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Can We Do It With Class?

Marilyn L. Grady
Barbara Y. LaCost

As we prepare this issue of the *Journal of Women in Educational Leadership*, we are struck by the commentaries about the life of Katherine Hepburn (1907-2003). She was certainly an accomplished actress. The one factor that continuously creeps out in discussions of her life is that as an actress, she was distinguished by the fact that she was a college graduate, a rarity among her stage and screen peers.

Among the comments about Kate Hepburn were the following. Katie Couric on NBC's Today Show noted that Hepburn "lived life on her own terms" (June 30, 2003). In a segment titled *Remembering Katherine the Great*, Hepburn said of herself, "I'm a very female person . . . I've had a wonderful life, a very fortunate life, very lucky, being born at the right year for my personality—that's the story of me—great timing." In a CBS News retrospective of Hepburn's life, it was noted that her film roles called for her to play strong-willed, independent women. The commentator remarked, "If the truth be told, she was playing herself" (June 30, 2003). Tom Brokaw's comments on the NBC Nightly News: "Kate Hepburn was always a memorable presence. Kate Hepburn lived life on her terms—her famously independent ways" (June 30, 2003).

We, like Hepburn, are fortunate to be educated—since education opens doors for women. The manuscripts in this issue, all attest to the significance of education in women's lives—education as opportunity. Hamrick presents a report of women who have achieved the highest rank in the academy—full professors.

The focus of the study by Montgomery, Sanger, Moore-Brown, Smith, & Scheffler is adolescent females. The authors surveyed speech-language pathologists, special educators, and teachers about their training and knowledge of the role of communication in violence. The findings of the study are significant to school leaders who must work to provide the best education possible for all students and in this case, especially for adolescent females who may be in trouble with the law.

Crippen and McCarthy describe the history of women in higher education in Manitoba. The historical perspective chronicles the path of women from 1825-2000. The momentum established by these women pioneers in their quest for higher education, according to the authors, must be maintained for present female students and women in academia because educational opportunity provides hope for their future.

Interviews with women community college presidents is the subject of the manuscript by Rhodes. The community college presidency is a promising role for women seeking leadership at the highest levels. According to a report of the American Association of Community Colleges, by 2001, the percentage of women in community college presidencies was 27.8%.

Title IX is the topic of the manuscript by Mather. A concern about the discontinuation of some men's non-revenue producing sports influenced the Department of Education to form the Commission on Opportunities in Athletics to review Title IX. The findings of the Commission are discussed and the possible impact of the Commission's recommendations are presented.

In an interview for an Arts and Entertainment Biography segment, Hepburn remarked, "Well, I think just being alive is a tremendous opportunity—it's what you do with it that matters." Hepburn certainly used the opportunity she was given. We should all work to achieve the ideal she stated in her final role in the 1994 television movie, *One Christmas*: "I can sit back in my old age and not regret a single moment, not wish to change a single thing." Kate Hepburn according to the A&E Biography segment was "An unconventional beauty who spoke her mind. She forever changed Hollywood and a generation of women." Hepburn "did it" with class; may we all do the same.

Emerging From the Academic Pipeline: Senior Women Faculty Members

Florence A. Hamrick

Editor's Note: This article is an extension of Professor Hamrick's examination of senior women faculty in academic. Professor Hamrick introduced this work in Volume 1 Issue 2 of the *Journal of Women in Educational Leadership*.

Abstract

Twenty-six women with professor rank at a large, public, research extensive university were interviewed for this study in which respondents discussed the meanings and significance associated with full professorship. Major themes included: the promotion event and the accompanying title of professor, anticipated and actual changes in their status and working conditions, and their identities, goals, and contributions as professors. Conclusions address issues such as dilemmas of senior professorship, effective participation in institutional governance, and progress of women through the faculty ranks.

Women's promotion and career advancement has been the subject of extensive study and remains a central focus in feminist research and writing as well. Benjamin (1986) described a three-pronged approach to women's progress as illustrated by various tasks undertaken by those doing feminist work: "to redeem what has been devalued in women's domain, to conquer the territory that has been reserved to men, and to resolve and transcend the opposition between these spheres by reformulating the relationship between them" (p. 78). Each of these tasks has direct relevance to research on women faculty in terms of, respectively, pursuing scholarship of and about women, increasing the demographic representation of women in faculty and administrative ranks, and challenging the sociocultural assumptions and structures that allow gender discrimination to continue. The goal of this study was to ascertain the significance of professor rank and status as understood by women professors at the rather elite academic setting of a large, public, (*Camegie-classified*) Research I university. In accordance with this goal, the study was theoretically framed using women's standpoint epistemology (Harding 1986, 1991) both in order to avoid reliance on men's experiences as standards or norms (Harding, 1993), and to explore the potentially silent or silenced aspects of the lives (McLaughlin & Tierney, 1993) of women who have reached professor rank. Learning more about the experiences of women who achieved success in careers and work settings typically dominated by men will shed light on problematic elements of organizational and cultural structures within which individuals' career advancement and success continue to be measured.

Demographic trend studies document some improvement yet persistent clustering of women in less prestigious disciplines (Moore & Sagaria, 1991) and in lower ranks as assistant professors, instructors, and adjuncts at research universities (e.g., Simeone, 1987). Proportions of women professors at research universities continue to be much lower than at smaller and less prestigious institutions (Moore & Sagaria, 1991). Indeed, Valian's (1998) research identified a trade-off between rank and institutional prestige for women faculty, with higher rank most often

being achieved at less prestigious universities. Additionally, studies have documented persistent chilly climates for women professors in terms of collegial relations and barriers to promotion (e.g., Hall & Sandler, 1983; Sandler, 1986), and explored how traditional academic norms and cultures serve to exclude or devalue women and their scholarly contributions (Aisenberg & Harrington, 1988; Grumet, 1988; Pagano, 1990).

In terms of demographics as well as institutional climate and support, extant literature on women faculty reveals lingering uncertainties about their full membership in academe. This study clarifies aspects of the senior professor role and meanings associated with professorial rank and status from the point of view of women who, by virtue of their senior rank, have successfully emerged from the proverbial academic pipeline. The results of this study inform aspiring women professors as well as faculty members and administrators who are involved in promotion and tenure related processes within academe.

Design and Methods

Site and Respondent Selection

The site selected was a large, public land-grant university in the midwestern United States. The institution is classified as a Carnegie Research I university. The total student enrollment at the time of the study was slightly fewer than 25,000 students (almost 5,000 enrolled in graduate or professional programs). Total female student enrollment was 43%, and total minority enrollment was just under 7%. At the time fieldwork began, the institution employed 685 professors¹ among its 1,395 full-time faculty members. Women constituted 22% of full-time faculty members at all ranks and 10% (70 individuals) of professors.

At the beginning of fall semester, all 70 women professors were invited in writing and by phone to participate in an interview-based study of their characteristics, experiences, and perceptions. Twenty-six consented to be interviewed.

Data Collection and Analysis

Interviews with each respondent, conducted during the academic year, ranged between 50 minutes to more than four hours. Interviews were semi-structured and involved questions in four primary areas: promotion and tenure experiences, institutional citizenship and belonging, intersections between professional and personal lives, and stress. Through the use of prompts and silences, opportunities for interviewee-guided talk were provided to encourage respondents to recall and describe their own experiences, thoughts, and conclusions (Reinharz, 1992) about their academic careers. The analysis reported in this manuscript focused primarily but not exclusively on responses to the topic, "What does it mean to you that you are a full professor?"² as well as related probe questions. All interviews were transcribed to facilitate systematic analysis. The constant comparative method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) was used to identify common themes and concepts (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) across respondents and interviews.

To maximize trustworthiness (Lincoln & Guba, 1985), probe questions and response summaries were utilized during interviews, and all respondents received copies of their interview transcripts with a request to check for accuracy and detail. Additionally, two meetings were held in which preliminary findings were presented, and respondents provided feedback and reactions. For respondents interested yet unable to attend one of the meetings, written drafts of major

findings were prepared and mailed to them. Two-thirds of the respondent group participated in one of these forms of post-interview member checking.

Table 1

Disciplinary Distributions Among Respondent Group and Population

	Population (N = 70)	Respondents (N = 26)
Arts and Humanities (AH)	26% (18)	19% (5)
Biological and Agricultural Sciences (BAS)	17% (12)	19% (5)
Physical and Mathematical Sciences & Engineering (PMSE)	(6%) (4)	4% (1)
Social Sciences and Education (SSE)	51% (36)	58% (15)

The respondent group was reasonably representative by disciplinary category of the group of women professors on the campus. Arts and Humanities (AH) were somewhat underrepresented in the respondent group, and Social Sciences and Education (SSE) were somewhat over-represented.

Institutional tenure and promotion data on women professors and the respondent group provide only limited information about these faculty members since many were tenured and/or promoted to professor prior to joining this institution. Some comparative indicators, however, can be ascertained by examining dates of Ph.D. completion or completion of another terminal degree. According to institutional data, women professors at the university received their terminal degrees between 1950 and 1988, resulting in a range of 38 years. The mean completion date was 1975, the mode was 1981, and the median was 1975. Among the respondent group of women professors, the range was 36 (1950-1986) with a mean of 1974 and both median and mode of 1975. Although a similar range was apparent in both groups, more respondents received their degrees at earlier dates than generally did the group of women professors at the institution.

The following themes and discussion cannot fully characterize all women professors' experiences or perceptions. The respondents did not speak with one voice about the meanings of senior professor rank nor did they share all of the same perspectives. As one indication of the wide variety of responses regarding professorship, consider the following descriptions two respondents gave of their promotion to professor. One SSE respondent commented: "I felt very good to be a full professor, and that was a goal. I've always been this incredibly ambitious person, so my goal was always to be a nationally recognized scholar." Another SSE respondent, however, insisted:

I think it's important . . . to say that I never thought about it happening to me. It was never a goal. Things just happened. I did not have this plan in place that I was going to go to a university, get a Ph.D., teach, and go through the ranks of promotion. I just did with passion whatever was presented to me to do, . . . and then the next path opened, so it wasn't this planned route.

In the following analysis and discussion, therefore, I attempt to chart Frye's (1990) "prevailing winds" in the data while also acknowledging the broad variety of perspectives and experiences among the respondent group.

Results

Respondents most often contextualized their responses in terms of the meaning of the titled promotion itself, and they also discussed the anticipated and actual changes in their work lives subsequent to the promotion. The first two themes presented below characterize respondents' discussions of achieving senior professor rank and title. The subsequent set of themes characterize their workloads, the nature of their work, and their working conditions as professors.

"No Difference"

When asked the question, "What does it mean that you're a (full) professor?," several respondents initially replied that it meant nothing or had no significance for them. For some, this response was given with a short laugh, for others, no sign of amusement accompanied the response. For example, one BAS professor commented:

Obviously one enjoys having arrived with that professional category, simply because this tells you that you have done a good job of what you do and that your colleagues respect your knowledge and performance. Beyond that, I don't know. It hasn't had that much significance.

An AH professor remarked:

Basically at [the university] or in my department, it has no meaning whatsoever. It's just a title. I have no privileges or benefits or no salary that comes from it. . . . As far as I can tell on campus, people from our department have no more status by being full professors.

Some respondents went on to state the general everyday inattention to rank, including their own. According to one BAS respondent, "Quite candidly, I don't know very much about people's rank, unless I see it in writing." A SSE respondent with significant work experience outside of higher education added:

I don't know that [professor rank] has any meaning to me. . . . I don't go around saying, "Oh, yes, I'm a full professor." I guess I see it as just the title I hold, which is, again, probably different than those people who have been in academia continuously and have gone through these stages and steps in a different way.

Among most respondents, the promotion was associated with no significant changes in their self-perceptions. They did, however, become aware of others' increased or different expectations of them. According to one BAS professor:

I think [becoming a professor] is a little bit like a birthday, in that I don't feel any different after having attained full professorship than I did before, but what I became more and more aware of is people's expectations of me, or their perceptions of me have changed, and I

realize more and more that I'm called on for advice and counsel, or leadership positions, and that type of thing.

A SSE respondent also emphasized the messages she received from others that conveyed different—and heightened—expectations:

I'm pretty much the same person, I think, with new titles. That's a good way to put it. I will probably always be that. . . . I do find that there is a degree of respect that comes with it, and I don't know that people treat me differently. They certainly are asking me to do a lot of things [now].

Some respondents concluded that the more personally significant achievement was their tenure and promotion to associate professor, although the promotion to professor served as an honor and acknowledgement of their work. A SSE respondent recalled:

When I was promoted to associate, I remember the predominant feeling I had was relief. The anxiety with being non-tenured was over, and it was somewhat-what's the word when you anticipate something so much and then it was sort of a letdown? [Interviewer: "Anticlimactic?"] Yes, anticlimactic. When I went up for full [professor], I didn't give it a lot of thought. I just said, "Well, this is one of those hurdles I have to do," and when I got it, I actually experienced more enjoyment out of it, I think, than when I got tenure.

In at least two cases, however, the promotion to professor was described in some detail and characterized as a hard-fought and draining battle, since colleagues and others had initially not perceived the quality of their work to be meritorious. In these cases as in most other cases, no significant changes in workload or self-perception had accompanied the promotion to professor. However, the promotion and title had for them become associated with frustration and disillusionment. As one AE professor described:

[Professorship] doesn't seem to be any status at all. I thought it would be, but I don't see that anything has changed. I mean, it was something that I struggled for for years and wanted it as if it were, you know, the moon, and I got to it, and it's nothing. It has not changed my life at all. My teaching is no different. I haven't gotten to teach the things that I mostly wanted to teach. I've been continuing to do the research that I was doing before, and it really has not changed my life at all. I don't feel any recognition that has been different or better because of it, and so it's mostly sort of an anticlimax, not what I expected.

Other respondents agreed that their promotion to professor was more anticlimactic than they had anticipated, but the above respondent also raises the important issue of mismatches or disjunctures between perceived and actual roles and status of professors, which many other respondents also discussed. Their coming to terms with the title and roles is related to the second theme associated with the meaning of professorship.

Idealization of Senior Faculty

As students or younger faculty members themselves, many respondents explained that they had held senior faculty members in extremely high regard because of their perceptions of senior faculty members' age and considerable wisdom. One BAS professor said, "The evolution has been finally deciding, 'Yeah, I am old enough to be [a professor].'" Additionally, one SSE respondent recalled:

When I was an undergraduate, I just thought full professors were really something, that they were like Nobel prize winners[At my undergraduate] commencement ceremonies, we'd have these individual department ceremonies, and then the bells would chime on central campus. And then everyone would walk down the hill in their robes and stuff, and I would see all these people, you know, these famous people walking, and I would think, "Oh, my God." I guess as I've kind of gone through this system, that my attitudes about that have changed. I guess I just see [professors] as people that have met criteria and have probably taken risks to do it, but I don't have this academic halo around them anymore.

This same respondent later added:

[The professors here are] pretty much like me. They're hard-working. They have a certain level of expertise, but they're not this idealized thing that I had in my head that they were. So maybe, maybe I've made it like [that] so I can work with myself I don't think it's that big a deal to be a full professor.

An SSE respondent was acutely aware of the conflicting pride yet also unexpectedness she associated with having achieved professor rank:

I'm deeply honored [to have become a professor]. I still find myself like the little kid pinching myself saying, "How did this happen?" I just followed this path, and I have a great deal of pride, but also an element of surprise, which I think also speaks to the image that women carry: "Whoa, how did this happen to me?" rather than, "Of course I should be here. Of course I was on this track, and I've been successful, so of course it should happen." No, it's more surprise.

As their careers progressed, many respondents reconciled their prior idealized images of professors with the reality that they themselves were professors. This reconciliation involved a decrease in awe, an understanding of the work and processes involved in attaining senior rank, and an increased humanization of professors. The more realistic images of professors-some of which are still unfolding-enable many respondents to view their own rank as legitimate and earned.

This is not to say that many respondents do not also express disappointment with the diminished regard and respect they perceive to be accorded professors. Among the respondents who discussed this, the diminished regard was thought to apply to professors regardless of gender. As one AH respondent said:

The next generation [of faculty] is in power now. They've just sort of like put the senior members aside, you know. . . . I have actually tried to say that this is a generational problem across the university, because when I've been on faculty appeals committee and studied other cases, it's really hard for the younger generation to give the more senior administration any recognition. They just don't want to do it. . . . All across campus they have this perception that senior professors have tons of benefits and don't do anything for it. . . . When I actually look at the files of the senior professors whom people think are not doing anything, they're doing a lot, but there is that misperception of senior professors all across campus. . . . People still say, "Oh my gosh, they're getting by with something and they're theoretical dead wood," which I feel is really unfortunate because people should respect each others' contributions.

The following themes of relief, affirmation, latitude and expectations, and assuming an institutional place all are related to respondents' characterizations of their work lives as professors.

Relief

Not surprisingly, most respondents expressed great relief about not having to go through the promotion and tenure process again. One SSE professor said: "It's just with a sense of relief that I don't have to [fill out the promotion and tenure forms] any more, and that it went through the first year and I [won't] have to go through this ever again." For most respondents, this relief was principally associated with the knowledge that time previously devoted to assembling sets of materials designed to demonstrate the quality of one's work could now be replaced with time for focusing on the work itself.

The end to promotion and tenure review (which may not in fact be the end, as some respondents also made reference to institutional draft proposals on post-tenure review), however, did not mean that respondents believed they were ratcheting down their efforts or wanted to do so. Instead, respondents spoke about the high standards they had consistently set for their own work and the continuation of these self-imposed standards and expectations. Two SSE respondents commented, in turn:

[Professorship] signifies you've accomplished something. For me it's never meant that I've arrived, though, because I always feel like there are other things to strive for. There are always other things to do. I have a lot of unmet goals still, and most of those lie in the research area.

I think I'm more productive because I don't have the stress of having to [go through the process of promotion]. You do it because you want to rather than that "I have to do this, I have to spend time doing this" when you're too tired to do it. Now I can choose to do it because I want to do it, and I find it much more productive, because it just-that whole thing is gone, you know, having to achieve that.

The fact that respondents no longer had to demonstrate formally the worth of their achievements to the institution did not mean that they now wanted to or did conduct their work in the absence of standards. Their guiding standards and expectations for quality, which respondents had maintained for a long time, were internally imposed. Indeed, some respondents

insisted that their self-expectations had increased since their promotion to professor. For example, an A-H respondent remarked:

Because I think the kind of person that I am, the more, the higher up, I guess I moved, the more responsibilities I felt I needed to take on, and the more I needed to put out to be true to the promotion, or to be true to the title, whatever you wanted to call it. So I felt, well, more was expected of me, and I wanted to produce more. I wanted to produce higher quality work. I wanted to produce better and better than I had before So the promotions are not necessarily promotions to me as much as opening the gates to more challenges.

A BAS respondent added:

Sometimes when people hit middle age, I think they tend to kind of rest on their laurels a bit and say, “Well, you know, I’ve done that, and I’ve achieved this,” and, you know, “What else can I do but sit here and enjoy?” And I think that’s wrong. I think that particularly older people have such great insight . . . and I think absolutely people over 50 should be looked upon as very important cogs in, you know, the evolution of the next level.

As these passages indicate, many respondents view their faculty work as an unfolding of expectations and continued work. In this way, respondents emphasized “growing into” the professor role and meeting challenges posed by this new career stage. These passages may also indicate respondents’ views of professorship as a challenge that demands more and more rather than rank as a reward for their prior work. However, affirmation was also associated with professor rank and respondents’ work lives as professors, as addressed in the discussion below.

Affirmation

The promotion to professor served for many respondents as recognition and acknowledgement of their expertise. However, the promotion did not represent a *conferral* of expert status, since the respondents considered themselves disciplinary experts already. As one sciences respondent concluded: “I don’t think at any time in my career I’ve said I wanted to be ‘such and such [title].’ I’ve said, ‘I wanted to study [my discipline], and I’m interested in science, and what do I do to do it? So it’s more being the means to the end rather than then end to, let’s say, being a full professor.” A BAS respondent also described her rank as secondary to the importance of the work she does:

Achieving professor rank was a fairly easy road for me, but by the same token, you know, I respect and appreciate why that happened and try to live up to what I did to get there and not just say, “Well, I’m there,” but whether or not I stay [at professor rank] or not it not important, because [the goal] is to stay at a high level [in the quality of my work].

