1969 when she accepted her first position at a psychiatric hospital. Her supervisor was an African American woman. Pat's commitment to social justice developed further when she saw firsthand how this thoroughly competent professional woman was almost routinely confronted with issues of prejudice because of her race. In the 1970s, Pat's activism led her to be part of a diverse "Panel of American Women," sponsored by the YWCA, that gave speeches to groups around the community on reducing

prejudice and discrimination based on religious, racial, or any other kind of diversity.

Pat has been married for 33 years and has raised three children, two sons and a daughter. One son was born with a significant hearing impairment. The other son, a Korean child living in an orphanage, was adopted as a 3 or 4 year old. No one knew his exact age and he hardly spoke, even in Korean. Pat's skills as a speech and language pathologist were called into use at home for both of her sons. All three of her children succeeded in school. After becoming a mother, she continued her career. Since 1969, Pat's work settings have included a psychiatric hospital, a nursing home, a private therapy practice, a special education cooperative, and several school districts. She accepted a position with the Peoria Public Schools in 1991.

The unique partnership of Aurthur Perkins and Pat Lindberg got off to a rough start. Pat had worked for two years for the Peoria Public Schools in a classroom for language-impaired children. The district decided to reorganize and eliminate these classrooms. In the summer of 1993, her central office supervisor asked her to choose where she wanted to work. Offered several possibilities, she chose Harrison. She was told the school had a small enrollment and that there would be lots of language problems but a manageable caseload. She also had never met Aurthur, who was ready to begin her first full year as principal of Harrison. Knowing that there were two speech rooms, one on the second floor and one on the third, Pat remembers going to the office at the beginning of the 1993-1994 academic year to meet the principal and get her room assignment. "I'm Pat Lindberg, your new speech pathologist. Which office shall I take?" she asked Perkins. Aurthur's unenthusiastic loudly delivered reply was something like, "I didn't want you. I didn't ask for you. I wanted someone else." Nonplussed, Pat remembers replying, "This is a great welcome. Too bad. I'm here. You'd better get used to it!" She picked the second floor office and went upstairs to explore the student files.

Upstairs, she immediately realized that the files were not up to her standards, called her central office supervisor to get right over, and informed Perkins that this was a meeting she needed to attend. By the time the meeting was over Aurthur had adjusted her attitude toward Pat, realizing that Lindberg knew something and was a forceful person to be respected. In her first days at Harrison, Pat also discovered that the school was not small but enrolled at that time more than 500 students. In the next few months she found an enormous challenge, so many children with language problems that a typical speech pathologist's way of working – individual twice-a-week 20 minutes sessions – was going to be like "spitting in the wind," impossible even for a seasoned professional.

Origins of an Innovative Program

Lindberg first became aware of research linking phonemic awareness to reading success when she attended an American Speech-Hearing-Language Association (ASHA) convention in 1986. By default, she explained, she found herself in a session being given by Alan G. Kamhi and Hugh W. Catts.

Intrigued by what she heard the next day, she sought out another of their sessions. Kamhi and Catts, both pioneers, have continued to be advocates for including phonemic awareness instruction when addressing reading problems. She left the convention sold on the idea that one key to success in reading was to explicitly teach phonemic awareness. A few years later she had the opportunity to take a short course on phonemic awareness taught by Catts at the University of Wisconsin. Her study of phonemic awareness instruction continued during the next few years. At first, she used it with individual students and began to collect articles about the emerging research. At schools where she had worked before arriving at Harrison, she had made some efforts to interest principals in doing school-wide phonemic awareness programs, but had been met with skepticism.

Overwhelmed with the huge caseload of language impaired children and knowing that she needed a different approach to survive, Lindberg soon was putting copies of the research articles she had collected on Perkins' desk. She sought opportunities to share with Perkins her conviction that facilitating language development through phonemic awareness instruction could make an enormous difference to the children's academic success. Always looking for new approaches to help children learn to read, Perkins was intrigued and they were soon engaged in frequent conversations about the possibilities. In late winter, Perkins asked Lindberg to give a one-hour presentation to the faculty during the March in-service day on this idea that reading problems were based on an inability to discriminate and remember phonemes.

Lindberg remembers being quite nervous about how to condense what was at least a whole college course into an hour. The presentation went well, and most teachers were very receptive, particularly the kindergarten teachers. Trying to deal with the huge caseload, Lindberg had been doing some group therapy in the kindergarten rooms. The teachers asked her if she could use those groups to demonstrate how to teach phonemic awareness. She did and they were impressed. Perkins became convinced that this was a good direction for the school to take. One day in May, she gave the state's Change Grant materials to Lindberg and said, "Write this grant so we can get this started!" "But," said Pat, "I don't know how. I have never written a grant." Help was literally around the corner in the person of Andrea Earnest, a multi-talented individual then in her second year as Harrison's Discovery Room teacher. She and Pat had become friends when Pat had worked with her to create language activities in the school's unique Discovery Room. Pat and Andrea wrote a Change Grant that Perkins submitted to the state. Realizing that if they were to receive the grant they would need materials, Perkins suggested they write a grant to a local private foundation to purchase the decodable books. They actually got that grant and had the books before being notified that their Change Grant application had been successful.

Pat and Andrea (who today works with truancy prevention) collaborated many times to secure grant support for the continuing development of the curriculum and instructional program that began as a reading initiative. The major components of today's comprehensive Harrison Initiative for Language

Learning are decoding (including phonemic awareness), comprehension, and pragmatic skills. During the 1994-1995 academic year Lindberg worked with the team of kindergarten teachers, providing the training and doing the curriculum writing while the teachers came up with the activities to put the research into practice. The grant money paid for substitutes as well as stipends so that the kindergarten teachers were able to meet with Lindberg for a half day weekly to develop these new techniques and materials for enhancing language skills. For example, Lindberg would bring to the teachers research saying that a student needs to practice something fifteen times. She explained,

They would say, but a kindergarten student will not do that fifteen times. We have to have a game. And then they would create the game. So it was a perfect kind of teaming with knowing what the research said, and knowing how to apply it to a student. The kindergarten teachers and I became a team. They had ownership of the program as did I. We all owned it; it wasn't just one person's.

The curriculum and materials were simultaneously developed and implemented in the kindergarten classrooms. The first year Lindberg spent a half day every week with the kindergarten teachers and the next four to five years almost that much time with teachers in the other grade levels, particularly grades 1 and 2.

Says Lindberg, "I wish I had thought of this. I didn't. All I did was read the research and try to figure out how to apply it in a classroom situation. There was nothing in the research at the time we wrote our curriculum that showed this being done by teachers in a classroom situation." Preliminary analysis of the longitudinal data that have been kept on the approximately 1000 children who have experienced the Harrison program "shows that children we had from the beginning make very good progress and maintain their progress." Summarizing the expanding program, Lindberg wrote in a 1999 district published handbook,

Encouraged by student achievement, teacher satisfaction, and positive test results, Harrison Staff has spent four-and-a-half years refining and extending the language curriculum to include grades Pre-k through fourth. Furthermore, we are now not only working on language skills requisite to reading but also on prosocial language skills.

Why is phonemic awareness instruction particularly helpful for children from low-income families? Lindberg replied,

Bottom line is, if you look at the schools in urban poverty areas that are successful, without exception that I know of every school focuses on reading and language as the primary skills to be taught. That seems like it might leave out things that are important, but if children can't read or speak effectively, they can't do anything else.

Lindberg continued, explaining that children growing up in poverty environments “have 13 million fewer experiences with conversation than their middle class age peers before beginning school.” She elaborated,

Phonemic awareness is a primary linguistic auditory skill that happens from birth. Most children have mapped all the sounds of their language onto neural receptors in the brain by six months of age. Unfortunately, living in poverty can hinder that normal development for many reasons – health reasons, noise reasons, the number of language interactions with adults, and so on. What happens is they just simply do not have enough experience for a multitude of reasons with particular sounds to develop a good working sound map in their brains. Our auditory memory develops with our language. As a result for many of these children the auditory skills that serve as a foundation for reading are missing.

One of these skills is phonemic awareness or the awareness that language is composed of small units of sound. When asked to explain her assertion that reading was primarily based on this auditory skill, Lindberg explained:

Basically what we are talking about here is that to read children have to learn sounds, they have to learn to match a sound with a symbol for that sound. Next they have to learn the skills of synthesizing the sounds into a word and then breaking the word into individual sounds. In reading when we ask a child to sound out a word what we are actually asking them to do is to concentrate and think about the individual sounds in that word. It is actually a fairly simple process, but it has to be explicitly taught to children who don't have enough experience with language to have learned it on their own. It is very labor intensive, a very systematic kind of teaching, more like therapy. Being a speech pathologist, I am used to breaking things down systematically, which is why I think I was able to help teachers figure out how to do this. Many people talk about the importance in reading of teaching phonics, but if you don't have phonemic awareness, which is the ability to separate a word into its component sounds, phonics won't even help you.

Wanting a base of data from which to document success of the new curriculum, in the spring of 1994, Lindberg gave all kindergarten students a diagnostic test. Scores from the Test of Awareness of Language Segments (TALS) showed that at the end of 1994 only 29% of the 95 students finishing kindergarten were ready for instruction in a regular basal reading series. By the spring of 1995, the new curriculum having been implemented as it was developed; scores from the same test show 59% of the 92 students completing kindergarten were ready for regular basal reader instruction. Every spring since 1995, continuing administration of the TALS has shown that from 73% to 79% of the students completing kindergarten were ready for a basal reading series. These results were encouraging, but the real validation of the effectiveness of the program came with the previously discussed state achievement test scores in the fall of 1999. “For the first four years, when we were doing our work with the curriculum we did not see any significant results on

the state achievement tests, and we did not get any support from the central office. I guess I personally felt like I was a one person crusade at times, because even Mrs. Perkins herself sometimes doubted and wondered whether she had put her eggs in the wrong basket,” said Lindberg.

Leadership Insights

The story of this unique partnership has implications for principals who would provide leadership to transform schools into successful learning environments for children from low-income families. Conceptually, this very human story is about having a mission, creating a family environment that can survive disagreements, reading the research, becoming a team by breaking down boundaries and roles, and providing both support and pressure to enable change.

Having a Mission

The success of this school demonstrates the importance of a principal’s beliefs in leadership for learning in high poverty schools (Haberman, 1999). Aurthur Perkins’ work as a principal is a *calling* guided by strong values and belief in the potential of the children to learn and lead productive lives. Having walked in their shoes, she is a role model in the community, proof that a different life is possible. When interviewed, she said emphatically,

I will use any method and means I have to, do whatever I can to make a child successful. There are so many that don’t have anybody else to fight for them. So I fight for the rights of these children to be successful, to get out of this place. I am committed to the cause of the children, of all children, black or white, because the white ones that are poor are just like we are. They don’t have the same opportunities either. So you give them a lift and show them that you care. I do not see children as black or white, and neither does my staff. They have been trained not to do that. When I hear any such discussion I address it right away.

Perkins is committed to the learning and success of the children, has created a family at Harrison School, and loves every day she comes to work.

Creating a Family Environment

Describing the school’s family environment Perkins said, “I love my staff. I love my children. I love the families. I want us to be a family, a happy family, and I work very hard to promote that atmosphere. We have something unique here that you don’t always find. You don’t find people every day you can fight with, you can cry with, you can laugh with.” As in any good family there are disagreements and lots of conversations, sometimes about trivial things but more often about what matters. This conversational milieu creates an atmosphere that fosters growth and change. Perkins is quick to attribute the changes that have been made and the school’s success to the hard work of the staff.

The Harrison Initiative for Language Learning is an accomplishment of the entire Harrison family of educators working together to construct meaning and knowledge. As Lambert, (1995b) writes, “change seems to be a natural result of constructing meaning and knowledge together – an outgrowth of our conversations about what matters” (p. 52). Perkins believes the disagreements about what matters contribute to good decision-making. In describing her decision making Perkins explains that she usually calls in a couple of teachers to “bounce things around.” She calls in people likely to have different ideas from each other, “people who will tell her the truth.” She explained, “Any decision that is going to change the school, I always have a team of people with me. I don’t make a lot of those kinds of decisions by myself. When I have to make a decision I do it, but I’m interested in your voice.” Within a family atmosphere Aurthur Perkins is clearly an in-charge, reflective and inclusive decision-maker interested in diverse points of view whose reciprocal relationships with staff contribute to positive change.

Reading the Research

Perkins originally did not want Pat Lindberg to be her speech pathologist, but she quickly recognized her as a knowledgeable person. Within a few months Lindberg was on her way to being a full member of the Harrison educational team. Perkins is a principal open to new ideas who respects expertise when she finds it. She is like the woman leader Helgesen (1995) called a transmitter, one who is “gathering information everywhere, making sense of it, rearranging it in patterns, and then beaming it out to wherever it needs to go” (p. 179). A voracious reader since childhood, Perkins keeps up with research about education, particularly about educating children growing up in low-income families. She said,

I pay attention to anything that I think will help. It is little snippets here and snippets there. Pat is really the research guru. She can bring me all kinds of things and put them before my face and I will read them. Sometimes she just lays it down, goes away, and I pick it up and say to myself, “hey, this is an idea that might work.” Sometimes she says, “Here it is. When you get time look at this and see what you think.” And I do.

Perkins paid attention to the phonemic awareness research, understood the potential of the idea, and pushed Lindberg into a leadership role.

Becoming a Team

Perkins attributes her leadership success to “not being afraid to be the leader, but allowing the leadership thing to flow through the whole school and not setting yourself up as some icon.” In our final interview Perkins said, “It all ends and begins with me, but I only have to do that every once in a while, say ‘I am the head honcho here; you do this!’ Otherwise I don’t like that. I don’t like that done to me and that is not my way. It is a total involvement here.” It

has taken total staff involvement and becoming a team to make the Harrison Initiative for Language Learning what it is today.

What began as conversations between Lindberg and Perkins enlarged with the bonding of Lindberg and the kindergarten teachers. The partnership has eventually included all the teachers in the building as well as volunteers and parents who provide extra weekly tutoring help to the students still struggling. The story of this partnership illustrates that “we need to stop thinking of roles or people as fixed entities and instead view them as relationships, as patterns of relationships that involve one another” (Lambert, 1995a, p.34). Pat does not consider Aurthur her boss. Theirs is a relationship of equals, of professional peers, of friends who work together. Others have noted that “as professionals find new meaning in their work together, the patterns of relationships and the structures change” (Lambert, 1995b, p. 53). This has certainly been true at Harrison. The family atmosphere of Harrison makes possible “mutual trust, reciprocal influence, synergy, respect for diverse backgrounds and expertise, and commitment” (Restine, 1993, p. 31), all important factors if an organization is going to allow for the boundary crossing that frees ideas to germinate, people to grow, and talent to flourish.

Providing Support and Pressure

Aurthur Perkins’ strong leadership illustrates the importance of providing both support and pressure to bring about change in schools (Sebring & Bryk, 2000; Riester, Pursch, & Skrla, 2002). Central to Perkins’ leadership success is her support of the dedicated staff, most of whom she has hired. Asked what she looks for when hiring a staff member for the school, Perkins replied,

I am really looking for someone who at least appears to be strong, a self-starter. And eventually I look for them to take over a leadership role. So I don’t sit on them. I let them have free rein. I try to give them an opportunity to use their gifts and let them flow. That is something I really enjoy about my school. All of them that want to lead can lead, those that want to follow can follow, and the rest can kind of just fit in the middle.

Whereas other principals had told Lindberg that to implement her ideas would be an impossible undertaking, Perkins gave her the opportunity to use her gifts. Perkins’ pattern of including the staff in major decisions demonstrates her understanding of the importance of being a team. The faculty’s generally positive response to Lindberg’s workshop convinced Perkins that providing classroom-teacher-delivered phonemic awareness instruction was something she wanted the school to try. Then as Lindberg tells the story, “she pushed me” to write the large grant that paid for the intensive professional development time that contributed to the success of the program. Keys to the success of the new curriculum were Perkins’ support of Lindberg, of teacher ownership, and of the professional development time required for the new curriculum to be successfully implemented at all grade levels.

