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By Chance or By Choice

Marilyn L. Grady
Barbara Y. LaCost

May 17, 2004 marked the 50th anniversary of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Linda Brown (1943-), a Topeka, Kansas third grader, is the symbol of “bringing down segregation” in U.S. schools (Linda Brown Thompson; *School: The Story of American Public Education*). In the fall of 1950, the Brown family and 12 other Topeka families were asked by the NAACP to attempt to enroll their children in the white schools. When they were unable to enroll the children, a lawsuit was brought against the Topeka Board of Education. The *Brown v. Board of Education* case presented to the U.S. Supreme Court was made up of five separate, but similar, court cases in four states and the District of Columbia. By what is identified as an “alphabetical accident,” Brown is the name attached to this historic decision.

It led to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It led to sit-ins and bus rides and freedom marches. And even today, as we argue about affirmative action in colleges and graduate schools, the power of *Brown* continues to stir the nation” (Willoughby, 2004, p. 40).

Linda Brown’s name is recognizable because of this significant event in history. Her name was recorded by chance not by choice, but the important work that still needs to be accomplished is recalled at the mention of *Brown v. Board of Education*. “On one hand, Brown remains the hallmark of the promise of equality for this nation. On the other, Brown’s promise remains, if not broken, certainly unfulfilled” (Willoughby, 2004, p. 42).

Rosa Parks (1913-), “the mother of the Civil Rights Movement,” refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama bus on December 1, 1955. She was arrested for violating a city law requiring that whites and blacks sit in separate rows on buses (Rosa Parks: *Pioneer of Civil Rights*). Her act led to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Parks allowed Montgomery’s black leaders to use her arrest to spark a boycott of the bus system. The leaders formed an organization to run the boycott. Martin Luther King, Jr.—then a Baptist minister in Montgomery—was chosen as president. For 382 days, thousands of blacks refused to ride Montgomery’s buses. The boycott ended in the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling that segregation on

public transportation was unconstitutional (Garrow, 2004). According to Parks,

People always say that I didn't give up my seat because I was tired, but that isn't true. I was not tired physically . . . I was not old, although some people have an image of me as being old then. . . . No, the only tired I was, was tired of giving in. (Izrael, 2000)

Hers was a choice not to give up a seat, but it was by chance that her decision led her to become a figurehead of a movement that would change the United States.

Coretta Scott King (1927-) graduated from Antioch College and from the New England Conservatory of Music in Boston. She is an accomplished musician and singer. While at Antioch, she was not allowed to practice teach in the local public schools because the schools had no black teachers and would not accept her. She completed her student teaching in the Antioch Demonstration School. While at the New England Conservatory of Music, she met Martin Luther King, Jr., a doctoral candidate at Boston University's School of Theology. They were married in 1953. They had four children. Her husband, Martin Luther King, Jr., was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee in 1968. Four days after his death, she led a march of 50,000 people in Memphis. She has created the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change as a living memorial to her husband's life and dream. The King Center, in Atlanta, is a national historic park that includes his birth home. The King Center is the first institution built in memory of an African American leader. In January 1986, because of her efforts, she celebrated the first legal holiday in honor of her husband. She is the first woman to deliver the class day address at Harvard, and the first woman to preach at a service at St. Paul's Cathedral in London (Carson & Brown; Coretta Scott King; Mrs. Coretta Scott King).

Coretta Scott King did not choose to become the spokesperson for her husband's dream of equality. By chance, because of his assassination, she became that spokesperson. Her accomplishments are evident. She has received 40 honorary doctorates, has authored three books and has been a leadership force in the Black Leadership Forum, the National Black Coalition for Voter Participation, and the black Leadership Roundtable (Mrs. Coretta Scott King).

These three women hold prominent places in the history of the United States. They hold their places in history either by choice or by chance. They have been part of a collective effort to achieve equality.

We are all part of the collective effort to achieve equality. We accept our roles in this effort whether they come to us by chance or by choice. In our efforts, we contribute to the history of the struggle.

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Jagged Edges of the Glass Ceiling

Victoria L. Robinson

Although many aspiring, young women might believe the glass ceiling was shattered a decade ago, they still need to understand how that glass ceiling impacted an older generation of women in educational leadership. They also must be aware that some segments of the glass ceiling might still exist. This article provides a historical overview of the external barriers faced by women in educational leadership and presents mentoring recommendations to both generations.

Introduction

A recent opportunity to advise a presidential scholar's thesis, "The Glass Ceiling for Women in Business" opened my eyes to a possible hurdle facing young, aspiring women. At the beginning of Amy's thesis research, she believed that the glass ceiling was an outdated concept and old news, no longer in the public eye because it no longer existed. Amy thought the only limitations to her success would be those limits she placed on herself. Her research led her to think otherwise. Amy, with her self-confidence and belief she could do anything, learned about external barriers.

If Amy is typical of the new, aspiring woman with few internal barriers but unaware of possible external barriers, how will she cope with potential impediments to her advancement? Will she and others be so blind-sided in their lack of awareness and preparation to be unable to counter roadblocks and thus lose their self-confidence? Has my generation focused on the development of female efficacy yet neglected to inform young women about the reality discovered by Amy? Have we forgotten to share a historical description of the external barriers labeled in 1991 as the glass ceiling?

As a former history teacher, I am reminded of my classroom's yearly bulletin board's question to high school students, "How will you know where you are going if you don't know where you have been?" As an assistant professor of educational leadership, I interact with aspiring female school leaders who have limited knowledge of the glass ceiling effect. Perhaps the glass ceiling has been shattered. I doubt that this shattering has been a clean break. Jagged edges in the glass framework can still cut the aspirations of a new generation. Females who aspire to educational leadership positions must

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acknowledge the existence of potential external barriers and develop strategies to overcome them. The purpose of this article is to provide a historical overview of the glass ceiling represented as external barriers and offer mentoring advice to a new generation of educational leaders.

Historical Perspective on Identification of Barriers

An emergence of research on barriers to females in educational leadership has occurred. A variety of barriers ranging from overt discriminatory hiring practices to the female's belief that teaching is her natural role in the educational system were identified. Although the Women's Liberation Movement, beginning in the 1960s, drew attention to the underrepresentation of women in school leadership positions, very little impact from the movement occurred in the 1960s and 1970s. Despite the enactment of equal opportunity legislation of the 1960s and the Women's Liberation Movement, females continued to be under-represented in school leadership positions. Although women comprised almost three-fourths of America's public school teachers in 1990, they held only 35% of the elementary principalships, 12% of the secondary principalships, and 5% of the superintendencies (Jones & Montenegro, 1990).

The Department of Labor's "Glass Ceiling Initiative," which began in 1989, released a report that coined the phrase "glass ceiling" and showed it existing in lower levels than first thought (Morrison, White, & Van Velsor, 1992). The Glass Ceiling Initiative identified barriers that included recruitment networking, lack of opportunities for women to take advanced education programs and career enhancing assignments, and lack of accountability for equal opportunity within the leadership ranks. Based on these findings, a 1991 report by the Feminist Majority Foundation predicted that it will take 475 years for females to reach equality with males in the executive suite (Garland, 1991). Hill and Ragland (1995) concluded that women had to work harder than men to succeed and to overcome biases.

An astute male mentor stated in his introduction to Hick's (1996) autobiography of her four-year experience as a female high school principal:

As a society, we really haven't progressed very far during the past century in regard to our attitudes about women in leadership roles. Apparently, a substantial majority of men, and sadly, even women, still believe that ladies should be content to be the "fairer" sex, to nurture and support, to look pretty, smell nice, speak softly, and most importantly, follow rather than lead. (p. viii)

This belief that women should follow, not lead, may partially explain why females move into educational leadership later in their lives. The average female principal spends 15 years as a teacher before seeking a principalship, whereas the average male spends 5 years as a teacher (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 150). Five external barriers are briefly explained in the following section.

Devaluation of Females

Devaluation of females was reflected in discriminatory actions when females sought leadership positions. Timpano and Knight (1976) identified discriminatory practices such as using word of mouth to recruit males only; asking biased interview questions of women, especially about family responsibilities; offering females lower salaries than males and refusing to negotiate salaries with females; or allowing males to skip steps on the career ladder but requiring females to have completed all steps. A number of researchers concluded that sex discrimination was the number one barrier to females in educational leadership (Driver, 1990; Gerver & Hart, 1990; Shakeshaft, 1989).

Discrimination is often difficult to prove in societies in which people are prejudged based on their gender or color. The prejudged beliefs do not need to be spoken to be shared (French, 1992). Discriminatory practices are subtle and often not coded by the receiver or the giver as biased. "The pressure to internalize societal bias as well as the lack of understanding about what sex discrimination looks like, means females don't recognize what happened to them" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 150).

Home and Family Responsibilities

With roots in the traditional expectation for women to care for children, many women leave or defer their school careers to attend to homemaking and childrearing. Hansot and Tyack (1981) explained this as part of the Woman's Place Model. Shakeshaft (1989) contended that family and home responsibilities provide obstacles for females in two ways. First, females perceive that they must juggle all of their tasks as superwomen. Second, they must interact with people who believe they are unable to balance all responsibilities and that it is inappropriate for them to even try. As Gloria

Steinem once quipped, "I have yet to hear a man ask for advice on how to combine marriage, kids, and career."

Externally, marriage is not an issue when it comes to males aspiring to school leadership, but for females, marital status was viewed as a powerful barrier (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). Females find themselves in a no-win situation. If females are married, school boards may wonder if they have time to manage the family and job; if not married, females may be perceived as not family-oriented. If divorced, females may be regarded as having no sense of family or permanency (Waddell, 1994). Some married females opt to delay their career advancements to avoid problems inherent in trying to raise a family while serving as a school leader. During this delay, females are out of the network for career advancement.

Role Models, Mentors, Sponsors, and Networks

Females traditionally had little encouragement to pursue educational leadership from family, peers, or representatives of educational institutions (Baughman, 1977; Schmuck, 1986). Waddell (1994) confirmed that even with an increase in encouragement that occurred in the 1980s, the small number of female role models in higher levels of educational leadership sent a message to females. Females might assume that only the extremely talented and skilled females become administrators. This message possibly deterred even highly confident women from choosing to climb the career ladder.