While professor rank represented an affirmation and acknowledgement of respondents’ content expertise, it also signified a critical local affirmation for some respondents by symbolizing their arrival as legitimate “players” within their departments and the institution. This was more clearly the case among respondents from natural science-based disciplines in which the representation of women on the faculties was much smaller. Although they had not considered their presence to be

illegitimate prior to their promotion, the senior rank served to indicate to others that they were now people with whom to contend. In the words of one BAS professor who also holds an administrative appointment, "I'm sure there are people who would like to get rid of me. As soon as you make any impact anywhere, obviously that's going to happen." A PMSE respondent described her particular departmental experiences using sports and gaming metaphors:

[Interviewer: "How do you think others perceive you?"] More of a threat. I was thinking about this the other day. A friend called me last night. She's staying with a mutual friend [and interviewing for a job] because her tenure case, they're really killing her. And we decided that the men are playing chess, and we're playing checkers. And I think it's the men are playing three-dimensional chess, like in Star Trek, and we women are playing checkers because we don't even know what the rules are. And the more I'm in academia, the more I realize it's a game. . . . I don't think women are perceived or minorities are perceived as true players until you become a full professor. It's like I said to my husband last night, what's the name of a first year player—football, basketball, baseball? It's a rookie. When you're an assistant professor, you're a rookie, and how do they treat rookies on the field? Well, once in awhile, a rookie might hit a home ran in baseball or he might make a touchdown, but generally they don't let you plan until you've proven yourself. And it seems to me like full professors, when you get to be a full professor, then they start seeing you as a real player, and therefore more of a threat, so they're going to hit you harder. . . . The full professors are certainly going to be able to think, "Well assistant professors, we can get rid of them if we don't like them, but how do we get rid of somebody if we don't like them and they're a full professor?"

Within departments that were characterized as particularly competitive (often but not always male-dominated departments), senior rank signified that the professor had been victorious in this particular competition and had earned respect, however grudgingly accorded.

Some respondents also spoke of affirmation that involved their increasing roles as consultants and source of respected advice both internally and externally to the institution. A BAS professor concluded that she is respected in her department "in that people seek advice from me." Another BAS professor remarked:

My work has a lot of applicability to a particular area of [practice], and I get the research directors from companies that are involved, and they're calling me a lot, you know, to come in and work with the company, to give them advice and counsel, to explore collaborative research projects, and that type of thing.

For others, however, this advisor or consultant role was something that had not come with the promotion, and this was a disappointment. In the words of one AH professor:

I, of course, fantasized that my opinions would matter more in university-wide kinds of endeavors, but since I've been promoted, I have not been asked to serve on any university-wide committees, nor have I had any opportunity to do anything in the way of administrative work or anything that takes advantage of the fact that I have this—quote—exalted rank, so that's been rather disappointing. . . . I thought I would be consulted more, you know, that people who were looking for support would seek me out as a woman full

professor, and that hasn't happened, either. I have only been a full professor for [a short period of time], . . . and maybe I just wanted too much to happen too fast.

Latitude and Expectations

For many respondents, the professor rank meant greater freedom with respect to setting their own work agendas and selecting projects for attention, yet at the same time less uncommitted time in which to pursue these projects. This was often the greatest surprise—and in many cases, a common letdown—among respondents. The professor rank enabled many respondents to pursue long-term projects or research less dependent on immediately publishable outcomes. A SSE respondent shared: “There are some undertakings that one can imagine taking a long time to get anything out of I would have probably been unsure about whether I should get involved in something like that [as a junior faculty member].” An AH professor explained:

In terms of doing my scholarship, it's slowed down, in part because I've been doing all this other stuff [committee and service work], in part, I suppose, because some of that energy has gone into my family, but I also can feel that I can kind of wait until something is finished in a way I didn't before. [Before,] I felt more rushed in terms of getting it done because of the [tenure] clock, you know, not because the paper was really completed or the ideas had really jelled.

Respondents noted that a number of committee assignments and appointments can be held only by faculty members with professor rank. Concurrently, many respondents found themselves with increased and, depending on the appraisal, disproportionate service responsibilities. Not all respondents considered an increased service load to be necessarily a burden, since their opinions were also informed by their relative interests and commitments and how consistent their interests were with the work of various committees. According to one SSE professor, the service load depends in part on departmental availability of senior faculty members:

I think there are maybe nine full professors in the department, and we're heavy at the associate level, so there are a lot of added responsibilities now because there's not as many people to go around when they want a professor to do things. . . . I had been making more judicious choices up to that point [of promotion to professor] about what I would get involved in, trying to set some limits because I get asked to do a lot. . . . I'm doing heavy service, really.

A BAS professor regarded her service load as professor to be qualitatively different rather than additive:

[Committee work] is something that I've always enjoyed doing, and so I suppose I do more, I guess, but it was even probably as soon as I got promoted to associate professor, I was on a lot of committees. So I don't know that I've been on more, but maybe they've been more important ones now. I'm chair of the College curriculum committee, so it's in more roles of responsibility.

Additionally, however, respondents said that their status as professors and women meant they are called upon when broader representation on committees is desired, which was regarded as a signal of progressiveness by one SSE professor:

I find that sometimes I'm called to serve on different committees than I would have in the beginning of my career here—things that come out of central administration where they want full professors. . . . we as [women] full professors get appointed to some of those kinds of committees more than would have happened in earlier years.

This same respondent also attributed her current service on one key University committee to her guess that the university president wanted a balance of men and women on the committee.

Mentoring of students (particularly graduate students) is something respondents have regularly undertaken. According to one PMSE professor: "I have done a lot of mentoring with other women as I've gone through my professional life, in all the settings where I've been." However, respondents almost uniformly reported that an increased focus on mentoring is among their expectations for themselves as professors. A SSE professor stated, "[Professorship] means for me to mentor."

With senior rank in their respective disciplines and fields, respondents saw themselves as more involved and committed to encouragement of new talent, mostly graduate students and new faculty members. An AH respondent remarked:

I feel very responsible to the younger faculty. I've gotten more involved in research, but not put my name on it, necessarily, more from a mentoring standpoint. I feel very responsible to give them as many opportunities as I can for them to be successful. I feel that I have to be somewhat of an example.

A SSE professor said:

I feel responsible to be a role model for women in the department who are coming up and for other women who are in the department who are in other positions. I am the only person in this department who is a tenured faculty member, which means that my position may be a little different from departments where there are other women who are in similar kinds of positions.

Another SSE respondent specified a broad scope for her mentoring and modeling role since her field is one with low numbers of women professionals:

I feel as a senior woman faculty member and one of not very many in my field, my job is to mentor women across the world, and so I do a lot of that. I try to be very supportive and bring people along and help them, and I try to do that on campus. Now, one of the interesting things about here is I did not come up through the ranks here. I am not well connected on campus because I try to be well connected off campus, and not just in the state, so it makes me a less effective campus mentor than I might be, in my opinion, but I think I know the field, and I think I can be very helpful to people in those extra-university positions.

In a few cases, however, some faculty who expressed an increased commitment to mentoring were disappointed that new opportunities to work with graduate students had not resulted from their promotion. They had previously associated this increased mentoring with professor rank. According to this AH respondent:

I thought [full professorship] would mean a lot more than it has, unfortunately. I thought it would mean a great deal more in terms of working with graduate students. Last year I had a student whose thesis I directed, and it was great fun. . . . I thought I'd be doing a lot more of that. I haven't had a chance to teach graduate courses since I was promoted.

Assuming Leadership

For many respondents, senior rank has meant that they are able to assume broader responsibilities on behalf of their departments and the institution. Approximately one-third of the respondents held full- or part-time administrative appointments at the time of the interviews, but the notion of senior professors as leaders was not limited to formal administrative duties. The broadly defined leadership responsibilities also included generative and supportive roles as well as skeptical and critical roles—all of which were intended to improve their departments and the institution. One SSE professor concluded: “I think probably that a full professor needs to take on the challenges of trying new things and leading the way.”

For some respondents, the kind of leadership they described mirrored the role senior faculty members had played in their departments while they were working toward tenure. A SSE respondent said:

I have really appreciated the fact that both departments [I've worked within were] very supportive of their young people, and in order to do that, the senior people had to take on extra work. They had to do some of the committee work that could have been dumped on the junior people. They had to do some of the teaching that could have been [assigned to junior faculty]—and I was very cognizant of that at the time, that I was a beneficiary of that—and I think I feel some responsibility to try to help in that regard.

An AH professor described her department of assistant professors along with “two full professors and two associate professors, and so I guess I feel very responsible for pulling my share of the load and making certain that we do get some research going.”

Additionally, however, many respondents associated their leadership role with working toward improvement of institutional shortcomings they perceive. One SSE professor characterized her reluctant “watchdog” responsibilities:

I also think it's a job to kind of—maybe this is not good—to be a watchdog. That's a terrible phrase. Kind of when you feel that there's something that needs tending business. I think that's a responsibility, to help others see that, including the chair.

Another SSE professor, however, was not hesitant to critique instances of unfairness in shared governance processes and her growing concerns:

I tend to be very open and honest and like things out on the table. And I'm maybe a bit naïve about the operating of the university, but I find a lot of times there are secrets. There is stuff operating, and so we don't have the full knowledge in making decision, and that upsets me greatly. Then I feel blindsided by something where there was really something else going on, and we were working intently on this, but this [other factor] was driving it and we didn't know it. That concerns me.

An AH respondent described her frustration with what she saw as a too-compliant faculty, unwilling to assume the aforementioned watchdog role:

It gets tiring to be with people who always seem to be thinking the way the administration thinks and who don't see themselves in any kind of adversarial position with the administration, who are thinking, "How can we make it work out with the administration? How can we work with them to do what they want?" And my position mostly is, "How can we work against them to do what we want?" And I very rarely see administration as a source of, you know, positive faculty-centered or woman-centered roles, and so it always amazes me how many of my colleagues are just so glad to work right along with them to do whatever it is that they want to do. You know, "They must have a reason for whatever it is, and therefore we'll just be good kids and go right along with that and make this work out." And so anybody who stands up and says, "Hey, maybe this isn't such a good idea" is a troublemaker, you know, and we're better not to engage that person in the process. It's going to slow things down.

Among respondents for whom a greater leadership role accompanied professor rank, some struggle with how they can promote the work of the institution while also critiquing aspects of institutional functioning or decision-making with which they disagree or find fault. Some, like the above respondent, maintain that their voices are not heard or that their opinions are systematically dismissed. Others articulated their experiences related to leadership by decoupling senior rank with ascribed status. They explained their perceptions that status is associated not necessarily with achieved rank but more so with career history. One BAS professor said:

I can't completely separate what had to do with attaining [professor] rank and what goes with the fact that I've just stayed with this for such a long time period. I think those things are sort of married together. I can't really separate them completely.

Another BAS professor who has been a faculty member at the university for many years reached a similar conclusion about her status on campus:

As far as I'm concerned, I think the longevity of the time I've been here probably is more impressive than anything else. . . . I get referenced for various things that I think I would not now if I hadn't had these particular levels of experience in administration [as former department chair and through committee work]. I don't think I'm extremely significant in administrative circles, but every once in awhile my opinion is asked about things, which indicates it at least has some level of significance as far as higher administration is concerned. I don't know how you balance all that out. I'm not a maker and a shaker, but I think at this point in time I probably am someone whose advice might be listened to. . . .

Things accumulate—it makes one more obvious. It's just one of those things that happens as you go along, and enough people know that you exist and know what you might be able to contribute.

A SSE professor added, however, that she was not always readily regarded as a source for historical or useful perspectives on issues:

I do sometimes think that I *know some things that I wish other people wanted to know*. You know, you get to the point where you've experienced enough and done enough things that you would just like to say to some people, "Have you considered this?" [verbal emphasis from interview]

These perspectives on rank, status, and institutional history were primarily voiced by respondents who were long-time faculty members at the institutional site. These respondents also emphasized that the foundations for professorship and the broader institutional leadership role it can signify were laid early on as a result of committee work and getting to know people across campus through the years. They did not believe that the promotion to professor somehow opened a different set of doors or conferred a higher institutional status.

Conclusions

The picture that emerged of these professors is largely one of persistence, achievement orientation, and longevity. The promotion to professor was for most a satisfying, culminating affirmation of their expertise and contributions. In many ways, the professor role was different for them primarily in terms of magnitude and emphasis. For example, respondents reported an increased commitment to mentoring and scholarship, but these were continuations of respondents' prior commitments and not new undertakings for them. The professor role was qualitatively different in that it represented greater degrees of freedom and judgment to try new things, decide where to focus energies, and launch long-term projects or studies with larger scope. They reported less pressure with respect to their scholarly endeavors yet at the same time, due mostly to increased service responsibilities, less unstructured time with which to pursue these endeavors. This was a noteworthy disappointment among respondents.

Additionally, for some respondents, the affirmation of professor rank also brought increased attention from colleagues in that they now represented a more permanent presence with which colleagues must now contend. Service loads were more onerous for respondents who served on multiple committees. This situation was exacerbated by increased administrative commitments to ensure gender diversity on committees while the numbers of women professors eligible to serve remained proportionately small. Respondents also spoke of their accumulation of new responsibilities as a professor, yet mentioned few roles or responsibilities that had been shed after earning promotion to professor. Additionally, respondents seldom spoke of new or additional resources to offset the heavier workload. However, most did discuss the lowered job stress that the promotion to professor had entailed.

When respondents spoke of the status that accompanied their rank, they found status to be wrapped up in, and enhanced by, longevity on the campus and their prior service work throughout their years as junior faculty members. This service work represented opportunities to meet people across campus and become a known quantity in terms of expertise and participation.

Their status as faculty members who are consulted or called upon formally to participate in governance or administration was linked to their prior history of service.

These insights into women professors' institutional status may also have broader implications for shared institutional governance. Two currently popular practices at many research institutions, sheltering assistant professors from service work and hiring faculty "stars" into senior ranks, are justified by rationales such as, for the former, permitting maximum attention to research and increasing the likelihood of a successful tenure bid. However, these practices may also contribute in the long run to less effective faculty participation, and perhaps less faculty interest, in participation in shared governance. In both cases, the ability to establish an early track record of service and to become known across campus through one's service involvements, noted by respondents of this study as helping them be more effective with subsequent and more significant committee or governance roles, would be less likely occurrences.

If effective participation in faculty governance, and the likelihood that one will participate in more responsible institutional governance capacities, is related to early and consistent participation, then faculty personnel practices that emphasize research above all other faculty functions place less value on grooming junior faculty members to become faculty leaders of the institution. In the case of sheltering assistant professors from service commitments, women faculty (and perhaps all faculty) may face more difficulties with participating in institutional decision-making processes, exerting institutional leadership, and guiding the collective attention of their institution. In the case of hiring faculty "stars" into senior ranks, these faculty members again would be more readily identified as researchers, with fewer expectations or encouragement that they assume institutional leadership roles in addition to the disciplinary and scholarly leadership that is expected. If, as the respondents in this study indicate, institutional longevity is critical to being viewed as a potential leader and influential voice, these senior faculty may also be viewed as unprepared or unsuited for institutional leadership because of their lack of familiarity with the institution, even if they had done similar "time in the trenches" at other campuses.

Finally, the kinds of work the respondents reported engaging in appeared to be illustrative of two of the three "prongs" from Benjamin's (1986) model of pursuing social progress for women. The faculty members in this study assuredly had made progress in entering the traditionally male territory of senior faculty rank, and some had questioned and critiqued questionable practices that appeared to be oppressive. Less discussion was apparent regarding pursuing a broad scholarship of and on women, but this could have also been due to the interview questions that focused disproportionately on the processes involved in their progression through the faculty ranks and current conditions for their work. At times during the interviews, however, some respondents discussed their own scholarship and expertise in, among other things, multiculturalism and evolving family roles.

One way to consider Benjamin's three-pronged approach is to emphasize the complementarities, since together they represent a multi-layered approach for achieving sustained and comprehensive social progress with respect to gender. From this perspective, the varied aspects of these women's work are evident. For example, many respondents do their work having adopted largely traditional lenses for their scholarship and their identities as faculty members while other respondents have embarked on critiques of social structures and processes. Based on this study, more successful critiques may well come from the women faculty members who have been on campus the longest and developed more relationships across campus over

time. In a sense, these faculty members view themselves as members of the same academic community that, as senior members, they are committed to developing and improving.

Endnotes

- ¹ “Professor” is used throughout the manuscript to indicate the senior professorial rank. When discussing faculty members at other ranks, appropriate modifiers (e.g., “assistant” professor) will be used.
- ² The adjective “full” was often used in the interview protocol to emphasize the research interest in respondents’ senior faculty status as opposed to the generic descriptor “professor” as synonymous for all faculty members.
- ³ Confidentiality guarantees included not revealing college, department, or program affiliation of respondents. Therefore, broadly aggregated disciplinary categories are used instead.

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Adolescent Females With Communication Disorders Involved in Violence: Educators' Opinions

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Abstract

This study focused on increasing the awareness of educational leaders about the relationship between students with communication disorders and violence. A review of selected research on adolescent females with language problems residing in a correctional facility served to support a survey study and extend discussions about the need for educational leadership within this population. Ninety-six speech-language pathologists, special educators, and teachers were surveyed about their training and knowledge on the role of communication in violence. Findings suggested the majority of participants agreed on the importance of planning prevention programs. However, they did not receive training and were uncertain about providing services to students with communication disorders. Implications are provided for administrators and other school leaders to consider when planning programs.

During the past ten years, violence has been described as “epidemic” and has permeated many aspects of our lives not only in large urban cities but also in small towns throughout the United States (Mercy & Rosenberg 1998; Moore, 1994). One aspect affected by violence is education. Challenges involving violent acts are an on-going concern for administrators attempting to address academic, behavioral, and social needs of children and adolescents. Educators often discuss prevention, intervention, and social policy when examining issues pertaining to violence and education. However, their concerns frequently center on safe schools, firearms, drugs, and youth gangs (Flannery & Huff, 1999), rather than on the connection among language problems, poor communication behaviors, and violence in school settings. Educators' views on the role of communication and violence for students with communication disorders are not known.

Over a period of more than 30 years, research has documented the prevalence and types of communication disorders of children and youth involved in violence. For example, a number of researchers have cited the incidence of communication problems (24% - 84%) among juvenile delinquents (Cozad & Rousey, 1966; Taylor, 1969). Interestingly, despite the increase in statistics on girls arrested for violent crimes (Mann, 1984), until 1997 few studies focused on the communication behaviors of female teenagers in correctional facilities. Since that time, an ethnographic study of 78 female incarcerated delinquents revealed that 22% ($n = 17/78$) displayed language problems (Sanger, Creswell, Dworak, & Schultz, 2000). More recently, research has reported that as many as 19% ($n = 13/67$) of female teenagers residing in a correctional facility were potential candidates for language services (Sanger, Moore-Brown, Magnuson, & Svoboda, 2001; Sanger, Moore-Brown, Montgomery, Rezac, & Keller, 2003). However, it is not known if administrators and general or special educators are aware of findings such as these. It is unclear whether sufficient numbers of educators understand how a student's language and communication skills may serve as one of many factors relating to violence.

Program planning for students with communication problems who are involved in violence often does not account for these disabilities.

It has been found that programs for children involved in violence focus on more obvious behavioral concerns rather than language challenges (Sanger et al., 2001). Programs in schools may also include information about social skills training but fail to include sufficient strategies to address important language components such as vocabulary, figurative language, or conversational skills. If educators are unaware of the important role that language and communication have in violence, are they prepared to refer children and adolescents for language testing? Hence, if students are not referred and identified for language services, are some of our children “falling through the cracks” and being overlooked for special services?