Perkins believes that some principals misunderstand leadership to be about control, but pressure and control are not the same. An example of pressure is Perkins' unequivocal backing of the Harrison Initiative for Language Learning. Every day in every K-4 classroom, the teachers begin school 15 minutes early and devote the first hour of every day to language instruction, with time also allocated to math drills and a writing exercise. Says Perkins, "I'd better see this in the teachers' lesson plans and I'd better see it happening when I come in the classrooms." As Lindberg and the kindergarten teachers were developing the kindergarten curriculum, Perkins made clear to the other teachers in the building that they also would be involved as the language program developed by adding a grade level each year. Those who were reluctant were encouraged to request a transfer. Some did; two others retired. In Lindberg's words,

The principal's tone makes a difference. At different times Mrs. Perkins has said this WILL be what you write in your lesson plans. She was very insistent that we were going to do this program. You don't often have a principal that strong. A lot of times you have principals who don't have that kind of conviction. I think it is important for people in leadership to have opinions and to hold to them strongly. Otherwise you are a ship without direction.

A second example of providing pressure comes from something Perkins did as a new principal. When she first took over as principal one of the things that she did was go into the classrooms and ask the teachers a question: 'How many of these children do you really know?' When most responded 'I don't know,' then she remembers saying something like the following:

Well, your first job is to get to know them very well. They have names, they have home lives, and it is time to get to know them as individuals, not as a class. These are individuals, with individual needs, and individual hurts. Everyone in your class has a different problem. You've got to know them, where their strengths are, what their weaknesses are. You must know what motivates a child, why a child is not motivated, why a child is sleeping in class.

Perkins concluded, "That is where I think the changes came from in this building. I insisted on them knowing the children as individuals."

A fundamental way Perkins provides pressure is through high expectations. She also provides clear feedback to anyone – child, parent, or staff member – not meeting her high expectations. She pressures the staff to take risks and fosters innovation. She expects the best. There are "procedures" and ways to do things. When she is out of the building the schools runs as if she were there. Tim Robinson, a truant officer/case worker at the school, explains why:

Because we know what Mrs. Perkins expects and we don't do anything differently just because she is not here. We are a family more or less. We keep

communication lines open all the time so in case something happens we would have some kind of an idea of what to do, we would not be too far from the tree.

Asked how her leadership supports their work, responses from the 19 staff interviewed clustered around her support for them, her clear vision, and her high expectations. Lisa McCready, a veteran of 15 years of teaching at Harrison, summed it up when she said,

She really does know her staff. She knows our strengths and she knows our weaknesses. We know her strengths and we know her weaknesses. We are there to help each other because our goal is the same – success for the children. That vision is clear.

Soul Sisters

Glancing at Aurthur Perkins and Pat Lindberg, no one would ever think them biological sisters because of their obviously different racial backgrounds. They also dress differently, speak differently, and do things differently. Aurthur is more flamboyant; Pat is more concerned about what others think. Pat says that she is more sequentially focused than Aurthur, who gets things done through seemingly random multi-tasking. Each tells the truth as she sees it, although Pat is more inclined to use discretion in doing so while Aurthur is known for “telling it like it is.” These differences of background and style are overshadowed by their similar values. Aurthur’s experiences with poverty and encounters as an African American with the racial injustices of our society have fueled her commitment to make things better for the next generation. At an early age family and books fueled Pat’s concern for social justice. Subsequently, people and events kindled her concern into a passion. In their eloquent outspoken advocacy for poor and minority children, Aurthur and Pat could be twins.

Aurthur had a larger family, but each woman brings a mother’s strength and compassion to her work. Pat’s adopted son’s early environment was similar to that experienced daily by many of the children at Harrison. He had been neglected and abused, but has been able to grow into his potential. In fact, he attended the district’s school for the gifted and is a college graduate. Because of him it is easy for Pat to see the potential for giftedness in even the most troubled Harrison students. Aurthur sees all the children as her own and generously gives them hugs and praise. She is quick to discipline misbehavior sternly, knowing that the lives of many of the children lack structure and discipline. Pat is known for mothering particularly troubled children by investing time in being with them. Both Aurthur and Pat invest considerable time and energy in finding resources to help address the children’s problems.

As women leaders, Aurthur Perkins and Pat Lindberg are focused on the needs of children, they value diversity, pursue knowing, and communicate caring. Both are avid readers with a passion for life-long learning. Each

wants to know about any new idea that might help the children. Each understands her work with children to be a calling. When asked for three words to describe Perkins, Lindberg offered *passionate*, *intelligent*, and *opinionated*, words that actually describe both women. *Spiritual* is also a word that describes them both. One could say, in summary, that as leaders "they carry in their hearts the desire to create communities for children that foster a sense of inclusion and value rather than oppression and alienation" (Ah Nee-Benham & Cooper, 1998, p. 142). More simply stated, they are *soul sisters*.

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Standing Side by Side with 'The Brethren': A Study of Leadership From Female High School Principals' Perspectives

Dru McGovern-Robinett and Martha N. Ovando

Educational administration has long been a masculinist enterprise. There is a significant theoretical gap and lack of explanations grounded in the experience and language of women (Blackmore, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1987). In addressing that gap related to the experiences of female educational leaders, predominant research on women has primarily surrounded their dilemmas rather than their contributions (Papalewis, 1995). This study addressed both the challenges and contributions of women principals serving in male-dominated, secondary school arenas. We explored the nature of the leadership experiences of three female high school principals by focusing on the perceptions of leadership from the standpoint of female leaders and highlighting how women interact with the male-constructed role of the high school principal. Qualitative methods, including a multiple case study approach, were used. Participants were interviewed and shadowed in their positions for observational data collection.

The most salient themes emerging included: (a) in the shadow of an image, (b) proving oneself while being put on watch, (c) invisible networks made visible, (d) mentoring for leadership development, and (e) balancing silence and the rules. In addition, these women presented several characterizations of leadership that included: (a) collaborative communities developed through open doors and open ears, (b) emotional investments and nurturing reap returns, (c) instruction must prevail, and (d) children must be the focus of schools.

This study sought to expand our understandings of the challenges that campus-based female leaders face as well as their contributions, thereby broadening our perspectives of female educational leadership, specifically at the high school level.

Although women are more represented in leadership positions in the field of educational administration than they have ever been, they are still markedly underrepresented when one considers that they make up almost three-quarters of educators (Gupton & Slick, 1996). Women comprise nearly 80% of the elementary teaching force and half of the teaching force in secondary settings. Riehl and Byrd (1997) suggest that 41% of elementary principals and 16% of

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secondary principals are women, and women overall hold 34% of principalships and 41% of assistant principalships. More promising, however, Henke, Choy, Geis, and Broughman (1996) contend that females comprise 83% of the teaching force at the elementary level and 54% of the secondary teaching force, and, although women constitute 52% of the elementary principalships, they hold only 26% of high school positions. Moreover, data illustrate that women hold 35% of public school principalships, when all elementary and secondary positions are combined (National Center for Education Statistics, 2000).

Determination of the actual number of women serving in educational leadership posts is elusive, particularly when sorting leaders by position or school level. Data are presented differently by different researchers. To illustrate, Mertz and McNeely (1988, 1998) outlined a myriad of statistical analyses regarding the ascent of women into the upper echelons of educational administration. They found great inconsistency with regard to the way that data were interpreted and presented. They argue that unclear data samples make it difficult to gauge the extent to which female representation in educational administration is increasing or decreasing. Nevertheless, regardless of their exact approach to accounting for male and female representation in the field, women have not reached parity with men in educational leadership positions, particularly at the high school principalship level, and the proportion of women in leadership positions still decreases as the age of the student increases (Ozga, 1993).

The under-representation of women in top leadership positions relates to their under-representation in the literature as well. Even with increases in the number of women serving in the administrative ranks, the message remains that *women teach and men manage*. Put simply, Marshall (1993) challenges, "When theory, and the models and practices that flow from theory, ignore the fact that those structural characteristics filter out women and minorities, then theory is missing a large chunk of the picture" (p. 168). Too few women have spoken on the nature of the experiences of women in educational leadership, in general, and particularly at the campus level. Cooper (1995) found that women often must carry out a private discourse with themselves with regard to their leadership and she notes that, "They carry their female views with them into the male bureaucratic realm and must consciously put some of them aside to 'succeed' in this world on its own terms" (p. 244). The dearth of public discourse from women's perspectives affects not only current but also prospective female administrators.

In more recent years, researchers in women's studies, and particularly in educational administration, have begun to question traditional theories of school leadership that borrow from the fields of business, management, sociology and others (Gosetti & Rusch, 1995; Shakeshaft, 1989). They argue that "the texts, conversations, writings, and professional activities that construct our knowing and understanding of leadership come from an embedded privileged perspective which largely ignores issues of status, gender, and race..." (Gosetti & Rusch, 1995, p. 12). Indeed, Blackmore (1993) contends that the field of educational administration and its theories constitute a 'masculinist enterprise.' Moreover, Banks (1995) argues, "The assumption that leadership requires male characteristics has led to a body of research in which women and people of color are compared to white men.... Conceptualizing research on leadership as a mirror in which women and people of color are expected to be a reflection of white men ultimately marginalizes these two groups because they are viewed as having fewer skills and less power" (p. 71).

The eradication of such marginalization of women, in particular, will not occur immediately, and it must begin with multiple challenges to universal truths purported by those studying educational administration. Skrla, Reyes, and Scheurich (2000) suggest the need for "...promoting a pro-equity discourse about and among female school leaders" (p. 45). Although their study focuses on the female superintendency, the results imply further research in educational administration by suggesting the widening of conversations about gender issues and discrimination in the field as having the potential to "...nourish the growth of the stifled or absent activist discourse about women's issues and concerns" (p. 71). This form of conversational widening deserves attention from female principals serving in a variety of contexts.

This article presents a study of the nature of the leadership experiences of female high school principals, that is, how they perceive the notion of school leadership, as well as how, as women, they interact with the male-constructed role of the high school principal. The study examined how female high school principals provide alternative notions of leadership and uncovered how these

women interpret and act upon societal notions of leadership based on gender-role expectations through ongoing negotiation of conflict and power relationships from their female perspectives.

Theoretical Framework

Women do not have adequate entry into leadership positions considered more prestigious in the field, as they are more visible in the leadership of education offered to young students and less proportionately represented as leaders when the age of pupils increases (Gardiner, Enomoto, & Grogan, 2000; Ozga, 1993). Shakeshaft (1987) refers to this as "the higher you go, the fewer you see syndrome." As educational arenas (particularly outside the elementary level) become more open to female leaders, the multifaceted construct of educational leadership must be continually redefined. Consequently, to truly address the theoretical gap suggested by feminist scholars, the entire notion of leadership should reflect more completely the experiences of underrepresented groups, especially women in varied contexts (Papalewis, 1995).

Shakeshaft's (1989, 1999) theoretical framework serves as the foundation for this study. This framework illustrates the development and direction of research on women and gender in educational administration. Utilizing six stages, this framework is useful in gauging the extent to which feminist scholarship in the field is making progress and where it is still stifled.

Much of the literature about women in educational administration is still concentrated in the first three stages of this framework. For instance, Pounder (2000) argues that, in the last decade, studies encompassing women's experience (stage 4) have made some of the greatest contributions to the line of inquiry regarding women in the field of educational administration. Research on women serving as high school principals is more limited than research on female superintendents; for example, female secondary leaders have been studied little beyond the first three stages of the framework. Thus, the stages guided the development of this study. Through exploration into and documentation of the experiences of female high school principals, we thereby expand the line of inquiry into the nature of educational leadership for female high school principals studied on their own terms.

Study Design

This study examined, through a feminist lens, three female participants serving in the high school principalship. Feminist perspectives suggest a myriad of methods and approaches for research (Lather, 1987). Ferguson (1984) contends, "Feminist theory is not simply about women, although it is that; it is about the world, but seen from the usually ignored and devalued vantage point of women's experience" (p. 18). Various researchers have offered theories regarding the exclusion of women from the field of educational leadership since 1975. Initially deficit, and more recently structural, theories have challenged the persistent under-representation of women in the field (Ozga,

Stages of Research in Educational Administration

Stage	Description
1. Absence of women documented.	Survey analyses of how many women are administrators and what positions do they hold.
2. Search for current and previous female administrators.	Historical research on key women leaders or surveys of women administrators illustrating their characteristics.
3. Women as disadvantaged or subordinate.	Surveys of attitudes towards women and their experiences that attempt to document the under-representation of female leaders.
4. Women studied on their own terms.	Through surveys, interviews, or observations, women describe their lives and experiences.
5. Women as challenge to theory.	Theoretical analyses that describe required changes for theory to include women's experience.
6. Transformation of theory.	Introduction/discussion of new theories of human behavior in organizations.

Source: Shakeshaft, C. (1999). The struggle to create a more gender-inclusive profession. In J. Murphy and K. L. Lewis (Eds.), *Handbook of research on educational administration* (2nd ed.). San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

1993). Gosetti and Rusch (1995) and Shakeshaft (1995) continue to argue that an androcentric bias in educational research, primarily rooted in positivist paradigms that gauge women against male-defined constructs, leads to a great absence of research that takes into account the female world. Research from a feminist perspective seeks to remedy this absence, this silence.

Feminist research that is “designed *for* women...to provide explanations of social phenomena that *they* want and need, rather than providing answers for questions...that have arisen from desires to pacify...or manipulate women [is still needed]” (Harding, 1987, p. 6) (emphasis added). Indeed, the field has rarely looked at the high school principalship from a feminist perspective.

Method

This study explored the nature of the leadership experiences of female high school principals. Acknowledging arguments that predominant research on

female educational leaders strictly focuses on their dilemmas and overlooks their contributions (Papalewis, 1995), we expand understandings of the nature of the experiences of female high school principals by addressing two areas. We emphasize the important intersection of gender and the role of the high school principal and the dilemmas that these women face in relation to that intersection. Moreover, the participants' perceptions and notions of leadership contribute to new and perhaps unconventional perspectives on leadership. Specifically, the study explored one main research question and two supporting sub-questions: What is the nature of the leadership experiences of female high school principals?

1. How do female high school principals interpret and interact with societal constructions of leadership and the high school principalship in relation to gender role expectations?
2. What are the perspectives on leadership provided by these female principals and how do they contribute to new understandings or theories of educational leadership?

Qualitative methods that relied on a multiple case study approach were employed to examine the experiences of three current female high school principals (Miles & Huberman, 1984; Patton, 1990). Stake (1995) contends that qualitative research is not monolithic, and multiple "curiosities" and approaches to humankind from various disciplines in the social sciences inform it. A qualitative approach supported by in-depth interviewing and conversational partnership techniques (Chirban, 1996; Patton, 1990; Rubin & Rubin, 1995) allowed for a heightened level of interaction among the researchers and participants as well as the expression of voice, also central to a feminist study.

Sampling

This study focused on three forms of purposeful sampling: *intensity sampling*, *homogeneous sampling*, and *convenience sampling*. According to Patton (1990), the purpose of intensity sampling is to pursue information-rich cases with the potential of manifesting phenomena or experiences intensely, albeit not critically or extremely. Homogenous sampling draws from a similar group of subjects, and it is useful in facilitating group interaction. Convenience sampling uses the proximity of subjects in selection. If done as the sole form of sampling, convenience sampling minimizes the credibility of the study and has the potential for yielding information-poor cases (Patton, 1990). However, since convenience sampling was only one of three methods of selection in this study and more importantly, the least emphasized, it had limited impact on the credibility of the study and the integrity of its results.

Several criteria guided the selection of participants: (a) service as a high school principal at their current high school for at least one full year; (b) service as a campus administrator (either principal or assistant) a minimum of three years; and (c) current leadership as a principal of a high school considered

academically *acceptable* by Texas accountability measures. Again, the proximity of participants was the final consideration for sampling, as an interactive group interview requiring their travel to a central location was conducted.

Participants and Organizations

Organizational Settings

Three principals, one from each of three settings (small, medium, and large-sized districts), were selected. The small district had less than 10,000 students, the medium-sized district had more than 20,000 students but less than 60,000, and the large district had more than 60,000 students and is considered to be one of "The Big 8" school districts in Texas. Since the state ranks districts and schools based on their levels of student performance, attendance, and drop-out rates into the categories of *exemplary*, *recognized*, *acceptable*, or *low-performing*, the districts selected for this study had to be at least academically *acceptable* based on state accountability measures. Of the three districts, one was deemed *acceptable* and two were *recognized* by the state. The high schools where the participants lead were all considered *acceptable* based on state accountability measures. The principals selected have served as campus administrators (either principals or assistants) a minimum of three years and have also served on their current high school campus as principals a minimum of one year.