A scarcity of supportive mentors and sponsors has existed for females in educational leadership as well as executive positions across all professions (Johnson, 1991; Restine, 1993; Rist, 1991). Females did not benefit from the encouragement and wisdom of sponsors and mentors in support of their career advancement. Sponsors and mentors assist the aspirant through the screening system according to Pigford and Tonnsen (1993). The screening system can deny or grant critical job vacancy information, networking, and major professional decisions (Waddell, 1994). By sharing information that often bypasses the formal hierarchy and by providing reflected power or backing, mentors are invaluable resources (Kanter, 1977). Even as late as 1995, Hill and Ragland indicated that females in educational leadership positions often perceived that they were the only ones in their particular leadership positions.

Paradoxically, even when there were women in similar positions to provide mentoring and support, they often failed to mentor and support aspiring females. Researchers attributed this sad state of affairs to jealousy, female preference to work with males, an attitude that I made it on my own - you can too, and unspoken competition (Caplan, 1981; Edson, 1988; Funk, 1994). A kinder explanation suggested the struggles, time pressures, and

focus on their own success of would-be mentors and sponsors as reasons for a lack of guidance to aspiring females (Shakeshaft, 1989). Without support and mentors, the establishment of networks is very difficult.

Pervasive Bias in the Patriarchal Education System

Although females represented 75% of teachers employed in 1990, the proportion diminished rapidly as they progressed up the hierarchical administrative structure. This same disproportion was also present in the corporate structure. Whereas nearly a third of all entry-level management positions were held by females in 1990, only 3% of the Chief Executive Officers in the corporate world were females (Saltzman, 1991).

Females were often held back, not by a lack of aspiration, but by faulty assumptions subconsciously or consciously ascribed to them. The system fostered selection of new administrators who resembled the old in attitude, philosophy, deed, experiences, appearance, hobbies, and club memberships (Hill & Ragland, 1995). The preferred gender bias for a high school principal was stated in Brown's (1909) *The American High School*:

Generally speaking, men make better principals than women, especially in high schools. They are stronger physically; they possess more executive ability, they are more likely to command the confidence of male citizens; they are more judicial in mind; they are more sure to seize upon the merits of questions; they are less likely to look at things from a personal point of view; they are likely to be better supported by subordinates; and simply because they are men, they are more likely to command the respect and confidence of boys. (pp. 241-242)

The system's internal bias of "white males managing adults" perceived as superior to "women taking care of children and curricular issues" is a firmly entrenched educational tradition (Yeakey, Johnson, & Adkison, 1986, p. 35).

Gender-Biased Administrator Preparation Programs

Faculty members in educational leadership preparation programs traditionally have been male (Schmuck, 1979). This dominance influences career paths and choices for females in many ways. First, university faculty members initially encourage or discourage graduate students about pursuing a degree. Male faculty members choose to sponsor females who conformed to their stereotypes according to Adkison (1981). In addition to possible lack of encouragement from faculty members, females experience a number of conditions discouraging graduate school participation and success (Shakeshaft, 1989). Lack of child care, informal networks consisting of male students and male faculty, inadequate number of female role models, and a

lack of focus on female students were cited by Shakeshaft as examples of gender-biased conditions faced by females in educational leadership programs.

In addition to many faculty members' lack of service to female students, many researchers commented on the relationship between the curriculum biased toward males and the dampened career goals of females. These researchers critiqued the textbooks and journals for gender bias and found a large portion of sexist content in the research and writing (Schmuck, Butman, & Pearson, 1982; Shakeshaft & Hanson, 1986; Tietze, Shakeshaft, & Davis, 1981). Thus, as Marshall (1984) concluded, graduate programs in educational leadership developed and supported students in ways that did not promote equal opportunity for females.

Summary Comments on External Barriers

Many could cite specific examples of how each of the five external barriers impacted their career paths. We need to revisit those forgotten experiences and share them with the new generation of aspiring female educational leaders. Those stories create a potentially lost story of how women arrived. This will keep alive the earlier call of feminist researchers to remain focused on the experiences and success strategies of females as leaders in education.

As for the Amys and her generation, filled with confidence, knowledge of affirmative action laws, and perhaps denial that the jagged edges of the glass ceiling exist, the following advice is offered.

Delete Internal Barriers

Negative self-talk, unease in out-of-comfort zone experiences, confusion of feedback for criticism, and fear of negative reactions, lost relationships or rejection requires constant monitoring and managing. Even the most empowered and efficacious person experiences some self-doubt but has learned how to be resilient, positive, and confident. Approach negative self-talk as though you were addressing your best friend's mistake or bad experience. Continue to expand your comfort zone by forcing yourself to engage in two events each week that feel unfamiliar, risky, or challenging. Recognize that receiving constructive criticism is not a sign of inferiority but rather an opportunity to learn and grow. Select carefully the voices you will listen to and remind yourself that you made the best decision at the time with the information and experiences you possessed. Question the strength of the relationship if you feel controlled by that person's opinion or conditions. Work on your efficacy and resiliency by recounting your daily successes rather than your mistakes and revisiting how you overcame obstacles and disappointments.

Collect Mentors

An effective mentor is willing to mentor you beyond his or her own position. Seek out a number of trusted male and female mentors with varying expertise and networks. Mentors will assist you in your journey through the complex system of leadership development, position attainment, and position retention. They will provide you with a safe sounding board, connections, insights into the history of the organization, broader perspectives, feedback, safety nets, and increased self-confidence.

Emulate Role Models

Consider how successful females look, act, speak, and project professionalism. Adopt an eclectic approach to develop your own style informed by observation of what works for others based on the reactions of those they serve. If you are a teacher aspiring to the principalship, start becoming the essence of this new role during the transitional period. Females know that even a detail of how they dress is often perceived as more important than what they do or how they do it (Chapkis, 1986). Possible sponsors may first notice your potential for leadership or a new position projected by the image you create with attire, manners, facial expressions, and voice projection. Concentrate on the professional leadership image but remember the substance of your ability goes beyond the outward appearance.

Connect Feminine Leadership Style to Reality of the Role

Leadership style refers to a complex set of actions manifested in how the leader will: focus on group processes, project personality, induce compliance, exercise influence, exert persuasion, relate power, achieve goals, impact interaction, and initiate structure, change, and consideration (Bass, 1990). Recognize that the female leadership style will differ from the male style. Likewise, those who are led and impacted will also perceive the leader through their gender lenses. Instead of remaking yourself in a male image or oppose the male approach or lens, maintain feminine qualities and seek to understand the male's approach and lens. Pay particular attention to the differences between female and male communication styles. Effective communication will build connections, connections will build trust, trust will build relationships, and those relationships will build whatever you want. Communication is the foundation of all actions associated with your leadership style.

In the past, females received the message that they should emulate male leadership styles to succeed in the tough political environment inherent in schools. They also heard that they needed to capitalize on the effectiveness of their feminine leadership styles that include caring, cooperation, and building

relationships. My suggestion is to attempt to blend the best of both male and female leadership styles into a "stroft" approach. Stroft is a blend of strong and soft leadership characteristics. People skills are often considered to be soft skills. Taking a stand, budget management, discipline, and negotiations are often considered hard skills. Both soft and hard skill dimensions are necessary in today's school environment. A stroft blend of traditional gender roles and attributes into a synthesis of the best qualities and characteristics places a value on both male and female contributions and attributes. Although no easy task, you are in an excellent position to develop and model a new leadership style—stroft!

Conclusion

Women in educational leadership continue to face varying degrees of barriers. Perhaps they are more discrete than they were in the 1970s. However, equipped with a recognition of the existing barriers, the wisdom of research and mentors, the call for additional qualities in leaders that women can offer, aspiring females can benefit from those who have gone before and pave the way for those yet to come. In essence, this recognition can provide a window to see your world and a mirror to see yourself.

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WOMEN SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS: PERCEPTIONS OF BEST PRACTICES FOR LEADERSHIP

Susan Katz

In U.S. public schools, a limited number of women have attained the position of superintendent. Consequently, there has been limited research focusing on understanding the position from a woman's perspective. The purpose of this study was to add to the body of literature focusing on women's ideas and beliefs about leading schools.

A survey that measured perceived leadership practices and demographics was sent to women public school superintendents practicing in four Midwestern states during the academic year, 2000-2001. In addition to the survey, face-to-face interviews were conducted with nine respondents. The study's framework was based on a model of leadership developed by Kouzes and Posner (1995) and incorporated into The Leadership Practices Inventory (LPI) they developed.

The research questions sought the degree of difference in how the women superintendents perceived their leadership practices based on age, years of administrative experience, and size and structure of their districts. Data analysis revealed differences in perceived leadership practices according to size of school district. The results also revealed that women had ways to talk about how they have succeeded in their roles as superintendents. Women in this study viewed relational leadership as a key component of their leadership style. Findings indicated that the women superintendents believed good hiring practices and specific qualities of a leader were essential elements of effective leadership.

Introduction

Since the creation of the public school superintendency in the United States in the mid-1800s, few women have held this public leadership position. Most

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studies before 1998 reported that males constituted more than 90% of all superintendent positions. In 2002, women comprised about 13% of the nation's school superintendents (Brunner, Grogan, & Prince, 2003).

The question of why there are so few women in the superintendency becomes puzzling when one considers three situations regarding the low incidence of women in the superintendency. One situation has to do with the pathway to the position of superintendent. Glass (1992) found that a typical pathway for women to the superintendency is from the position of teacher, to principal, to central office position, to superintendent. Women comprise 70% of all teachers (Bell & Chase, 1993). Thus one would expect more women superintendents.

The second situation has to do with increased numbers of women in graduate programs of educational administration. The research indicates that, although men historically have dominated the field of educational administration, female enrollment in graduate programs in educational administration has increased. In school administration programs, the percentage of female students now outnumbers males. A 1997 survey of member institutions in the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) showed that 74% of certification programs in institutions responding to the survey had from 51% to 72% women (Logan, 1998). Grogan (1996) pointed out that women have entered educational programs in increasing numbers since the 1970s.