This paper will review selected research that addresses the links between students with language and communication disorders and violence. Qualitative information will focus on how females residing in a correctional facility describe their learning experiences in school. Additionally, preliminary survey findings of special educators and speech-language pathologists (SLPs) regarding their training and knowledge of the role of communication and violence will be provided. Information will support the need for additional educational leadership in addressing the needs of young women who are in trouble with the law.

Responsibilities of Administrators

School personnel and administrators are those who must take the lead on how to design programs to deal with the behaviors that disrupt the educational environment and prevent learning. In designing such programs, the conflicts of implementing strict discipline programs while attempting to design prevention opportunities for students presents challenges (Evans, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 2000). Removal of students, through such disciplinary measures as suspension and expulsion, continue to be presented as immediate responses designed to provide a safe school environment (Bush, 2001). Although necessary for dealing with violent and destructive situations (CCBD & CASE, 1999), such actions typically are not effective in teaching appropriate skills to troubled or troublesome youth (Hyman & Snook, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 2000; Townsend, 2000). Increasingly, school-wide prevention programs are being promoted to advance pro-active, systematic approaches toward building safe schools (Dwyer, Osher & Hoffman, 2000; Elias et al., 1997; ERIC/OSEP Special Project, 1997; Lockyer & Eastin, 2000; Skiba & Peterson, 2000; Sprague & Walker, 2000; U.S. Department of Education/Office of Special Education Programs, 1999; Viadero, 2001).

Educators have additional responsibilities for dealing with students who are receiving special education under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA, 1997) and who may be having disciplinary and/or behavioral difficulties (CCBD & CASE, 1999; Moore-Brown & Montgomery, 2001; Smith, 2000; Yell, Katsiyannis, Bradley, & Rozalski, 2000). As part of these requirements, the Individualized Education Program (IEP) teams must conduct a manifestation determination whenever a removal or change of placement is being considered as a result of behavioral problems. Teams are not only required to assess the student's ability to control his/her behavior, but also to assess the student's ability to understand the consequences of his/her actions (Smith, 2000). Once these determinations are made, the IEP team must design a behavior intervention plan (BIP) designed to support the student's difficult behavior. The purpose of the behavior intervention plan is to teach the student appropriate behavior, so that the student is able to access his/her education in the least restrictive environment (Moore-Brown & Montgomery,

2001). While information is being increasingly provided on how to implement effective intervention programs (Scheuermann & Evans, 1999; The Special Edge, 2001; The Special Educator, 2001), the skills and abilities the IEP team members need in making these decisions and designing programs lie at the heart of successful implementation of IDEA requirements. When Smith (2000) reviewed cases that challenged the implementation of the requirements, results indicated that significant training and leadership needs existed in terms of professional practice in this area.

As prevention programs direct educators toward the teaching and building of social skills, educators may be wise to turn their attentions to the underlying abilities needed to develop such skills. One area indicated for closer examination is the relationship between communication skills and violent behavior (Moore-Brown & Montgomery, 2001; Sanger, Moore-Brown, & Alt, 2000; Sprague & Walker, 2000; Townsend, 2000). While recent literature reviews provide compelling evidence that a concomitant relationship exists between children with language disorders and those identified with emotional and behavioral disorders (Benner, Nelson, & Epstein, 2002), this information has not been extended to include violence. In this study, violence will pertain to behaviors and actions that include the use of multiple forms of threats or intentional harm to individuals. Violence can also involve threats and physical force intended to harm property (Van Hasselt & Hersen, 1999).

Language and Communication Connection to Violence

Though language and communication directly relate to behavior and learning in school, perhaps it is not entirely clear how this connection could be extended to relate to children involved in violent acts. It has been established that language relates to behavior and emotional development (Benner et al., 2002; Gallagher, 1999) as well as reading (Kamhi & Catts, 1989; Wallach & Butler, 1994) and academic performance (Whitmire, 2000). However, how language and communication relate to children involved in violence may not be as evident to administrators, special educators, or SLPs. If these specialists are not aware of this connection, then it is highly unlikely that school site staff, including principals, assistant principals, deans, counselors and teachers, will look to these issues as potentially underlying some of the complications which lead students to disciplinary problems.

According to studies discussed earlier, female adolescents who were incarcerated reportedly had problems with comprehending and expressing language and were at risk for meeting the academic challenges in their school. Researchers indicated that many of the participants were unable to express a synonym for words such as "penalty" or "justify." Moreover, the youth were not certain how to define words such as "no vacancy" or "flammable." Additionally, interviews revealed remarks such as, "I feel stupid when I don't know a word in reading; I don't understand what I read" (Sanger et al., 2001).

In another study, 13 adolescent girls with language problems were asked how they would describe their learning experiences in school prior to admittance to the correctional facility. All had been convicted of one or more misdemeanors or felony offenses. Their histories of violence included assault, theft, first degree sexual assault, breaking and entering, terroristic threats, and other types of criminal mischief. Their responses supported the need for educational leadership to guide the planning of programs of young women. Girls in trouble with the law commented, "Subjects I'm bad at would be math and spelling and writing." "I had troubles with school, like with understanding teachers." "I didn't read, I don't like reading." "Teachers would help me, but

they would not give that extra time I needed.” “I was very impatient and couldn’t sit there and listen to them [teachers].” “School problems started in junior high and high school.” “School was boring because it wasn’t interesting to me.” “In science they used big words I’ve never heard of before.” “I know how to read, but I feel stupid when I don’t know one word.” Many of the 13 participants spoke about how they felt about their interactions in school. Their comments also contained descriptions of their violent behavior as well as oppositional attitudes toward school. Qualitative findings suggested these young women expressed problems listening, thinking, speaking, and reading (Sanger et al., 2003).

Listening to the voices of young women residing in a correctional facility raises questions about whether educators are sufficiently considering how language disorders impact troubled females. Educators need to be aware that some of these girls could benefit from language services. If communication is a possible area of need, then student study teams (SSTs) and IEP team members must all be aware of this potential. If students do require services through the speech and language program, SLPs must have a clear understanding, along with their administrators and other team members, of the areas of concern and how the need might be identified and how services might be most appropriately provided (Campbell, 2001; Kahn, 2001). School-based SLPs may be challenged to develop appropriate service delivery models for those students with communication disorders who have been involved in violence. Likewise, administrators are expected to find the resources to serve students who are in lock-up programs or residential settings. They must also help determine when troubled youth can return to school for portions of the day and how SLP services can be maintained (Moore-Brown & Montgomery, 2001).

If services for communication disorders should also be considered for students involved in violence, then one consideration is to understand the perceptions of educators toward communication and violence. If educators, including specialists, do not see the need to look at communication skills as part of students’ needs, then intervention and/or prevention activities will not likely be addressed in this area. This information is needed because special educators’ views may affect how interdisciplinary teams plan the most effective programs in school settings.

Administrators, who are viewed as leaders in schools, need to know if their specialist team members are sufficiently trained to plan and implement programs for children with communication problems involved in violence. The purposes of this article are to extend the discussions on communication and violence. It will highlight studies which focus on young women with communication disorders involved in violence. Additionally, this study will report survey results on the opinions of special educators and speech-language pathologists about the role of communication in violence, their training in these areas, and suggest implications for administrators and other school leaders.

Survey Research on the Role of Communication in Violence

Two of the authors co-presented two separate seminars from 1 and 1/2 hours to 3 hours in length on, “Advancing the Discussion on Communication and Violence Issues.” One presentation was conducted at the 2000 American Speech-Language-Hearing Annual Convention and was attended by 55 students and professionals primarily working in the field of communication disorders. The second seminar was conducted the same year with 41 special educators who worked in a southern urban school district. Information on communication and

violence was presented at both seminars with specific topics focusing on findings from research studies on female incarcerated adolescents who were potential candidates for language services. This information pertained to identification, assessment, and intervention of children and adolescents in school settings.

Audience participants were invited to complete a survey containing eight demographic questions pertaining to background information about respondents. Survey items also addressed respondents' experiences with issues concerning communication and violence. In addition, 14 questions about the role of communication in violence served as the basis for data collection (see Appendix). Questions related to identification of students for language services, participation on multidisciplinary teams, and provision of services.

The demographic/background questions were in a multiple-choice format and the opinion questions were in Likert-type scale format. All Likert-type items were accompanied by a 5-point scale ranging from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree." The midpoint of the scale corresponded with a response of "uncertain." Overall means computed for each 5-point Likert-type scale item provided a general indication of agreement or disagreement with a survey statement. Arbitrary cutoffs were set for interpreting the strength of agreement/disagreement with the survey items. Means ranging from 1.00 to 2.49 were interpreted as agreement with a given statement, means ranging from 2.50 to 3.50 were interpreted as neutral or uncertain responses, and means ranging from 3.51 to 5.00 were interpreted as disagreement with a survey statement.

Results and Discussions

A total of 96 participants, who represented 15 states and worked primarily in urban locations, completed the questionnaire form. The states (CA, CO, FL, GA, ID, IL, KY, LA, MD, MA, NE, NJ, NY, VT, and WI) represented geographical regions throughout the United States. Fifty-five percent of respondents were speech-language pathologists; worked in school, university, or private settings; and were employed 5 years or less. The remaining individuals included special educators and classroom teachers with an average work experience of 6 years in school settings.

Survey respondents provided opinions about their background training related to communication and violence. The majority (62%; $n = 59/96$) indicated they did not receive specific training on this topic even though approximately one-half (52%) of them served students involved in violence in the past year. Although most (61%) reported they felt qualified to be a part of a multidisciplinary team, many (62%) expressed uncertainty about providing assessment services for students with communication disorders who were involved in violence. The majority of respondents (60%) indicated they did not feel qualified to provide treatment services for students with communication disorders who are involved in violence. These findings suggest that while SLPs and educators can function on a team, additional training would be beneficial in areas of assessment and intervention.

It was encouraging to find that means computed from responses to 5-point Likert-type items revealed SLPs and educators agree it is important they are involved in educational planning of prevention programs ($M = 1.66$; $SD = 0.69$). It was less optimistic to learn they are not sufficiently trained to provide services for youth with communication problems who are involved in violence. For example, respondents disagreed ($M = 3.82$; $SD = 0.90$) with statements suggesting they are sufficiently trained to provide services for students with communication problems who are involved in violence. In particular, they did not feel they had sufficient

training in behavior management. Their responses ($M = 3.70$; $SD = 0.94$) suggested the connection and impact of communication in violence is not sufficiently understood by SLPs and/or other educators in school settings ($M = 3.60$; $SD = 1.01$).

Responses to statements about the challenges of identifying children for language services who have been involved in violence suggest study respondents agree that students are not consistently referred to SLPs, but instead are viewed as behavioral problems ($M = 1.91$; $SD = 0.80$). Further, they agreed with the statement that children are assessed for language services but often do not qualify ($M = 2.27$; $SD = 0.89$) for such services. Survey respondents felt some children are not assessed because language services are considered less important ($M = 2.44$; $SD = 0.98$) when school administrators are prioritizing all the problems they may encounter.

Respondents' views about educators providing adequate services for children with communication disorders involved with violence yielded uncertain responses ($M = 3.45$; $SD = 0.95$), even though they acknowledged that language intervention could positively impact learning. Perhaps information from the seminar presentations addressed the important role of language in learning, and how many children involved in violence struggle with language and communication problems. Given this line of consideration, it is possible that study participants questioned whether their programs were sufficiently addressing the language and communication needs of children involved in violence.

Previous research findings from incarcerated teenage girls with communication problems suggest that these young women could have benefited from services to help them meet the curricular demands of school (Sanger et al., 2001; Sanger et al., 2003). Yet, the present survey findings present questions about whether educators realize that some students may need intervention services to understand statements such as, "The test was like Greek to me," and "She thinks she is a top dog." Other vocabulary such as "humble," "eliminate," "hypothesize," and "numeration," also may not be understood. Therefore, language services may be needed to help children and youth with language disorders understand figurative language and advanced vocabulary in upper grade level texts such as middle school and beyond.

The need for educational leadership regarding girls in trouble with the law is more apparent in consideration of recent research findings that suggests that teenage girls do not perceive themselves as having problems with their own performance of conversational interactions. Though qualitative research indicates that they display oppositional interactions (Sanger, Creswell et al., 2000; Sanger et al., 2003), teenage girls may not be aware of the consequences associated with these patterns of communication (Sanger, Coufal, Scheffler, & Searcey, in press). Research suggests educational leadership is needed to help establish intervention services focusing on metapragmatic awareness skills. Teenagers need to realize the consequences for their inappropriate interactional behaviors in a variety of academic and social settings (Sanger et al., in press). Without leaders in education who understand the role of language and communication in violence, problems facing many young girls in our society will not be sufficiently addressed and potential talents of girls in trouble with the law will remain unnoticed.

Though researchers have documented school failure is a strong predictor of delinquency (Goldstein & Conoley, 1997), less is known about the relationship between language, learning, and delinquency. More educators in leadership roles need to understand that children with language problems are challenged by the increasing demands of the school curriculum. As the chasm increases between ability and expectations, at-risk students with language problems experience greater frustration as they fall behind their peers. Potentially, truancy, asocial

behaviors and other problematic behaviors result because of the lack of language skills needed to succeed in school (Davis, Sanger, & Morris-Friehe, 1991). Though this line of reasoning is likely to be understood by SLPs, there is not compelling research suggesting this information is understood by school personnel in leadership positions.

Limitations of the Survey Study

Several limitations may prevent firm conclusions to be drawn from the present data and need to be considered when interpreting study findings. Since all survey participants attended a seminar prior to completion of the questionnaires, it is not known how SLPs and educators who have not received information on communication and violence would respond to questionnaire items. Also, this sample was somewhat unique in that all participants who attended the two seminars were self-selected and therefore interested in knowing more information on communication and violence. It is not known how study participants selected from a large random sample would respond. Despite study limitations, however, the findings are important and should be considered in understanding how SLPs and other educators view the role of communication in violence.

Though findings are considered preliminary, they can serve as the basis to support national survey studies to examine the opinions of educators, administrators, and SLPs toward communication and violence. Until additional information from this group of leaders is obtained, programs for female teenagers similar to those in this study may lack critical information.

Implications for Administrators

Though school crime and violence are topics often discussed with educators, researchers acknowledged that educators seldom fully understood the complexity of issues surrounding violence (Kenney, 1998). We would propose that a student's communication skill is one puzzle piece that is too often omitted in discussing topics related to school violence. Hence, it is believed that critical information is omitted in planning intervention programs in schools. This line of reasoning has been supported from researchers who have found that, too often, the needs of teenage females are not sufficiently addressed in planning programs for youth in trouble with the law (Chesney-Lind, 2001). Students may indeed have unidentified language and communication disorders that contribute to their involvement in violence. If students are inadequately assessed and served, then they may not receive the federally mandated free and appropriate public education (FAPE). Because respondents' views were less than positive on some items referring to serving children with communication problems who were involved in violence, the findings provide important pilot data for administrators to consider for planning appropriate responses to school violence, continuing education, and programmatic decisions for children. Administrators are encouraged to work with their staff to:

1. Use the survey in Appendix to seek opinions and attitudes from SLPs and other educational staff.
2. Discuss survey results and compare to this 16-state survey data.
3. Provide continuing education on the topic of language and communication disorders and students' involvement in violence.

4. Routinely assess language abilities of students considered for manifestation documentation reviews following a suspension or expulsion.
5. Provide language and communication intervention services to students involved in violence when it is indicated.
6. Include an assessment of students' language and communication abilities in violence prevention programs.
7. Train SLPs, school psychologists and other special educators *as a team* to consider language and communication interventions when adolescents are involved in violence.
8. Urge special educators to consider the language demands used in designing prevention and other behavioral intervention programs.

Conclusion

Opinions and views of educators and administrators, as well as SLPs, within a school district need to be further surveyed. Obtaining this type of information from a large pool of participants is warranted based on the present study findings. Appropriate assessment and intervention services for students involved in violent acts are more likely to occur if professionals, particularly those in leadership positions, provide information on the links between students with communication disorders and violence. In order to provide helpful suggestions to a group of young women, these professionals will need more education about these connections.

The consequences of school violence are far-reaching and deeply disturbing. The present study findings suggest that some young women in trouble with the law are struggling with educational challenges which also include communication and language problems. Administrators and other school leaders need to be able to recognize these types of findings and, in turn, use every resource that may prove effective in dealing with these issues. In summary, study findings lend support for leaders implementing policy who are dealing with a growing population of adolescents with communication problems involved in violence.

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Appendix A
THE ROLE OF COMMUNICATION IN VIOLENCE
 Sample (n = 96)

The following statements are generalizations about children and adolescents who have communication problems and are involved in violence. Although the information refers to children, you can generalize the statements to also include adolescents. Please indicate the strength of your agreement or disagreement with each statement as a generalization. If you are uncertain or do not have sufficient information to provide an opinion about a given statement, mark "Uncertain."

SA = Strongly Agree
 A = Agree
 U = Uncertain

D = Disagree
 SD = Strongly Disagree

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| M = 1.38 SD = 0.58 | 1. Violence in school settings is increasingly a concern of educators. |
| M = 1.95 SD = 1.05 | 2. During the past five years, I have been more concerned about addressing the needs of children on my caseload who are involved in violence. |
| M = 3.70 SD = 0.94 | 3. The role of communication in violence is sufficiently understood by educators. |
| M = 3.60 SD = 1.01 | 4. In my present job setting, professionals including teachers, principals, and other special educators are aware of the role of communication in violence. |
| M = 3.82 SD = 0.90 | 5. Educators are sufficiently trained to provide services for students with communication disorders who are involved in violence. |
| M = 3.83 SD = 0.94 | 6. Educators have adequate training in behavior management to address the needs of children with communication disorders who are involved in violence. |
| M = 3.64 SD = 0.94 | 7. Educators' knowledge about multicultural issues is sufficient to address the needs of children with communication disorders who are involved in violence. |
| | 8. It is challenging to identify children for language services who have been involved in violence because: |
| M = 2.13 SD = 0.85 | a. many students do not follow rules to politely interact in conversations. Therefore, it is difficult to know which students to assess for language and communication disorders. |
| M = 1.91 SD = 0.80 | b. students are viewed as behavioral problems, learning disabled, etc., but are not consistently referred to the speech-language pathologist. |
| M = 2.27 SD = 0.89 | c. often students are tested by speech-language pathologists but do not qualify for language services. |
| M = 2.44 SD = 0.98 | d. they are not referred or assessed for language and communication disorders, because those services are considered low priority. (n = 94) |

- M = 1.66 SD = 0.69 9. Educators should be involved with educational efforts to plan prevention programs for children with communication disorders who are involved in violence.
- M = 2.95 SD = 1.21 10. Educators have sufficient background training to collaborate and consult with other team members for children with communication disorders who are involved in violence.
- M = 3.45 SD = 0.95 11. Educators provide adequate services for children with communication disorders who are involved in violence. (n = 77)
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Manitoba Women and Higher Education: Momentum to Stay the Course

Carolyn Crippen
John R. McCarthy

Her education is the same as that of a man . . . she is able to unfold and exercise her mental powers and faculties. She chooses her occupation in such a way as corresponds with her wishes, inclinations and natural abilities, and she works under conditions identical with man's. Even if engaged as a practical working woman on some field or other, at other times of the day she may be educator, teacher, or nurse, as yet others she may exercise herself in art, or cultivate some branch of science, and yet others may be filling some demonstrative function. She joins in studies, enjoyments or social intercourse with either her sisters or with men, as she may please or occasion may serve. (Bebel cited in Kinnear, 1995, p. 5)

Introduction

More than a century has passed since the German, August Bebel (cited in Kinnear, 1995), championed the social emancipation of women and predicted their success. Have women in higher education realized that prediction today? The progress and the reality faced by women in their quest for a place in higher education is documented sparsely. This study addressed middle class women and higher education. Consideration was given to women as students, as faculty, and as administrators. This research was restricted to Manitoba, Canada, and its largest city, Winnipeg.