Participant Characteristics

The three women participants in this study come from unique schools, districts, and educational contexts. Likewise, they each pursued unique paths to the principalship and were influenced in their positions by different individuals and circumstances. Each of the participants had more than 20 years of experience in education. One spent a significant portion of her career at the community college level, another served as a central office director for music education, and the last developed her skills in the teaching and coaching ranks before pursuing a job in administration. Two of the women in this study worked solely with male principals as assistant principals prior to assuming their current roles as high school leaders; the third began her campus administrative career in partnership with a female colleague with whom she had taught and trained previously in another district. All three women participating in this study were serving in their first high school principalship. None was a campus principal at a different level prior to her current position.

Consistent with national statistics that indicate male dominance in the role of the high school principalship, these women work in district settings where men also dominate high school principalships. In the small and medium-sized districts, the participants are the only female high school principals in their districts. The small school district has two high schools, one led by a woman. In the larger school district, four women leaders serve among the twelve high schools in the district. The women leading in the small and large districts are not the first women appointed to the high school principalship in

their districts. However, the participant from a medium-sized district is the first female principal of a comprehensive high school in her school district. Significantly, none of the women participants moved up through the ranks in their own school district to become a high school principal. After years as high school assistant principals, two of the women relocated to new school districts to assume their high school principalships, while one moved to a new district to begin her high school administrative career as the 12th grade principal with a fellow female colleague.

Data Gathering Steps

By using the Texas School Directory for 2000-2001, female high school principals were highlighted and identified. For those school districts having at least one female high school principal, an accountability search had to indicate that both the district and the high school had acceptable ratings. Furthermore, the high schools themselves had to perform at or above the state average on all of Texas' Academic Excellence Indicator System (AEIS) academic performance indicators.

Contact was first made with those districts meeting the aforementioned criteria and in close proximity. Potential participants were already pre-screened by the aforementioned criteria to determine their qualification for the study. Access to the districts and contact with the participants (principals) was initiated by phone with a follow-up letter.

Interviewing was used as the primary source of data collection in this analysis. Prior to meeting, the participants in this study were made aware of its focus and emphasis on the concept of gender as it related to their lives as female high school administrators. Two in-depth individual interviews (Chirban, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 1995) and one collaborative group interview (Fontana & Frey, 1994) were conducted. These allowed the participants' voices and key themes from their interactions to emerge. A multiple case study approach was employed in this analysis to capture the stories and the nature of the experiences of those female high principals whose stories have been minimally heard.

Interviews

Two interviews were conducted individually with all participants. The first interview followed the structure of an interview guide; however, it was rooted in an open-ended, conversational partnership (Chirban, 1996; Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The guide included direct questions as well as general themes for discussion to foster heightened conversation rather than a strict question and answer session. Areas for future investigation arose based on the participants' initial responses during the first interview. A second individual interview was conducted also using open-ended interview techniques and an overarching interview guide, with individual adjustments made for each participant.

To complete the study, a third, collaborative group interview was conducted. In this interview, all of the participants had an opportunity to interact

and share their responses in a small group setting (Fontana & Frey, 1994). This process reflected an open-ended interview centered on predetermined concepts derived from the coding and analysis process of the first two interviews. The participants were provided with these general themes at the start of the collaborative interview. Likewise, they were provided with profiles of each other and their school and district contexts in advance. Having access to this information ahead of time, the participants were more apt to share openly. They enhanced the richness of this interview with their abilities to sense and respond to reiterations of their own experiences and voice by acknowledging the voices and experiences of other female high school leaders.

All interviews were audio taped with the participants' permission. During interviewing and visits, observational and personal notes were recorded in a log. This was particularly important to capture the nuances of the participants' language and posturing as well the researchers' own perceptions and interpretations of the events that transpired. Audiotaped interviews were transcribed and coded following each interview, and member checks were performed with each participant following site visits (Lincoln & Guba, 1985).

Site Visits/Observations

In order to enrich and enhance the validity of the study, observations of the participants were also conducted during school visits (Stake, 1995). Principals were shadowed in their natural settings during daily routines and meetings during the course of two to three days visits per participant. This additional source of information at least partially supported the triangulation of data gathered in face-to face interviews, as some of the statements and the perceptions shared by the participants were connected to the actual behaviors they exhibited (Patton, 1990).

During the site visits, observational notes and personal reflections were recorded in an effort to accurately characterize the setting and events transpiring. A reflective process was used throughout the study and aided in identifying the emerging patterns and themes uncovered as well as areas of limitation needing further development in the research design (Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Data Analysis

Data analysis started with manual coding of the interview transcripts. Prompt transcription and coding enhanced credibility, as member checks were performed with each participant following their individual and group sessions. Bracketing techniques were used to ensure trustworthiness and adherence to emerging themes (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992).

To analyze these interviews, tapes were reviewed several times after each interview and while waiting on transcription. Furthermore, all transcripts were read prior to analysis to capture a sense of the whole and the voices of participants. Afterward, manual coding of reappearing categories was completed. Participants were given opportunities to provide feedback and clarify the meaning of their statements during follow-up conversations and the

collaborative interview. They further provided feedback after the collaborative group interview. Moreover, participants were given the opportunity to comment upon and expand the researchers' analysis, ensuring credibility and trustworthiness in the interviewing and shadowing processes.

Results/Findings

The findings from this study are based on the constructions and interpretations of the researchers, as well as the initial constructions and interpretations of the participants themselves. Thus, these findings are better stated as descriptions that attempt to represent these women and their stories in a meaningful way. This first section of findings addresses the manner in which participants interact with and interpret the role of the high school principal, which is largely still male-defined. The second section addresses their varied perspectives on leadership at the high school level.

Leadership Interpretations and Interactions of Female High School Principals

The salient themes emerging from the participants' responses included: (a) their sense of being in the shadow of an image, (b) their perceptions of requirements that they prove themselves as female leaders who are put on watch, (c) their observations of seemingly invisible yet tangible networks working in the field primarily to benefit their male counterparts, (d) their interpretations of what is lacking in the area of mentoring female leadership development, and (e) their encounters with balancing their silence on gender issues as female leaders.

In the shadow of an image. All three participants spoke of the male-domination of the high school principalship described in the literature. Although the tough male disciplinarian *strong enough* to handle older students was an image prevalent among the public, these women shared alternative constructions of leadership that define strength on different terms. These include: an ability to develop others, a knack for listening, and a collaborative work ethic.

These female leaders were reminded that they simply did not reflect the image of the high school principal held in the minds of others—examples in which they were ignored, challenged and asked if they were the 'real principal,' and confronted by others who wanted to see the principal and demanded to see *him*. Their stories strengthen the argument that the under-representation of women in top leadership posts in the field supports society's constructed image of the male school leader juxtaposed with the image of the female teacher (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). The participants recognized that they are often still viewed as incongruent reflections of that societal image of the high school principal as female leaders. Although they acknowledge that in principalship preparation programs, the image of the principal connotes a visionary leader with high expectations for students and a broad knowledge of effective

pedagogical practices, they cite a lack of congruency between what they are taught and what they encounter as female leaders. For example, one participant cogently illustrated her perception that the high school principalship is still largely male-defined:

I think if you looked in the dictionary under the word 'principal', there would be a man's picture there, because perception—...you know, my secretary gets so irritated because people will call or a parent will show up to see the principal, 'Well I want to see him now.' It's an automatic assumption by the general public that the [high school] principal is a man.

For the other two participants, their contrast as females with the 'embedded assumptions' held by society with regard to the high school principalship was evident in more direct experiences (Gosetti & Rusch, 1995). One participant reported being ignored when talking with people as the school's leader. When others were unhappy, they disregarded her efforts and demanded that they see 'the real principal.' She has often been questioned in her position, as she did not reflect the male image that many have constructed in their minds. She noted:

Or you'll introduce yourself, and they're like 'The principal? The real principal?' I've had them use those words, the 'real principal' like I'm just... 'No, I'd just thought I'd try that title on for size'... Or, I've gone some place with a male AP and people will talk to him as though he's the principal – if they want to talk to the principal, and we'll be together, and they'll be looking at the AP and talking to him. And then he'll say, 'She's the principal.' But they just assume that I... I don't know what they think I am, the assistant or the secretary or the floozy who's tagging along. I don't know what they think I am.

As a result of imposed social constructs, these women acknowledged additional challenges they face as female leaders, watched by others and required to overcome obstacles not fairly dispersed across gender lines. Conversations in the field of educational administration, both among professors and practitioners, highlight the need for competent, instructional leaders at the secondary level (both male and female). In contrast, women in this study report that the general public and those with whom they interact on a daily basis have not been as open to broadening their image of the high school principal.

Proving oneself while being put on watch. All three participants shared the tensions they have experienced when constructions of their roles as women intersected with varied and dominant constructions of the high school principalship. They acknowledged that their incongruent reflections of that dominant image have often led them to be required to pass through tangible rites of passage and to counter varied forms of isolation, arm-flexing, and intimidation that reminds these women that they *do not fit in*. These principals sensed a need to demonstrate over and over again their competence and leadership skills

when stereotypes and a questioning of their abilities as female leaders have arisen. Even when they were confident and successful in their roles, they have still been required to contend with those operating under dominant myths of leadership and a woman's role in the first place. In other words, when the participants themselves were able to separate gender from their leadership in a particular situation, they still have encountered countless others who have not made that separation.

Proving oneself as a female high school principal often brings with it certain gendered rites of passage. The study participants articulated hidden environmental barriers or rites of passage that were particularly prevalent when they were assuming new leadership roles as principals. These barriers required that they prove themselves and establish their worthiness as leaders. Women must establish a professional identity within the context of prevalent social expectations and while negotiating the fault-lines of what is and what is not deemed as acceptable leadership in public school administration (Regan, 1995). Indeed, operating in the context of prevalent values and leadership expectations, the participants in this study indicated that they have been challenged to prove themselves *worthy* in ways they feel are not required of their male colleagues.

Scholars point out that tangible manifestations of gendered gate keeping in educational administration persist through an *absent presence* (Apple, 1983; Kanter, 1977; Lather, 1987 as cited in Blackmore, 1993). That is to say that certain additional challenges often exist specifically for women even though they are not publicly acknowledged. The participants became frustrated because the parameters surrounding the ways in which they prove themselves were often dictated by gender stereotypes and social scripts. This is most significant with individuals with whom these women have not had an opportunity to interact before—those guided by embedded, gendered assumptions about women in leadership. The participants felt tested and watched, not strictly because they were leaders but because they were female leaders. Their success had great implications not only for them but for other women.

Williams and Willower (1983) found that, "Some female executives feel they must face and survive a special trial in which they and their kind are at risk. As individuals, but more importantly, as women, they must succeed not just for themselves, but for the sake of their gender" (p. 19). The lone female principal in her district noted:

It's important that I am successful because it sends the message that, hey, a woman in high school is okay. The world as we know it is not going to stop. The kids will be fine. And that is important. So what I do is important.... Because you've got to be successful. If you are unsuccessful... See, I knew a woman, I knew she couldn't do it. People watch that.

The other principals indicated a sense that they must prove themselves not only as leaders but as female leaders. One participant reported that others doubt her success and observe her moves carefully:

Since I've gone into administration, I feel like I'm on watch all the time. But I think that goes back to my feeling that I have to prove myself.... A new school—can she keep it up and running? It's going in the right direction, but can she maintain it?... I know they're out there watching.

Although the idea of being put on watch and being required to prove themselves is shared by the participants, they conveyed general confidence in their roles and in their leadership styles. Of course, they may have chosen to overlook, oppose, or ignore those watching—those whom they perceived as passing judgment. Nevertheless, even with decisions that fly in the face of what is expected of them, they were not unaware of the persistent presence of opposing societal constructions of the high school principalship within which they do not fit.

What is acceptable behavior for one gender is not always acceptable for the other (Banks, 1995). Collaborative feminine practices of leadership, for example, are only valued when they are coupled with masculinist virtues (Worrall, 1995). Tannen (1990) argues that women are often caught in a double bind as leaders that leaves them *damned-if-you-do and damned-if-you-don't*. The participants in this study did not allow dominant views to consistently govern their leadership, yet they were cognizant that they are on watch because they are female leaders. This was a quandary. To be successful in the field, they could not work in complete isolation. They had to negotiate and develop professional and personal relationships with those around them. Gaining acceptance in a field in which one is underrepresented is not easy. Moreover, being formally hired for a position is not equivalent to gaining actual acceptance among a group of (mostly male) peers at the high school level. Other barriers exist.

Invisible networks made visible: Gaining acceptance among the brethren. Gaining formal acceptance among colleagues held a very different meaning for these women than gaining actual acceptance into the high school principalship ranks. Although they admitted that they cannot dwell on instances of different treatment, the participants spoke openly about their exclusion from internal networks utilized by their male high school principal colleagues within their own districts. Referred to by the participants as 'the boys club' and 'the brethren,' these networks did not grant easy access to these women who have already gained acceptance into the formal district ranks with their appointments to the principalship. This finding is consistent with research that uncovers a limit to female participation within male-dominated professions and a discernible juxtaposition between authority and influence versus isolationism and exclusion for female educational leaders working with mostly male colleagues (Bell, 1995; Hart, 1995). Invisible, but tangible, networks and the membership exclusions associated with them continue to exist, and the women in this study have observed that such exclusionary, informal support networks were available to men but not necessarily to women in their field.

Numerous processes in male-dominated professions limit female participation, and those most evident are institutionalized avenues for recruitment and protégé networks (Banks, 2000). These networks and the expectations associated with them continue to exist. Furthermore, since some women, like these three participants, now operate *on the inside* and within the parameters of the high school principalship, they are able to shed light on additional internal networks at play. As one female leader explained,

There's a boy's club in our district. And there's that whole surface of formal meetings where we all go, but you'll see it come out in certain things. [For example], there was this one meeting where just the principals met on the side...I didn't know about it, and one of the men was to call me and invite me to this side meeting, but somehow he forgot to do that ...That's not uncommon. So they don't call themselves the brethren or the boy's club, but they operate in that manner sometimes.

In one of the school districts studied, the male high school principals actually referred to themselves as 'the brethren.' They jokingly called their lone female high school principal colleague 'Old What's Her Name.' She admitted, "When we're in meetings, we're very cordial to each other. We talk. We communicate. We laugh. We joke. But it's different when you walk outside of the central office or our school. There are other networks at play."

Although these women may have somehow achieved parity coupled with acceptance and value as high school principals in a formal sense, they often faced additional barriers to that acceptance and a devaluing of their roles in the informal sense. In formally structured settings with an established hierarchy, the women appeared to "fit in." Nevertheless, several instances in which they were devalued and overlooked within hierarchies that are not formally sanctioned were significant. There are times when these women hold a different status than their male colleagues. Their invitation into the formal power structure of the organization did not encompass access into a seemingly informal *inner sanctum*.

In addition to being isolated (either occasionally or completely) from male-dominated internal networks within their districts, the three participants expressed their perceptions of a broader male-dominated network for secondary principals. At large state and national secondary conferences that provide the only forum to discuss strictly secondary issues, the participants have noticed a significant amount of networking to which they are not privy. In addition to observing heightened levels of collegiality within these networks, the participants also witnessed them functioning as sources for male sponsorship and mentorship. They are not granted access to such networks to develop and support them as secondary leaders. Instead, they often have relied on themselves or pursued other means to foster their own leadership development.

Mentoring for leadership development. In addition to being isolated from male-dominated networks that sponsor, mentor, and primarily

develop other males as leaders, the study participants felt that a lack of mentorship and development for women aspiring to or serving in educational leadership positions was significant. This lack of mentoring was even more prevalent when they served as assistant principals. Although, in some cases, the participants developed positive working relationships with their male and female colleagues and immediate supervisors, they were less often mentored and encouraged to take the next step to the principalship level. Instead, they were seemingly expected to appreciate their positions. Even while many colleagues complimented these women on their outstanding abilities and leadership, others were less open to the idea of these women aspiring to assume full principalship roles.

Historically, women have not been encouraged to pursue leadership positions in educational administration (Banks, 1995; Gardiner et al., 2000; Shakeshaft, 1987). Often women are directed into other areas of educational administration outside the principalship by the male patriarchy that continues to dominate educational leadership posts, particularly at the secondary level. The persistent imbalance between men and women serving at the high school principalship level affected the study participants when they tried to pursue new opportunities and apply for principalships.