The third situation exists because increasing numbers of women are moving into more central office positions and school principalships. Hodgkinson and Montenegro (1999) found that women occupied 33% of the positions of assistant, associate, deputy, or area superintendents. Representation of women in central office administration was estimated at 57%. In the principalship, women represent 20% of secondary school principals and 53% of elementary school principals (Hodgkinson & Montenegro, 1999).

Barriers exist for women entering the superintendency. Brunner (1998b) reported that a lack of mentoring contributed to a lower number of women entering the superintendency. Most studies approach leadership from a male perspective (Brunner, 1998a, Shakeshaft, 1989; Wesson & Grady, 1994).

Shakeshaft (1989) explained that educational theories developed from a male-centered, or andocentric framework, are a result of imbalanced and inaccurate research and are not representative of the female paradigm. Campbell (1996) suggested that “narrow definitions of leadership based on male models or theories need to be expanded to include women’s values, beliefs, and experiences” (p. 9).

Purpose of the Study

A greater number of studies exploring how women school superintendents perceive themselves as leaders of their school districts will assist women who aspire to the superintendency to learn about leadership practices. Women aspiring to the superintendency want to understand the approaches to everyday problems inherent in the superintendency from a female perspective. The purpose of this study was two-fold: (a) to explore women’s work lives as superintendents through an investigation of their leadership practices, and (b) to give voice to women. Kouzes and Posner (1995), who defined leadership as “the art of mobilizing others to want to struggle for shared aspirations” (p. 30), established five leadership practices and incorporated them into the Leadership Practices Inventory-Self (LPI-Self). The LPI was used in this study to measure the perceptions women superintendents held about their leadership practices. The five practices are (a) challenging the process, (b) inspiring a shared vision, (c) enabling others to act, (d) modeling the way, and (e) encouraging the heart. The study was based on the following questions:

1. Are there differences in how women superintendents perceive their leadership practices based on age, years of administrative experience, and size and structure of their districts?
2. How do women superintendents describe effective leadership practices?
3. How do women describe their enactment of leadership practices?

Methods

Participants

All female public school superintendents whose names appeared on superintendent lists in 2000-2001 in Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan were asked to complete the LPI-Self survey and a demographic

questionnaire. The questionnaire addressed teaching and administrative experience, amount of time spent seeking the superintendency, degrees held, years in present position, population of the school district, and questions regarding central office administrators and school buildings.

Selection of Sample

The primary factor for selection of interview participants was size of school district and then, secondarily, the interview participants were chosen for age differences and years of experience as a superintendent.

Fourteen women superintendents had left their positions, which reduced the population from 210 to 196 women superintendents in the four states. Of that population, 76% ($n = 148$) returned usable surveys.

Design of the Study

The design was both quantitative and qualitative. Years of administrative experience were defined as years of experience as a superintendent. Size of school district referred to student population. All 148 cases had student populations that fell within three categories: large districts of 10,000 to 29,999 students, mid-size districts of 2,500 to 9,999 students, and small districts of less than 2,500 students. Structure of the district was defined as the ratio of the number of central office staff to the number of school buildings in the district.

In-depth interviews were conducted with nine women superintendents from the four states of Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The purposes of the interviews were: (a) to gain a better understanding of the women superintendents' responses on the LPI, an inventory that assesses the self-perceptions of leadership practices; (b) to encourage descriptions of effective leadership practices; and (c) to explain how they enacted those practices.

Findings

Sixty-five percent ($n = 96$) of the participants were between the ages of 50 and 56. The mean age of the participants was 52 years with a range in age of 38 to 65 years. Almost 95% of the participants indicated that they were European-American. Eighty-five percent reported that they were married. The professional data are displayed in Table 1. Professionally, 66% of the respondents held earned doctorates, 50% indicated that it took less than one year to obtain a superintendency after gaining certification. Additional professional data are displayed in Table 1.

Table 1
Demographic Data

Variables	<u>N</u>	<u>M</u>	<u>SD</u>	Minimum	Maximum
Age	148	51.99	4.62	38.00	65.00
Age at first superintendency	148	45.70	5.67	30.00	59.00
# years in present position	148	5.40	3.76	1.00	20.00
# years teaching prior to administration	147	10.58	4.97	0.00	29.00
# administrative positions before superintendency	148	2.90	2.43	0.00	8.00
# superintendent jobs applied for before 1st job	148	1.47	2.48	0.00	15.00
# school buildings	148	6.26	8.71	1.00	78.00
# building administrators	148	9.65	12.11	1.00	78.00
# central office staff	148	5.23	5.68	1.00	50.00
structure of district—ratio of # central office staff/# buildings	148	1.17	0.75	0.22	4.00

Participants

Nine women superintendents participated in the interviews. Two were superintendents of large school districts ranging in student population from 19,500 to 23,000; two were from mid-size districts ranging in student population from 5,600 to 6,700; and five were superintendents of small school districts ranging in student population from 100 students to 2,100 students. The mean age of the women was 51 years with a range of 42 to 62 years. Three of the women held masters degrees and six held doctorates. The number of administrative positions the participants held prior to obtaining a superintendency ranged from 0 to 5 positions with a mean of three positions.

Years of experience in the superintendency ranged from 1 to 20 years with a mean of 7 years. Time spent seeking a superintendency after gaining certification ranged from 0 to 5 years.

Kouzes and Posner (1995) reported that of the five leadership practices on the Leadership Practices Inventory, inspiring a shared vision is the practice frequently applied the least and the one most uncomfortable to implement. Confirming their findings, women superintendents in this study perceived themselves to be using the five leadership practices in the following order: enabling others to act, modeling the way, challenging the process, encouraging the heart, and inspiring a shared vision.

Individual Profiles

A profile of each of the nine interview participants presented in the next section establishes the women's individuality. Names are pseudonyms to protect identities. In response to one interview question, I asked participants to provide perceptions of leadership in different size districts. Responses contribute to the "portraits" of the women.

The following sections present the women superintendents according to the size of the district they lead: small, medium, and large districts. The first section profiles five women leading small districts.

Profiles of Superintendents Leading Small Districts

Laura. Laura was 49 years of age, European-American, and married. She had a Ph.D., taught 11 years before working in administration, and had held four administrative positions before becoming a superintendent. Laura required one year to acquire a superintendency after receiving certification. This superintendency was Laura's first; and she was in her third year as superintendent of a small, rural district consisting of one building housing grades K-8 with 98 students. On the LPI-Self, Laura used "encouraging the heart," and Laura was the only interviewee who perceived herself in this way. This practice deals with recognizing people when their work is well done and celebrating accomplishments as a team.

Laura described herself as the superintendent, principal, curriculum director, transportation director, and business manager. She had worked as a central office administrator in a large district of more than 2,000 students, but this position in a very small district contributed to her sense of community.

Laura expressed positive feelings for her position in a small district, yet she noted problems.

I think in a small district the disadvantage is that you have to be everything and so you never feel like you do one thing particularly well. And that's problematic for me. In a small district there are so many hats to wear. [Nevertheless] I don't have hours and I don't have contractual restraints. I can say, "Why don't we go for pizza and get back together at 7:00 tonight to work on math?" and whoever can come, comes. And nobody's going to be harping at me. It's a luxury. We're all in it together.

Ruth. Ruth was 42, European-American, and single. She had taught school for six years prior to receiving her Ph.D. and accepting her first administrative position as superintendent at age 30, one year after she received the certification. Ruth's LPI assessment revealed that she perceived herself as using the leadership practice of "enabling others to act," which involves building trust and offering support as followers develop competence.

Speaking of her leadership in a small school district of 400 students, Ruth said

I want to be hands on. I don't want to sit at a desk; I want to be out with the children. When I first started this job, people would say, "Don't you miss teaching?" and I would say that I teach every day; I'm with the children and no, I don't miss teaching.

Ruth indicated that she considered age a barrier. She became a superintendent at age 30 (relatively young for a superintendent) and had experienced age discrimination from parents and community more than teachers. She did not, however, experience gender discrimination.

Vivian. Vivian, 62, was European-American and married. She had a masters degree and had been a superintendent of a district consisting of one building housing 700 students in grades K-8 for 20 years. Vivian taught for 10 years and was a principal, curriculum director, and administrative assistant in the same district. She gained the superintendency in less than one year after earning certification. On the LPI-Self, Vivian perceived herself to use the leadership practice "modeling the way," which involves setting the example consistent with the belief in shared values.

Vivian, the oldest woman in the sample, was the one superintendent who had been at her position the most years. Vivian talked about her age as a possible barrier to continued success. She stated that she still "clings to the old principles that I think are good." She was adamant when she talked about her strong feelings of leadership. She reported that she told her staff that she

is in charge and if “they don’t like what she does, they need to do something about it.” Vivian questioned her strong stance on issues.

I’ve told the board the same thing because I feel so strongly about some of those principles, and sometimes, I question myself and say, “Are you carrying that a little too far?” So it might be my own self-evaluation that could be a barrier at this time and my age.

Vivian also commented on the sense of community created in a small district. When Vivian first started teaching in the district, the student population was 295 students.

Even at 300 and at 400 I knew every student by their first name. I don’t anymore. I feel sorry for those superintendents who are isolated from the children because it is the children who make this job worthwhile. You know that whenever things look bad and when everything looks sort of gloomy, I just need to walk over to the kindergarten room and I feel rejuvenated. I don’t want to be isolated from children and I do not want to be isolated from staff . . . I wind up doing my board work at night, which can be very taxing and it builds up. We just had two days off and I spent those entire days in this office just trying to clear my desk, believe it or not. So I hear that too.

Joan. Joan was 57, European-American, and married. She had a Ph.D. and had taught for six years before serving in principal positions in four different buildings. She was in the first year of her first superintendency. Joan’s office was located at one end of the elementary school in a district that has two schools serving students in grades K-6 and 7-12. Student population was 964 students. On the LPI-Self, Joan perceived herself as using “enabling others to act” as the primary leadership practice.