Although large in area, Manitoba has a sparse population of 1.1 million people. The majority live in the capital city, Winnipeg, located in southern Manitoba, about one hour from the U. S. border. To the east of Manitoba is the densely populated, industrial province of Ontario. To the west of Manitoba are the wheat fields of Saskatchewan, another sparsely populated province. To the north is the territory of Nunavut. Along the southern Manitoba border are the states of North Dakota and a small portion of north western Minnesota.

An historical accounting of women's education in Manitoba provides a foundation for studying Manitoba women in higher education. Organized schooling in the province was introduced in the early 1800s. Cultural and societal issues often challenged their learning journey. A chronology of provincial education¹ establishes the paths and influences that guided women² in their learning, on the types of content available, and the eventual opportunities for involvement in higher education, particularly at the University of Manitoba. The Manitoba historical perspective covers (a) Education and Pioneer Women: c.1825-1850, (b) Higher Education Begins: 1850-1900, (c) Building Momentum: 1900-1960, (d) Maintaining Momentum and More: 1960-1990, and (e) Progress and Reality In Higher Education: 1990- 2000.

Education and Pioneer Women: c. 1825-1850

In the early 1800s, Scottish settlers, under the leadership of Lord Selkirk, established the Red River colony at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in a small corner of Rupert's Land,

in what would later be the province of Manitoba (Healy, 1987). Included among the settlers were women immigrants traveling with and without families: domestics, schoolmistresses, seamstresses, shopkeepers, midwives, farmwives, missionaries, and the spouses of military men posted to the area (Prentice, Bourne, Brandt, Light, Mitchinson, & Black, 1996). All the Selkirk settlers were seeking a new life in the new country. On both sides of the Red River, women organized schools and taught in them.

Historically, women actually had been school teachers in Rupert's Land *before* the province of Manitoba existed. In the English-speaking settlements on the west bank of the Red River, girls could attend schools run by women who emphasized social graces as well as elementary skills. It was relatively easy for women to teach because most schools were domestic affairs. The schoolmistress advertised her skills in the instruction of reading and writing, or sewing, or languages and fine arts (skills and learning that were acceptable to the community), and waited at home for her pupils (as did the vast majority of schoolmasters). When the teacher moved, so did her school. Students attended on an irregular basis when they were not needed at home (Bruno-Jofre & Mitchell, 1998-1999; Prentice et al., 1996). These domestic or private schools taught large numbers of children and were an important educational resource in the communities and sources of income for the schoolmistress and her family. Armstrong (2000) stated,

Women's formal role in education for Manitoba children began with Angelique and Marguerite Nolin. These sisters were pressed into service as teachers by Lord Selkirk and Bishop Provencher, who opened a French language Roman Catholic school, the first for girls, in 1829. (p. vi)

They taught in St. Boniface on the east side, and they worked as teachers in nearby locations during the next 20 years (Bumsted, 1999; Healy, 1987). French-Roman Catholic mixed-blood (Metis) families settled in the region as well; thus, religious orders of women soon followed. A contingent of Grey Nuns from France arrived in St. Boniface in 1844 to establish the first women's religious community in the Canadian West. They taught children at the elementary and secondary levels (Armstrong, 2000; Prentice et al., 1996).

The environment of Protestant Academies and/or Roman Catholic convent schools created a female culture that valued learning and that provided forums where women (students and teachers), separated from the outside public world, could exercise power. By the 1850s, curriculum was much expanded from what was available to most women of previous generations. Weiss and Rinear (2002) emphasized, "the literacy rate for women began to increase and the gap between the education offered to women and men narrowed" (p. 197). Women began to campaign for equal access to all levels of education (Prentice et al., 1996), "Those women who were aware of the growing international agitation for female 'improvement' believed that a more advanced education was essential to fit women for their vital and enhanced educational role as mothers and teachers" (p. 94).

Osborne (1993) explained that Manitoba education was impacted by five often inter-related forces at work and driven by nationalists, businessmen, ruling elites, progressives, and reformers. These forces were: "(1) the need for national unity; (2) the need for a suitably trained and disciplined work force; (3) the need to instill a sense of citizenship in the population; (4) the opportunity to spread enlightenment; and (5) the possibility for social change" (p. 10). Britain intended to spread and reinforce a strong British influence and loyalty to the British crown through normal school graduates and their teachings.³ The government established co-educational

public “normal schools” in nearly every British North American colony during the 1840s and 1850s.

The first colleges and universities, intended for boys and men, put girls and women at a disadvantage. Advanced formal education replaced apprenticeships for men who were preparing for professional roles. What was the opportunity for women? Higher education was not welcoming to women students. Canadian medical schools in the 1830s and 40s refused to admit women as did law schools and the ministry. Although prohibited from formal higher education, literate women of British North America were involved in writing for publication. Weiss and Rinear (2002) stated,

Writing had always been an acceptable way for a middle-class woman to earn money because she could do it in the privacy of her own home (not in the male, public sphere) and could meet her domestic responsibilities at the same time. During the nineteenth century, which had its share of depression and panics, more women than ever turned to writing to help support their families. Single women, too, felt the need to earn money to support themselves. (p. 232)

Many women published under a man’s name; several women did publish journals using their own names, but these publications struggled to survive. Formal writing gave women writers self-sufficiency and self-determination. Prentice et al. (1996) explained,

Through these writings, educated women sought influence in the worlds outside their families and familiar communities. To the extent that they were successful in getting their words into print, they introduced the idea of women’s voice- and women’s authority- into the realm of public discourse. (p. 96)

Higher Education Begins: 1850-1900

The province of Manitoba entered the Confederation in 1870 with a population of 12,000. However, the population in Canada grew from approximately 3.6 million people in 1871 to nearly nine million in 1921 (Friesen, 1987). Many of the immigrants were attracted by the promise of free land west of Ontario. Between 1851 and 1891, young men flocked to the prairies in search of great economic development. Although many Canadians moved to the rural areas, especially the British immigrants, “women continued to shift the population by moving into the cities for employment opportunities” (Prentice et al., 1996, p. 113). In Manitoba, between 1881 and 1891, population grew from 62,000 to 153,000 (Friesen, 1987). Thus, women outnumbered men in the cities.

The Victorian Era (1837-1901) was confining to women in Manitoba and worldwide. Middle class females were responsible for the children while their husbands attended to making a living. However, secretarial opportunities for women emerged in the late nineteenth century in the City of Winnipeg. The work encouraged women to seek additional training and skill development in typing, shorthand, and bookkeeping. Young (1999) suggested that for women clerical workers, “the typewriter, the ledger, and the shorthand writer’s pad were instruments not of oppression, but of liberation” (p. 129).

The idea of an educated woman was often ridiculed. In 1872, Dominion statistician, George Johnson, announced that the decline in the birth rate was the result of women

who became educated and worked outside the home, showing little interest in marriage. “A Christian Guardian journalist wrote during the same time that, very intellectual women are seldom beautiful. Their features, and in particular their foreheads, are more or less masculine” (Prentice et al., 1996, p. 173). The “woman question or woman problem” became important during the latter part of the nineteenth century.

Education was considered the key to improving the condition of women. Two different avenues were suggested: 1. improve home conditions by practical training—the precursor of the domestic science movement (renamed home economics, and initially included cooking, sewing, and housekeeping). 2. access to higher education which led to small numbers of women entering university. (Prentice et al., 1996, p.156)

The latter caused concern. Were women abandoning their responsibility for motherhood and children? Male religious and medical leaders emphasized that woman’s place was in the home, raising children and providing a solace for husbands (Prentice et al., 1996).

The majority of institutions that provided post secondary education were founded by various churches in Winnipeg (Kinnear, 1995). The chronology of the secondary institutions in Winnipeg follows:

1849	St. John’s College	founded by Anglican Church.
1854	St. Boniface College	founded by Roman Catholic Church.
1871	Manitoba College	founded by Presbyterian Church.
1873	Wesley College	founded by Methodist Church.
1877	University of Manitoba	established.
1888	Wesley College	became affiliated with the University of Manitoba.
1938	United College	founded by United Church
1938	Red River College	established
1968	University of Winnipeg	established

The Colleges of St. John’s, St. Boniface, and Manitoba, in 1877, formed the University of Manitoba; its original function was to examine candidates and award degrees. No curricula were provided until 1904.

Dr. Mary Kinnear, historian at St. John’s College, University of Manitoba, has written extensively about the progress of women in higher education in Manitoba and the writers are indebted to Kinnear for much of the information cited in this paper. Formal higher education began for women with teacher training at Manitoba Normal School. Manitoba Normal School was established by the provincial government in 1882. Early in 1886, four women applied for admission to higher education at Manitoba College. Immediate opposition to the requests occurred. Archbishops Machray (St. John’s College) and Tache (St. Boniface College) were the chief objectors. Only one of the four women eventually enrolled in the fall session at Manitoba College. By 1890, the Anglican St. John’s had joined the Presbyterian and Methodist Colleges in admitting women, and the first woman instructor at the university level lectured in the French department at St. John’s, 1893-1900. In 1883 the Manitoba Medical College was established to offer instruction leading to a degree at the University of Manitoba. “Although the Manitoba Medical College was in theory, co-educational from the beginning, no woman was admitted until 1890” (Kinnear, 1995, p.20).

Building Momentum: 1900-1960

By 1905, Manitoba had elementary school attendance requirements, but home responsibilities dictated the frequency of attendance. By 1911, Canadian boys and girls spent eight years in classrooms and Manitoba “made school attendance compulsory until age fourteen” (Osborne, 1998-1999, p. 3). Only 44% of 15 year old girls were attending school. The percentage of boys (who were needed to help with the seeding, bailing and harvesting on the farms) was lower. Many girls helped with the maintenance of the home and childcare. Girls in rural Manitoba were particularly affected by these responsibilities while the mother helped with the farming in the fields. Attendance varied according to race, ethnicity, and class. The Provincial government of Manitoba recognized the influx of large numbers of immigrants to the province and Bruno-Jofre and Mitchell (1998-1999) noted that, “in 1918 the Honorable Dr. Thornton, Minister of Education, identified the need to bring newcomers quickly into Canadian life and life of the province. Forty-two percent of the population was represented by 38 nationalities in 1916” (p. 27). Manitoba was an early example of true cultural diversity.

The separation of boys and girls was strictly maintained in urban schools. The entrances and playground areas for boys and girls were separate. Gym classes were separate. Boys took Industrial Arts and girls took Home Economics.⁴ Secondary curricula was similarly defined. Boys were encouraged to take the classics. Health and gym classes were segregated. Gym classes encouraged calisthenics for girls; boys participated in the rougher masculine sports of football and hockey and even joined the school military cadet corps. “And, in response to the rapidly changing commercial workplace in the early 1900s, boys were steered into accounting and girls into typing and stenography” (Prentice et al., 1996, p. 171). The government reinforced and spread the predominant Victorian message of the time (a woman’s place was in the home) to farms and urban communities through lectures and flyers; young girls and women teachers received the same message in school through the home economics curriculum. Manitoba historian, Dr. Sybil Shack (1993a), was not impressed with her home economics classes,

I now understand how much better qualified than my teachers were my grandmother and my mother to teach me the more practical virtues the home-making course was supposed to instill. At school my schoolmates and I were being taught to use washing machines and electronic irons, while in most of our homes the washing was done on scrubbing boards and the ironing with sad irons heated on kitchen stove. Not many families could afford either washing machines or electric irons. (p. 433-434)

By 1900, women formed 11% of the student population enrolled in universities and colleges; this grew to 13.9% by 1920. Until 1904, all university level instruction in Manitoba was offered by church colleges to men. In 1904, the University of Manitoba⁵ (located in Winnipeg) departed from simply examining students and expanded into teaching science by establishing the Faculty of Science. In 1910, the chairs for English, History, and Political Economy at the University of Manitoba were established. In 1910, women were appointed to the Manitoba Agricultural College, University of Manitoba, to teach Home Economics. Kinnear (1995) reported that, “there was an increase in the number of women employed at the University of Manitoba by 1920, however, those with advanced degrees occupied lower-paid and less prestigious jobs of instructor or demonstrator” (p. 24). After World War I (1914-1918), the University of Manitoba provided the majority of all higher education teaching.

The Law Society of Manitoba was by statute in 1877 accorded the authority to control legal education and admission to the profession.

The first application from a woman for admission as a student in law came in 1911 and was unsuccessful. Legislation in 1912 enabled women to practice as barristers on the same terms as men and two women were admitted to the Manitoba Bar in 1915. (Kinnear, 1995, p. 21)

Women reluctantly admitted to university scholarship proved capable of higher learning. Bigotry remained. Prentice et al. (1996) related the story of a Roman Catholic cleric who “believed that higher education was the road to destruction for young women” (p. 175). He preached that, “they would no longer be the devoted companions of men, but rather, their rivals” (p. 175).

The new century heralded a written report (National Council of Women of Canada, 1900), *Women of Canada: Their Life and Work*. It was funded by the federal government and was written by the National Council of Women.⁶ This document gave additional credence to the critical role that women played in Canadian society and to the issues that were important to them. World War I (1914-1918) brought a social crisis to Canada and ill feelings toward foreigners. Manitoba advocated that public schools were agencies to develop national unity, teach English, and educate all in the Canadian manner. This was the theme of the National Conference on Character Education in Relation to Canadian Citizenship that was held in Winnipeg and sponsored by the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba and the Rotary Clubs of Canada in 1919. Teachers played powerful roles in transmitting ideology of Anglo-conformity, assimilation, and social stability. A good citizen was not one urging radical change. Educational historian, Rosa Bruno-Jofre (1996), confirmed, “in 1919 the Independent Order of the Daughters of the Empire (IODE) saw foreign women as part of the general imperative to make our new Canadians one hundred percent British in language, thought, feeling, and impulse” (p. 77).

The 1901 Canadian census indicated there were 857 professors in Canada. Only 47 were women.⁷ Morton (1998) stated that the role of the academic community was “to hold a mirror to our society, allowing neither a flattering self-portrait nor an outsider’s caricature, but reality” (p. 52). Kinnear (1995) recorded the names of several female higher education pioneers in Manitoba who were successful in joining the ranks of the academic community. The first woman to teach at the University of Manitoba was Maude Bissett, in Classics, who taught from 1914-1920. Three other females joined in 1919; Emma Pope taught English and Mile Haynard and Celine Ballu taught French. Eileen Bulman was appointed to the Science Department in Zoology 1920-25. In 1928, Doris Saunders joined the faculty and taught English until her retirement in 1967. Saunders and Ballu remained the only women on the university staff except for a female chemist, Jessie Roberts (1932-33), who left because she could not get a salary increase (Kinnear, 1995).

For most of the 1920s and 1930s there were sessional appointments. Sessionals were instructors appointed for a session at a time, not on a continuing basis, and included lecturers, lab assistants and demonstrators who were usually senior undergraduate students. Kinnear (1995) identified Lucy Chapman as “the first female sessional appointment listed for one year in 1917 in the English department” (p. 33). Anna Jones, a sessional in German remained in that role for 16 years, and Margaret Dudley, a student demonstrator in Botany, remained after she had earned her Ph.D. During the late 1930s,⁸ when fewer sessionals were employed by all faculties, the proportion of women was generally higher. There were more women among casual academic

employees at the university than among the full-time, even though they were still in a small minority there (Kinnear, 1995).⁹

Until the end of World War II (1939-1945), the majority of female university teachers were located in the home economics department of the Faculty of Agriculture at the University of Manitoba. Students were taught practical training in home and family management, and were supervised in housekeeping and child rearing. This training was provided in specially built houses on the university campus. By 1946, women university teachers in home economics (domestic science) constituted half of all the women on the university faculty.

Beginning in 1938, new programs were established that provided opportunities for more women instructors. A program of interior design was introduced in 1938, and from the outset, women were appointed as instructors, first as sessionals, and after 1942, as full time instructors. Social work was initiated in 1943 with two full-time instructors, one a woman. Nursing was introduced in 1947. After 1950 there was an increase in women faculty at the University of Manitoba due to the introduction of new programs for which women were hired: interior design, social work, and nursing. By the mid 1950s women had taken over all the full-time positions in those programs.

Two full-time women were appointed in Science during the 1920s and 1930s and no more women were appointed in Science until 1950. By 1970, the 11 women in science comprised 6% of the total science faculty. The highest overall proportion of female university teachers in all the faculties existed between 1945-1955 when the average percentages hovered around 16-17%, and the Faculty of Arts included 25% women in 1947. Among the early women teachers, Doris Saunders, who was in the Faculty of Arts for 39 years at the University of Manitoba, expressed her support for well rounded student development similar to the British model, "Universities should seek to cultivate also, the emotional, the aesthetic, and the spiritual life of the individual. If more time could be devoted to personnel work with students I believe the whole University and the community would be benefited thereby" (Kinnear, 1995, p. 42).

Maintaining Momentum and More: 1960-1990

During the 1960s, 76% of the social work faculty were women.¹⁰ The provision of other course options to women students caused a reduction in the number of women registered in home economics at the University of Manitoba (from an 80% high in the 1930s down to 26% in 1965). Kinnear (1995) suggested, "the best estimate of the total number of women who taught full time between 1914 (when the first woman was appointed) and 1970 was 376" (p. 35). In the 1960s, American feminist Betty Frieden (2001) revealed the growing dissatisfaction of middle class women. Women wanted to use their talents and education outside the home. Kinnear (1982) and Weiss and Rinear (2002) cite as significant the impact Frieden's book had on creating a momentum for women to return to university or college, to search for challenging jobs, and to fuel the women's movement.

The United College and St. John's College continued to offer courses and employment until the late 1960s to women and men. The University of Winnipeg was founded in 1968 from the United College, forcing a restructuring of courses and faculties throughout the city.¹¹ Until the late 1960s, each college offered instruction in theology as well as arts and the lower levels of science. The Roman Catholic French-speaking College, St. Boniface, was directed by Jesuits and no woman taught there on a permanent basis before 1970.

Kinnear (1995) concluded that “women university instructors were not a numerous group. Over a period from 1933 to 1970 there was really little significant growth” (p. 38-40). Women who taught at the University of Manitoba, in Kinnear interviews, described “circuitous routes” to their final niche of university teaching. Women in the Faculty of Education often began as school teachers in the public schools. Others worked as practitioners in the field (i.e., home economics, social work, and health professionals). As late as the 1960s, appropriate female career opportunities were limited to teaching, nursing, office work, and marriage. Some were diverted from their original hopes by the financial problems of the Depression. Others were side-tracked by service in the armed forces. Several went into graduate training as a way to maintain or improve a variety of future options while deferring a decision on a career. Most said they went into graduate work because they liked it and were good at it. Almost all university women interviewed by Kinnear spoke of the emotional, and in many cases, the material support given them by their parents, especially their fathers. Several mentioned the sacrifices their mothers made, particularly those who had been single parents.

While a woman’s initial predisposition towards higher education may have been regarded with little concern, she was less likely to find external support thereafter. Many noted that they had to contend with indifference and even hostility. In disciplines such as mathematics and English, women students were met with the ingrained conservative assumption that the scholar was recognizable only as a man. Only the persistent, determined, and possibly naive female, remained to fight the battle in the more male-dominated subject areas. (Kinnear, 1995, p. 38)

At the University of Manitoba, academic qualifications were not so significant in the faculties that offered more of a vocational training (i.e., engineering, medicine, law). The concept of clinical training rather than research was emphasized in medicine and law. A teacher from the field could give practical instruction valued by a new recruit, who wanted to know *how* rather than *why* to practice her trade. Home Economics and Education and Nursing recruited from institutions, schools and hospitals.

Practicality in the field seemed quite sensible to many women . . . [but] a master’s degree in the first half of the twentieth century was necessary training for the university teacher, and even though the doctorate was not the almost universal prerequisite it became after 1970, it was a useful degree to have. (Kinnear, 1995, p.39-40).