Participants initially did not see themselves as high school principals, and they encountered limited mentoring and support in pursuing such positions. One of them acknowledged,

I never thought about being a principal, never thought about it. I—really, to be honest with you—haven't been around that many women principals, high school principals....and in my previous district, there were no women principals....so it's really hard. Do you realize that I am the first and only woman in this district? The only woman high school principal. Sometimes I look in the mirror and think, I can't believe it.

The women in this study pointed out that women are directed into curriculum positions at the secondary level but less often to the comprehensive high school principalship position. They spoke of high schools being divided around "boy jobs" and "girl jobs," with the principalship falling into the former category. Getting to a point where they saw themselves as strong, capable administrators ready for the high school principalship was an important step for these women. They had to overcome both direct opposition and the intangible barriers to the principalship in the absence of female leadership role models.

The participants in this study illustrated patterns of sexual stratification that have persisted in educational leadership and remain overlooked in the field (Blackmore, 1993; Papalewis, 1995; Skrla et al., 2000; Yeakey et al., 1992). Although they have broken into the highest ranks of female leadership at the campus level, these women leaders recognized that they are in fact the exception and not the rule. The lack of female mentors reported by these women leaders is duly noted in the literature (e.g., Gardiner et al., 2000; Hart,

1995; Williams & Willower, 1983). While a few specific male colleagues may support women, as was the case to some degree in this study, the greater established male patriarchy more often mentors and develops its own male members. The participants noted that they have been excluded from male-dominated avenues that foster collegueship, mentorship, and leadership development, particularly during the beginning of their principalships. However, even within their work situations, these women could not look to a network of women leaders for support, guidance, or development. Too few females exist in the field. Today many women are less often encouraged to pursue the principalship at the high school level and not seeing other women in those positions can influence their own administrative pursuits (Banks, 1995). All participants felt it is important to reverse the lack of mentorship and leadership development for other women in the field.

Balancing silence and the rules. One of the most interesting findings in this study was that the expanded conversation and awareness expressed by the participants contrasted with their initial reticence in discussing the role that gender continues to play in their unique positions as underrepresented females. Initially, the participants were quick to point out that gender and constructions related to genderized notions of the high school principalship had little or nothing to do with their experiences as leaders. When asked about her feelings on women who feel like their gender has kept them back, one promptly retorted, "That's ridiculous. You need to look for the opportunities where they lie." Shortly thereafter, the participants admitted that they were, in fact, aware of instances where women were held back in other districts or situations and where they themselves had been held back. As they recounted their own stories of frustration and tension, the participants' acknowledgement of the additional challenges that they and other women have faced at the high school level became more noticeable. By the end of the study, the participants spoke more candidly about societal silencing as well as their own self-silencing and self-sanctioning as female high school leaders, bringing this phenomenon to a level of consciousness. In a sense, they began to break their silence, at least within the confines of this study. However, this level of openness was not easy for them, and initially the participants seemed almost opposed to talking about gender discrimination issues they may have faced.

Such initial reticence should not be surprising for women who have essentially "made it" to the high school principal level and who are still practicing within an arena highly stratified by gender. It is expected that they would have difficulty talking about barriers and limits to female advancement. These women have, in fact, advanced in the very system that has held other women back. The study fostered some turning points in the participants' level of awareness and their openness on the subject as they began to speak about their challenges and perceptions. The participants acknowledged that noticing when different treatment may be related to their gender provides them no benefit. Instead, it essentially added another layer of tension and

complexity to a job that is already tense and complex. Thus, they often remained silent on or ignored gender issues. The idea of silence and abiding by the rules appeared to be an unspoken source of survival for these women. This finding, in particular, advances those findings regarding the silence of female superintendents (primarily those who exited) on gender issues in the field (e.g., Grogan, 1996; Skrla, 1997; Skrla et al., 2000). An acknowledgement of silence among women who have not “gained their voices” by exiting their positions as in the case of the previously listed studies is significant. These current practitioners serving at the campus level provide a new perspective that sheds further light on the idea that unwritten and unspoken rules that foster a silent ignoring of gender issues are not only recognizable to those who work at the superintendency level or to those who have left their positions and begin to reflect on such barriers in retrospect. Instead, the participants in this study illustrated that these gendered influences and unwritten rules are clearly evident even to those currently practicing on the inside and within the context of leading in a male-dominated arena.

With support structures, networks, and societal constructions of the role of the high school principal continuing to tip the scales in favor of men, one might expect a sense of anger and frustration on the part of the participants. Although some of the statements made by these women to female researchers studying gender issues would support that conclusion, the participants conveyed that day-to-day interactions with them would not hint at any anger or frustration with gender stratification or imbalance. To illustrate, one participant addressed her need to forget about the issue of gender quite directly,

I mean it doesn't help me to think that somebody is picking on me because I am a woman. I mean, it just doesn't change anything, so I have to just do the best I can with what I've got. The stereotypical 60s and 70s Women's Lib doesn't fit...and that's sort of where you go when you're like—it's like having a chip on your shoulder, so that's not really a reality in my life.

The other two participants likewise noted a sense that they must complete their jobs without focusing on the perception that others may have. Admittedly, upon reflection, these women noted several instances where their being female created additional obstacles for them as high school principals. However, they attempted to separate gender from their daily work, even when they were still actually ‘doing gender’ through the eyes of those observing (West & Zimmerman, 1992). These women illustrated a denial of gender discrimination or the presence of hidden gendered rules. This process is characterized as being a *survival mechanism* for female leaders (Erickson, 1984). Reiterating Westkott's and Ferguson's earlier works, Bell (1995) argues that women's gender consciousness can be shaped by either autonomy or manipulation, depending upon the contexts of their leadership. She notes women in educational leadership experience “simultaneous belonging and alienation [and they are often found] opposing the very conditions to which they

conform" (p. 292). Serving currently as female high school principals in settings where varied networks, role constructs, and informal support structures do no necessarily work to their advantage, the participants admitted that opposing those differences publicly is of little benefit to them and, in fact, it could be detrimental. As one of the principals stated,

I think our conversations here and everything now has just given me time to pause and think about it. You know these things—that there are not many women—but you can't think about it everyday, and I can't think that people treat me differently than they do my colleagues. It doesn't—I don't benefit from that...

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) contend that four themes encompass the development of educational administration and the under-representation of women in leadership positions. One of these themes suggests that *the discussion of gender issues and power are discouraged*. For female practitioners a level of silence is one of the unwritten rules. Female self-silencing in the field of educational administration is a by-product of a male-dominated culture that downplays female isolation and gender discrimination (Marshall, 1993; West & Zimmerman, 1992). According to the participants, it was better for them to 'separate' gender issues from their daily running of schools. Indeed, bucking the system on the basis of gender is not sanctioned. Certain qualities associated with 'the feminine' that these women have are not always sanctioned either. To *make it* as high school principals, these women often negotiated alternative rules governing their behavior. Through collaborative dialogue, one participant highlighted similar pressures:

I think there are hidden rules that we—the unspoken rules if you are a woman in terms of the principalship....I'm not going to let them see me cry because in their eyes that would be weakness. I'm not going to let them see me scared....I don't think all men would have those rules, but I think they are important for me because I think when my staff of central administration would see that in me, they would automatically put that together with being a woman—whereas, it's not your personality, it's not character—it's because you're a woman... You're going to have to suck it up...and assume those traits that a man would supposedly have...

Another concurred,

I guess I want relationships in my job to be nice, and I know that's what's expected. And when they don't feel nice, I feel I should go repair the relationship—that I should somehow make up. And I know that I shouldn't have to do that....[but] if I don't....Then I'm a bitch. The one I told you about. Sometimes I think I shouldn't have to deal with those expectations or that I need to be feminine. I don't think my male colleagues feel that way...

The study participants' report that they are expected to be nice and supportive appears to connect to the societal notion of being feminine—that is, passive and at times, subservient. The minimization of conflict is socially expected for them to get ahead. Social scripts associated with the feminine often connote an expectation that women behave in ways that depict them as caring, open, and even mothering. However, these and other traditionally feminine characteristics may be interpreted by others as antithetical to the strong leadership characteristics conjured up by more traditional definitions of secondary school leadership (Banks, 2000). Thus, one hidden rule requires that women balance their employment of the feminine and the masculine. Although they seek to make the best decisions possible, they also admit that they further consider the ways in which they present their decisions and how they will be interpreted by others coming from women leaders.

Aware of hidden rules and numerous instances in which they faced additional challenges as female high school principals, the participants still had difficulty directly acknowledging the influence of gender stratification and gender role expectations on their individual lives. Moreover, outside of the confines of the conversations associated with this study, their silence on such issues prevailed. It fostered survival within the system.

Perspectives on Leadership Through a Different Lens

In addition to addressing those areas associated with the ways in which these women interact with dominant constructions of the high school principalship as female leaders, the study also focused on their characterizations of leadership. Through interviews and during shadowing visits, these women illustrated their beliefs about leadership and approaches to varied situations. Nevertheless, the findings presented here do not fully capture how these women *actually* lead, although the shadowing visits shed some light on their leadership. Instead, the anecdotes and findings presented here are the characterizations of leadership provided by the participants themselves; that is, how they perceive themselves as leaders. Based on analysis and categorization of these findings, the following themes emerged: (a) collaborative communities developed through open doors and open ears, (b) emotional investments and nurturing reap returns, (c) instruction must prevail; and (d) children must be the focus of schools.

Collaborative communities developed through open doors and open ears. The participants in this study emphasized the importance of leadership rooted in relationships with their colleagues, students, parents, and communities. These relationships are deeply cultivated and bring with them a heightened sense of trust and confidence. As the participants spoke of building a sense of team to pursue collective results, they illustrated a level of mutual contribution and interdependence among their colleagues. These female leaders referred to relationship building and relational power in a manner that closely parallels research on transformational leadership (Johnson,

1996). The three participants focused on moving stakeholders in their schools beyond calculated relationships and action to a level of mutual commitment and interdependence based on shared relationships.

Inclusive leadership approaches rooted in developing relationships heighten community investment and collective capacity. Echoing the previously mentioned notions of transformational leadership, the participants realized that interdependence and mutual responsibility breed participative environments with investment of members. The idea of genuinely involving the entire community in school decision-making requires openness and vulnerability on the part of school principals—setting a course for community commitment and shared beliefs. Such a course was illustrated by one of the participants who noted,

I think it's building trust and building community and forming relationships. Without being disparaging, the campus I inherited didn't have a lot of established trust. There weren't a lot of relationships. And so there was a lot of defensive posturing, and a lot of naming and blaming. That doesn't get us anywhere. So being visible, forming trusting relationships, taking others' ideas and doing what you can to help them be successful with their ideas, never sawing off the limb and leaving somebody out there to crash alone, begins to get you going there where folks are willing to share with you not only their successes but other things.

Such heightened communication to foster a sense of community collaboration in their schools did not occur automatically for the three participants in this study. Both were developed through attuned listening and acknowledgement on the part of these female leaders. All three participants prided themselves on their collaborative work ethics and their ability to listen to and acknowledge others. However, they noted that the collaborative leadership styles they employed were somewhat contrary to the expectations first placed on them as high school principals. One participant shared,

The traditional wisdom in schools has told us not to do that [use an open, collaborative approach]. I mean, you're supposed to know the answers. You're in charge, and never let them see you sweat. For me I think you can't be totally inept, but sharing those areas that you struggle with, as well as those areas that you can be strong in, sort of can give other people permission to say, 'Well I'm really good here, but I really need to work here.' And that's true for all of us.

The leaders in this study aligned their notions of leadership with an inclusive approach rooted in reciprocal communication through which everyone can share their talents and admit their limitations. With heightened communication and vulnerability, fears are broken down and community members feel more equipped to actually contribute to collective ends. In other words, the participants' visions were not internal maps that they brought with them to their schools. Instead, they were developed over time through the acknowledgement of individual and collective opinions shared and uncovered by listening in open

forums. The three women spoke of and illustrated by their actions a genuine concern for valuing all members of their communities by creating open channels for listening, acknowledging, risk-taking, and therefore, community building. This position is consistent with contemporary concepts of effective school leadership (Murphy, 2000; Senge, 1990; Wheatley, 1999).

Emotional investments and nurturing reap returns. The three women demonstrated a significant emotional investment in their positions as school leaders. Admitting that such investments were integral to their gaining the trust and respect of the community, the participants acknowledged that this driving passion is draining. Not inconsistent with findings that women leaders often blur the public and private realms and often draw on their emotional energy and experiences in dealing with professional situations (Hurty, 1995; Shakeshaft, 1987), these women leaders could not leave their emotional ties on the schoolhouse steps. Each spoke of the importance of care and compassion central to a nurturing leadership style, but further admitted that such attachments can take their toll. In contradiction to certain theorists who challenge that the idea of women's nurturing further supports a limited and monolithic view of women as less assertive (and perhaps weaker) leaders (Banks, 1995), the participants in this study challenged that their emotional commitment and nurturing are a strength. In fact, the participants used those exact words several times throughout the study. As one female leader noted,

I think we get very passionate about our job, about the kids, about the teachers, about the results, about our parents, and so we have an emotional connection that I think is a natural occurrence with our nurturing side, that I'm not sure that males have that same emotional attachment. Women bring more nurturing, and high schools haven't always been really nurturing environments. They should be. That's our strength. Women pay attention to others.

Although they are much more than simply nurturing leaders, these women asserted that their ability to nurture and invest emotionally in their students and faculties had great implications for the type of relationships and communities they have built and continued to develop each day.

Consistent with notions of nurturing leadership and an *ethic of care* posited by various theorists (Gilligan, 1982; Hurty, 1995; Noddings, 1984), the three participants conveyed the importance they place on the principles of dignity and respect. These two principles are central to the nurturing side of their leadership. All three women shared that the manner in which others are treated, the level of respect for the school environment, and the tone in which individuals are greeted, for example, greatly influence the sense of pride, investment, and credence that students and community members give to the school's curriculum and instructional program. They value their schools when they, too, feel valued themselves. The participants' shared beliefs regarding the need for dignity and respect in their schools further illustrated a

goal of these women to modify the orientation of their high school campuses to become more dignified, respectful, and caring communities for adults and especially for students. Ozga (1993) outlines women's emphasis on the development of climate and culture in educational settings. The three participants in this study strongly pushed for school cultures centered on dignity and respect.

Instruction must prevail. The women leaders in this study placed great emphasis on instructional endeavors. They were keenly aware of the need for an instructional focus and consistently referred to specific examples that illustrated their commitment to student learning and teacher development. Furthermore, the participants gave examples in which they did not merely delegate instructional tasks. Instead, they developed structures, academic teams, and content groupings. They pursued numerous training opportunities to develop their own instructional repertoires and to share with other faculty, and they worked alongside staff members to analyze instruction, provide peer support, or delve into lesson design. Two of the participants came to their positions through the instructional ranks and felt their background was of great benefit to their leadership. As one leader indicated,

I came to the principalship with an instructional background. You see women going into the instructional side, becoming the curriculum directors and instructional specialists, things like that. So they are often your curriculum directors, they're in other leadership positions, but they don't get that managerial position. And in some schools, the principalship is looked on as a manager's role....I think you have the power to shape the principalship, so I have a very instructionally focused principalship.

The challenge of maintaining one's focus as an instructional leader is pervasive, and the literature in the field on the topic of instructional leadership is certainly not lacking. The need to foster student learning and growth through a heightened instructional focus is purported by many scholars (Elmore, 2000; Stewart, Prebble, & Duncan, 1997). Instruction was a primary focus of the participants' leadership, and they likewise illustrated their ability to speak about and engage in activities related to instruction with relative ease. All three women demonstrated during the site visits and later spoke with clarity and confidence about their efforts to be involved in meaningful dialogue and activities regarding instruction on their campuses. In their schools, these things were not simply delegated to instructional specialists, curriculum coordinators, or department chairpersons and therefore outside of the purview of these female leaders. The participants themselves, much like other women studied in other areas of educational administration, committed their own time and energy to guiding instructional tasks and research on their campuses (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Children are the focus. The final theme vehemently expressed by the participants in this study was their deep investment in students and their

welfare. These female leaders echoed their deep concern for students and that their schools first be centered on the needs of children. They acknowledged that leadership has many facets in school settings, but it requires placing the needs of students first. Likewise, these women pointed out their feeling that not all principals openly express this type of commitment in their deeds or their rhetoric. Their passion for children was evident in statements like the following:

I love kids. I love kids. You've got to know, I love these kids. They drive you crazy. They kill me sometimes, but I love the kids. That's why I'm here. That's why I do what I do. I love the kids. No matter where you are or what school you're in, it's not about you, it's about the kids. So the bottom line is, I'm going to do what I need to for the kids. No matter what, I will do that.