After the interview, Joan drove me around the district and showed the new addition that was under construction at the high school. She talked about enjoying her job.

I really enjoy it and wish I had done it sooner. I really do. I notice there’s a good support base among superintendents for each other. It’s a position where you can influence others. I just thoroughly love it. Working with the community and working with the board; I’ve really enjoyed [both].

Before Joan came to the superintendency, she was a high school principal. Joan reported that she can effect more change as a superintendent. “The places that you can effect change are the places that I enjoy. I

thoroughly enjoyed working with the budget this year because it is the way that you [are able to] provide for programs.”

Joan said there were differences in leading large vs. small districts.

One of the things that is very, very true in a situation with smaller numbers is that you pretty much do everything. You just are involved with it all. I like that kind of thing but it is very demanding and it does keep you away sometimes from that modeling and that shared vision and so forth and that’s interesting because those are two things that I would say are very important. And I think probably the vision that comes out that’s very important for me is that I set those as priorities instead of just the day-to-day management.

Marilyn. Marilyn was 48, European-American, married and held a masters degree. She noted that she was “all but dissertation.” Marilyn had taught for five years and had held several administrative positions before applying for a superintendency. She indicated that it took less than a year to obtain her position after earning certification. Marilyn has held her current position for four years.

Marilyn’s primary leadership practice on the LPI-Self was “enabling others to act.” Marilyn spoke about leadership in a small district.

You know the process of networking is the same. When I was the number two person in a district of 8,600 students, we had a staff of about 500 or so. Their needs were not a lot different than they are in a small district. People want to feel valued, they want to feel appreciated, they want to be heard and they want to be supported, especially as they come to grips with changes that they need to make. You know as adults, especially more mature adults, they’re used to looking competent.

Marilyn was enjoying her position as superintendent:

I would absolutely pursue this career path again. I love it. It’s got its down moments but you have to keep a balance in your life. That’s real key to it. You need that balance to recover and to have perspective. Perspective is critically important when you’re looking from a bird’s eye view at the whole dynamics of your district, trying to respond well to everything that’s going on.

The next section profiles two women superintendents leading mid-size school districts.

Profiles of Superintendents Leading Mid-Size Districts

Maxine. The central office for this district was in a separate building located near the downtown. The student population consists of 5,600 students in grades K-12 in 13 school buildings. Maxine, at 53, had been in her position for 6 years. It was her first superintendency. She was European-American, married, and held a masters degree. She had taught for 15 years before serving in several school administrative positions, including principal, curriculum director, and assistant superintendent. It took Maxine less than a year to achieve a superintendency after earning certification. According to the LPI-Self, Maxine perceived herself to be using “inspiring a shared vision” as her preferred leadership practice. Inspiring a shared vision involves enlisting followers to carry out the work of the organization. She solidified several groups in the district who had been at odds with each other in the past. Inspiring a shared vision served Maxine well as she fostered collaboration in the district.

Maxine related her interview policy.

I usually don't grant interviews. But I do them on women's topics because I think that for those of us who are in leadership it may help other women determine what characteristics they have that might be a match for them and so that's one of the reasons I was willing to do it.

Maxine provided a description of the district.

We have a large Latino population. We're diverse in terms of socio-economic status. I was hired to bring a dysfunctional system together. There were several civil rights suits on the table. The board and the teachers were in contentious negotiations. I came from a very secure assistant superintendency that paid more than this job. I was secure there; I had 20 some years in the system. I came here to a system that everybody would have said was dysfunctional and was on its third superintendent in seven years. I guess that was a risk. I knew I had to move real fast because they hired me to fix things and they forget real fast what they want to fix.

Barb. Barb's office was located in an old school building that housed the central office for the school district as well as an early childhood center. The district had 6,700 students in grades K-12 housed in 16 school buildings with 22 administrators. Barb was 49, European-American, married, and had a Ph.D. She had taught 10 years before obtaining administrative positions as principal, curriculum director, and assistant superintendent. On the LPI-Self, Barb perceived herself as “enabling others to act.” Barb's superintendency was her second, and she had been in her position for three years. She indicated that she had applied for six different superintendent positions, and

it took four years to gain her first superintendency after earning the certification.

The community was one of the poorest in the state and half of the children were on free and reduced lunch. She described her staff as warm-hearted. She expressed a belief that adults influence students' achievement.

The new approach to student achievement is that the only thing that is going to happen is the change in adults. The parents are not keeping the good ones at home and sending the bad ones. The only reform that is going to happen is with us and meaning me too.

Barb said that her greatest accomplishment was breaking down barriers that were erected in the district.

This district has an image problem. This city is a depressed area. This district and one other [in the state] are probably the two most property poor districts. Well, that isn't good for self-esteem. Our whole community suffers this esteem problem. I had applied to be superintendent here before and someone else was chosen.

When the position became vacant again, Barb reapplied.

I wanted to come back to some place that I felt I could do some things. This district needed someone who values them. I felt that if we can make a difference in this town, it can be done anywhere. If I can be part of mobilizing this district to overcome that poverty barrier and make the difference for these children, then that will be my most significant contribution.

The next section profiles two women leading two large school districts.

Profiles of Superintendents Leading Large Districts

Martha. Martha, an African-American, was married, and held a Ph.D. She was in her first superintendency at age 43 and had been in the position for three years. She taught for 3 years and held administrative positions for 13 years prior to taking a superintendency. On the LPI-Self Martha perceived herself as using the leadership practice "modeling the way."

Martha applied for two positions before acquiring her current superintendency in less than a year after earning certification. As a teacher she was a leader in her building, and her principal encouraged her to pursue educational administration. She was one of the youngest superintendents in the study and "enjoyed a pretty healthy successful leadership career." She

encouraged people she thought “possessed the qualities of a good leader to move into the career path.”

The school district had a student population of approximately 19,500 students in grades K-12 housed in 45 buildings with 59 building administrators. Her central office staff consisted of three assistant superintendents, each with responsibilities for multiple directors, coordinators, supervisors, and facilitators.

Martha suggested that the processes of leadership were the same in leading small, medium, or large districts. “You have got to build consensus for what you want to do and you’ve got to engender the support of the people that you work with no matter what the environment.” Martha indicated that work in a large district encouraged her to be “intimately involved in the day-to-day operations of the school district.”

I said to a principal applicant yesterday that one of the things that I regret most about being in a district this size is that I cannot hand pick principals. I have to rely on the recommendations of our people. I can pick a principal. I am good at that. And because I don’t have the opportunity to get out in the schools and interface with and talk to the teachers about principal candidates, I’m not able to hand pick them. That would be something you could do in a smaller district vs. a larger district. Because I view the principalship to be the most important position in the school district, that’s a little frustrating.

Geri. Geri was 54, European-American, married and held a Ph.D. She taught five years. She held positions of principal, curriculum director, and assistant superintendent before obtaining a superintendency at age 41. It took five more years to gain her first superintendency after earning certification and after applying for eight positions. She had been in the superintendency for six years. The LPI-Self revealed her preference for “modeling the way.”

The interview was conducted in Geri’s office in a new building housing 16 central office staff and an early childhood center. The building, close to one of the elementary schools, was located on an expanse of land in the center of a school district that served three communities. The district was a fast growing suburb of a major metropolitan area. Geri commented on the growth,

This district is change personified. We grew 1,500 to 2,000 students in a year in the past 5 years. And with that has come the opening of 14 schools since I’ve been here. We are 28 buildings now. In this district we hired 380 people last year and we hired 340 some the year before. . . .

The district employed 47 building administrators in 28 buildings housing 23,000 students in grades K-12.

Geri expressed strong feelings on the differences in leading large vs. small districts.

I was used to a superintendent [of a smaller district] knowing absolutely every new teacher that came into the district. I could go up, call you by name and tell you where you were teaching. You can't do that here. You just begin to realize that when you are hiring 300+ people in a year it's not going to happen. And so it is very difficult. You have to figure out what you can insert yourself into and what you let those assistant superintendents and those building principals deal with.

Interview Data Analysis

I used an interview guide consisting of 18 questions of which many were modeled after Kouzes and Posner's (1987) qualitative study of leaders "personal best." Kouzes and Posner asked leaders to describe their personal best times while leading organizations. Their analysis revealed themes that eventually developed into the five leadership practices incorporated into the LPI-Self (Kouzes & Posner, 1997): (a) challenging the process; (b) inspiring a shared vision; (c) enabling others to act; (d) modeling the way; and (e) encouraging the heart. Each leadership practice has key behaviors associated with it. In the next section each of these key behaviors is described and accompanied by interview data from the interviewees in the study.

Challenging the Process

The two key behaviors that characterize leaders who challenge the process include searching for opportunities and experimenting and taking risks (Kouzes & Posner, 1995). Geri, involved in a district that had experienced tremendous growth and had opened 14 buildings in the six years of her superintendency, realized that change was a way of life in her district and knew she needed to help her administrators deal with the kind of change that comes with opening new buildings, reconstituting staff from other buildings, and hiring new staff members.

One of the things with that change, as a superintendent [is that] I have to decide how much change can we deal with and be sane. Because if you try too many different things you have people too stressed. In this district we hired 380 people last year and we hired 340 some [people] the year before

so those are all new to us. When you have that kind of newness there's enough issues of just trying to get culture in the building down so you don't want to do more.

Marilyn expressed a similar idea about being careful not to push her staff too hard when effecting change.

You have to have a good bead on what's happening with people so that you know how hard and fast to push them on some institutional, organizational change that needs to take place. There's only so much [people at] different levels can handle. I'm very thoughtful when we're trying to make changes in terms of how much change can they make and how do we facilitate it. Risk is something that people will do if they feel safe and as the leader of the organization I find that people need to be reassured often that they're safe.

Barb described changing the status quo and repeatedly asked two questions to challenge her staff: "What is your greatest fear and what is the worst that can happen?" This procedure helped her staff understand how benefits outweigh risks. "It's that comfort level; [I need] to shake them out of their comfort level." She wanted educators to become more reflective about the efficacy of educational programs.