The shift towards a greater emphasis on research, accompanied by a higher proportion of male appointees, occurred in the Faculties of Social Work and Education. During the 1960s, the proportion of women faculty was reduced. By 1965, possession of a graduate degree counted for more than service in the field. For a variety of reasons, (e.g., parental obligations, family responsibilities, lack of funds, lack of motivation to do research or publish, lack of encouragement) women were slower to prepare themselves with this qualification and their numbers declined. New male academic administrators introduced new demands and expectations for research into the staff, which caused considerable anxiety. Some female teachers were inspired by the project. But, there was no reduction in the teaching load. The new approach to research was considered by some as a way for men to enforce the rules to keep women out. Home Economics hired a male director. The Dean of Agriculture was male.

In 1971, a Manitoba volunteer committee coordinated women's groups in presenting a joint brief to the Royal Commission and four months after the report was tabled, it became the Manitoba Action Committee on the Status of Women. Sybil Shack (1993b), in reflecting on the ongoing inequities in the academic world, stated "in spite of the Status of Women committees, the educational hierarchy during the 1960's and '70's remained resolutely and overwhelmingly male" (p. 504). Feminists during the 1970s referred to themselves as socialist feminists. They focused on the ways in which capitalism and patriarchy were related and acted as systems of oppression for women. Radical feminists believed in the asserting of uniqueness of women and tended to obliterate gender roles. Both socialist and radical feminists had a major impact on Women's Studies in Canada and Manitoba.¹² Prentice et al. (1996) wrote about such programs in the 1980s:

By the 1980s, Women's Studies were well established in a large number of Canadian Universities (including Manitoba) supported by three journals and by five regional Women's Studies Chairs endowed by the Department of the Secretary of State. Many of the first generation of instructors were women's movement activists. But integrating women's experiences and perceptions into existing academic disciplines was a painfully slow process." (p. 426)

On April 17, 1982, the Canadian Charter of Right and Freedoms was established. The Guide to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Canadian Heritage, 1997) states, "The Charter sets out those rights and freedoms that Canadians believe are necessary in a free and democratic society. Some of the rights and freedoms contained in the Charter are:

- freedom of expression
- the right to a democratic government
- the right to live and to seek employment anywhere in Canada
- the right to equality, including the equality of men and women" (p. 1).

The rights enshrined in the Charter further fuelled the desire by women for equality of opportunity and gave greater profile to women's issues at the university level (i.e., sexism, racism, inclusionary language, and even female representation in faculties) (Prentice et al., 1996).

Until after W.W.II, it was rare to find a married woman employed as a full-time university teacher at the University of Manitoba. In the 1940s and 1950s, single women (either those who had never married or those who were widowed) were still more common than married women. Many returning ex-service women used Canadian veterans bursary programs to obtain a university education. In the 1940s, 2600 woman had succeeded with this program. In opposition to progress in higher education K-12 guidelines continued to stress the role of women in the home as forming the nucleus of the family unit. The Roman Catholic Church still stated that women belonged in the home or the convent. "One Oblate priest told a girls' graduating class at a convent that a woman achieves greatness on her knees" (Prentice et al., 1996, p. 396). Women fought for maternity rights of female teachers in Winnipeg and the right for women to teach beyond elementary school. Secondary school teachers required a university degree (Shack, 1993b). As women moved up the educational ladder, their numbers decreased.

There was a distinct difference between women employed at the university before and after 1960s. Those of the older generation who were married were expected to run the household and look after their husbands, but they tended to be childless. When a university professor was also a mother, the tendency was for other people (and for her, too) to consider that this was very much her own personal business.

Before 1970, the women in the faculties had very little to do with one another. There was no overt solidarity, political, or social. There were no formal or informal associations beyond the gathering of a few friends. Many had children and heavy home responsibilities and felt they had little time for socializing. The apparent ambition and self-sacrifice of the professional had to be subordinated to the self-sacrifice of the wife and mother. (Kinnear, 1995, p. 47)

After 1970, many women no longer accepted the necessity of choice between marriage or a profession. A typical remark was, "You learn to make a lot of compromises" (Kinnear, 1995, p. 50). Women involved in higher education had very few women mentors to guide them in their careers. Doris Saunders stated the difference between her attitude and that of males in the faculty, "They look after themselves. I try to help others" (Kinnear, 1995, p. 45). The uninviting atmosphere of the Faculty Club discouraged and excluded females. Conversations were cut short or topics were changed if women ventured near the men's tables. Much university business was conducted in the club and networking worked in men's favor.¹³ Caplan (1995) emphasized the same point: "Academics function to a great extent through colleague or networking systems through which the formal and unwritten rules of the profession are disseminated and insider information shared" (p. 202).

Progress and Reality in Higher Education: 1900-2000

In 1991, women represented 21% of the total university faculty, with the highest number of 30% in education. In 1992, women students constituted 69% of those registered in education and health related programs. However, women students had 17% representation in engineering and 28% in math that year (Prentice et al., 1996). Shack (1993b) stated her opinion of those in the education field. "But 17 years after my retirement the way ahead is still rough and many of the obstacles of 1976 still block it for my successors in our honourable profession" (p. 508).

Epp (1995) reported results from a survey of department heads and students in Canadian institutions granting M.Ed. degrees in Educational Administration. The presence of women in educational administration¹⁴ programs had challenged the discipline's male-oriented roots but failed to significantly alter program content or procedures. However, women students' comments reflected a significant conflict between female students and male professors, i.e., "One gave lower marks to young women because, he said 'they hadn't paid their dues' and so didn't deserve the same mark that an older male administrator would get" and, "The atmosphere that permeates the entire faculty of education is one of sexism and the power of the 'old boys network.' The problem goes beyond the Ed. Admin. program to the entire faculty and the entire university" (Epp, 1995, p. 19-23).

There was also difficulty when women chose to use feminist methodology or to use women's issues as part of their research. "A colleague wrote a paper on women's ways of knowing and received a very low mark. Her professor told her that the research she cited was just a bunch of crackpot theories and not worthy of serious consideration" (Epp, 1995, p. 23).

In a section designated “For Women” in a University of Manitoba handbook, instructors are reminded to ensure that their classes are gender inclusive and to be vigilant about tone of voice and mannerisms with female students that could have, “the effect of discouraging women students from achieving full potential” (p. 127). It discourages interruptions of female students when they are speaking, and judging female students based upon their appearance. Issues of sexist language, sexist jokes, and sexual harassment are discussed. It supports the need for appropriate and inclusive language and the need for equal attention to females and males in discussions.

Caplan (1995) reported on the genuine, gender-based inequities that characterize most Canadian academic settings today. She listed the following seven inequities:

1. The academic funnel: the proportion of women drops at each step from undergraduate to master’s to doctorate programs and right up the academic ladder. She adds that the same pattern exists with tenure and promotion.
2. Part-time vs. full-time: Women are disproportionately likely to be part-time students and faculty.
3. Women are severely under represented in administrative positions.
4. Women graduate students in many fields are disproportionately unlikely to receive financial support.
5. Faculty salaries tend to be lower for women than for men.
6. Women are disproportionately likely to work in lower-status institutions.
7. Women faculty tend to have heavier teaching loads and family responsibilities than do male faculty. (p. 23)

Conclusion

In the mid 1990s, a female from outside Manitoba became Dean of Education at the University of Manitoba. Unfortunately she did not complete her five-year appointment and left for another province. In the latter part of the decade, a capable female Associate Dean was appointed in the same faculty. This strong feminist mentored other women students and faculty and encouraged scholarship through committee work, discussion groups, and educational projects. Before her term ended, she was appointed Dean of Education at a prestigious university in southern Ontario. When a wider lens was utilized, a rather unique situation was discovered to exist in Higher Education in the City of Winnipeg: the Presidents of the University of Manitoba, the University of Winnipeg and the Red River College were all female. This discovery was intriguing and suggested the need for further investigation.

As predicted by August Bebel in 1879, opportunities for women to receive the same education as men, is becoming a reality. That narrative suggested Manitoba women actively participated in higher education as students, as faculty, as sessionals, as faculty deans, and even university and college presidents. They have entered academic areas that were the domain of males and they continue in their journey into higher education. Today, women in academia must continue to tell their stories. Only through this sharing process and through future research will challenges identified by Caplan (1995), be addressed and possible solutions defined. The momentum established by Manitoba women pioneers in their quest for higher education must be maintained to stay the course for our present female students and women in academia, because the choice of educational opportunity provides hope for their future and that of the province.

These final words from Caplan (1995) add to this encouragement:

It is such an interesting time to be a woman in academia. In most departments and at most places, we are likely still to be in a gender minority- even those who are white, heterosexual, able-bodied, and 'just the right age'- but with little effort, we can probably find a woman in our department and discipline, or at least on our campus, with whom to share our feelings, experiences and our concerns. In the words of a woman dean, "Women are talking more, revealing more, empowering each other, and there are some enlightened men" (p. 28).

Endnotes

¹ Gosh and Ray (1995, p. 8) stated that Canada is the only western country with no federal office of education, no national educational policy, and neither adequate national data collection on schools nor a national mechanism for dissemination of educational information. Provinces co-operate through Council of Ministers of Education of Canada.

² Although the focus is upon immigrant women from European ancestry, it is important to note the significant role of aboriginal women, who were the first and original inhabitants of Manitoba. It is not the intent of this discussion to address their roles, but their unique/special experiences are hereby acknowledged.

³ Prentice et al. (1996, p. 94-95) suggested that the women who attended the normal schools were usually younger than the men. Many of the men had already been teaching and the women were less experienced in lesson preparation and instruction. Women were often streamed into lower levels of teacher certification and more closely supervised. Social interaction between males and females was strictly forbidden although they studied in the same building. It was common for women and men to be separated within the normal school and to study different curriculum.

⁴ Crippen remembered when she was in Grade 8 and teaching staff came to provide information about their programs at the large secondary school nearby. She raised her hand and asked the Industrial Arts teacher if she would be permitted to take Industrial Arts in secondary school. A huge roar of laughter went up in the gym and the secondary staff chuckled and shook their heads in amazement. Crippen could feel her face burning with humiliation. The teacher responded that girls were "not allowed" to take the course. Girls belonged in Home Economics, where they did cooking.

⁵ Darling and Gregor (1988, p. 5) stated that in general, the research-intense university in the United States is not an instrument of mass education. This is also true for England. The focus of the University of Manitoba is research; yet, the University of Manitoba draws heavily from the general population of the province for its students.

⁶ Prentice et al. (1996, p. 214-215). This was the first published national portrait of Canadian women. The report documented the status, roles and conditions. It also set an agenda for the future reform activities in the 20 years ahead. Within the book was a strong message of the confidence in organized activist women. It reviewed women's political and legal problems, trades and industries, education, literature, charitable and reform work and that of the churches.

⁷ Bruno-Jofre (1996, p. 77) discovered that the first woman to receive a full university professorship was Carie Derick in 1912. She had received a B.A. from McGill in 1880 and her M.A. in 1896. She studied in the United States, Great Britain and Germany. Her struggle initiated her involvement in the women's movement. Derick believed, the professions should

be open to men and women alike and that it was just a question of survival of the fittest. Manitoba was the first province to extend the vote to women in 1916.

- ⁸ Bruno-Jofre (1996, p. 89) wrote that during the 1920s and 1930s the curriculum and textbooks helped to maintain women's marginalization. The school curriculum was British in orientation at all levels. The French connection was neglected.
- ⁹ Bruno-Jofre (1996, p.87-94) found negative tones of patriarchy continued in the press, i.e., in 1929 the Western Journal argued that the feminization of secondary education would lead to deterioration in the moral tone of the male principal's virility and loss of power to deal successfully with men. The struggle for female equality within and in front of the class was ongoing in secondary schools while women also were trying to make inroads into higher education.
- ¹⁰ One cannot underestimate the revolution that gave freedom to women with the introduction of the birth control pill in the early 1960s. Women educators and women in general no longer needed to fear an unwanted pregnancy. Female students and female professors could now receive effective birth control, plus, they had a new found confidence in charting their future plans with the assurance that their studies and research would not be interrupted with childbirth or maternity issues.
- ¹¹ Women in the Voice of Women (VOW) movement demonstrated during the late 1960s against the Vietnam War. Other university women during this time became involved in causes such as, the environment, human rights, science policy and the status of women.
- ¹² Crippen was privileged to take a Women in Literature course from feminist Dr. Barbara Lecker, at Carleton University, Ottawa in 1970. It was a major turning point in her life and shaped many of her beliefs. Lecker was an excellent and articulate role model in higher education.
- ¹³ Crippen attended lunches 6 times in 1999-2000, at the Faculty Club at the University of Manitoba. Men, often in groups, were well represented, but it was discouraging to see that approximately 1/20 of the academics in the room were women.
- ¹⁴ When Crippen arrived in Manitoba as a Superintendent of Schools in 1995, she became the third female in the province of Manitoba out of a total of 53 superintendents to hold such a position. Six years later, the number of female superintendents remains the same.

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Two Profiles of Women Community College Presidents

Melinda Rhodes

Introduction

In 1991 a nationwide survey of college presidents conducted by the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) indicated that 11% were women, and by 2001 women had captured 27.8%. This significant increase bodes well for women seeking community college presidencies. For any number of reasons—not excluding prestige and competitiveness associated with four-year college and university posts—women have made significant headway at two-year institutions.

According to Oregon State University Professor Rebecca Warner and State University of New York President Lois B. DeFleur (1993), “women presidents are much more likely to be found at two-year schools. While there has been an increase in women’s appointments as CEOs in the last five years, the increase is still most evident in community college settings as compared to large, comprehensive institutions” (p. 4).

In Kansas, women lead 4 of the 25 (16%) American Association of Community College members. In Missouri, the percentage of women holding top posts is 37%. In Nebraska there is one female president of the 9 community colleges presidents. The representation of women in top posts in these Midwest states varies dramatically.

Researchers, especially those interested in promoting the presence of women in administration, have sought to discover what factors or connections among factors might prevent women from attaining these top posts? And, they ask, how women who find themselves in these top posts cope with the continuing challenges of leadership?

Surveys and narratives from women leaders about their experiences makes clear that barriers to attainment of presidencies exist in terms of the market itself, the culture of higher education, the juggling of personal and professional lives, and the distinct methods of leadership that women may bring to administrative posts.

The marketplace for administrators in higher education, especially for presidents, is a mixture of “good news and bad news.” The labor market for administrators exhibits the following characteristics: institutionalized policies or rules that affect mobility, access to the right networks, mentoring and sponsorship and patterning of career ladders. Warner and DeFleur (1993) analyzed the job market for administrators from both a supply and a demand perspective to explain the absence of women in the marketplace. On the supply side, the authors argue,

sex segregation in higher education administration would focus on the usual set of human capital factors (amount of education, training, and years of experience), but would also include occupationally specific factors such as the educational area of one’s advanced degree and the existence of certain academic experiences such as holding a faculty position (p. 6).

Women lack degrees in prestigious subject areas or have less experience as faculty and faculty chairs.

In another study, Oglesby and Windham (1996) focused on gender-related, career-path characteristics of community college presidents and found that, following the 1960s and 1970s, “opportunities for faculty and administrative positions are fewer,” and that those positions were

accompanied by tighter budgets and calls for accountability (p. 316). The study analyzed the career-paths of both male and female presidents and suggested a difference in several key areas. The findings contradicted some of the research on women in four-year institutions. The most significant career-path predictors of gender among community college presidents were the following:

1. employment status of the spouse (more likely women presidents had working spouses);
2. elementary-school experience (more likely with women presidents);
3. number of community college positions held (more women held faculty posts first);
4. years of community college experience (men reported more years of experience);
5. absence from work of at least 1 week to care for children (seen in women's careers); and
6. community college presidents (men had more experience in this area). (p. 316)

Kubala (1999) relied on a survey of community college presidents from 1995 to 1997 to analyze career-ladder characteristics, job acceptance motivation and initial observations of presidents upon taking office. Seventy-two percent of the respondents emerged from an "academic pipeline." Other routes to the presidency included trusteeship, administrative or student services, institutional development and planning and marketing.

Weisman and Vaughan (2002) indicated improvement in the status of women seeking presidencies. They credited changes in governing boards' commitments to diversity and current presidents greater commitment to "mentoring the underdog and increases in graduate school enrollment as reasons for improvement. Nevertheless, women remained in an "underdog" position. The researchers found the tenure for male presidents to be 8.4 versus 4.7 years for female presidents.

LeBlanc (1993) outlined the barriers to women in higher education administration: self-esteem issues, the need for self-improvement for women administrators who desire promotions, lack of women's exposure to challenges and constituencies outside the academic arena, the challenge of balancing family and careers, the lack of mentors to assist in a rise to the top, lack of available networks of influence, and a remoteness from activities that develop a strong understanding of the mission or vision of the college as a whole (pp. 41-49).

The Study

Perhaps most revealing in the area of women community college presidencies are the narratives of those who hold the leadership positions. As women's presence increases in this arena, the lessons of current leaders become a great asset in providing models for other women aspiring to these posts. They provide concrete examples, valuable advice, words of caution and processes by which leadership effectiveness might be enhanced.

This study focuses on the narratives of two women leaders, one of whom continues to work as a community college president and another who made the transition from a community college presidency to the directorship of a continuing education division of a large, state research university. The women were first interviewed in 2000 when they discussed their own career characteristics and views of women presidency leadership issues. At that time, one was considering accepting a post leading a northwest community college undergoing drastic changes in mission, goals and target student population. She served as that college's president in 2002.

The women agreed to be interviewed again in 2002, sharing information about the challenges and the details that have defined the evolution of their leadership styles during the past two years. The earlier interviews were conducted by telephone and email. In 2002, one was interviewed by telephone, and the other during a lengthy personal visit. Both women are identified by pseudonyms in this study. Their stories are unique and individual, as much as they are inspirational and educational.

The Academic Pipeline

Like many women in higher education administration, Elizabeth Jones, the president at a midwest community college, has an academic background that reflects diversity of experience and an emphasis in the area of humanities. Jones completed her liberal arts degree in English with a minor concentration in theater and the teaching block. ("The diploma says 'Humanities' and education in a nationally accredited teacher education program, 1965," she explained. "I was certified in secondary English, speech, and maybe some other things.")

Jones immediately went on to earn a master of arts in speech and drama, with an emphasis on direction and dramatic literature and criticism. The graduate degree led her to a community college where she taught and directed student productions for a year. She left to pursue an advanced degree.

"I decided to enter the Ph.D. program while I still had the time and energy," Jones said. She enrolled in a doctoral program in theater and completed all the course work and preliminary examinations and began her dissertation before she accepted a teaching post at a community college. What followed was a mixture of career, family life and continuing enrollment at the university to complete her dissertation. "A year [after taking the post at the community college], I got married and started a family. I remained enrolled until I finally decided to complete the dissertation about 1988, and two years later I had the degree."

Jones' background was in the academic pipeline. "Traditionally, most senior administrators have come from one of the liberal arts disciplines," Warner and DeFleur (1993) noted. "Fields such as English, chemistry and history are usually well represented, but this is not surprising since these are among the largest academic disciplines. Specialized degrees such as higher education administration or business administration, however, are sometimes disparaged as not providing a sufficiently academic background for administrative roles" (p. 5). Women are more likely to hold degrees in the liberal arts and sciences.

Jones said that a degree in administration would have been a more direct approach to the community college presidency. "If all I wanted was to be a community college president, I would have taken an immediate Ed.D. and taken the straightest line to an administrative post. But I never even wanted to be a community college president until some time after 1990. When I took the [state] job in 1970, my goal was to work there three years, finish the Ph.D., get a faculty position at [a research university], and then become the department head."

Jill Miller, president of a community college, also initially majored in the humanities and worked her way to her current position through an academic appointment. She received a bachelor's and master's degree in speech with an emphasis in public address and rhetoric. Her education specialist degree was in secondary education instruction with an emphasis in English, and her Ph.D. in curriculum and instruction.