The manner in which the participants interacted with students, talked about them, and shared their successes with them indicated that, in their schools, children are the priority. Interestingly, all of the participants spoke of their love of children and their hopes to run complex organizations at the high school level to better serve students as their primary motivations for pursuing the principalship. Although they expected to be fairly compensated for their positions, advancement and greater financial means were not mentioned as reasons why they chose and still choose to do what they do. Their motivation to help schools be better places for children is consistent with goals shared by other female principals who were concerned about what was happening to children in schools and who viewed their leadership positions as vehicles to nurture children's growth (Hurty, 1995). This study advances the idea that a genuine investment in students' growth must not stop at the primary or elementary levels. Such an investment must guide decision-making at the high school level as well.

Conclusions

The findings generated by this study provide support for specific implications in the field of educational administration both in the preparation and support of women aspiring to or holding leadership positions. Although more than half of advanced degrees in educational administration are awarded to females, few preparation programs offer gender and leadership courses, and general leadership courses at the university level most often incorporate readings that reflect an androcentric bias (Gupton & Slick, 1996). The design of principalship preparation programs for those aspiring to educational administration should place careful consideration on selecting texts and literature reflective of challenges to traditional dominant views in the field and inclusive of feminist standpoints. Curriculum should be better integrated to challenge *gender-neutral* theories and provide a more complete view of varied perspectives on leadership. Similarly, the supporting literature included in preparation programs should reflect practice and leadership at all levels from varied, female viewpoints: elementary, middle, and high school. Special attention should be paid to incorporating literature that includes the standpoints of the underrepresented in the

areas where they are most underrepresented. The case in point is the female high school principalship.

The under-representation of women as principals at the high school level is not only a product of preparation, it is a product of recruitment. The search for and recruitment of qualified female candidates for high school principalships is critical. Training for human resource personnel should address screening and recruitment strategies that seek out female candidates. Furthermore, human resource directors should be versed on the pitfalls of using internal, word-of-mouth recruitment tactics that rely on persons (typically men at the high school level) who are already a part of the establishment and privy to exclusionary invisible support and recruitment networks. Since appointment to a high school principalship often requires that a candidate have some leadership experience at the high school level, additional attention should be placed on expanding the pool of qualified female assistant principal candidates for recruitment. As most decisions in the hiring of assistant principals are made at the campus level and by the principal, school districts should provide the high school principals with access to the applicant pool and encourage the recruitment of qualified candidates underrepresented at the high school level.

The three participants indicated that they felt out of place as members of the professional organizations designated for high school principals. They spoke candidly about how male-dominated networks visibly operate at the conferences and meetings that these professional organizations conduct. Beginning to incorporate topics and sessions associated with gender equity and the high school principalship would be a first step in the professional organizations' acknowledgement of the unique positions of female leaders. More importantly, the structure of conferences should be revisited to minimize the perpetuation of dominant informal exclusionary networks that reinforce the position of male high school principals and further isolate female leaders attending these conferences. These networks may continue to exist. However, it should be contrary to the mission of a professional organization that represents *all* secondary principals to reinforce exclusionary networks and practices.

In addition to providing a forum for an underrepresented group of women subject to exclusion and serving in a male-dominated profession, the study's results serve as a *contribution to* rather than *standard for* the literature in the field of educational administration. It has provided a glimpse into the nature of the experiences of three female high school principals negotiating their leadership roles in tandem with those roles and constructs socially imposed on them and has initiated a more focused discourse grounded in the language and experiences of women serving as high school leaders. More research and investigation into the experiences of women leaders in school administration or those aspiring to school leadership positions at all levels is still necessary. Additional studies, based on female perspectives, are imperative in challenging dominant leadership theories and perspectives.

The three women in this study were Anglo. Although the researchers acknowledge that there is no universal experience among Anglo women in the field, it is crucial to recognize that there is no universal experience for all

women across racial and ethnic groups. Other researchers contend that race is more influential on women's experiences than gender (hooks, 1984; Sleeter, 1996). Studies that capture the language and experiences of women who grapple with both the intersections of race and gender and their roles as educational leaders could provide rich perspectives and understandings not possible in more monolithic studies of women still affiliated with the dominant culture. The potential for research focused on women of diverse backgrounds leading at the high school level is great.

Without question, it could be argued that this study points to more questions and areas for further investigation than it does answers or conclusions. Although it does shed some initial light on the nature of the leadership experiences of three female high school principals, much more study is needed in this area. The study offered data and commentary on both the dilemmas faced and contributions made by female high school principals. The important intersection of gender and the role of the high school principal as well as varied perceptions and notions of leadership offered by women leaders may contribute to new and unconventional perspectives on leadership. By informing educational research with the genuine voices of women serving as high school principals, this study has attempted to widen the conversation on leadership in the field by including alternative, differing perspectives often neglected in traditional research that supposes gender neutrality and/or that analyzes the experiences of high school leaders in general. Through this medium, the female high school principals participating in this study were empowered to reflect upon their situations and experiences and characterize them both in their own words and by their own ways of knowing.

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Change as the Convergence of Energies: Using the Lens of Postmodern Thinking to Examine Change in Higher Education

Linda Wesson and Jeanne Carr

Postmodern thought, in particular dynamic systems theory, offers explanations for the profound era in which we live. Defining myself as an educational leader with a postmodern visionary perspective, I have deconstructed a change effort in higher education to demonstrate the developmental process that took place within me when I acted as an educational change agent. As part of this story, I have added the voice of an executive coach, who volunteered her services to the university and worked with me during the second semester of this change effort. This effort is analogous to a river that is constantly churning, moving, and changing from moment to moment as tributaries converge, debris is dredged up, and small pieces of silt and sand shape and re-shape themselves.

Today, it is increasingly rare for a human to get a first look at data about the world. Even our telescopes are often operated remotely with computer sensors.....[Perception] James Bailey (1996, p. 137)

Like the convergence of the tributaries of a river, and like the mighty Mississippi River that depends on the confluences of some 250 tributaries, this story is a tale of an urban university situated on the Mississippi River whose vision and mission were challenged by the turmoil in an Educational Leadership Department, which selected me as the Department Chair. One year later as I reflect and write about my first year at this university, I clearly see that I have been a searcher on a journey that is guided, although not determined, by my perceptions within the dynamic and often chaotic systems present in the world of academia. I deconstruct this story with the hope that this telling and re-telling will help educate others and myself about the complexities found in difficult change efforts and the kinds of leadership behaviors that facilitate that change and those kinds of behaviors that actually obstruct the change.

Since this is a story of my struggle to see the incongruence between the leadership behavior which I exhibited when I found myself in a very stressful leadership role and my belief system as a postmodern visionary, let us first examine

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my postmodern visionary belief system which has evolved over a lifetime of experiences as a teacher, principal, researcher, and leader in higher education.

Visionary Postmodernity Examined

I consider myself a visionary postmodernist. This is a term that Weaver and I have conceptualized and used for purposes of interpreting educational phenomena (Wesson & Weaver, 2002). From the purposely-elusive term, postmodern, we explain visionary postmodernists first by focusing on the perspectives of others that we would also label visionary postmodernists. The choice and explanation of this group undoubtedly tells more about our protocols of interpretation and reading than the authors we cite and co-opt for our purposes.

Included in this group that we call visionary postmodernists are curriculum theorists like Doll (1993) and Slattery (1995); literary critics such as Hayles (1990) and Herrnstein-Smith (1997); cultural critics like Haraway (1997) and Fiske (1993); feminists such as Brown (1995) and hooks (1989); physicists like Prigogine (1996); computer scientists like Bailey (1996); organizational theorists such as Wheatley (1992); and historians like Poster (1995, 1997). Although each theorist is in the process of constructing

visions of a postmodern world, their visions do not situate themselves as grand illusions that rival those of early laissez faire capitalists like Adam Smith and utopian socialists like Karl Marx. Instead they offer perspectives and alternative messages as frameworks for constructing a future. Visionary postmodernists see these alternative perspectives as hopeful ways to address the deep crisis of modernity. Although they share some of the skepticism of more critical and, sometimes, pessimistic postmodernists such as Jameson (1994), Baudrillard (1994), McLaren (1995), and Giroux (1994), they think it is possible to create alternatives to modernity which allow us to re-think our relationships not only with each other but with the environment, religion, science, economics, and culture.

As a visionary postmodernist, I now look to the postmodern interpretations of society and particularly the application of dynamic systems theory to reconfigure the notion of success as a construct of an imagined reality. Through the study (Wesson & Hauschildt, 1997) of the work of theorists (Bernstein, 1992; Haraway, 1991, 1997; Hayles, 1990, 1991; Wheatley, 1992), I understand the tension between that which has been accepted in the modern world as reality and what is considered to be reality in many sciences. I resonate with Tarnas (1991), who traces the history of the Western mind and explains reality in the postmodern era in this way:

In virtually all contemporary disciplines, it is recognized that the prodigious complexity, subtlety, and multivalence of reality far transcend the grasp of any one intellectual approach, and that only a committed openness to the interplay of many perspectives can meet the extraordinary challenges of the postmodern era. (p. 404)

Since almost every intellectual discipline is reconsidering and redefining the epistemological context of its field, the individual is becoming more able to look at reality in less constricted ways. I am able to appreciate the interplay of the imagination, the "power and the complexity of the unconscious" (Tarnas, 1991, p. 405), and the intellectual position that "reality itself tends to unfold in response to the particular symbolic framework and set of assumptions that are employed by each individual and each society" (Tarnas, 1991, p. 406). From these postmodern perspectives, I have concluded that the world we attempt to know and remake is, in a very real sense, elicited by the frame of references and assumptions that we have internalized. I know that intellectually, but my behavior, in this leadership role, often did not reflect these beliefs.

The Role of Department Chair: Program Development

I began my new position as department chair in the fall of 2001. I was hired to address the complexity of a Leadership Department that was riddled with dilemmas that had a life of their own and that were taking the department away from the mission and goals of the university. Some pertinent facts: Before I was hired and during my first year as chair, both internal and external complaints

had been filed in the department, at one point with the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. An internal investigation of the department by the Affirmative Action Office was taking place during the first months of my tenure, and a workplace harassment complaint was initiated in January. As a corollary to a report from the Affirmative Action Office, I received a letter from the President charging me with the responsibility of creating a more civil climate in the department and promoting cooperation among the faculty.

These were difficult circumstances for a new chair, but I had held a similar position at another university and I was excited about coming home to the region of my birth, where I had family, life-long friends, and an affinity for the problems of the region. I had spent much of my thirty-year career as a teacher and high school principal in the region and had researched educational issues associated with the area. I felt qualified and ready for the challenges. With this optimism, I began the first semester focusing on program development and asking for the cooperation of the department faculty to move ahead to accomplish goals that had been placed on the "back burner," waiting for new leadership. Faculty, including two other new hires, were cautiously willing to move forward with the program development, and during the first semester of my tenure, the faculty worked to craft a new master's program in educational leadership. All agreed the department needed to set priorities and that a program development focus should come first and then interpersonal issues should be addressed with the help of consultants during the second semester. Although there was success in writing an innovative masters program, cliques, which were evident to me through emails and phone calls even before I arrived on campus, began to coalesce around sensitive issues, and some faculty began to shut off discussion that differed from their point of view. Tension, which I had tried to hold in check, began to build and working relations among faculty deteriorated. By the beginning of second semester another EEOC complaint of workplace harassment was filed. Given the advantage of time and reflection, I now see that I was very task-oriented and did not give enough attention to the interpersonal difficulties that were developing between faculty and within myself. By this time I felt guilty; I had let people down; I was alone; I felt responsible for everyone's behavior. It was clear that I was acting out of assumptions that came out of my childhood, not out of a postmodern paradigm, but it took the help of an executive coach for me to "see" that only as people are willing to examine their belief systems and the projections that come out of these beliefs can dialogue, healing, and trust take place. Now let's hear from the executive coach, who was able to help me on this journey.

Department Leadership: An Executive Coach's Perspective

Initiating—How Our Relationship Began

My first contact with the University of Memphis began when I heard the newly-appointed President of the university speak at the regular weekly

meeting of the Rotary Club. Her message was that “you can’t have a strong city unless you have a strong city university, and, that you can’t have a strong city university unless the city supports you” resonated strongly with me. The University, as well as the entire public education system in the state, was experiencing a budget crisis of unparalleled proportions. I resolved immediately to take action to support this inspiring leader.

I had many reasons to want to support the new President; as the first female president of this large, urban University, I wanted her to be “wildly successful.” I believed and agreed with her compelling message. I wanted the experience of coaching in the educational sector. And most important to me, I wanted to give something back to the area and make a significant difference.

I wrote a personal note to the President offering my services as an executive coach for her or for one of her senior-level administrators. Within a few weeks she contacted me to say that she had a department chair who had actually requested coaching when she was hired, but the University was unable to meet her needs because of the previously mentioned budgetary restraints. When I agreed to take on the assignment, the President told me that I would hear shortly from the department chair. My phone rang less than ten minutes later.

Contracting—How We Established Our Partnership

I came to the initial meeting with the department chair planning to explore her desired outcomes for the coaching experience. Within the first few minutes I realized that we would not be able to accomplish that objective. I found a woman in turmoil and “stretched to the breaking point.” Her conversation was unfocused. It was immediately clear to me that she exhibited all the symptoms of someone experiencing a high level of stress. As coaches, we are trained to meet our clients where they are, so I just let her “spill her guts” and gave up all hope of following my agenda.

The department chair portrayed herself as a “hero” who would overcome any obstacle in her way and do whatever it took to be successful. During our get-acquainted session my task was to understand her point of view. I focused all my energy on trying to be an active, engaged listener and responding with empathy to her concerns, while showing respect and building trust. During that session one of my biggest challenges was separating her personal from her professional issues.

When I asked the chair whether she had encountered other similar experiences in her professional career, she admitted that she had—and talked about them as well. I took a bold step for an initial session and suggested that perhaps she found herself once again in this situation because she still needed to learn her “life lesson.” I have learned that people and situations continue to come into our lives—often with increasing intensity and harsher consequences—until we learn the lessons we are supposed to learn. I suggested that she was pushing and trying too hard to make things happen her way, and she was taking too much responsibility for the actions of others.

At the next session, we spent considerable time exploring the chair's "life lesson." I requested that she take off her cumbersome "suit of armor" and explore her need to be the hero and have things her way. I recommended that she read *The Four Agreements* by Don Miguel Ruiz and begin to explore books about the Enneagram. We spent the next several sessions talking about one of *The Four Agreements*—"don't take anything personally" and how this related to her situation in the Department of Leadership. She demonstrated understanding and accepted that actions by faculty members were not necessarily because of her. What others were thinking, saying and doing was a projection of their perceptions and their realities, not the perceptions and realities of the department chair.

Additionally, she "devoured" one of the several Enneagram books that I recommended.

The modern Enneagram of personality type has been synthesized from many different spiritual and religious traditions.... It concerns itself with one element that is fundamental to all spiritual paths—self-knowledge.... It also sheds light clearly and nonjudgmentally on the aspects of our lives that are dark and unfree. (Riso & Hudson, 1999, pp. 9-10)

She was an eager student, a quick study, and identified her Enneagram Type almost immediately. This provided an important framework in our early discussions and helped her better understand the role she was playing.

Reacting to Circumstances—Moving from Hero to Victim

After several coaching sessions and under increasing stress, she retreated from her role of hero and took on a new role of victim. I observed a noticeable and startling change in her appearance, demeanor, and behavior. Gone was the belief and assumption that she could by sheer willpower fix anything. In its place was a person who exhibited many of the same traits and behaviors as the victim of a playground bully. Significantly, she was questioning her own leadership capabilities and effectiveness. I saw a transformation from hero to victim.