One of the things we don't do well in education is the reflective part where we actually sit down and say, "Why didn't this work?" I think that one of the best ways to change the status quo is to give time for that reflection and have people actually intellectualize what happened.

When Barb talked about change, she wanted everyone to understand her. She tried to create a common language so that everyone had an understanding of the framework of the change initiative. "And the more fun and humor you can put into it, the better it is." She related that use of books such as *Who Moved My Cheese* helped.

Martha had a weekly cabinet meeting to share information in areas that needed improvement.

I call it push people out of their comfort zone. We identify where we think the risk may be in making a decision to do things differently and determine whether the risk is low or high and whether we are willing to do it. We decide as a cabinet, as a team whether or not we make those kinds of changes.

Kouzes and Posner (1995) reported that part of "challenging the process" grows from the leader's ability to take risks. Several respondents reported

that the biggest risks came from their efforts to reorganize or make major changes in their districts. Martha said that her greatest risk created an opportunity to rebuild her organization.

The reorganization called for administrators to be notified that their contracts would not be renewed until they met with me. And through our dialogue we had to determine whether or not their philosophy and my philosophy as well as the vision of the district were a good match. That allowed me the opportunity to rebuild the staff based upon what I thought was in the best interest of the district.

Maxine reshaped her system in a month by removing an assistant superintendent of personnel and hiring a facilitator for multicultural education "in a community that didn't want to even deal with the term 'multicultural.'" Maxine told me that because of this change, she got hate letters. "Because there are people who still think the word 'multicultural' is a dirty word."

Marilyn knew there were changes that needed to be made in her district when she was initially hired. But she had difficulty instigating change due to a difficult beginning with the union. Marilyn was the first woman superintendent hired by the district, and reported gender discrimination played a role in her initial problems with the union president.

I think primarily because there was an old boys' network here, there was a lot of posturing with me. It would have been the safe thing to do to let things just ride and not try to make changes in the district.

She had to reassure her administrative team that what she needed was "time to connect with people out in the trenches and that it was going to be just fine."

For Joan and Vivian, superintendents in small districts, risk-taking meant being sensitive to what the risks were and preventing the fallout that might occur. Joan said that it was important to determine what are "strongly held beliefs and practices, especially when you are in a new situation" before taking on what might be a big risk. Vivian indicated she was a "strong believer in preventative medicine for everything." Women in small districts talked about assessing the needs before taking on the risk to change the status quo and making an effort to solve any problems the risk might present before they occurred. All of the women in small districts talked about approaching change slowly and methodically—one woman was happy that her staff implemented at least one big change although she would have preferred

many more. She felt good about the work her staff had done prior to implementing the change.

Superintendents in large and mid-size districts spoke of strategies they used to challenge the system, moving people out of their comfort level to learn about and implement new programs that had appeal and efficacy for all students. They took risks such as reorganizing the school district in the first year of employment, reapplying for a superintendency in one of the two poorest districts in the state to make a difference, and hiring a multicultural facilitator in a district that resisted diversity. Three of the four women in large and mid-size districts were hired to specifically reorganize their districts.

These superintendents were cautious in effecting change, preferring to build relationships first, helping the school community to get to know them and what they were about, and assuring staff that they were in a protective environment before they were willing to take the risks needed to change educational practices and programs.

Inspiring a Shared Vision

Leaders who inspire a shared vision use the two main behaviors of “envisioning the future” and “enlisting others” to carry on the work of the organization (Kouzes & Posner, 1995). All of the superintendents answered a direct question about vision. The question was asked in two parts: “Do you have a vision for your school district?” and “How do you enlist others in sharing your vision?” Several respondents solicited input from stakeholders to craft the vision in their respective school districts. In terms of sharing the vision and keeping it in the forefront of all the stakeholders, Maxine said, “When the vision is created synergistically, you get a greater buy in and people have to believe that they can have a part in the positive outcomes towards that.” She noted that she continued to foster the “buy in” of the vision by giving staff credit for what they do “out there in the buildings.”

Martha related her thoughts about the role of the school district in providing for the community to grow and thrive. Before working to solidify the vision for her district she and her staff went to the community to ask about issues important to the school district. As a result, they built a vision “that was supported by anywhere from 25 to 50 individuals representing all segments in the community.” Joan also enlisted stakeholders to craft the vision. “One of the first things I did when I came was to sit down and meet with all of our employees” to find out what was good about the two school buildings in the district, what was positive about working there, and what meaning did working in the district have for them. She shared findings with

the board in what she called her “qualitative study.” “In terms of taking a look at what our strengths were and what our desires were, we formulated a vision statement, formulated the mission and goals for the corporation and that’s been kind of the guideline for us.” This superintendent made sure that the vision and mission statements were “out there in the forefront.” Her weekly memo to staff had

the mission statement . . . at the beginning of that memo every time and we have it there at board meetings. And we have had other retreats and we’ve always talked about how we are doing in terms of that.

Maxine enlisted her administrators to share in the vision and the mission in interesting ways. Foremost she referenced vision “all the time.”

What feels good to me is that I now hear it. What just amazed my administrators is that when they first came in to a meeting, I used to test them on things. We met on a monthly basis because I needed them to hear from me where I thought we needed to go. I used to have them come in and I basically said everybody stand up, form circles and I want you to tell the person across from you what the three focus areas are.

One small district superintendent’s vision was that “we continue to be a school district where kids learn.” She spoke of programmatic issues as impacting her vision. “When I came to the district, there weren’t many computers, veteran staff members had not been evaluated, and staff members had not been to a workshop outside the district in 20 years.” A vision was needed “right off the top that what we want to be about is improving ourselves as instructional people.” To share the vision, she worked with the school board. “I suppose my tact has been to have some good conversations about what are my observations.” To share her vision with teachers she stated, “We get together once a month on a social basis and have come to appreciate each other as people who are engaged in the profession of teaching.”

Several superintendents spoke about ways to build consensus among staff. One built consensus through a shared decision making model.

Part of my philosophy is that you walk your talk and you feel like all of your people are equally important. We are all leaders in our own unique way and it is our job to foster the leadership in everyone, in each of us. Each one of us in this organization is going to have ownership and control of what’s going on.

Geri, the superintendent whose district had grown by 14 buildings in six years, related what she did to build consensus among her staff:

We do a lot of referendums in this district. There is a value to process and there is a value to allowing some processes to work. As much as you would like to just go tell them what the decision is, you know it wouldn't be a success. You have to be willing for it not to be your decision. The superintendent makes relatively few decisions. It's more making a decision to have a process to make it. Maybe the knowledge is knowing when you need the process.

Martha commented that whatever the size of the district is "the processes of leadership are the same. You have got to build consensus for what you want to do and you've got to engender the support of the people that you work with no matter what the environment." Another built consensus as a result of "getting people to own the system, the people in it, and the vision and mission of the organization," but stated, "I'm not afraid to take a strong stand when I have to."

When Marilyn first came to her position she invited prominent members of the community to talk "around the table." And Marilyn was proud of what she had begun.

One thing led to another and within 18 months we had a rotary club started. Now that rotary club was chartered and there are about 30 members and there are about 40 others who are just friends of rotary and they come together to do various projects and start to improve the community. This winter we are going to have several large community forums where we will invite 100 people to each one to come and talk about what do they like about being out here and what do we need to improve.

Like Marilyn, Joan built consensus for the vision, mission, and goals created for her district by being visible and by seeking input from the community. She toured two major factories and met with business people and city officials in her small town. She wanted to "see what they're thinking about the town and how they see themselves." She worked with the county committee "to see how we fit together with the people in the county and the bicounty district area."

These women shaped and created vision and mission statements for their districts. They knew intuitively that they must build consensus in the community for shared ideas about what people wanted for students educationally. Several women reported unique ways of ensuring that the vision was routinely thought about and talked about among the administrators in the districts.

Enabling Others to Act

The key leadership behaviors that enable others to act are “fostering collaboration by promoting cooperative goals” and “building trust and strengthening others by giving power away,” “providing choice,” “developing competence,” “assigning critical tasks,” and “offering visible support” (Kouzes & Posner, 1995). Geri said that her philosophy of leadership was to “provide the environment and resources, [and] the climate for people to be able to utilize their strengths and abilities.” She related a conversation held with a staff member who told her that “what’s really good about working for you is that you allow us to do our jobs and that you have confidence in us that we will make good decisions.”

After Martha’s first year of reorganization in her school district, she spent time rebuilding “security and confidence in the people who are in the district.” She brought in people who she believed shared her beliefs about how to “operationalize the goals of the district.”

And then I had to assure those who were not new employees that we respected them, that we valued them as employees, and that we would not try to change absolutely everything in the district. Together we would forge the path toward improvement and it’s a work in progress. We make some leeway and then we lose some ground. But by and large I think I can say that people as a whole know and understand that we’re working as a team in the best interests of children.

Marilyn spoke of servant leadership, engaging the staff, and enlisting community members as partners in moving the organization forward. She saw herself as “someone who is here to serve, both internally our staff who are on the front line with kids as well as in the larger community for whom we work and represent.” Marilyn talked to her staff about the importance of teamwork. “Our greatest opportunity to make an impact on kids hinges on how greatly we work together as a team on what we’re trying to accomplish.” She looked for alignment of teaching behaviors—do they match with the curriculum? “I’m always in the district looking for how closely are we aligned in our behaviors. And if we’re not, then I invite conversations about what could we do to change, involving everyone.”

There was a consensus that to enable others to act, they needed to build key relationships with the school board, staff members, and community. Consistent with the literature on women leaders, building relationships is highly important (Blackmore, 1999; Brunner, 1999; Chase, 1995; Dunlap &

Schmuck, 1995, Gardner, Enomoto, & Grogan, 2000). Marilyn's reference to her philosophy of servant leadership emerged in talking about relationships with the school board.

One of the critical things that a new superintendent needs to do whether they are male or female is to develop and nurture that relationship with their board members first and foremost. A mentor taught me that a role of the superintendent is to serve the board and to serve the community.