"I had no administration classes at the graduate level and would have benefited from budget, legal and human resource management information," she explained, adding that the academic

field emphasis has its rewards. "I believe gaining the respect of faculty is very important, and knowing a great deal about learning and teaching has helped me. My advice to someone who may want to be an administrator is to get a degree in a subject area such as English, chemistry, etc. Faculty respect these degrees more than administration [or] curriculum, and, in the future, I believe faculty will be more involved in the selection decisions."

Family and Career

The influence of a spouse's job or career is more greatly felt by women administrators than by their male counterparts. The results of Vaughan's (1986) survey of male and female spouses of community college presidents indicated that male spouses have more formal education than female spouses do, that 89% of the male spouses surveyed were employed, and that 67% of the female spouses were employed outside the home. "Even though 67% were employed, 36% listed their primary occupation as homemaker" (cited in Smith & Helms, 1994, p. 13). Vaughan's (1986) evidence indicated very little career conflict between male presidents and female spouses. "There was no overt evidence of career conflict between female presidents and their male spouses . . . but adjustments were required when the wife became a president and the male spouse was also pursuing a professional career" (p. 13). These adjustments often created stress as a result of maintaining commuter marriages or divorce. Although 3% of male community college presidents were single or divorced in 1986, 17% of the women presidents were single and nearly 31% were divorced and had not remarried.

Jones noted that while the community college world had won her over, another factor influencing her decision not to pursue the possibility of a faculty and department head position at a university centered on her husband's career. "My husband's job, which I respected, pretty much meant we had to live in the small town." Jones' subsequent decision to accept the continuing education position in 2001 was linked to her husband's career flexibility and the couple's desire to relocate to the town in which they both attended college.

Miller's husband had exhibited flexibility and support that allowed her to work long hours and take on the challenge. Still, the road has not been a smooth one. The couple carried the burden of separation due to career differences. "Being a community college president requires 60-plus hours [weekly], so there has to be great support," she commented. Between 2000 and 2002, the couple divorced. Miller pointed out the difference she saw between the role of the spouse of a male president and the role of the spouse of a female president. Even the requirement for entertaining in the home was a critical factor in her decision to accept her current post. If that were a requirement for her presidency, she said, she would not have accepted the job. "He was never an asset to my career," Miller said of her former spouse. "He was never a hindrance, but he was never an asset."

Both women also commented on the need to juggle family and career. Miller remembered a woman administrator with whom she worked who would literally fall asleep during meetings because she was so exhausted. "Women can just get so tired," she said.

During her first year at a new presidency, Miller cared for her mother whose health concerns increased significantly. Her husband was unable and unwilling to care for her mother so she juggled the new post and the caretaker position. During the third year of her presidency, Miller lost a foster son to a work-related accident. The visibility of a woman president, she noted, restricts one's ability to grieve and, more recently and post-divorce, to engage in a social life.

Previous Occupational Experience

Past positions held in and outside of academia also contribute to a woman's opportunities to secure a presidency and success during a presidency. "Some research suggests that women are more likely to enter into administrative career paths that are clustered in the nonacademic areas of student affairs or other university services. . . . These career paths are more likely to be dead-end or to be on ladders which have low ceilings. It is the area of academic affairs that appears to have the most streamlined path to the top of the administrative hierarchy and in which women are less frequently found" (Warner & DeFleur, 1993, p. 8). LeBlanc (1993) noted that in order to advance into leadership posts in academia, women must plan "multi-dimensional career paths."

Jones took a rather philosophical approach to an analysis of her prior positions: "Every job I ever had contributes to my performance." According to Jones, the community college she led in 2000 offered her many opportunities for taking on projects, tasks, responsibilities and leadership. Perhaps the diversity of her positions and responsibilities created this perspective.

"The one event that probably helped me have the confidence to proceed was a temporary interval in the presidency position at [another community college], when there was much turmoil," she explained. "For a brief period, I was the ONLY dean-level administrator there and was acting president for a month or so. I recognized then that the job was within my capacity."

Miller said experience as a high school English teacher and debate coach gave her credibility as a teacher/administrator. She also has experience as a community college adjunct instructor and an adjunct instructor on the university level, teaching speech on the undergraduate level and English and education courses on the graduate level. "These teaching experiences were and are very helpful for I have experience to know how difficult it is to be an excellent teacher," she noted.

She also valued past experience as vice president for instruction at a community college and a post as senior academic officer of a larger college. "I followed a male who had been there over 20 years," she explained. "I was the only female on the top management team; I was the only one who nurtured others. It was a difficult role, but I admired the president who is still there. The faculty and staff union environment was adversarial, and I earned stripes of being 'an administrator.'"

Mentorship

Jones credited a mentoring situation she encountered in college with her success in this job market. A mentor in a humanities field sparked her interest in the discipline and managed to make it personally meaningful to her. "He also showed me how one can maintain normal mental health and still be a consummate artist," she said. "He showed me how to be excellent while keeping both feet and my head (ego) firmly under control. But he did that all by example only. I'm still trying to learn what he taught me."

In addition to this discipline-specific mentor, Jones said she encountered another male mentor who assisted her in learning "the mechanics of administration." Ironically, this mentor at times taught her through negative example, and Jones found herself learning what not to do in certain circumstances. "He encouraged me and supported me as I learned," she explained. "Support is important, but so is teaching."

This same mentor would be mentioned by Jones two years later. As her leadership experience increased, she found that she was called upon to mentor rather than to be mentored.

Still, she found it valuable to “pick and choose pieces and parts of what I see as being very effective leadership.” She indicated that her own supervisor demonstrates vision and is effective at “making people think they have a lot of influence with him.”

Miller experienced a mentor who taught by negative example at times. During her time as senior academic officer, her superior, the president, suggested playing her “cards close to the chest” and refraining from being so “open.” “He also told me that the most important thing for a president to remember is to develop a good working relationship with the board. . . . No matter what faculty and/or staff think of the president, it is the board that hires and fires him or her.”

Many studies and commentaries on women in higher education administration and mentorship have been published. Hackney and Bock (2000) argued that experiences, such as those described by Jones, mimic an old model of mentorship that often excluded women. In other words, Jones, although finding some support resulting from personal relationships in addition to professional collegueship, did not encounter a “culture of mentoring.”

We . . . advocate for an academic organization that is characterized by a more inclusive and egalitarian academic culture—a culture where there is room for multiple voices and ways of knowing; where all members are recognized, validated, and appreciated; and where each individual is enriched and energized as a result. (p. 2)

There is a practical explanation for the difficulty women in this field face in finding mentors. “One of the greatest difficulties is the all too human tendency of members of such networks to choose persons most like themselves as protégés and to overlook or actively exclude newcomers who are different,” explained authors Moore and Amey (1988, p. 45). Bower (1993) echoed this observation and added several factors from contemporary research that lead to a general lack of mentorship of women in administrative positions.

1. Mentor relationships in part arise from social learning that is typically male.
2. The “queen bee” phenomena suggests there is often only room for one outstanding woman in an organization and that each other woman must fight her way to the top in much the same way.
3. Potential sexual aspects of a relationship prevent men from mentoring aspiring women. Potential male mentors may fear being misunderstood by peers.
4. The pattern of revocability which indicates that successful men often do not consider women to be serious about careers. (p. 93)

Regardless of the difficulty of finding a mentor, the benefits of a mentor relationship are undeniable. The protégé acquires an ability to see the bigger picture of a college or university, gains access to special or privileged information, learns basics like how to dress and travel and, most important, acquires critical information on how politics are played out on a campus or issues affecting administration on all levels of governance (pp. 96-97). “Probably the most important benefit of the mentor-protégé relationship is its power for career advancement of the protégé. Some mentors are specific and open about their intentions. . . . Other mentors leave the option open” (p. 97).

Miller, at 22 and a recent baccalaureate, was mentored by a woman who was and still is respected in the field of rhetoric and public address. “She taught me how to evaluate the work of others and how to anticipate the actions of others,” Miller said. “[She] trusted me, confided in me

and helped me become a stronger woman.” The two women developed a relationship that allowed them to become like family. In addition to support for Miller’s initial efforts at publication, her mentor provided opportunities for Miller to win significant and prestigious awards. The personal benefit from the continuing relationship is “unconditional support.” “I learned from her how to mentor others,” Miller concluded.

Miller’s current mentors can be found in the college’s Board of Trustees that she alternately mentors, because she said, the atmosphere is mutually supportive. She finds women models there who exemplify an ability to “press on” and hold an understanding of key issues.

Transitions

Transitioning from a community college to a four-year institution presented Jones with significant challenges. Her post focuses on delivery of instruction through distance education using a combination of technologies—online course management and presentation, videotapes, CD-ROMs, interactive television and instructor rotation from one site to another. The Division of Continuing Education caters to on and off-campus students, but the challenge has been in promoting lifelong learning in the college and increasing student services to the roughly 5,000 students a year, half of whom take courses solely by distance. The division also supports colleges using technology, partners with community colleges in the state, provides training to the military, seeks international partnerships in terms of academic programming and offers its own course management system. She believes in the quality of distance education, notes the absence of strong assessment for traditional classroom learning, and speculates that, should a true “apple to apple” research project be undertaken, distance education would be found more effective.

The transitional challenges for Jones have been cultural. “This sounds like an administrator talking, but one of the things that I’ve dealt with all my life—and it’s even harder here, harder because it’s just a bigger and less mobile institution—is to tell the story of the success of and the need for continuing education more dramatically. The university hasn’t learned the importance of this.” Although the resources at a research university might be greater, she noted, student services are not necessarily geared to the non-traditional student, and she has less contact with the everyday running of the university.

For Miller, the move from one community college to another brought with it increased budget (about 30%) and the culture of a newly emerging community college. The transition also brought with it potential for growth. During the first year of her presidency, she remembers scheduling an appointment in a neighboring community. “I got in my car and gave myself 45 minutes. I was there in seven minutes.” The service area, she noted, was vast. “So the first thing I learned is there are a lot of people here, we should have a lot of students.” The recognition of this has led to an increasing enrollment for the last three years. This is the first fall semester that this community college has experienced a decrease in enrollment, and Miller viewed this as an opportunity to expand student services.

Leadership and Gender

As much as mentorship, leadership styles of male and female higher education leaders has been the subject of research and theories abound on the relationship between types of leaders and gender. Chliwniak (1997) summarized the literature on women’s leadership by saying, “while men are more concerned with systems and rules, women are more concerned with relations and

atmosphere” (p. 2). In a survey of literature conducted from 1984 to 1998, Loughheed (2000) found that “even though women and men believe women can be successful leaders, there remains discrimination against women leaders and questions remain whether or not a woman should be selected as a leader” (p. 6).

Jones described her leadership style succinctly: “My natural and preferred style is developmental and inspirational. When necessary, however, and for short periods of time, I can be directive and authoritarian. However, I do not believe that is effective in the long run, and the confrontations that develop make me very uncomfortable.” Still, the weaknesses that she identified are sometimes reflective of gender-based leadership differences as opposed to actual weaknesses. “I take responsibility for everything that happens,” Jones said, “because I think I should have prevented bad things from happening, even when that is unrealistic.”

Jones had a tendency to take on technical aspects of administration and teaching that should be delegated. She continued to recognize that quality in 2002, although she also said her leadership has evolved in many ways.

I’ve learned to be more comfortable depending on other people to finish projects, and maybe learned how to have input into that process without actually doing it. And that’s hard to learn. I’ve thought many times, I didn’t used to trust people to do a good job, and maybe it was because they didn’t do a good job. Maybe I was getting pretty bad results. And I don’t know who’s changed.

She also admitted to not listening to bosses or subordinates. “I have plenty of vision,” she noted, “and maybe not enough patience. I love my work because I am mission-driven, but I am easily disappointed and sometimes angered when other people display severe character flaws through unethical and unprofessional behavior.”

Jones noted that expectations of men and women in leadership positions are responsible for the resulting characteristics attributed to either sex. “Because people expect certain differences, we’re forced into those roles if we want to be effective leaders,” she said.

In 2000, Miller described her leadership style as “inspirational, democratic and participatory,” all terms attributed to women’s style of leadership. “My basic nature is of kindness, and I try to make others happy. I work very well with talented people who believe community colleges make a difference in the lives of students wanting each to succeed.”

Her assessment in 2002 focused on her personal “openness,” which she viewed as both an asset and a flaw. “When I was at [state] Community College, I gave the board too much information. I told them about my worries. That was stupid.” Still, she said, this characteristic is unchangeable. “What I bring to the table is a great deal of relationship skills, vision and mission.”

She said that as time has passed, she certainly has learned more in terms of content, but her core remains the same. “If I have to change my style because of my job, then I don’t want the job. People, especially faculty and staff, want an authentic person.”

The Politics of Leadership—Faculty, Staff and Trustees

Harrow (1993) noted that “power and the political process are inextricably linked throughout the literature on leadership” (p. 143). Communication skills, the management of power, and the

relationship a community college president has with her board of trustees determines effectiveness of leadership.

Communication as a barrier often arises from perceptions of a male style of communication—authoritarian, assertive—as being more appropriate when it comes to discussion with subordinates. Women are often considered better listeners, better “decoders” of nonverbal expressions and better nonverbal communicators in general. “Women need to be aware of, and even able to, employ either style when the situation demands” (Johnson, 1993, p. 138).

Although Jones did not endorse the concept of inherent barriers to women in higher education, she did “believe that women must be better at everything in order to achieve equal levels of responsibility than men,” adding that “maybe it’s only office politics that we’re not better at, because we are less likely to accept that as a good value to hold.” Another area of higher education politics that Jones found challenging was tenure in the university setting. “I have never in my life understood the culture of tenure,” Jones said. “As a graduate student, nobody ever explained that to me. . . . It’s like being a new immigrant in a new world.”

Miller reported that a change is occurring regarding the politics of community college administration. “I used to believe there were no barriers to women in higher education,” she commented. “Then I began to believe that colleges want strong leaders, and some believe women are too soft. Now I am beginning to believe that colleges are looking for facilitators, not strong authoritative figures. So I am back where I started from several years ago. I believe being a courageous, talented female leader is the best.” During the course of her career, Miller has emphasized the value of unity, “as we all need to speak with one voice and not be seen to be fighting with each other.” Miller said a strong accomplishment in multiple positions “was to show that women are O.K., too, as presidents and as chief academic officers.”

Involvement of faculty in governance is part of communication and politics. Jones noted that

I would like to have a faculty and staff that can and will participate fully and professionally in the internal governance of the college. . . . I would like to be able to demonstrate that our programs and our student learning are superior. If I could do all these things by myself, I would deserve a Nobel peace prize! If I can accomplish them through other people, I will have done my job and earned my pay.

Miller worked to build trust between administration and faculty. “My biggest challenge at work is to help the VPs and deans lead by being open and caring even though in the past an adversarial relationship existed. Our college is small, and we cannot get enrollment growth and become more student centered until we enjoy a nurturing climate.” According to researchers Weisman and Vaughan (1997), the most positive relationships between presidents and boards develops as a result of both parties clearly articulating job duties and expectations of constituencies (Iwanaga, 1998, p. 1). Flexibility in the relationship must exist.

Jones took a realistic approach with her board of trustees. She described it as “pretty good,” yet acknowledged the trauma of working with an elected board.

They still resist adopting a ‘policy governance’ model and, therefore, are occasionally tempted to micro-manage or to react to small amounts of misinformation. But I have kept a lid on most controversies, and they appreciate not being in the negative spotlight. I have also braggled on them and let them share the limelight for the new community services movement.

Jones exhibited the flexibility necessary to work with an elected board, especially a rural board. She concluded working with an appointed board would be better. She has not encountered any great dissension or major conflicts among board members or board members and herself. "But that could change instantly any time," she acknowledged, "and I really fear that. I'm not a very good fighter (I don't enjoy fighting) so I don't know what would happen." Jones inherited the board of her community college following a tempest, so she understood the ramifications of discord.

Community college presidents credit longevity in a position to appointed boards. A former president for 30 years, said [state's] system of appointed local boards that act only as advisory bodies to a state board that is also appointed has been beneficial to his career (Stephens, 1997). Problems with elected boards are not restricted to one gender.

Miller has had the experience of working with both elected and appointed boards of trustees. In 2002 her board was appointed. Miller recounted that she did not see much difference between the two types. "What matters to me is that the members share my belief in the value of community colleges and that they make good decisions."

She acknowledged that a president's relationship with her board is the most important of all relationships. . . . However, I do not follow good advice regarding this relationship; rather, I work harder in my relationship with the faculty, staff, students and community. . . . Handling dissension is not difficult if you know what the problem is and if you have strong board members who will honestly communicate with the president and other board members. . . . Disagreement is good. I like debate and reason [because] decisions are made on behalf of the institution.

In 2002, Miller had to lead union negotiations with a team of administrators with an institutional history of adversarial relationships. Her leadership, she said, was questioned and she was criticized for being "too nice." She entered into negotiations with focused on three issues: the need of the institution to grow, a student-centered environment and mutual harmony. "The only way you could bring harmony to this institution was to forget the past," she noted. The result was a satisfactory three-year contract and a "healing" of the institution. "That was my proudest accomplishment so far," she concluded.

The presidency also calls for faith:

My biggest challenge is to keep my faith in people who work at community colleges. I truly believe our work is a calling and that we must go to great lengths to help encourage, teach and to create more dignity for many of our students. The mission of a community college calls for people who know how important it is for our students to have successful experiences with us, to want to continue learning.

Additional Roles: Institutional Development

Demands of a community college presidency were not restricted to the issues discussed. Whisnaut (1990) noted "as chief executive officer, everything the president is and does directly reflects upon the institution" (p. 10). Budgetary concerns and increasing regulation presented additional challenges. Glass and Jackson (1998) observed that the directors of community

college education dual roles of private fund raiser and development team leader are included in the job descriptions of community college presidents. In fact they concluded “transformational educational leaders are change-oriented, articulate a vision, and gain a sense of direction as they look to the future to determine the needs of their constituencies” (p. 10).

Jones referred to the conflict between the fundraising role and available resources. “We are not able to pay sufficiently to attract top notch, self-directed, experienced staff,” she noted. “An elected board from a relatively poor farming area is not likely to provide additional money. As a developer, I probably cannot be satisfied to lead an institution that will remain static or even decline.” The funding dilemma—accompanied by the lack of potential sources for funding—represented the only point that Jones expressed pessimism.

The pitfalls in private or public funding mechanisms were balanced by a number of successes experienced during Jones’s tenure. The college exhibited enrollment growth and budget relaxation when other colleges nationwide were experiencing equal or declining enrollment. Capital projects, using cash for funding, were completed. Cash funding at the college level comprised more than 15% of the annual expenditure under her leadership. She committed herself to leadership and involvement in the community, building the support base “through aggressive partnerships and community service activities that had never been done before.” She promoted the college as a comprehensive community college.

Miller concentrated on constituency recruitment as a method of developing the institution she headed in 2002. She viewed hiring strong faculty and administrators both as a personal accomplishment and as a contribution. She was especially proud of hiring exceptional teachers and top quality minority administrators. Writing letters of recommendation for students, encouraging faculty to obtain terminal degrees, providing better pay, and grants for better equipment or program improvements were strategies that Miller used to develop resources. Her 2002 election to the board of directors of the American Association of Community Colleges (AACC) enhanced her presidential image and furthered her institution’s visibility at the national level.

Miller advocated for the Noel/Levitz survey techniques that allowed students to grade their institutions. Miller encouraged colleges to use the results to improve admissions and financial aid. “To me, since affordability and financial aid are valued highly by students, those services should be shining stars for community colleges.” In 2002, Miller turned her attention to developmental programming and assistance to students facing academic probation. She established an endowment fund.

Towards the Future: Looking Back

Vaughan and Weisman (1998) found that community college presidents have held their posts for an average of 7.5 years. Jones does not see herself in the role of a community college president forever. “Actually, in 10 years, I hope I have retired from this profession and entered another, at which I will be amazingly successful, at least in my own mind, because then that’s all that matters.” The measures of success for this woman community college president will not necessarily be related to the college’s progress. “The highest compliment I could pay to a teacher, who was a friend of mine, was that our lives are better because he taught us. I want to be remembered as a good mother. And someone who made a difference for the better.”