Alarmed by this "unhealthy" shift, I focused my coaching on how to survive and manage when she found herself in situations where she felt bullied and abused by faculty. I helped write a survival script, outlined steps to follow, and practiced role-playing. Once she felt comfortable with her new survival "tools," we moved on to discuss the importance of her being congruent and consistent in her leadership beliefs and behaviors.

Waking Up—Changing a Belief System

My challenge now became one of reframing how the department chair saw herself. She was not a *hero*, for in that role she was unable to influence or rescue the disruptive staff. She was not a *victim*, for in that role she would be of no help to anyone. It was important for her to own and be responsible for resolving the real issues.

We used some common symbols to help her see and understand what was going on around and inside her. “Monkeys” helped her understand that she was much too willing to accept everyone else’s “monkeys” on her own already over-burdened shoulders. “Glasses” helped her see that she was able to take off her lenses, reframe what she was seeing, and put on new glasses in order to promote 20/20 vision.

Through my coaching, she began to understand how her internal beliefs and assumptions were causing characteristic patterns of behavior. Break-throughs in her thoughts and actions led to new, more effective behaviors. When she realized that she was not responsible for or the cause of other people’s behavior, she understood that she did not need to respond to every demand made of her by faculty members. She had choices in how to respond to these demands. She could refuse to accept someone else’s “monkeys” or refer them to a higher-level administration official. It seemed as though she had started to wear a new pair of glasses.

Taking Positive Action—Moving from Victim to Advocate

Coaching discussions then centered on how to be an effective *advocate* and *leader*: The chair and I met individually with the President to keep her informed about our progress and assess her level of support. In addition to bringing her up-to-date, I needed to gain historical perspective on the Department of Leadership, and the actions, reactions or no actions that had occurred. I understood that the current situation was a problem that had been observed, studied and analyzed by many people over an extended period of time. Additionally, the President made it clear to me that she was committed to the Department of Leadership and most importantly, to this leader. I knew that her support was critical to beginning a process to resolve the situation.

The commitment of the President focused our coaching sessions on clarifying issues, building support, and taking action with upper administration and the faculty. We formatted specific actions to be taken. She met with the Acting Dean of the College of Education to transfer the appropriate “monkeys” from her back to his and gauge his level of support. She met with four former department chairs to learn from their experiences and gain their perspective on the situation. She met with the provost to state her position and ask for his help. And finally, she met with the Department of Leadership faculty to refocus their work on program development and to express her support for them.

She began to see clearly her role as an *advocate*—an advocate for all faculty members, the students, the university, local educators, and for the community. She understood how important it was to be an advocate for herself, and she willingly assumed a new role. Her progress was steady, but not always smooth. Sometimes she took a step “backward” only to take several steps forward. Her mindset and perceptions had changed and she continued to take effective action. Our coaching sessions began to focus on strategic planning and removing barriers, both real and perceived.

Going “Inside”—Understanding the Coaching Process

The coaching process focused on making an *internal shift* in the department chair’s attitudes, beliefs, and needs. In the beginning, I tried to help her understand her unique frame of reference and how it was different from those around her; how this frame of reference led her to take certain actions, have certain reactions or take no action; how her actions determined the quality of her relationships; and how these relationships determined the outcome of the situation.

Once she began to perceive people and situations differently, she took more effective actions, developed quality relationships and worked at producing different outcomes. It is this resulting “transformation” that is the subject of this paper. She was able to make this transformation by:

- Believing in herself
- Owning her issues
- Committing to action
- Finding supporters
- Taking effective action
- Setting mutually-beneficial goals
- Being open to feedback and reframing
- Gaining support
- Building trust
- Developing herself

The department chair’s ongoing “journey” is both professional and personal. As coaches, we encourage and support our clients taking both journeys simultaneously. Almost always, they testify to becoming more congruent, more authentic, and more integrated through the coaching process. And in fact, this client frequently commented on this integration and her “calling” to this university.

Department Leadership: From the Chair’s Perspective

I understood that assuming the chair’s position was a challenging undertaking and an “outside” voice would be helpful in “seeing” and “re-seeing” the department dilemmas. During my interview for the chair position, I asked for an executive coach. The coach helped me sort, piece by piece, and re-see the dilemmas even though she did not use the academic language of the postmodern theorists. Without her help, it would have taken longer to “see” and “re-see” my own behavior and the behavior of others.

Leader as Hero

Although I did not consciously see myself as a “hero” with the responsibility to “fix” the department, I now see that I did play that role. I actively listened to the voice of the faculty, but, I wanted, as one faculty member insightfully told me in a faculty meeting, “to put a bandage on the problems of the past.”

First semester, I took a short-sighted view of success by working with the faculty to write grants and re-design the master's program, without attempting to "take the bandage off," expose the wound, and look for ways to heal. I saw success in preserving relationships between and among the faculty without examining difficult issues. The faculty and I shied away from these deeper and more difficult issues affecting the working relationships in the department. I now see that this behavior actually sustains dysfunctional behavior for all those involved. I took the easy way out, but the underlying issues inevitably rose again and again.

Leader as Victim

The flip-side of hero is victim; if you take too much responsibility for other's dilemmas, the dilemmas become yours. You become the victim. In this paper, oppression is the condition created by an imposition of power. In order to have an oppressive condition, someone has to be oppressed, to receive power as imposed in some way. "Oppression received" focuses concern on persons outside and involves the acceptance by a victim of physically, mentally, or unconsciously imposed power. In some instances, such as physical assault, a victim literally has no opportunity to exert a counter-power, thus "acceptance" is forced and alternative options are not available (Wesson & Hauschildt, 1997).

The perception of oneself as a victim assumes powerlessness as a mindset and thus prevents any proactive search for agency or personal control. A victim responds rather than acts. An "academic victim," psychologically trapped and ideologically controlled, blames the institution and other faculty members for the ramifications of feeling oppressed rather than reexamining why, when, and how one is believing in and accepting control (Wesson & Hauschildt, 1997). I did not recognize these patterns in myself, and so I did not allow myself to develop alternative actions that could have changed my feelings of powerlessness into "power defused" or "power with." The executive coach helped me go "inside" myself.

Leader as Activist

I became aware that I had to interrupt, reexamine, and reinvent thoughts and actions that kept me trapped in oppressive ways of living. As the executive coach began to challenge my assumptions and to push rationalizations of choices and behaviors, I was able to search for patterned behaviors that occur before reflective thought and extended analysis can interrupt/disrupt the action. These dialogues with the executive coach were conversational and flexible rather than structured; as such, they were open to Freire's notion of dialoguing as a search for personal knowledge that is continuously reshaped by new knowledge and experiences (Polanyi, 1958). During this process, I learned to own my issues and not feel responsible for other person's behaviors and the projections that came out of their belief systems.

I now more fully understood the power of the unconscious and the interplay of the unconscious and reality as the unconscious unfolds in response to a

particular set of assumptions that are employed by each person. I knew more clearly that the world we attempt to know and remake is in a very real sense projectively elicited by the frame of references and assumptions that we have internalized. I also knew that it was very difficult, particularly under stress, not to fall back on scripted behaviors that are deeply imbedded within the psyche and that are attached to past ideas of success; i.e., over working, out performing, volunteering more, and accepting more responsibility.

Concluding Remarks

For the postmodern visionary leader, learning is an inclusive act that displaces beliefs about what is appropriate to learn and how learning takes place. We all learn from experiences, both individually and collectively. Postmodern, in this sense, is a pathway to democratic notions of knowledge formation. In the department, we were all learners, we were all being disrupted by experiences and the confluence of our energies. Like the Mississippi River with its merging tributaries, all energies come together to shape and reshape our ideas about what it means to be a department, and what it means to be a member of that department, a part of a college of education, and a unit in a university. When we are open to possibilities that come from experiencing life in this way, we are like the river, never the same from one moment to the next, always moving, differentiating, churning, merging, and emerging sometimes with clarity and sometimes with the residuals of the past still clinging to the present moment.

Things falling apart is a kind of testing and also a kind of healing. We think that the point is to pass the test or to overcome the problem, but the truth is that things don't really get solved. They come together and they fall apart. Then they come together again and fall apart again. It's just like that. The healing comes from letting there be room for all of this to happen: room for grief, for relief, for joy. (Chödrön, 1997, p. 8)

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The Synergistic Leadership Theory: Contextualizing Multiple Realities of Female Leaders

Genevieve Brown and Beverly Irby

The authors describe the Synergistic Leadership Theory (SLT), which includes four factors: Leadership Behavior, Organizational Structure, External Factors, and Beliefs, Attitudes, and Values. The factors are described and contributions to existing leadership theory are explained. They further apply the factors to four cases in order to illustrate the application of the theory to leadership practice. The authors conclude that SLT, in including the female perspective, provides an expanded framework for taking a macro-perspective of the interactions among beliefs, external forces, people, and organizations.

Susan had been an outstanding teacher, had completed her graduate program in educational leadership with a 4.0, and had spent two years in an affluent rural district as a successful and respected assistant principal. Considered an “up and coming star,” she easily landed the job as principal of an urban middle school. However, at the end of her first semester, she felt defeated, demoralized, and unsuccessful. Nothing she had tried seemed to work. Overwhelmed, she questioned her leadership style, which had been so effective in the past. What had she done wrong? What had she failed to do?

Assuming total responsibility for the problems evidenced in her school, Susan concluded that her leadership was the sole cause of her dismal first semester. We propose that Susan took a myopic view, failing to recognize the multiple realities of the situation and that her leadership skills were a part of a broader context and were impacted by organizational structure, external forces, and her own and others’ values, beliefs, and attitudes. In assessing a situation such as Susan’s, it is important to embrace a holistic perspective of the context of leadership and organizations, as well as how that context impacts what leaders can do and how organizations function. The Synergistic Leadership Theory (Irby, Brown, Duffy, & Trautman, 2002) offers a framework for such a holistic view. This article describes the Synergistic Leadership Theory (SLT) and provides vignettes that demonstrate the theory in action.

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The Synergistic Leadership Theory Described

The Synergistic Leadership Theory was developed by female researchers, utilized a female sample, and included the female perspective (Irby, Brown & Duffy, 1999). The SLT, a gender-inclusive theory, includes attributes, experiences, and abilities inherent in both male and female leaders (Trautman, 2000). Major assumptions of the SLT include:

1. Leadership is the interaction among leadership behavior, organizational structure, external forces, and values, attitudes, and beliefs.
2. Females bring a particular set of leadership behaviors to leadership positions.
3. No theory/model exists in current literature that is all inclusive of female leadership characteristics or female perspectives (Trautman, 2000).

Five aspects of the Synergistic Leadership Theory make it unique:

1. Female leaders were included in its development.
2. Female leaders may be impacted by external forces, organizational structures, or values, attitudes, and beliefs in ways male leaders are not, and visa versa.
3. Female leadership behaviors may interact with the factors of the SLT in ways unlike the leadership behaviors of males.
4. Leaders at various positions or levels (i.e., teacher leaders to superintendents) may be impacted by the factors in different ways.
5. All four factors are interactive (Holtkamp, 2001; Irby, Brown & Duffy, 1999; Trautman, 2000).

Based on a systems theory approach and inclusive of female leaders' experiences and voices, yet applicable to both male and female leaders, the SLT is rational and interactive. The SLT focuses on the interconnectedness of four particular factors:

1. Beliefs and Values.
2. Leadership Behaviors.
3. External Factors.
4. Organizational Structure.

These factors are depicted as stellar points on the tetrahedral model (Figure 1) with all of the factors working in tandem. The SLT asserts that this interconnectedness among the four factors is critical and that tension occurs if any one of the factors is not congruent with any of the other three.

Factor 1: Attitudes, Beliefs, and Values

In the SLT, attitudes, beliefs, and values are depicted as dichotomous, i.e., individual or group would either adhere or not adhere to specific attitudes, beliefs, or values at a certain point in time. Examples include:

1. Believes in the importance of professional growth for all individuals including self, or does not believe that professional development is important.
2. Has an openness to change; does not have an openness to change.
3. Values diversity; does not value diversity.
4. Believes that integrity is important for all involved in schooling; does not value integrity.

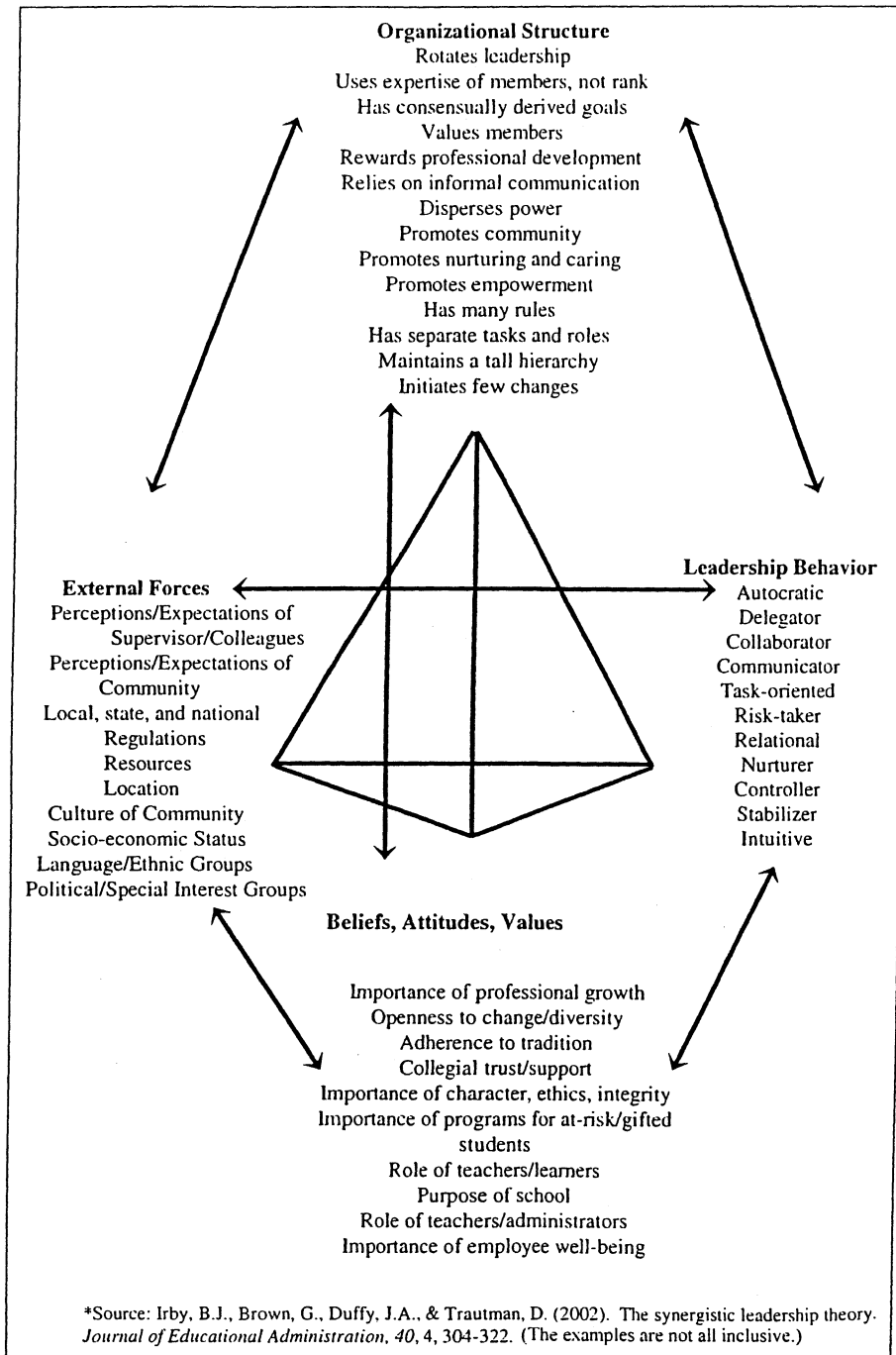
According to Wolff and Ball (1999), personal, community, and organizational perceptions and decisions are influenced by beliefs, attitudes, and values. Daresh (2001) pointed out the importance of a leader's recognition of values and acknowledged that leaders must develop the capacity to examine their own values because they must also be able to examine the values of those with whom they work. Furthermore, Daresh (2001) recognized the interconnectedness of attitudes, values, and beliefs with the leader, others, and the organization.