One of her objectives was to form a common language regarding key components of a quality district and to do that she talked about building relationships. "We know that relationships are critical, and that all of our relationships should be built on respect and responsibility." For Barb, "relationships are it."

If you have a good relationship with the teacher, with the school, with the neighboring school district, with the county, with the politicians, if you have a good relationship with them then you are going to move. If you don't have good relationships, the conflict stays at the adult level and the organization spins. There's no forward movement.

Maxine spoke of her significant contribution as a superintendent,

Building relationships, getting the community to own the system, internal and external. I have a business and industry forum every month. I meet with pastors every month. I meet with parents every month. So I do a lot of large and small group meetings. One of the members of the negotiation team said to me not too long ago that the most significant contribution I've made to the system was teaching them how to work with the board. And I think that's really a relationship piece.

In describing ways in which they enable "others to act," the women superintendents used words such as "provide," "commit to," and "create" when they talked about providing opportunities for their staffs to do their best work. They stressed relationship building as key to encouraging staff to find the motivation to search for new ways of teaching and to provide new programs for students.

Modeling the Way

The two key leadership behaviors of modeling the way were "setting the example through behavior consistent with belief in shared values" and

“through the planning of small wins that promote consistent progress and build commitment” (Kouzes & Posner, 1995).

All of the women superintendents described themselves as role models for their staffs and students. They spoke of letting others know their ideas about how people should be treated. Joan modeled how she treated others in actions but also in her written communication.

This is school bus safety week. The lead off in my memo was that it is school bus safety week and let's thank the bus drivers for all the good things they do; not only getting you safely to your destination but thank them for all of the extras they do.

If she saw something occurring in the school buildings, Joan told me that she would handle the situation after the incident.

I would never put a teacher or administrator down in front of a parent or student, but later I would talk to them and ask them what they were thinking about and what's the outcome of acting that way and so forth.

Maxine demonstrated her ideas about how people should be treated. “I think I probably model it more than I demand it.” She would relate to someone on occasion, “Your expectation is that I treat you with dignity and respect; mine is that you treat others with dignity and respect.” She indicated that she was not afraid to demonstrate her ideas about proper treatment of students and staff through contract nonrenewal. “Coaches [who don't treat students with respect] find themselves no longer able to coach here. Administrators find themselves no longer able to administrate (sic) here. So I think that sends a pretty clear message.”

Vivian stated that her philosophy of leadership was to be a role model for others. “I've always said that you get from other people what you expect. So if you expect a lot and give a lot, you get a lot.” She treated her staff with respect and received respect in return. Since she has been in her district for 30 years as a teacher, principal, and superintendent for 20 of those years, she said that people understand what she is about. “I've been around for a long time so I've built a reputation so there's no question in their minds. I'm the very strong disciplinarian here and kids know what I expect.” She said that her staff would most likely say that she is very compassionate. “I love my staff and I love my job and I love my kids.”

Geri talked about herself as a role model for female administrators as well as for female students. “My female administrators pay a whole lot of attention to how I do things.” When talking about female high school

students' interests in understanding her role, Geri said that when she was a high school principal there were female students who would come into her office, would ask her personal questions and then would ask the question: "Could I do this?" And Geri said she felt strongly about letting young people know that it was possible as females to lead large schools and large school districts, and she felt she was a good example.

Laura reported "I think that good leaders can do the grunt work as well as the top work. I don't think you draw lines. If it needs to be done, you aren't necessarily better than anyone else." Laura had an interesting perspective about role modeling. She said,

I don't think of myself as better than anyone else. I have a different role, a different job to do but eventually it all has to get done and sometimes you just have to model even the baser pieces of the job.

Laura continued

I model that [fair treatment] all the time. How I talk to the custodian, how I talk to the parents, how I talk to the kids, how I take phone calls. It is all visible and it is all observed and it's commented on and it's noticed.

Barb also spoke of treating people with dignity. She valued her staff for what they bring to the organization, and it was important to her that she demonstrate it. "It's simple things like if someone wants to have a meeting with you, you arrange your schedule so that you can get that meeting in. Instead of two weeks, try to get it scheduled in two days." Barb expected people to be open with her if they disagreed with decisions she made. "And if you screw up and you are bound to do so, then you can be more open because it fits into the idea of treating others with dignity and respect." The idea of "modeling the way" and particularly of being a role model were repeated themes throughout the interviews.

Encouraging the Heart

The two key behaviors associated with encouraging the heart are "recognizing individual contributions to the success of every project" and "celebrating team accomplishments regularly" (Kouzes & Posner, 1995).

Laura was the only interview participant who perceived that she used "encouraging the heart" as her preferred leadership practice on the LPI-Self. More than any of the other superintendents interviewed, she frequently talked about celebrating with her staff. She said that she and her staff members routinely got together to mark special family events but that they also

celebrated their work together as professionals. "As mundane as a box of donuts seems, it goes a long way."

Several of the superintendents spoke about their practice of encouraging the heart. They stated that celebrating staff accomplishments was something that did not come easily to them. Martha said that her nurturing skills were overshadowed by her attention to detail and her orientation to task completion. She has hired people who could fulfill that nurturing role better than she has been able to do.

In answer to a question about how she might celebrate everyone's efforts, one superintendent said:

I might sometimes just send somebody an email or a note. I have to admit that that's probably my greatest weakness. This doesn't sound real and I don't mean it to sound anything but a reflection of whom I am. I've not needed a lot of rewards. My reward is in doing. That's how I've always been. So I expect people to be happy once they've accomplished their goal. I have to continue to re-learn that that's not how some people function, that they need rewards along the way. So I work at it but one of my assistant superintendents is much better at it than I am and she is willing to share it. And so I have to practice it.

Ruth stated that she "is not a person to give accolades. In fact, I'd rather not receive them myself. I don't need those rewards, that constant reassuring that you're OK." Because of this, Ruth said that rewarding others is hard for her to do. But she did recognize people who need that and that keeps me at least more alert to a special pat on the back that they might need."

Three women talked about encouraging people, finding ways to value staff, and celebrating accomplishments with their respective staff members. Marilyn said: "[I believe that] people's spiritual energy devoted to [a cause] happens by either hunkering down together and surviving something awful or it hinges on ways that people have fun and celebrate their accomplishments together. I'm always looking for those opportunities." At the end of each of their monthly administrative meetings, she had a gratitude jar that she passes around the table. "After we've conducted all of our business, the last thing we do is pass the jar around and people will put in a quarter or more and thank somebody specifically around the table for something they did that was helpful." She then matched the money in the jar and "we spend it celebrating."

Barb said that she sent handwritten notes to individuals. She preferred this type of quiet, private acknowledgement rather than the larger celebration.

I've always thought that if you take a minute and you just write down something that you want that person to know and that you value what that person has done for the organization, for a colleague, for a child, it goes so far.

Barb said that because she was fiscally conscious, she was not apt to sponsor large-scale celebrations. She used an instrument designed to find people's strengths and needs with her administrative staff. A part of this strength perceiver revealed that some of her staff members "love the hoopla." Those people receive a plaque and she recognized them on the cable channel at the board meeting. "You need to know what people like and what they appreciate." She added, "I really don't like that kind of thing, and I tend to minimize it." She was adamant in her ideas about liberating the leadership in everyone. "People don't come to work and stand outside the door and say, 'Well today I'm going to give 90% today.' They don't. They come in and give 100%, 110% sometimes." It was her job "to notice and to acknowledge" everyone's efforts and "to encourage them to keep making those very genuine, unique, and sincere contributions for the good of the kids and the organization."

New Findings

Two additional findings were outside the theoretical framework of the five leadership practices. Women superintendents reported that their hiring practices were an important component of their leadership success. Furthermore, they said that effective leaders must possess specific qualities.

Hiring practices. Superintendents reported that hiring good people was a key component of leadership. Geri surrounded herself with what she called, "heterogeneous people." She related that when she hired people, she looked to build a team of people who had different strengths to be better equipped and knowledgeable in working with a diverse population of staff, students, and parents.

I really try to build a team of people who have different strengths in terms of dealing with people. This is a people business and you have to have those people who are good at different aspects of that working on your team. And if it is this heterogeneous group then you will be able to have really good give and take discussions of issues you need to talk about and they [staff members] will do it at a very professional level. It won't become personal to any one person.

She explained that one aspect of her job was to provide the resources to create the environment to make things happen.

You need to have really good people and let them make those possibilities happen . . . and I guess most important to me is that you have people who are loyal to you. That is very important in a system.

One superintendent preferred leading a large school district rather than a small district because of her ability to have a larger central office staff. She hired several central office staff members who were bright, capable administrators with a specialty for her cabinet.

The reason I like a larger district is because I am a person who likes to be surrounded by very bright people. I absolutely think that is a key to success. I want the best and brightest in what they do in my organization.

Ruth looked for team players. A superintendent in her district for 12 years, she had the "luxury" of hiring most of her teaching staff during her tenure. Martha hired people with beliefs similar to hers about providing an environment conducive to engaging all children as learners and all that goes with what she called her "bottom line." Because of her orientation to focus and to task completion, she observed that she was not as nurturing as she would like to be. Therefore, she hired staff members who exhibited that nurturing side. She gave her unique perspective on women as leaders.

I think women are very capable of managing the business of a district as those of us who have been in this position have demonstrated. But I think we bring a quality that is unique to the socialization of females. We have been taught to nurture and be concerned about the people who work with us and so are more likely to do that. That [nurturing quality], however, happens to be one of my weaknesses. While I think I possess some of those qualities I'm also very logical, sequential and task oriented and so therefore I'm focused on the target and sometimes at the expense of looking at the nurturing role I need to play. But what I've attempted to do in my leadership role both as a principal and as a superintendent is to try to put someone as close to me as possible that will have more of those qualities.

Joan placed utmost importance on hiring staff.

I think that the most important task an administrator has is hiring; most definitely. It just makes a big difference. For the most part those people are going to be with you for a long time and so you have to do a good job with that.