Miller said "I hope people remember me for trying very hard to improve their lives at the community college. I want to be remembered as someone who was absolutely passionate about the role of community colleges."

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Title IX: Boom or Bust?

Marilyn J. Mather

Abstract

Athletics has been significantly impacted by Title IX through an increase the number of female athletes, the number of teams available, and indirectly, the development of women's professional leagues. However, women in leadership positions in athletics have declined significantly since Title IX was signed into law. A concern about the discontinuation of some men's non-revenue producing sports influenced the Department of Education to form the Commission on Opportunities in Athletics to review Title IX. The process and findings of the Commission are discussed, as well as the possible impact of the Commission's recommendations.

On June 23, 2002, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972 celebrated its 30th birthday. Title IX applies to all educational institutions that receive federal funding, and to various parts of those institutions. The law has had periods of weakness and strength over its 30-year history, but through the decade of the 90's has shown increasing power and consistency in the court system. Eight of the twelve U. S. Courts of Appeals have ruled in support of the present administrative regulations and Congressional hearings on Title IX have not brought any changes (Bonnette & von Euler, 2003). Although Title IX has positively assisted in an increase of women attending law and medical schools for example, it has most significantly impacted in athletics. It is in this area that this paper will focus.

Participation Increases

In the year 2000-01, boys continued to participate at a rate of almost 4 million a year in High School Athletics, while girls' participation has skyrocketed to the level of almost 2,750,000. In 1971, 1 in 27 girls participated in high school sports, while in 2000-01, the rate is 1 in 2.5. For boys, the number has remained at 1 in 2. (Women's Sports Foundation, 2002).

A parallel increase of women's participation can be seen in college athletics. Acosta and Carpenter (2002) indicate that in 1970 colleges sponsored an average of 2.5 women's athletic teams. In the mandatory compliance year for Title IX of 1977-78, the average number of teams sponsored had risen to 5.61. In 2002, women's intercollegiate sport sponsorship is at an all time high of 8.35 sponsored teams per school. All three of the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Divisions have continued to show increases in women's sport sponsorship.

Acosta and Carpenter (2002) attribute the increase of women's intercollegiate participation to several factors: (a) second generation female athletes, (b) successful Title IX lawsuits, (c) society's greater acceptance of female athletes, (d) greater media time focused on female athletes, and (e) commitment of individuals and organizations to full access for males and females.

Although not directly attributed to Title IX, the boom in participation of female athletes in educational settings has assisted in the development of professional playing opportunities for women. Society has traditionally accepted individual women's sports such as tennis, bowling and golf, and has long offered women the opportunity to make a living playing the games they love. Billiards has now been added to the professional opportunities for women in individual

sports. In recent years, the prize money for women has begun to approach that of men, and is now equal at the U.S. Open Tennis Championship.

Professional team sports for women have now developed in several areas. The backing of the National Basketball Association has provided high visibility for the Women's National Basketball Association (WNBA). The success of the World Cup in the United States has spawned the Women's United Soccer Association (WUSA). Football, the formerly all-male bastion, has been infiltrated by the Women's Professional Football League (WPFL). United States Professional Volleyball (USPV) begins their second season in 2004. Play will be restarted in professional softball in 2003 with the Women's Professional Softball League (WPSL). Salaries of the female team sports athletes do not rival those of major men's sports, but for the first time, women in a number of team sports are being paid to play.

Decline of Women in Leadership Roles

While the boom of participation has been skyrocketing, a corresponding bust of women in leadership roles has been occurring. Only 44% of the coaches in women's sports on the college level are female. The percentage of women coaching in men's athletics remains under 2%, as it has for the past 3 decades. This translates into less than 25% of all college coaches being female (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002).

When Title IX was enacted in 1972, more than 90% of all women's intercollegiate athletic programs were directed by a female. In 2002, 17.9% of women's intercollegiate athletics programs were directed by a female head administrator. 18.8% of women's athletics programs have no female in the athletic administrative structure. Women hold 40% of the administrative jobs, but only 17.9% of the athletic directorships (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002).

Other positions of leadership in intercollegiate athletic departments include Sports Information Directors and Athletic Trainers. Of the 854 full-time Sports Information Directors, 12.3% are females. 703 institutions provide full-time Athletic Trainers, with 27.8% being female (Acosta & Carpenter, 2002).

After Title IX was signed into law, the consolidation of Men and Women's Athletic Departments accelerated the decline of women in college athletic administration. The title of Athletic Director was most often bestowed upon the former Men's Athletic Director, with the Women's Athletic Director becoming an Assistant. On the High School level, the girls' programs were begun or absorbed into the athletic department with the male Athletic Director in charge.

The reasons for the decline of women in coaching are complex and have no clearly defined rationale. Prior to Title IX, over 90% of the coaches of women athletes were female. An occupation that is conventionally female has lower status in our society than an occupation that is conventionally male (Crampton & Mishra, 1999; Jacobsen & Moore, 1995). Together with reduced prestige, women in traditionally female occupations receive lower wages, less autonomy, less job security and less mobility than men in comparable masculine occupations (Reskin & Roos, 1990). Therefore, the masculinization of female occupations rarely happens (Jacobsen & Moore, 1995; Reskin & Roos, 1990; Williams, 1989).

Williams (1993) has identified situations where men may move into a "women's" occupation. An invasion occurs when large numbers of men enter a job, monopolizing certain specialties and taking top hierarchical positions. Involved is a perception of real economic opportunity and a climate of social or technological change that men can exploit. During the

70's, Title IX was in place to force changes in women's athletics and a general feminist movement for equality occurred. Ironically, these changes helped the invasion of men in women's athletics (Williams, 1993).

The pre-Title IX coach of girls' athletics at the High School level, if indeed there were athletic teams for females, was the Girls' Physical Education Teacher. She was paid little or nothing, had a limited schedule to coach with no post-season opportunities, usually coached all three seasons, even if she had no prior experience with the other sports, and needed to provide juice and cookies for both teams following the home contest (Lopiano, 2003b).

As the impact of Title IX was felt in Women's Athletics, coaching salaries improved, and especially at the High School level, became equal to the Boy's Coaches salaries. The number of contests played became mandated by state associations and moved in line to what the Boys' Teams were playing. The Girls' Teams had the opportunity to play for a state championship. Juice and cookies were no longer served at the end of the contests.

The Association of Intercollegiate Athletics for Women (AIAW) became the collegiate governing body for women's sports in 1971, one year before Title IX was signed into law. The AIAW's Goals and Objectives included: the opportunity for athletes to excel, the continuance of women in leadership roles, the inclusion of many different sports and many different levels of skill, the availability of competitive opportunities at all levels of education, the focus on education, and the rights of the athletes. The popularity of the AIAW's Women's Basketball Championship grew and was recognized by the NCAA. The NCAA started its own championship, and with their economic power, forced the AIAW to terminate operations in 1982.

The loss of the AIAW and the juice and cookies saw the elimination of an alternative model to the dominate male model in sport. The present intercollegiate sport model is one of commercialism and athlete exploitation. The transcendence of the male sports model has created conflict for some women. Although expected to be aggressive and talented, females are still expected to model the ideals of traditional femininity in society (Blinde & Greendorfer, 1992; Dworkin & Messner, 1999; Messner, 2002). Pat Griffin (1998, p. 71) states, "While watching women basketball coaches teeter on high heels and squat in front of the bench while wrapping their skirts around their legs to avoid exposing their underwear, it is easy to see how important appearance is, even at the expense of practicality and comfort." While trying to achieve empowerment through sport, females continue to be subordinate to the males in leadership positions (Blinde & Greendorfer, 1992; Dworkin & Messner, 1999).

A study by Hart, Hasbrook, and Mathes (1986) found that former interscholastic coaches left the profession because of perceived time and role conflicts, while current coaches would leave coaching only if their performance was no longer adequate. This study found that previous and present interscholastic coaches had different sets of values and orientations toward coaching.

A survey of male and female interscholastic coaches investigated whether female coaches were less qualified than their male counterparts and if they had time constraints due to family responsibilities. The results showed that female coaches were more qualified than the male coaches in the areas of coaching experience with female teams, professional teams, and professional experience. Female coaches were as qualified as male coaches when comparing intercollegiate playing experience. Female coaches were less qualified than male coaches with respect to high school playing experience and coaching experience with male teams. Male coaches, however, were more likely to experience time constraints due to family responsibilities than female coaches (Hasbrook, Hart, Mathes & True, 1990). Family responsibilities have

traditionally been projected as an issue for women in athletics, and a barrier for women seeking positions.

The athletes themselves may have a gender bias with regard to their coach. In a study of male and female High School basketball players, a bias was shown for male coaches, even when successful male and female coaches were being compared (Parkhouse & Williams, 1986). In another study of club swimmers, the research found that the gender of the athletes' present coach had a strong effect on whether the athlete preferred a male or a female coach. The female coach has been found to influence the athlete's desire to become a head coach for high school female basketball players (Dibrezzo, Lirgg & Smith, 1994). Athletes may not be experiencing or perceiving females as competent coaches. Women in coaching may be working with female athletes who, through sport culture, already have a bias against them.

Coaches themselves have gender biases in the area of role modeling. Of High School Girls' Basketball Coaches studied, both genders thought that female athletes would prefer being coached by them. Each gender perceived that they were better role models than the other. Differences were also identified in the rankings of various coaching qualities (Molstad, 1993). As male coaches move into administrative roles in athletics, these differences may be perceptions of incompetence in the evaluation process of female coaches.

Attribution theory, the concern to what a person attributes his or her successes or failures, is part of this enigma. Women often think of their gender as being inferior, and have lower expectations for success. Whether successful or not, women attribute their success to external factors such as luck and task difficulty. Women see success as less important and their tasks as easier than men's (Murray & Matheson, 2001). Recent work indicates a change, some women may now perceive their sport success as a skill outcome (Murray & Matheson, 2001).

The issue of perceived competence keeps some women out of leadership positions, even from coaching their own child (Atkin, 1999; Collins, 1997). Mothers are seriously underrepresented in the coaching area, although 85% of all volunteer coaches are parents with children on their team. This void in the volunteer arena has been encouraged by a "C'mon Mom!" kit, that will provide information to move mothers out of the bleachers and into coaching (Clark, 2000).

The issue of homophobia has historically been used as a method of controlling the access of women into male dominated professions. The dominance of men in sport has traditionally put women at risk of being stereotyped as lesbians. Griffin suggests that the culture of silence surrounding homosexuality for women in sport perpetuates fear and discrimination. Homophobia is a concern in the hiring and firing process, as well as the recruitment of athletes. Maintaining an image of heterosexuality is of great concern, and may impact decisions regarding the previously mentioned appearance, the leader's behavior, choice of assistant coaches, or other professional choices (Eisenbarth & Thorngren, 1994; Griffin, 1998; Nelson 1991, 1994; Thorngren, 1990).

Working within the structure of athletics places women in a male dominated culture that operates with a hierarchical structure. The female is expected to modify their behavior to fit the sport culture, as opposed to the sport culture working to make itself more accessible to women (Talbot, 2002). Women who work in coaching and athletic management find workload inequities, men favored with resources, differences in communication particularly with language, tensions with men in their everyday work, while wanting more empowerment, more equitable access to resources and skill development, and shared decision making and power (Danylchuk, Inglis, & Pastore, 2000)

In discussing the price of equality, Grant and Darley (2001) state,

It appears that the women's model of the world, and the behavior the model implies they should engage in, has placed them at a disadvantage when the prevailing model is at odds with theirs. In the short term, a power-based, hierarchical structure which values product over process and status over spirit will suppress those whose priorities and modes of human interaction are kinder and gentler.

Hundreds of thousands of female athletes are competing each year, but very few chose to move into leadership positions in athletics. Since Title IX was signed into law, career options for women have expanded well beyond the traditional women's professions of teaching and nursing (Lopiano, 2003a). Why would young women choose a profession where their athletes don't want to work with them because of their gender, they will be accused of being lesbians, and their socialization has put them at odds with the dominant culture?

Even more startling is the fact that many young female athletes have no knowledge of Title IX. High School and College students do not know what Title IX is, no less what it represents for women in sport. The perspective of young athletes is illustrated by Jennifer Capriotti at the recent US Open Tennis Championship, indicating in response to a reporter's question, "I have no idea what Title IX is" (Sports Illustrated, 2002, p. 30.)

The fact that young women assume their right to equitable participation is one reason for their response. They have not had to fight the battles of their predecessors, and are not aware of what struggles have preceded their opportunities. On the one hand this is a positive sign, but the benefits of Title IX are becoming a piece of lost history. The recent issues regarding the lawsuit brought by the Wrestling Coaches Association, and the response of the Department of Education further emphasize for the strength of Title IX not be assumed by any generation.

Compliance with Title IX

In athletics, there are three ways in which a school can be in compliance with Title IX:

1. The institution can show that the present program has fully and effectively accommodated the interests and abilities of the members of that sex.
2. The institution can show a history and continuing practice of program expansion that is demonstrably responsive to the developing interests and abilities of the underrepresented sex, almost always females in this context.
3. The level of participation opportunities for male and female students is provided in numbers substantially proportionate to their respective enrollments. (Carpenter, 2001)

As a method of achieving compliance with the mandates of Title IX, many athletic departments have chosen to cut men's non-revenue producing sports. Cuts have occurred in the sports of wrestling, gymnastics, tennis, and baseball. The revenue producing sports such as football have remained untouched in these situations, despite the fact that only 20% of college football programs produce net profits (Boyce, 2002). In her book *Tilting the Playing Field—Schools, Sports, Sex and Title IX*, Jessica Gavora (2002) directly attributes these cuts to Title IX, and therefore feels that Title IX is discriminating against men.

Gavora, the Independent Women's Forum, and other opponents of Title IX indicate several intertwined arguments:

1. Title IX requires quotas (related to the proportionality prong of the test options).
2. The quotas are based on a higher level of women's interest in sport than exists in reality because females just are not that interested in sport.
3. The quotas force cuts in men's sports (Title IX, 2002).

Those who disagree with this argument continue to indicate that collegiate female athletes are being discriminated against. For example, only 32% of the athletic recruiting money goes to women (Title IX, 2002), male athletes still have 30% more participation opportunities, and men still are getting \$133 million more per year in athletic aid (Smith, 2002).

The participation numbers on the interscholastic level certainly do not indicate that females are not interested in participation. The stereotype of women's lack of interest in sports perpetuates a myth that is no longer reality (Women's Sports Foundation, 2002).

Nancy Hogshead, an attorney and former Olympic swimmer, indicated in an ESPN Town Meeting (Lev, 2002) that the courts, in a number of cases, have consistently upheld the proportionality prong of the test and do not see it as a quota. She indicated that many schools do not use the proportionality test, but choose one of the other options available. Of the last 74 reviews completed by the Office of Civil Rights, only 21 schools used the proportionality prong.

Decisions made on the cutting of teams are due to budgetary issues and not to Title IX (Staurowsky, 1998). Donna Lopiano, Executive Director of the Women's Sports Foundation, states, "What stops opportunities is money. And these are budgetary decisions. When moneys aren't allocated to start new women's teams, that stops progress in terms of opportunities to play sports. That's why there's 41 percent [of women participating at the college level and not a higher number]. If somebody's cutting an existing men's team, it's because of a budgetary decision, not because of Title IX."

She goes on to say, "And schools, instead of giving each sport a smaller piece of the pie, make a philosophical decision that says, 'I want a fewer number of sports. I want to treat them like kings and queens, and I'm just going to cut off the low people on the totem pole because I want this size program.' That is not a function of Title IX. It's a philosophical decision" (Smith, 2002).

The loss of men's intercollegiate teams has been offset by an increase in men's participation in other sports. Between 1981–82 and 1998–99, football participation increased 7,199 which more than balances men's wrestling declines of 2,648, and the decline of outdoor track's 1,405, tennis' 1,706, and gymnastics' 1,022. Several sports gained participants during this time frame, including baseball (5,452), lacrosse (+2,000) and soccer (1,932). Between 1984–88, when the Supreme Court suspended the application of Title IX to college athletics programs, wrestling programs went from 342 to 289 or approximately 13.3 teams per year. In the twelve years that followed, the number went from 289 to 234 or approximately 4.6 teams per year (de Varona & Foudy, 2003).

Challenges to Title IX

Early in 2002, the National Wrestling Coaches Association brought a suit against the Department of Education contesting the proportionality section of the three-prong test, based

upon the decision of some colleges to drop men's sports. The Department of Education brought forth a motion to dismiss the suit on technical grounds. Reasons included that the National Wrestling Coaches Association did not have the standing to bring the suit, this type of lawsuit should not be brought against the Department of Education but directly against the school, and that the statute of limitations to contest these issues had expired. The filing of the motion by the Department was done without support for the long-standing policies of Title IX, policies that have previously received strong support from both Democratic and Republic administrations (Title IX, 2002).

Shortly after the June anniversary of Title IX in 2002, Education Secretary Paige announced the formation of a Commission on Opportunity in Athletics. The Commission's task was to "collect information, analyze issues, and obtain broad public input directed at improving the application of current Federal standards for measuring equal opportunity for men, women, boys and girls to participate in athletics under Title IX." (National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 2002, p. 1) "The Commission shall conduct at least three town-hall meetings in different parts of the country to obtain public input. The report is due to the Secretary no later than January 31st of 2003" (National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 2002).

The Commission investigated these questions:

- * Are Title IX standards for assessing equal opportunity in athletics working to promote opportunities for male and female athletes?
- * Is there adequate Title IX guidance that enables colleges and school districts to know what is expected of them and to plan for an athletic program that effectively meets the needs and interests of their students?
- * Is further guidance or other steps needed at the junior and senior high school levels, where the availability or absence of opportunities will critically affect the prospective interests and abilities of student athletes when they reach college age?
- * How should activities such as cheerleading or bowling factor into the analysis of equitable opportunities?
- * How do revenue producing and large-roster teams affect the provision of equal opportunities? The Department has heard from some parties that, whereas some men athletes will "walk-on" to intercollegiate teams without athletic financial aid and without having been recruited, women rarely do this. Is this accurate, and if so, what are its implications for Title IX analysis?
- * In what ways do opportunities in other sports venues, such as the Olympics, professional leagues, and community recreations programs, interact with the obligations of colleges and school districts to provide equal athletic opportunity? What are the implications for Title IX?
- * Apart from Title IX enforcement, are there other efforts to promote athletic opportunities for male and female students that the Department might support, such as public-private partnerships to support the efforts of schools and colleges in this area? (National Association for Girls and Women in Sport, 2002)

Following the submission of the Commission's report, Secretary Paige indicated that he would take into consideration the recommendations that were unanimously approved. These included:

- The Department of Education should reaffirm its strong commitment to equal opportunity and the elimination of discrimination for girls and boys, women and men.
- The Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights should provide clear, consistent and understandable written guidelines for implementation of Title IX and make every effort to ensure that the Guidelines are understood, through a national education effort. The Office of Civil Rights should ensure that enforcement of and education about Title IX is consistent across all regional offices.
- The Office for Civil Rights should not, directly or indirectly, change current policies in ways that would undermine Title IX enforcement regarding nondiscriminatory treatment in participation, support services and scholarships.
- The Office for Civil Rights should make clear that cutting teams in order to demonstrate compliance with Title IX is a disfavored practice.
- The Office for Civil Rights should aggressively enforce Title IX standards, including implementing sanctions for institutions that do not comply. The Department of Education should also explore ways to encourage compliance with Title IX rather than merely threatening sanctions.
- The Department of Education should encourage educational and sports leaders to promote male and female student interest in athletics at the elementary and secondary levels to encourage participation in physical education and explore ways of encouraging women to walk on to teams.
- The Department of Education should encourage the redesign of the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act so that it provides the public with a relevant and simplified tool to evaluate the status of Title IX compliance in the nation's post-secondary institutions.
- The Office for Civil Rights should disseminate information on the criteria it uses to help schools determine whether activities they offer qualify as athletic opportunities.
- The Department of Education should encourage the NCAA to review its scholarship and other guidelines to determine if they adequately promote or hinder athletic participation opportunities.
- If substantial proportionality is retained as a way of complying with Title IX, the Office for Civil Rights should clarify the meaning of substantial proportionality to allow for a reasonable variance in the relative ratio of athletic participation of men and women while adhering to the nondiscriminatory tenets of Title IX.
- In providing technical assistance, the Office for Civil Rights should advise schools, as necessary, that walk-on opportunities are not limited for schools that can demonstrate compliance with the second or third parts of the three-part test.
- The Office for Civil Rights should study the possibility of allowing institutions to demonstrate that they are in compliance with the third part of the three-part test by comparing the ratio of male/ffemale athletic participation at the institution with the demonstrated interests and abilities shown by regional, state, or national youth or high school participation rates or national governing bodies, or by the interest levels indicated in surveys of prospective or enrolled students at that institution.
- The designation of one part of the three-part test as a "safe harbor" should be abandoned in favor of a way of demonstrating compliance with Title IX's participation requirement that treats each part of the test equally. In addition, the evaluation of compliance should include looking at all three parts of the test, in aggregate or in balance, as well as individually.