Factor 2: Leadership Behavior

The second factor of the SLT depicts a range of leadership behaviors from autocratic to nurturer. Specific behaviors include those ascribed to female leaders such as interdependence, cooperation, receptivity, merging, acceptance, and being aware of patterns, wholes, and context (Grogan, 1998; Gupton & Slick, 1996, LeCompte, 1996), as well as those ascribed to male leaders, including self-assertion, separation, independence, control, and competition (Marshall, 1993).

A feminist leader is concerned and seeks to resolve inequities concerning gender, race, class, sexuality, and economic status (Tong, 1989). This type

Figure 1
Tetrahedral Model for the Synergistic Leadership Theory*



of leader publicly protects individual freedoms, gender biases, racial discrimination, and class equality, and promotes collective action as a way of attacking social problems (McCall, 1995). A feminist leader works closely with personnel and develops personal relationships with co-workers that bond the members of the organization. Personal relationships are the foundation of developing a network at the workplace. These relationships can also transfer to social and political settings (Morgen, 1994).

Factor 3: External Forces

External forces are those influencers outside the control of the organization or the leader that interact with the organization and the leader and that inherently embody a set of values, attitudes and beliefs. Bolman and Deal (1997) acknowledged there are uncontrollable forces outside the organization that affect the system itself and cause dissatisfaction for various groups within the system. External forces that impact educational organizations are diverse. Outside forces that significantly affect schools and/or leaders include: perceptions or expectations of supervisors or colleagues, local, state, and national laws and regulations, technological advances, resources, location, culture of the community, socioeconomic and ethnic communities, special interest groups, taxpayers, political climate, culture and expectations of the community (Irby, Brown, & Trautman, 1999b).

Factor 4: Organizational Structure

Organizational structure refers to characteristics of organizations and how they operate. The SLT depicts organizational structures as ranging from open, feminist organizations to tightly bureaucratic ones. Bureaucratic organizations include division of labor, rules, hierarchy of authority, impersonality, and competence (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996); feminist organizations are characterized by practices such as participative decision making, systems of rotating leadership, promotion of community and cooperation, and power sharing (Koen, 1984; Martin, 1993; Rothschild, 1992). The feminist organization is simultaneously a workplace, a site of political engagement, and the social center of employees' lives. In contrast to the bureaucratic model where employees are expected to leave their personal problems at home, here personal problems are often shared (Morgen, 1994).

Studies of feminist organizations have rarely surfaced in the well-known leadership and management literature (Ferguson, 1994; Feree & Martin, 1995), nor have they surfaced in mainstream leadership theory (Irby, Brown, & Trautman, 1999). There exist organizational theories that depict a contingency approach to organizational structure and which embrace some female leadership behaviors¹; however, no leadership theory, other

¹Bolman and Deal's (1991) organizational framework; Etzioni's (1975) complex organizations; Mintzberg's (1983) five structures for effective organizations; Senge's (1990) learning organization; Lambert's, et al. (1995) constructivist leader; Lambert's (1998) building leadership capacity.

than The Synergistic Leadership Theory, openly acknowledges the feminist organization as a major component.

Contributions of the Synergistic Leadership Theory

The Synergistic Leadership Theory: (a) adds a theory reflective of female's leadership experiences and voice to existing male-biased leadership theories, (b) enhances relevancy of theory presented in leadership training programs, and (c) creates a framework for describing interactions and dynamic tensions among leadership behaviors, organizational structures, external forces, and attitudes and beliefs.

Contribution 1: Add to Existing Male-Biased Leadership Theories and, in General, to the Discourse of Leadership Theory

Leadership theories in education and business management traditionally have omitted the female perspective. Most of those theories are gender biased, were written using the masculine voice, and were validated using male participants (Holtkamp, 2001). For several years, major researchers in the field of women's leadership issues have called for a reconceptualization of management and organizational theory which takes females into account (Brown & Irby, 1995; Gossetti & Rusch, 1995; Hartsock, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1992; Tallerico, 1999), and Irby and Brown (2000) emphasized the need for a theory that includes the female experience, yet which is relevant for both male and female leaders.

Shakeshaft's (1989) analysis of five leadership theories indicated gender-biased language and the lack of females in research studies. Irby and Brown (1995) examined 13 leadership theories (Table 1) consistently found in educational administration textbooks and courses for:

Table 1
Leadership/Management/Organizational Theories

Name of Theory	Primary Developer
Social Systems Theory	Getzels & Guba, 1955
Needs Hierarchy Theory	Maslow, 1955
Needs Satisfaction Questionnaire	Porter, 1964
Total Quality Management	Deming, 1988
Iowa Studies	Lewin et al., 1939
Ohio State Studies	Halpin & Winer, 1957; Hemphill & Coons, 1957
Theory X&Y	McGregor, 1957
Michigan Studies	Likert, 1961
Contingency Theory	Fiedler, 1967
Leadership Grid Styles	Blake & Mouton, 1968
Situational Leadership	Hersey & Blanchard, 1969
Path-Goal Theory	Evans, 1970
Leadership Style Continuum	Tannenbaum & Schmidt, 1973

1. The inclusion of the female experience and attitudes.
2. Gender as a significant variable in development of the theory.
3. Females in the sample population.
4. Use of non-sexist language.
5. Generalizability of the theory to both male and female leaders.

Eight generalizations emerged and are displayed in Table 2.

An analysis of nine additional leadership theories in 1999 by Irby, Brown, and Trautman (1999a) further validated the outmoded and exclusionary premises related to leadership theory. These analyses reaffirmed Shakeshaft and Nowell's (1984) allegation that conceptualization of leadership theory was formulated through "a male lens" and was "subsequently applied to both males and females" (p.187). The SLT purposefully includes the female voice and adds to the discourse.

Contribution 2: Enhance Relevancy of Theory in Leadership Preparation Programs

Leadership theories included in the curriculum for preparing educational administrators have a male, or andocentric, bias (Irby, Brown, & Trautman,

Table 2
Leadership Theory Generalizations

-
1. "Great men" leadership models excluded the female experience in theory development.
 2. Theory development was limited to males, as corporate leadership positions were exclusive to males.
 3. Male-dominated agencies and/or corporations sponsored many of the studies which led to leadership theories: military, Xerox corporation, General Electric, American Management Association, Exxon, Bell Telephone Labs, Alfred P. Sloan Foundation.
 4. Sexist language was present, as leader/manager was defined in male terms: "he," "his," "fine fellow."
 5. Females, when mentioned, were not expected to have the same career aspirations as males. Further, females were expected to behave like males and/or to achieve like males. If females did not produce the same results as males, their results were simply ignored.
 6. While some of the theories advocated democratic leadership styles, the theories themselves were undemocratic because only one gender was represented in the theory development. The theories were generalized to both males and females, even though they did not take into account the female experience or significantly include females in the sample population for development.
 7. Several theories opposed paternalism as a leadership style, yet they affirmed it in gender-biased descriptions of leaders.
 8. Some of the theories recognized the need for a participative, democratic, employee-friendly, and consensus-building approach to leadership; however, when these models were not present, theorists did not consider this absence as attributable to the fact that female leaders were not included in the theory development.
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1999b). Research has indicated that theories taught in educational administration programs were written by males and based largely upon theories from a corporate or military setting (Gossetti & Rusch, 1995) and experiences of white males in the field of school administration (Blackmore, 1989; Capper, 1993; Glazer, 1991). Further, the leadership and management theory base predominant in administration courses today is not parallel to current leadership practices, including collaborative arrangements, site-based decision-making, teacher empowerment, community-building, and inquiry group problem solving ascribed to female leaders (Brown & Irby, 1995).

The exclusionary leadership theories currently prevalent in preparation programs should be enhanced with an additional theory inclusive of female perspectives and practices (Brown & Irby, 1994). The field of educational leadership will be negatively impacted, according to Brown and Irby (1995), if the female point of view continues to be ignored in theory. The result will be leadership theory that guides action, yet: (a) is not reflective of currently advocated leadership practice, (b) does not consider the concerns, needs, and realities of females, and (c) fails to prepare males or females to create or work effectively in inclusive systems. The SLT, inclusive of the female leadership perspective and practices, must be introduced into the discipline of educational leadership in order to provide gender balance in the body of leadership theory currently taught in preparation programs.

Contribution 3: Create a Framework for Analyzing Interactions and Dynamic Tensions Within the Context of Leadership

The Synergistic Leadership Theory calls attention to a number of interconnected behaviors, beliefs, values, structures, and forces that impact the leader, the people within the organization, and the structure of the organization. Such a framework enables leaders to analyze and describe particular interactions that may account for tension, conflict, or harmony at specific points in time or over time. If an analysis of all factors is conducted and tension is found to exist between even two of the factors, it is highly probable that, unless purposeful interventions are put in place, the effectiveness of the leader or the organization, itself, will be diminished.

In analyzing the interactions of the four factors within the leadership context, a leader may use the SLT or the Organizational Leadership and Effectiveness Inventory (OLEI). The OLEI is an instrument specifically designed to assess each of the factors of the SLT (Irby, Brown, & Duffy, 1999; Irby, Brown, Duffy, & Holtkamp, 2001). The inventory is divided into four sections: leadership behaviors (55 items), external forces (17 items), organizational structure (12 items), beliefs, attitudes and values (12 items). Participants record their responses on a Likert-type scale ranging from strong disagreement to strong agreement.

Two national studies have served to validate, both quantitatively and qualitatively, the SLT and the OLEI. In her study, Trautman (2000) reported that:

1. Male and female leaders confirmed that all four factors of the Synergistic Leadership Theory interact in relevant and meaningful ways.
2. The leadership behavior factor of the Synergistic Leadership Theory, as specified in the OLEI, acknowledged a range of male and female leadership behaviors, suggesting validity and meaning for both males and females.
3. Female leaders at different levels found the theory to be relevant. Additionally, female leaders validated the assumption of the Synergistic Leadership Theory that females at different levels of management may perceive the interactions among the factors of the Synergistic Leadership Theory to vary.
4. The Synergistic Leadership Theory provided inclusive female leadership behaviors drawn from research and the female perspective.
5. Where previously excluded from theory development and validation, females were acknowledged in the SLT's development and validation as "contributors" to leadership theory and "knowers or agents" of knowledge (Trautman, 2000, p. 153-154).

Additionally, Holtkamp (2001) determined:

1. The OLEI aligned with the four factors of the SLT.
2. Responses from the OLEI were independent of gender, ethnicity, management level, and years of experience.
3. Based on the first and second findings, the researcher suggested the SLT was responsive to gender, ethnicity, management level, and years of experience.
4. The OLEI, in conjunction with the SLT, was viable for use by administrators in assessing strengths and weaknesses of the organization and in assessing the leaders within the organization.

Holtkamp (2001) suggested that if problems existed within the organization, the OLEI could be administered to determine if leadership behaviors aligned with the organizational structure, the external forces, and with values, attitudes, and beliefs. Additionally, the OLEI could be used by individuals to determine their "fit" within an organization.

The Synergistic Leadership Theory as a Framework for Analysis

The Synergistic Leadership Theory, used as a framework for analysis of the following narrative vignettes of four female leaders, contextualizes leadership and illuminates the multiple realities inherent in each situation.

Narrative Vignette #1: Carla

Carla, as reported by Reese and Czaja (1998), had been superintendent in a minority majority school district for eight years. Gang activity was increasing. When parents and community became vocal in expressing their fears for the

safety of the children and in insisting that all gang activity be eliminated, Carla determined an urgent need for communication among all stakeholders. Recognizing the need to provide information, to seek input, and to find out who had particular concerns and questions, she immediately called a community meeting. When a potentially volatile situation arose at the beginning of the meeting, she read the needs of the group and responded positively. After the community meeting, Carla continued to involve all stakeholders. She aligned the police, community, business, school officials and parents in the development of an action plan to address the problem—bonding the various groups through the process. Carla was able to diffuse a negative situation and to redirect the energy of all constituent groups at the same enemy; she garnered praise for her actions.

Analysis of Carla's vignette. Carla's actions demonstrated her recognition of the holistic and contextualized nature of leadership. By reading the *external forces*, anticipating actions, and redirecting constituents' energy, she built a shared vision that connected all people and aligned beliefs, attitudes, and values of the board, the community, and the organization with her own. The SLT is an appropriate framework for analyzing this vignette. Aware of the *beliefs, attitudes, and values* of the community, Carla purposefully aligned her *leadership behavior*, emphasizing communication, community and consensus building, inclusiveness, and networking. She was attuned to *external forces*—the perceptions and expectations of the community, the board, and her colleagues. Carla comprehended the synergistic nature of her environment and the importance of taking into account the impact her decisions would have on the organization and external forces. Aligning all four factors, Carla was able to avert a crisis in the community and to maintain a positive perception of her own leadership.

Narrative Vignette #2: Carol

Carol was superintendent in a small school district experiencing increasing enrollment, low academic ratings, and high teacher turnover (Czaja, 1998). Teacher pay was low; there was no central office support staff for the superintendent and district, and the superintendent was expected to fill the roles of curriculum director, program evaluator, business manager, and personnel director. Although the board expected higher academic ratings, they did not support a tax increase. Further, the new board president was president of the anti-tax league. Despite the board's lack of support, Carol remained convinced that she was correct, and she continued to advocate the tax raise. As tensions and opposition to the tax increase mounted, altercations with the board became more and more frequent. Finally, the board attacked Carol in an executive session that became so heated that community members heard loud and angry voices through a folding wall partition. Shortly thereafter, the board brought legal charges against Carol, accusing her of mismanagement, misappropriation of funds, and over-expenditure on administrative costs.

Analysis of Carol's vignette. This vignette vividly demonstrates that disharmony among any of the four factors of the SLT can create conflict

and subsequent negative perceptions of the leader. The three factors obviously out of alignment in Carol's vignette include (a) *beliefs, attitudes, and values*, (b) *leadership behaviors*, and (c) *external forces*.

Carol's belief that there was no way to improve student achievement without a tax increase that would retain good teachers, provide professional development, and hire support staff was in direct conflict with the beliefs and values of the board, the critical *external factor* in this vignette. Her failure to acknowledge and positively act on the disharmony among the factors exacerbated tensions between the board and the superintendent. Carol was unable to analyze and describe particular interactions of the four factors that may have accounted for tension, conflict, or disharmony and for her perceived ineffectiveness as a leader. In the end, she was devastated by the situation and took her own life.

Narrative Vignette #3: Nancy

Nancy served as superintendent of a rapidly growing district in a community with sharp socioeconomic and racial divisions (Reese & Czaja, 1998). Reflective of those rifts, two discrimination lawsuits had been filed against the district. When Nancy decided to initiate a cooperative effort with area superintendents to build an alternative school in her district, many parents began to attack not only the plan for the alternative school, but also some of the previously agreed-upon curriculum plans, including outcome-based education and the National Reading Initiative with computers. The goal of the disgruntled group was to bring a halt to all new initiatives. One vocal, wealthy parent began a letter-writing campaign to the local paper. Even the churches and the Eagle Forum became involved in the attack. Because Nancy had failed to establish a participatory environment that could foster change, she was unable to garner support for her decisions. As negativity mounted in the community toward Nancy's initiatives, the board began to perceive her as unsuccessful, and, ultimately, Nancy was relieved of her duties as superintendent.

Analysis of Nancy's vignette. Clearly factors of the SLT were not aligned in this vignette. Nancy failing to recognize the importance of external forces, did not take into account the special interest groups and their alliance with the board; nor, was she attentive to the conservative nature of the *beliefs and values* of a very vocal segment of the community. Despite the fact that the community was already divided, she did not anticipate potential problems related to her decision and adamantly pushed forward her agenda.

Had Nancy determined the specific tension or lack of harmony among the factors of the SLT, she would have been better positioned to alter the course of events by: (a) recognizing and acknowledging the power of the *external forces*, (b) attempting to modify her own *leadership behaviors*, and/or (c) realigning *personal values and belief* structures to that of the external forces.

If she been more aware of the context of her leadership, Nancy could have determined that she simply did not "fit" in that community or that the

challenge related to needed changes would have been too great. In that case, exiting the position might have been the best decision for her. Had she analyzed the situation using the SLT, she, as opposed to the board, could have controlled the outcome.