The four women in mid-size and large school districts said that hiring principals was crucial to the success of their districts. Barb convinced the board that she needed to retain the ability to hire principals even though past practice in her district had been that committees made up of teachers, parents, and other staff members hired principals. Because of the size of their districts, Martha and Geri relied on assistant superintendents to hire principals, and both women declared the practice a disadvantage in leading large districts.

Qualities of a leader. Most of the women had ideas about the special qualities leaders should possess. Joan stated that leaders must have qualities of integrity, character, and strong values. For her, integrity was a big issue. "There's a fine line with getting the word out and having integrity and political correctness at the same time, politically expedient, not correctness."

Geri stated, "I think the barrier to being successful is to remind yourself that this is a very risk taking job and if you don't like risks you don't want this one." Martha reported that leaders must have compassion when leading organizations. Martha related a speech she gave to a group of principals.

I believe that most effective leaders probably have as part of their make-up the innate characteristic of leading and can probably go back and identify every instance in which they have been thrust into leadership and that they emerged as a leader. I do think that there are some things that can be taught for people who want to be leaders, but I'm not sure that if the characteristics are not there, can you truly become an effective leader.

Laura expressed that quality leaders be logical thinkers who can balance the "incredible control, power, and responsibility" that comes with the job. Maxine stated that a leader needed to be centered so as not to "get off the track." She should be someone who is extremely focused. Barb also talked about focus as important. She wanted to see the leader focus on specific goals and then remain relentless in pursuit of those goals; she saw herself as a prime example. Vivian spoke of leaders maintaining high standards so that they might command respect from others.

Marilyn's response to a final question about her preferences for additions to the interview serves as a closing to this section.

... quality is never an accident. Our schools deserve quality leaders. I think that in today's age, public schools particularly have to look at what they're doing with very close scrutiny and they have to learn how to be more quickly responsive to making changes internally that they need to make. In order to get the adults to make those changes, to take those risks, to look incompetent while they're learning something different, it takes strong soft-touch leadership to do that. And I see a high need for that out there.

Discussion

There were differences in how women perceived their leadership based on the size of their districts. Both quantitative and qualitative data confirmed this finding. Women in small districts spoke more frequently and passionately about the appeal of a more intimate involvement with staff and students than did women in larger school districts who missed those personal connections.

Women in large districts perceived themselves to be using “challenging the process” and “inspiring a shared vision.” The interviewees used those practices in different ways. In larger districts, they talked of involving stakeholders, shared decision-making, and taking risks regarding personnel. In small districts, they talked of involving community in bond issues for facility funding, programming issues, and taking risks regarding program.

All talked about the importance of the leader maintaining high standards as they served as role models for staff, students, school board, and community members. Some of the respondents modeled beliefs in championing the value of diversity, and others modeled behaviors they want followers to emulate, i.e., dignity and respect. All talked about building relationships, whether those relations were at the level of students and teachers, or at the level of a cabinet staff. Building relationships was a repeated theme in many of the answers to the interview questions.

One voice stood out among the nine interviewed. Vivian belonged to a different era. She was 62 years old with no plans to retire. Vivian was the pathfinder with more than 20 years of experience as a superintendent and more than 30 years of experience as a teacher and then principal in the same district. She talked about how she maintained what she calls the “old principles.” She made clear to the staff and to her school board that as “long as I am here, that’s the way it’s going to be and if you don’t like it you better do something about it.” Vivian said that although her staff and students knew her as a strict disciplinarian, they also knew that she would be there for them when in trouble. She noted that her age was a possible barrier to her success and worried that she may have carried her ideas “a little too far.” She talked about wanting to show her staff her strong beliefs and principles in working with students as a “strict disciplinarian,”—an “old fashioned way,” according to Vivian. Vivian wanted people to know that she stood staunchly behind those principles, yet she worried that she was too “hard” in her approach. Her initial comment before we began the interview was, “Are you sure you want to interview me?” I took this to mean that I might not find her contemporary

in her ideas and views, given the fact that she has been in the district for so long. Vivian showed her unique style of leadership in several ways. One way was her belief in remaining cautious when taking risks to “challenge the process.” When other superintendents talked of the risks they took to change the status quo in their districts; Vivian talked about determining what the risks might be to try to prevent any fallout from taking the risk. Again, Vivian related her belief system as she said, “I’m a strong believer in preventive medicine for everything.”

When asked how they might challenge staff to try new approaches, most related that they believed building consensus, creating a common language, providing time to team and discuss the issues, and assuring people that they were safe before taking risks were important aspects of their practices. Vivian stated that she prepared and exposed staff to new techniques, but sometimes “you just have to say this is the way it’s going to be.”

All of the women were asked what advice they would give to women seeking a superintendency. The answers varied from “Just do it, it’s not that hard,” to Vivian’s advice. “You have to want to do it.” She reported that a superintendent should not divorce herself from the classroom because once done her decisions become unaffected by kids and after all, “That’s what we’re about—we’re about the kids.” Vivian was the woman who said that when her day was going poorly, all she had to do was go into the kindergarten room and sit with the children and then she would remember how truly rewarding the job was.

Concluding Remarks

I planned to give these women the voice to describe their leadership in their districts as superintendents. The insights drawn from this study of the perceptions of women superintendents regarding how they lead their school districts include:

1. Women viewed relational leadership as a key component of their leadership style.
2. Women have ways to talk about how they have succeeded in their roles as superintendents.
3. This talk can be useful to women aspiring to the superintendency and those in the pipeline who are uncertain. As one woman said when asked what advice she would give to women aspiring to the superintendency, “Just do it, it’s not that hard!”

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Power Factors that Define Gender Inequity Within the Missouri Public School Superintendency

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Although women have access to the superintendency power position, evidence has shown that women have not been able to break the glass ceiling. A review of the literature failed to identify specific and practical employment factors that must be resolved or overcome if women are to reach power parity in Missouri. This study was undertaken to identify those variables that best define negotiating and access power barriers for Missouri women superintendents.

Russ (1994) suggested that power was the leader's ability to influence others' behavior and change a course of events. Leaders in public service, such as the President of the United States, are in a position to exert great power. The public school superintendency differs only in scope from the presidency and has been described as a power position by Lunenburg and Ornstein (1996). Although many types of power exist, negotiation and access power have been identified as two of the most influential types of power available to the public school superintendent (Keller, 1999). Alexander (2002) defined superintendency negotiation power variables as those associated with employee compensation and access power variables as those associated with years of experience and school district size.

"Glass Ceiling Effect"

Hutchinson (2001) reported that historically there has been a salary compensation gap between men and women superintendents in Missouri. Other authors have reported such salary gaps throughout the United States (Malone, Walter & Supley, 2000). The economic and social impact of the gender gap has been referred to as the "glass ceiling effect" (Keller, 1999). Women, trying to break through the "glass ceiling," are looked upon as "outsiders" (Keller, 1999; Schein, 1992). Although women have access to the superintendency power position, evidence has shown that women have not been able to break the glass ceiling. Negotiating and access power can be measured by compensation and employment variables, as suggested by

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Alexander (2002). Missouri women superintendents may face "glass ceiling" barriers that prevent them from fully benefiting from their acquired positional power. This study was undertaken to explore this hypothesis. The following discussion provides the methodology and results.

Statement of the Problem

Historically, men have been appointed to more positions of power (Bolman & Deal, 1997). Morgan (1997) stated, "It often makes a great deal of difference if you're a male or a woman!" (p. 191). Organizations are dominated by gender biases that favor one gender over the other (Morgan, 1997). Many organizations frequently segment opportunities in ways that provide men more negotiation and access power, allowing men to more easily gain prestige and power than women do.

The United States has become more aware that genders are stereotyped in the workforce. These stereotypes continue to persist in the Missouri public school superintendency. Although the number of female superintendents has increased (Missouri Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2002-2003), aspiring women still have a long way to go before they can experience gender equity in the superintendency. A review of the literature failed to identify specific and practical employment factors that must be resolved or overcome if women are to reach power parity in Missouri. Therefore, this study was undertaken to identify those variables that best define negotiating and access power barriers for Missouri women superintendents.

Purpose of Study

This study was undertaken to identify those factors that best define and discriminate power differences between the genders employed as Missouri public school superintendents in 2001. Negotiating and access power measures gleaned from public records were investigated to define power barriers faced by women superintendents in the state of Missouri (see Table 1). It was anticipated that the findings of this study would benefit women educators in Missouri and throughout the nation by more clearly defining the ubiquitous term, "glass ceiling."

Review of Literature

Historically, women have been held "outside" traditional American male dominated power positions. Although women continue to gain "insider" access and negotiation power (Snyder, Acker-Hocevar, & Snyder, 2000) they have had to break through a "glass ceiling" (Keller, 1999) in order to achieve power equitable to men.

Access and negotiation power encompass opportunities including advancement, key positions of leadership, and financial rewards for service that has been traditionally different for the genders. As recently as 1995 to 2000, gender income gaps have not changed significantly (Income Gap, 2002).

Gender bias in the past. Much of the early investigation of males and females has concentrated on the "gender gap." Roles and myths about women date back to prehistoric times. Although female reproduction power was revered, infant girls were not always welcomed and women have not always been highly respected. Female babies who needed the same care as male babies were more likely to be left behind. Girls were thought of by the dominant male gender as less useful than boys and therefore more likely victims of infanticide (Edson, 1987; McKenna, 1997; Tavris, 1992).

Gender bias in the workplace. Workplace gender biases have been recognized and studied for some time (Lunenburg & Ornstein, 1996; Schein, 1992). Traditionally certain stereotypes were created for various races, gender, religions, and classes (Kanter, 1993). Biases in business and education will be reviewed to help understand the history and current standing of women in the work force today and historically.

Gender Equity and Title IX. Federal law enacted through Title IX has set a precedent in an attempt to reach equity for males and females in an educational environment. Salaries of coaches, scholarships, participation, class offerings, budget allocations, all have worked toward reaching equity for males and females in education. Although primarily directed and focused

on athletics, the overall impact has been significant for women in all levels of educational work including the superintendency (University of Iowa Statistical Report, 2001).