- The Office for Civil Rights should be urged to consider reshaping the second part of the three-part test, including by designating a point at which a school can not longer establish compliance through this part.
- Additional ways of demonstrating equity beyond the existing three-part test should be explored by the Department of Education.

Minority Report

Following the submission of the Commission's report, a Minority Report was drafted and submitted by Commission members Donna de Varona and Julie Foudy who requested that the report be officially accepted along with the Commission's Report. Secretary Paige declined to include their report with the Commission's findings. On February 27, 2003, the Minority Report was officially entered into the Senate Congressional Record by Senator Hillary Clinton (Clinton, 2003).

The Minority Report includes findings and recommendations that the authors feel should have been included in the original report, indicates reasons why the Commissioners cannot support key recommendations, and identifies problems with the process of the Commission (deVarona & Foundy, 2003). The findings include:

- Title IX, and the three-part test have promoted great advances for women and girls to participate in sports.
- Despite these advances, discrimination still limits athletics opportunities for girls and women at both the high school and college levels today.
- Enhancing athletic opportunities for young women and girls is of vital importance because of the significant benefits those opportunities provide.
- The fact that women and girls have fewer opportunities in athletics than men reflects the persistent discrimination against them, not lack of interest.
- Advances in opportunities for girls and women have not resulted in a n overall decrease in opportunities for men.
- The three-part test, adopted by the Department of Education in 1979 and in force since that time, is flexible and fair. All three prongs of the test have been used successfully by schools to comply with Title IX, and each is necessary to give schools flexibility in structuring their athletics program while guarding against freezing discrimination in to place.
- The Office for Civil Rights (OCR) has provided extensive guidance on the operation of each prong on the three-part test, but should provide enhanced technical assistance, consistent with the guidance, on the means by which schools can comply with the test. OCR can also do more to ensure consistent interpretation of Title IX by all regional offices.
- The term "safe harbor," used by some courts and the OCR to describe the operation of the first prong of the three-art test, is a legal term of art that does not mean that the first prong is the only effective way to comply with the test. OCR can do more to provide enhanced technical assistance to ensure that educational institutions understand that compliance is possible under prongs one, two or three.
- The lawfulness of the three-part test has been affirmed by every federal appellate court to consider the issue.

- The OCR has never imposed a financial penalty on a school for failing to comply with the three-part test.
- The three-part test does not impose quotas or require preferential treatment.
- Title IX does not require mirror image men's and women's sports programs.
- Title IX does not cause cuts to men's teams.
- To the extent that schools have discontinued men's – and women's – athletic teams since Title IX was passed, there are many reasons for those decision. Most notably, budgetary decisions, the athletics "arms race," excessive expenditures, and philosophical decisions related to the appropriate quality and size of athletic programs have resulted in the loss of opportunities for other sports.
- Rules set by the NCAA could be hampering schools' ability to comply with Title IX.
- "Walk-on" student-athletes cost money and receive the benefits of participating in intercollegiate athletics. To the extent that men walk on more than women, intangible benefits accorded to men's teams and the persistent budgetary barriers that limit the extent to which women's teams can support additional players have been identified as causes.
- The OCR uses flexible guidelines in helping schools determine whether an activity is a sport.
- There is a mechanism by which the Department of Education can systematically monitor participation in athletics and athletic program expenditures at the college levels, the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act. There is no mechanism in place by which the Department of Education or the public can systematically monitor these variables at the high school level.

The following recommendations were included in the minority report:

- The Department of Education's current Title IX athletics policies, which have promoted advances toward equality for women in sports, should be preserved without change.
- The Department of Education should strongly enforce Title IX standards, including implementing sanctions for institutions that do not comply.
- Using existing guidance, Department of Education staff should undertake an educational campaign to help educational institutions understand the flexibility of the law, explain that each prong of the three-part test is a viable and independent means of compliance, and give practical examples of the ways in which schools can comply.
- In educating schools about current policies, the Department of Education should advise them that nothing in Title IX requires the cutting or reduction of men's teams, and that to do so is disfavored.
- The Department of Education should encourage educational institutions and national athletic governance organizations to address the issue of reducing the escalating costs of intercollegiate athletics, particularly in some parts of the men's athletics programs, and fostering agreement on reforms.
- The Department of Education should encourage educational institutions and national athletic governance organizations to address whether organization rules, such as limitations on the numbers of athletics scholarships, hamper compliance with Title IX participation requirements and, if so, to take corrective action.

- The Department of Education should require secondary schools to compile and report the data currently required of colleges and universities under the Equity in Athletics Disclosure Act (de Varona & Foudy, 2003).

The Minority Report also discussed concerns with the Commission's recommendations. Based on those recommendations, a reduction of athletic opportunities would occur for girls and women. Two of the Commission's recommendations would allow schools compliance with the proportionality test without having achieved equitable opportunity. The use of interest surveys, which have been rejected by the courts, would be authorized as a method of limiting opportunities for girls and women. A loophole could be created that would allow private funds to be used solely for men's teams and not for all athletes. One recommendation would allow the Secretary to create new methods of compliance that may not have been considered by the Commission (de Varona & Foudy, 2003).

The Minority Report further went on to discuss their concerns with the process that the Commission followed:

- The Commission's charge failed to ask the critical question: whether discrimination against girls and women persists, and how it can be remedied.
- The Commission lacked representatives of important constituencies.
- Witnesses selected by the Department of Education testified two-to-one against current policies, and other expert testimony that was requested was not provided.
- The Commission had inadequate time for serious review.
- The Commission was not provided information on, nor therefore was able to consider, the impact of its recommendations.
- The arrangements made for expression of minority views were insufficient. (deVarona & Foudy, 2003)

Supporters of Title IX who closely followed the proceedings also contend that process the Commission followed was seriously flawed. Concerns with the process included: lack of expertise of the panelists, a rush through the process, especially when forming what should have been well-thought out recommendations, a lack of available material for Commissioners to review, both during and between meetings, and an overbalance of Commission membership representing NCAA Div. IA to the exclusion of other NCAA Divisions, 2-year colleges, high schools and middle schools, all of whom are effected by Title IX (Lopiano, 2003b).

The dissenting argument from the Department of Education, the establishment of the Commission, the process the Commission followed, and the exclusion by Secretary Paige of the Minority Report all seem to support that Title IX as we know it is in serious jeopardy. Gavora, who works as a senior policy advisor to the Department of Justice, seems to represent the Administration viewpoint in her book.

Grassroots Mobilization

The National Coalition of Women and Girls in Education, which includes the National Association of Girls and Women in Sport, the Women's Sports Foundation, the American Association of University Women and the National Women's Law Center, is very concerned that the Bush Administration has chosen not to provide strong support for Title IX, and is working to

mobilize their membership in support of Title IX. Members were asked to attend and speak at the town meetings for Title IX, and are carrying on a campaign to contact their representatives with the support of a web page save Title IX (Lopiano, 2003a).

The National Coalition has also developed a Strategic Plan in support of Title IX. includes: pressuring the administration thus creating a politically negative atmosphere, delaying the Secretary's action, educating the public (a media campaign targeting moderate Republicans, using male and female celebrities, quick responses to conservative Republicans, aggressive field efforts, where Republicans may not get elected), using volunteers and activating the public, enlisting the support of moderate Republicans in Congress, going beyond the sport coalition, and fundraising (Lopiano, 2003a).

The boom in participation over the past thirty years, the increased visibility of women in sport, and the continued growth of opportunity are all because of Title IX. When supports for Title IX were withdrawn, as with the Grove City court decision, women regressed in the progress towards athletic equality. The detractors of Title IX believe that all the needs of women in sport have been achieved, and that further equality will just cause the increasing discrimination of men.

The choices made by the predominantly male athletic directors and coupled with some of the NCAA rules continue to sustain extremely high levels of funding for premiere sports. The philosophical decisions being made are based upon treating these programs as "kings and queens," as Donna Lopiano so aptly stated. The athletic directors are choosing not to reallocate the resources of these "royalty" programs for the sake of all of their teams.

An example of this treatment was presented at the ESPN Town Meeting held in June of this year. The roster spots for football in the 2000 season were listed as: Nebraska 202, Alabama 176, Mississippi 165, Kentucky 156, Houston 151 and the eventual national champion Oklahoma 127. The NCAA allows a maximum number of scholarships at this level of 85 (Lev, 2002). At a minimum, those scholarship and non-scholarship athletes must be provided practice gear, changing facilities and practice space.

Options for Change

What other options do we have besides changes in the administrative regulations for Title IX? Develop minor leagues for football and basketball that are similar to those for baseball. Athletes whose goal is really to pursue a professional career can be drafted into the minor league system following high school, while those athletes interested in a college education can go on to school. This system has worked well for Major League Baseball and puts the financial responsibility for a professional feeder system on the professional organizations, not colleges and universities.

College Athletic Directors and Coaches are under tremendous pressure to have winning programs. The pressures are monetarily based, and include such things as TV contracts, sponsorship agreements, corporate donations, alumni support and sell-out contests. The model for big-time college sports has become entertainment, not education (Sokolove, 2002). The philosophical decisions concerning budget allocations are based upon the reality of these pressures. College Presidents, in conjunction with the NCAA, need to work to alleviate some of the pressure placed upon the Athletic Departments in order to reclaim an educational focus.

An idea attributed to Donna Lopiano is that the NCAA should import Australian Rules Football to the US to be played by women. It is a different form of football where the emphasis

is on running, jumping, marking, and kicking rather than tackling. A large number of players are required, so it could be used to balance out the large squad sizes of football (Burton, 2002).

Stereotypes of women in sport, such as lesbianism, need to be fought. The fight can be at the administrative level with expanded policies of tolerance and a dialogue to increase visibility of these issues. Most importantly, the fight needs to occur on the field, courts, pool, and stands. Coaches, teams, and spectators need to participate in environments of tolerance (Griffin, 1998).

Support needs to be provided for women working in predominately male athletic environments. Mentoring women as they enter a profession can be helpful. Continuing to hire females into that environment can help to create a supportive women's network. Within the hiring process, the identification of qualified female candidates and the creation of external networks to assist in the identification of those candidates are key.

If we are to increase the number of women in leadership positions, then those interested younger women need to be supported and encouraged in their pursuit of a sport career. Certainly, female role models are important, but we must work with male allies and call upon them to work positively with younger women wanting to move into a sport career.

The media needs to continue to expand its coverage of women athletes. The media does not provide equitable coverage of women in sport both in terms of the amount of time and the quality of coverage. The sportscasters language portraying women athletes continues to marginalize and sexualize them (Cohen, 2001; Messner, 2002).

The female athletes who have experienced the successes of Title IX need to be educated about the opportunities that they have been afforded through this legislation. Those who have gone through the struggles to move equality forward should not assume that those coming after know the history. The lack of female role models available to pass on this history makes it all the more important for all women and male allies to take on this responsibility.

Conclusion

Title IX has achieved a boom of participation for women in sport, but has been accompanied by a bust of women in leadership roles and the accusation of causing the decline of men's intercollegiate sports. Women at all levels have not yet achieved equality in sport. Perhaps when 50% of the coaches of women and men are female, and women are equally represented in all leadership positions, can we say that equality has been achieved in athletic leadership.

Women in sport leadership positions have experienced the strength of Title IX since the Civil Rights Restoration Act (Carpenter, 2001). Entering this new phase of uncertainty for Title IX should be of concern for the future strength of the administrative regulations of the law, and of concern for those who will be impacted by any changes. The women involved in athletics should monitor the situation and be ready to adapt when the changes that some believe are inevitable are implemented. Until that time, participation in National Coalition activities should be considered as a method of supporting Title IX in its' present form. Sport leaders should also recognize that until changes occur, Title IX remains strongly enforceable with the three-prong test still firmly accepted by the courts.

The strength of a continuing movement of women in sport toward equality is contingent upon a strong Title IX. The work of the Commission, their January report and subsequent actions by the Bush Administration will possibly usher in a new era of Title IX. From many indications, a lessening of the strength of Title IX may well retard continuing progress towards equality for women in sport.

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Book Review

Jean Haar

***WOMEN IN HIGHER EDUCATION AN ENCYCLOPEDIA.* Ana M. Martinez Aleman and Kristen A. Renn, Editors. Santa Barbara, CA. 2002. 637 pages**

Women have constituted a majority of students in American colleges and universities since 1979. Women earned more than half of all associates, bachelors and masters degrees and more than one-third of all doctorates (Touchton & Davis, 1991). Even with these numbers, the study of women in higher education has often been overlooked (Glazer, Bensimon, & Townsend, 1993). *Women in Higher Education: An Encyclopedia* atones for overlooking “almost entirely women’s role as shapers and interpreters of the academy” (Glazer et al., p. ix). The editors have created a comprehensive source of information and resources related to women in higher education in the United States.

In *Women in Higher Education: An Encyclopedia*, Aleman and Renn viewed the concept of an encyclopedia as “broad enough to provide entry to a subject through a wide variety of topics yet deep enough to provide detailed information on those topics” (2002, p. xxiii). They also indicated that an encyclopedia should provide resources for further exploration.

Acknowledging Aleman and Renn’s efforts, Tidball stated,

The diversity of definitions, intentions, and agendas, now obvious for women, has become so great that it is increasingly difficult to make generalizations that can bring insight to those who are not seeking it or to convince those whose minds are closed. Yet the attempt must be made, lest we miss the interrelated totality, the integrated whole that we know to be the essence, the sine qua non, of what works for women. We do this, being thoroughly aware that the knowledge gained from a half-century of intensive research relating to women in higher education and recorded in this encyclopedia is at best, a work in progress. These, then, are more than sufficient reasons to pause, collect, take stock, and offer this latest snapshot of where we are—of where we have come from and where we would go. (pp. xv-xvi)

Those interested in careers in higher education or those whose research interests focus on women in higher education should find the encyclopedia a valuable resource. If viewed as an entry point or a resource for further study, the encyclopedia provides a compilation of topics that have been and will continue to be important issues related to women in higher education. Aleman and Renn noted, “. . . this encyclopedia endeavors to serve as both a historical marker and foundation for further study” (p. xxiv).

Overview

The contents of the encyclopedia are organized into nine main categories. The categories include Historical and Cultural Contexts, Gender Theory and the Academy, Feminism in the Academy, Women in the Curriculum, Women and Higher Education Policy, Women Students,

Women Faculty, Women Administrators, and Women Employees. Each category is preceded by an overview designed to provide a broad introduction to the topic. The overview is followed by as few as one to as many as thirty related entries of varying length and substance. Categories accompanied by a greater number of entries include: Historical and Cultural Contexts, Women Students, Faculty, and Administrators (Furniss & Graham, 1974; Tidball, Smith, Tidball, & Wolf-Wendel, 1999). The categories accompanied by fewer entries include: Gender Theory and Academy, Feminism in the Academy, Women in Curriculum, and Women and Higher Education Policy (Gmelch, 1998). Readers may find the length of some of the entries short, however, the breadth of topics as well as the references and resources shared in each of the entries compensates for the shortness. The encyclopedia concludes with an appendix of Women's Studies Research Resources and a bibliography of all the sources noted in individual entries.

Categories

Each of the categories provides the reader with a general understanding of the topic as well as specific facts and issues relevant to the topic. The categories document the experiences of groups of women who are a part of the higher education system.

Historical and Cultural Contexts

"Historical and Cultural Contexts" provides an introduction to the historical and sociological study of women and gender issues in higher education in the United States. The overview addresses American higher education as a male-dominated institution and the issue of equality of access to higher education for women. Subtopics primarily focus on students, however, women in other roles such as faculty, administrators, trustees and alumnae are included. Various types of colleges are also presented such as black female colleges, Hispanic-serving institutions, and military colleges.

Gender Theory and the Academy

"Gender Theory and the Academy" addresses the areas of philosophy, psychology, sociology and pedagogy. Subtopics include feminist assessment, psychological research on sex differences, gender and race, sexism, and sexual harassment.

Feminism in the Academy

"Feminism in the Academy" includes black feminism and womanism, feminist epistemology, feminist ethics, feminist pedagogy and feminist research methodology. The data tables presented in the overview will be particularly useful to researchers.

Women in the Curriculum

"Women in Curriculum" begins with an overview of how women have influenced and been influenced by higher education curricula. Topics include academic caucuses and committees, distance education, ecofeminism, family and consumer sciences, gender and technology,

internet-based distance education, medical education, physical education, teacher education, transformation of the curriculum and women's studies.

Women and Higher Education Policy

"Women and Higher Education Policy" addresses policy developments, legal issues, students' rights, and gender inequality. Topics include affirmative action and employment, class, Title IX, and women with disabilities.

Women Students

"Women Students" addresses students' participation and status in higher education, developmental issues, and diversity. The subtopics include information about what women do as students (athletics, co-curricular activities, sororities), their academic experiences (classroom climate, graduate and professional education), their development (identity, sociocultural, cognitive and epistemological development) and the unique experiences of women from different backgrounds (African American, American Indian).

Women Faculty

"Women Faculty" addresses topics that are specifically gendered (e.g., campus climate, sex discrimination, women of color at predominantly white institutions) and those that are common to faculty life yet experienced in gendered terms (e.g., disciplinary socialization, evaluation, hiring, research, salaries, teaching, tenure and promotion, unionization). Racial and ethnic diversity among women faculty as well as the history and status of lesbian and bisexual faculty are also addressed.

Women Administrators

"Women Administrators" introduces several topics involving women and leadership. Subtopics describe the experiences and status of racially and ethnically diverse women administrators, including American Indian and Hispanic Administrators, as well as issues of concern in postsecondary administration. "Leadership in Catholic Institutions" highlights an often overlooked area of study.

Women Employees

"Women Employees" focuses on individuals who work in support positions on campus such as clerical, technical, police, security, and maintenance. "Unionization" summarizes what is known about women's experience and status as employees.

Conclusion

The encyclopedia offers a broad perspective on issues relevant to women in higher education. Aleman and Renn include women's experiences and analyses without "exploit[ing] women's experiences and stories as 'data'" (Bannerji, Carty, Dehli, Heald, & McKenna, 1992, p. 5). The

volume presents a large amount of information in a manner that addresses both the factual and the emotional aspects of issues concerning gender and higher education—issues that continue to persist in society (Herber, 2002). Roper-Huilman (2003) observed that “[a]lthough gender in itself is important, the intersection of gender with other identities and situations creates unique challenges and opportunities for understanding” (p. 5). Studying the gendered nature of higher education and acting to improve the opportunities for women in higher education provides its own unique challenges and opportunities. Aleman and Renn have addressed some of those challenges through *Women in Higher Education: An Encyclopedia*.

Higher education is one of the primary institutions that shape culture. Those interested in shaping culture for women will find *Women in Higher Education: An Encyclopedia* to be a resource for continued research and reflection.

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