Narrative Vignette #4: Dr. Osburn

Dr. Osburn, high school principal of New View, was known as a collaborative leader who used participative decision making to build coalitions and who promoted empowerment (Brunner, 2000). Board members in New View School District were initiating a search for a new superintendent who could build the public's confidence in the schools in order to gain community approval of a bond to finance a new high school. The superintendent search committee did not believe that including a female as a superintendent nominee would be controversial, even though New View had never had a female superintendent, and there were only two female superintendents in the entire state.

As a principal, Dr. Osburn had developed strong lines of communication throughout her school and the community. She was known as a listener who actively sought the input of the teachers and others and who "got the best out of people." Perceived as a collaborator, she was strongly supported by the community, her campus, and the entire district.

The New View superintendency appeared to be the perfect job for Dr. Osburn. The board's expectations of leadership were aligned with her own *leadership behaviors*; she and the board *shared the same values and the same vision* of how to attain the District's goals; and the community was open to the notion of a female superintendent. Dr. Osburn was offered and accepted the position.

Analysis of Dr. Osburn's vignette. The SLT offers the individual a model for analyzing her own *leadership behaviors*, her *own beliefs, values, and attitudes*, as well as those held by others in the organization and the community, and the perspective *organizational structure* and *external forces*. Such an analysis assists in determining the potential alignment of the four factors of the SLT. Congruency among the four factors would indicate success or a "fit" for a particular position. The analysis of Dr. Osburn's situation indicates that all four factors of the SLT—Leadership Behaviors, External Forces, Organizational Structure, and Attitudes, Beliefs, and Values—are aligned; thus, it is logical to conclude that Dr. Osburn will be successful as superintendent of New View and will be able to maximize the organization's success.

Concluding Comments

In the introductory vignette, Susan focused solely on her own leadership behaviors, overlooking other pertinent information and failing to consider the broader context. The use of the SLT in analyzing the four other vignettes illustrates its practical application for female leaders in a variety of educational

contexts and allows for consideration of many tensions and dynamics (the multiple realities) interacting to create the perception of the “ineffective” or “effective” leader. Thus, the SLT provides a needed framework for taking a macro-perspective of the interactions among beliefs, external forces, leadership behaviors, and organizations. Such perspectives are critical in understanding the context of leadership and the impact of multiple realities on leadership success.

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Women, Education and The Law

Patricia F. First, J.D., Ed.D.

The Children “Left Behind”

Many readers of this new journal will already be deeply involved in administration of the provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act of 2001. As this column is being written we are approaching the one-year anniversary of its legislative passing with overwhelming bipartisan support. The reality of this massive federal intervention in education, for good or for ill as yet to be determined, is beginning to be felt by educators and the public. In my state, Arizona, the first designations of “failing schools” raised cries of outrage and even despair.

I tend to be hopeful about what laws can do to improve our society, including the federal laws that affect education, though I am well aware how many would debate this premise. But “...legal decisions and institutions have varied faces and effects. Law can help and law can fail...” (Minow, 1997, p. 82). Let’s consider in this column some of the areas touched by the 2001 Act where women administrators might reach out to ensure the help rather than the failure.

The No Child Left Behind Act is the newest revised version of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, first enacted in 1965 and last reauthorized in 1994. The Act further expands the federal role in education and provides the largest dollar increase ever in federal education aid. The provisions getting the most attention concern the testing of all students in grades 3 to 8 in reading and math, participation in the National Assessment of Educational Progress, accountability systems for progression toward academically “proficient” status for all students, changes in Title I state share and use of funds and local targeting formulas, state report cards and goals for higher teacher quality. But in the flurry of activity to respond to the regulations released in August and to meet the first round of the timelines, the underlying purpose of the Act seems to be getting lost. The Act seeks, in its own language, “to ensure that all children have a fair, equal, and significant opportunity to obtain a high quality education.” But the very children who may benefit most from this goal are the children who are still likely to be overlooked, that is, to be “left behind.”

These children include the homeless, the poorest, children of color, the undocumented, children who can achieve far beyond proficiency, and children designated as needing special education. Some children fall in several of these categories, as do African-American boys, a group showing up again and again in our research as not receiving an education from which they and society can benefit. Other authorizations of the ESEA and other acts have addressed the needs of these children, but the laws will only help

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if caring educators fulfill the spirit, as well as the letter, of the law. Let us consider homeless children as the example.

The No Child Left Behind Act included reauthorization of the McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987, which provides grants to states for services to homeless students. (For a review of this law and of the barriers facing homeless children see Stronge, 1992.) Many districts have worked hard to help homeless children but too many others have ignored these children despite the McKinney Act. Transportation costs and concern over lowered school and district testing results have continued to be major excuses of school leaders for not meeting the needs of these neediest of needy children. The No Child Left Behind Act tries again to have law help. All districts must now have a liaison for homeless children and youth. Among the responsibilities of the liaison are requirements to cooperate with the state homeless director and to refer homeless families to other aid in addition to education for the children. Districts can no longer segregate homeless children, except for the short periods of time that they may need special services such as a place to shower and dress for school. And districts are now required to transport homeless children to the school they attended before they were homeless if this is requested by a parent or guardian. The definition of homeless children has been clarified to include children living in motels, cars or campgrounds, or in families forced to move in with other families in apartments because nothing else is available.

It is a failure of parts of our educational leadership that in 2001 the law again had to address these needs of homeless children. We have had legal direction and publicity of their needs since at least 1987. It is my fear that in the publicity surrounding the testing provisions of the No Child Left Behind Act, homeless children and the provisions of the law directed to them will again be forgotten. The Secretary of Education sends the next major report on the condition of education for homeless children to the Congress in 2006. We have four years to make a difference for these children, to show legislators and policymakers that the money they provide can be used wisely by educators to make a difference for our neediest children, and to convince the public that educators care about the nation's children beyond just test scores.

Many believe that attending to the needs of the neediest will help with test scores as well. In commenting upon a recent international report from his organization, Barry McGaw, Deputy Director of Education of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, said "The reason the U.S. is average, on average, is that many people do badly. What the U.S. needs to do

is to pull up the bottom. You don't have to sacrifice quality to get equality." (NEGP Weekly, 2001) In its report OECD (2001) identified a constellation of factors that influence student success. They are all items that diligent educators have heard and practiced before but it is fascinating to see them laid out in multiple categories and realize that taking the time for these factors has been shown to raise student success across nations. What might be of particular interest to readers of this journal is the category of "School Policy and Practice," in which we find three factors that many writers have declared to be affected positively by women's collaborative style of leadership. The three factors are: (a) Teacher-related factors affecting school climate, such as teacher expectations of student performance; (b) teacher morale and commitment; and (c) school autonomy.

Helen Regan (1995) writes from experience of women's collaborative and caring leadership:

As a high school principal with a doctorate in school administration I was trained to operate successfully in the competitive either/or world. I could and did act decisively, making tough choices between this possibility and that... I also had lived a life deeply rooted in the collaborative... I used gifts of compassion and empathy daily to soothe students, encourage teachers, and console parents. (p. 408)

Margaret Grogan (1996) writes that a leader informed by feminist scholarship has a "very different relationship with those in the organization... he or she leads *through* and *along with* those categorized as followers." (p. 167, italics in the original).

Calls for collaboration and compassion in school leadership speak to all levels of the organization, though at first thought we may think of the principal as bearing the primary responsibility for this emphasis. Moral leadership, however, must come from those at the top of our traditional pyramid structures. In introducing her book, *The New Superintendency*, Cryss Brunner writes, "As moral leaders, superintendents are expected to articulate and affirm the purpose of schooling, reflect on how well or how poorly students are served..., and create meaning in the work of students and teachers." (Brunner & Bjork, 2001, xi). These are just a few examples of the writings on collaborative and compassionate ways of leading our schools. Though much of it comes from feminist scholarship and studies of women, caring leadership is not practiced by women alone.

We have a crucially important new law in the "No Child Left Behind Act of 2001." The law is now in the hands of educational leaders. How they interpret it and implement it will determine whether or not the spirit of the law helps those in our society who need it the most. Women's knowledge is relevant to this interpretation. As Carrie Menkel-Meadow (1996) has written, "Women's knowledge is thus relevant to the law... legal 'truth,' then, can be learned from many sources, not just law books and rules, but different human experiences" (p. 69). I believe that the educational leaders reading this journal have the knowledge

and experience and spirit to ensure the success for all children envisioned in this law. At the end of the day, let us lead to ensure that this time the law will help. This time let us leave no child behind.

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Book Review

Jean Haar

STANDING AT THE CROSSROADS: NEXT STEPS FOR HIGH-ACHIEVING WOMEN. Marian N. Ruderman and Patricia J. Ohlott. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002. 245 pages.

Standing at the crossroads: Next steps for high-achieving women was written to address the changes occurring for woman managers. Ruderman and Ohlott, professionals in the field of leadership development, noted that significant changes occurred for women managers from the 1980s to the 1990s. They observed two changes: First, although the number of women in top positions stayed low, the number in midlevel positions grew significantly. Second, the issues for women changed from concern about “gaining access to the boardroom to gaining comfort in the personal life choices associated with a managerial career” (p. 2). Women reached a point where they were more concerned about making choices that fit both their professional and personal beliefs and values rather than being concerned about fitting into existing structures. Gone was the hesitation to instinctively lead based on what they believed to be the right way to lead—a way that for years had been viewed as weak and powerless—a way that presently is recognized as an effective and moral way to lead (Sergiovanni, 1999).

Overview

In Standing at the crossroads: Next steps for high-achieving women, a synthesis of the forces that affect the inner and outer lives of high-achieving women managers is presented. The authors studied the experiences of sixty-one high-achievers who participated in a five-day leadership course conducted by the Center for Creative Leadership. The “patterns that underlie the dilemmas, choices and contradictions that influence women’s life journeys as managers” are presented (p. 5). According to the authors, clarification of life patterns can be used to guide women’s development and help them make informed decisions about their careers.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part contains a chapter for each of five themes related to the development of high-achieving women. Each of the chapters includes an explanation of why the theme matters, the dimensions of the theme, how to develop the theme, and possible obstacles to developing the theme. Part two includes an examination of the themes from the perspectives of how the individual and the organization can apply an understanding of the themes to enhance effectiveness. The authors note that the development of women managers is an issue of importance for individuals and for organizations. They refer to 1999 U.S. Census data that identifies

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women as 45.1% of the managerial and executive workforce, up 12.7% from the 32.4% reported in 1983 (p. 12). Ruderman and Ohlott also refer to a study reported in *Business Week* that found that women score higher than men in the area of managerial behaviors. They contend that given the increased demands for leadership, organizations cannot afford to misunderstand or underestimate the development issues for women in leadership roles.

Through the personal stories of high-achieving women, the authors identify and explain five essential themes for guiding the development of women managers. The five themes are: (a) the need to act authentically, (b) make connections, (c) control one's destiny, (d) achieve wholeness, and (e) gain self-clarity.

Themes

Authenticity is described by Ruderman and Ohlott as "the desire to have a healthy alignment between inner values and beliefs and outer behaviors. An authentic person understands her priorities and emotions" (p. 7). "Authenticity is thus a state or condition rather than a personality characteristic" (p. 17). Many of the women in the study felt they lived authentic lives. Those who were in conflict with authenticity were in situations that squelched their authenticity and, as noted by the authors, the individuals were motivated to address the various conflicts as a result of discussion about this theme.

Connection "refers to a fundamental human drive—the need to be close to other human beings" (p. 7). Ruderman and Ohlott discovered that though many of the women felt that intimacy was important, few had the number or the depth of close relationships they would have liked. They noted, "It was surprising to find a group of adult women so lacking in intimacy, a condition that may well result from living in a time of transition, when women are moving away from roles primarily in the home to roles that balance home and organizational life—a balance that is proving elusive" (p. 7).

Ruderman and Ohlott explained that controlling one's destiny "represents another fundamental human drive: to take the initiative on one's own behalf and do whatever it takes to excel in one's chosen endeavor... This does not mean being overly controlling; it means needing to be in charge of what happens to you, to the extent that is possible. It refers to intentional actions taken toward achieving a desired goal" (p. 7, 8). This theme affected the women in the study in a number of different ways. Many, after discussing the theme, set goals for themselves and "began to claim more power and control over their leadership and their lives" (p. 8).

Wholeness “represents the desire to unite and integrate different life roles” (p. 8). This theme proved to be the most dominant theme in the data. The women had a strong desire to have a career that allowed for a fulfilling life outside work. Ruderman and Ohlott observed, “A desire for wholeness—for having time for a variety of life experiences—motivated many women’s growth and influenced steps they took to achieve greater well-being” (p. 8).

Self-clarity “involves understanding one’s own motives, behaviors, and values in the context of today’s world: the myriad ways organizations treat men and women differently” (p. 8, 9). The women in the study sought to understand how stereotypes and perceptions of women influenced the way others perceived them.

Discussion

By clarifying the experiences of high-achieving women and by framing their experiences within the five themes, Ruderman and Ohlott provide a resource for those interested in increasing the success of women managers. The validity of the themes can be reinforced through a comparison with Senge’s five factors for creating a learning organization in *The Fifth Discipline*: personal mastery, mental models, shared vision, team learning, and systems thinking. Specifically, Senge’s views on creating personal mastery appear to mesh with Ruderman and Ohlott’s themes.

Senge describes personal mastery as “approaching one’s life as a creative work, living life from a creative as opposed to reactive viewpoint” (p. 141). Personal mastery has two components. “The first is continually clarifying what is important to us. We often spend too much time coping with problems along our path that we forget why we are on that path in the first place. The result is that we have only a dim, or even inaccurate, view of what’s really important to us...the second is continually learning how to see current reality more clearly...In moving toward a desired destination, it is vital to know where you are now” (p. 141-142). Senge discusses identifying one’s personal vision and identifies the topics of authenticity (remaining true to oneself), achieving wholeness, and gaining clarity. These are topics similar to the themes Ruderman and Ohlott recognized in the high-achieving women.

Senge discusses the need for balance “between productive family life and productive work life” (p. 311). He addresses the “old” idea of a great CEO: workaholic versus the “new” idea of those who make great CEOs, people who are great parents. What message does an organization send that expects employees to give the organization a higher priority than it gives their families? Balance is needed. Healthy, happy people help make healthy, happy organizations. These views are comparable to Ruderman and Ohlott’s “achieve wholeness” themes.

“For an innovation in human behavior,” Senge contends, “the components need to be seen as *disciplines*. By ‘discipline,’ I do not mean an ‘enforced order’ or ‘means of punishment,’ but a body of theory and technique that must be studied and mastered to be put into practice. A discipline is a developmental

path for acquiring certain skills or competencies" (p. 10). Ruderman and Ohlott demonstrate a similar belief. They state, "We wanted to create something that the next wave of women managers could use to understand, validate, and enhance their own experiences. We also sought to help organizations foster the growth and effectiveness of their women managers in this changing environment" (p. xii).

Conclusion

Ruderman and Ohlott provide guidance for those interested in strengthening women's roles in leadership positions. The study adds to the research Astin and Leland (1991) presented in *Women of Influence, Women of Vision*. They state that there exists an unfinished agenda of frustrations for women interested in leadership and achievement: "(1) continuing and subtle forms of discrimination; (2) confusion and conflict related to feminist identity and philosophy; (3) problems of balance among family, work and personal agendas; (4) isolation and lack of acceptance within the traditional male hierarchy of institutions and policy groups; and (5) economic issues—from pay inequities and the feminization of poverty to the needs for child care" (p. 148-149). The five themes identified in *Standing at the Crossroads: Next Steps for High-Achieving Women* establishes a framework for women and organizations intent on confronting the previously addressed frustrations while also strengthening opportunities for women to grow in their professions. Astin and Leland contend, "The comments, beliefs, values, and hopes expressed through these leaders argue for a continued, perhaps calculated, effort on behalf of women. Women from all walks of life must be included in planning and implementing an agenda that speaks to the range and complexity of issues that demand attention" (p. 154).

Furthermore, Ruderman and Ohlott's work can serve organizations that wish to "discover how to tap people's commitment and capacity to learn at all levels in an organization" (Senge, p. 4). Attention to the development of women managers through the use of the five themes can assist individuals as well as organizations to meet their respective purposes. As Ruderman and Ohlott state, "Anyone who reads this book,...will come away with ideas for guiding the growth and development of high-achieving managers, and will understand how to use the various roles in these women's lives to produce greater wholeness and more effective performance" (p. 11).

References

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