Gender bias in the superintendency. According to Logan (1999), an under-representation of women in all levels of school administration was in stark contrast to the total number of women in all of education. Historically, few women enter the field of education preparing for the school superintendency. More women are entering preparation programs for leadership roles than ever before; however, research showed that K-12 women superintendents number only 7 to 10% of the total and only 9 to 16% of the women choose the secondary principalship as a career (Haring, 1998). In a ten-year examination by the American Association of School Administrators (2000), it was found that women accounted for only 297 of the 2,262 superintendents who responded to their studies.

In his work, Glass (2000) suggested that the two most widely cited reasons for the shortage of women in the superintendency were that they were discouraged early in life and they were not hired by school boards. Glass noted that there was no substantive data to support these reasons yet he believed that they were true.

Glass-ceiling barriers. Women superintendents have dealt with the unique problems of their gender. Malone et al. (2000) identified several barriers to the superintendency, these were the absence of mentors, poorly developed professional networks, and a lack of formal and informal training, encouragement, membership in the good old boys network, and sponsors who had influence. According to the AASA (2000), women have been discouraged from preparing for the superintendency, and school boards have not traditionally hired them. Seven major factors were identified by AASA as to why women were scarce in the superintendency.

1. Women have not been in positions that normally led to the superintendency. Since most women were elementary school teachers and a small percentage were assistant principals, elementary teachers must jump straight from the classroom to the principalship and that was a difficult leap.
2. Women were not getting superintendent's credentials in preparation programs. Nationwide, data indicated that more than 50% of graduate programs had female enrollments and they were getting doctorate degrees at about the same rate as males. Yet, only 10% were working for credentials as superintendents while working on the doctorate or specialist degrees.

3. Women were not as interested or experienced in district-wide fiscal management as men. While showing much interest in instructional matters, most boards are interested in the fiscal management of the school. Very few women have administrative experience in finances.
4. Women were not interested in the superintendency for personal reasons. Since the superintendency was a time consuming job, more than 50 hours a week average, this type of work-week was not appealing to women accustomed to child-centered teaching.
5. School boards were reluctant to hire women. Most school boards were made up of men. School boards tended to view women as unable to handle district finances.
6. Women entered the field of education for different purposes. Until recently, women were excluded from accounting, law, dentistry, medicine, engineering, and law. The women who enter teaching today were more likely to want to be teachers and not administrators.
7. Women enter too late. Women have tended to teach in the classroom more years than men and, therefore, were older when they enter the superintendency. Most men start the process at about 27 years of age and enter into administration in their early 30s. Women might reach the central office in their 50s, so do not have the desire to move up.

The current status of women superintendents in Missouri. The 1997-1998 *Missouri School Directory* reported that only 48 (10.6%) women headed Missouri school districts. This percentage increased to about 15 percent in 2001-2002. Hutchinson (2001) reported that although 36.6% of those receiving superintendent's certificates in Missouri between 1990 and 2000 were women, the percentage employed as superintendents has not increased greatly. In 1993, women superintendents were paid an average salary of \$49,656 while their male counterparts were paid an average salary of \$56,424 (Joyner, 1999). By 1997-98, the gap had narrowed to a difference of \$5,002 for an average of \$63,394 for women and \$68,396 for men.

Studies of the Missouri assistant superintendency have reported that there were 50 women assistant superintendents in Missouri in 1997-98 (Hutchinson, 2001; Joyner, 1999). The average salary during these years for women was \$79,189 and for men \$76,757. Surprisingly, the average salary for women assistant superintendents was higher than the average salary for fully titled superintendents. This difference was attributed to the observation that the majority of assistant superintendents were employed in larger districts. In turn, the majority of women superintendents were in smaller

districts and larger districts typically offered higher salaries than smaller districts.

The future may be brighter for aspiring women superintendents. Shepard (1998) surveyed 77 Missouri school districts to determine the number of retirements that would be occurring in administration. There were responses from 66 of the 77 polled. They reported that 144 of the 360 administrative positions had changed in the previous two years and 44% planned to retire in the next three years with an additional 23% planning to retire within five years. With these retirements, avenues for women could become more prevalent.

Summary of the literature. Women throughout history have experienced barriers to power. This has also been true for those women who have aspired to the public school superintendency. These barriers have been referred to as a "glass ceiling." In the State of Missouri, the glass ceiling phenomenon has been primarily associated with gender gap differences in salaries between men and women public school superintendents. Gender inequity continues to be experienced by women seeking employment as public school superintendents in Missouri.

Research Methodology

A survey methodology was used to investigate the research question and null hypothesis (Bruning & Kintz, 1997). Public archival survey data reported in 2000-2001 Missouri Association of School Administrators (MASA) district superintendent annual activity reports and the Department of Elementary and Secondary Education (DESE) *Missouri School Directory* (2000-2001) constituted the data base from which the findings and conclusions were drawn.

Research question 1. Are there differences in negotiating and access power between men and women superintendents in Missouri?

Research question 2. What negotiating and access power variables best discriminate between men and women superintendents in Missouri?

The study group. Active full-time superintendents during the academic year 2000-2001 included in the resource documents constituted the study group ($n = 435$). Superintendents, whose duties were combined with the responsibilities of the principal, were not included. Interim superintendents were also deleted from the database. As shown in Table 1, 382 men and 53 women superintendents were included in the study. The study group included

Table 1
Frequency of Selected Superintendency Characteristics

Group Characteristic	Frequency	Percent
Gender		
Male	382	87.8
Female	53	12.2
District Enrollment		
Less Than 500	141	32.4
More than 500	294	67.6
Highest Degree		
Ed. Specialist	272	62.5
Doctorate	161	37.0
Masters	2	0.5

representation from all 114 counties in the state of Missouri. The majority of the subjects were employed by school districts with more than 500 students and 99% of the superintendents held a degree of Educational Specialists or higher.

Data analysis methods. The means, ranges, and standard deviation values were calculated separately for female and male superintendents for each variable. A check for normal distribution (Bruning & Kintz, 1997) was conducted. Tests of significance were then applied as appropriate. Finding a lack of normality, the Mann-Whitney U-Test non-parametric test was used for interval data sets as suggested by Bruning and Kintz. They also suggested that Chi Square Analysis methods should be applied to nominal data sets. Discriminate analysis methods were applied to identify glass-ceiling variables that best define the gender gap between men and women superintendents (Kerlinger & Pedhazur, 1973). The confidence level of 0.10 was used to challenge each null hypothesis (Patten, 1997).

Variables studied. One independent variable, superintendency gender was identified. Nine negotiation power and five access power variables, "glass ceiling" variables, served as dependent variables.

Findings and Discussion

Of the 14 "glass ceiling" variables investigated, only five were found significant in regard to differences between the genders. Men superintendents in Missouri were more highly paid (\$10,137 more per year); managed districts with higher average assessed valuation

Table 2
Significant Glass Ceiling Variables Between Male and Female Superintendents

Interval Variables	<i>n</i>	Mean	<i>SD</i>	<i>U*</i>	<i>p</i>
Annual Salary	m = 271 f = 40	\$78,173.48 \$68,036.87	\$18,454.36 \$15,926.09	3310	.000**
District Assessment	m = 382 f = 53	\$144,000,000 \$40,612,488	\$354,993,843.97 \$83,290,023.19	7139	.001**
Total Years Experience	m = 382 f = 53	25.07 22.77	6.39 7.63	16173	.020**
Total Years as Superintendent	m = 382 f = 53	9.16 6.94	11.61 7.25	16173	.020**
Nominal Variable	<i>n</i>	% Male	% Female	<i>Chi Sq (df=2)</i>	<i>p</i>
District Size	>500 = 382 500 >= 53	28.8 71.2	58.5 41.5	3.28	.00**

* U = Mann-Whitney Test for Universality

** Significant Difference = < 0.10

(\$103,387,512); had more total years (2.3 years) and years in the superintendency (2.2 years); and men (71%) compared to women (41%) were employed in large districts. These findings suggest that if women are to break through the glass ceiling these five factors must be addressed.

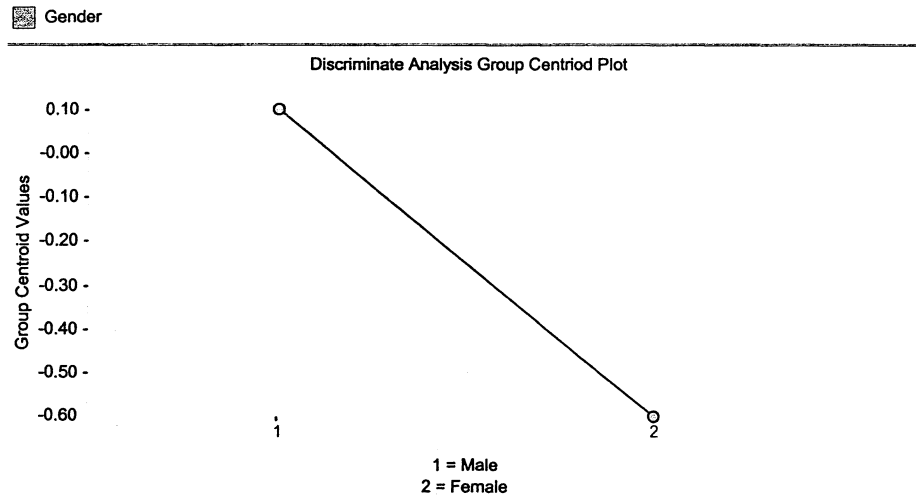
These findings were supported through a second type of analysis. Discriminant analysis was used to classify significant dependent variables into super factors that better define the equity relationship between men and women superintendents. Only one significant discriminate function was found (*Wilk's Lambda* = 0.937; *p.* = 0.017). This super factor accounted for 56.8% of the variance. Using the function matrix structure with a 0.35 cutoff value, it was found that four of the five previously identified "glass ceiling" variables could be constituted as the new super factor (salary, years in superintendency, total years experience, and district assessed valuation; the previously identified factor of district size was dropped in this analysis) and was therefore, assimilated into one rubric titled, "Superintendency Power Equity Score." Group centroid values were computed to determine the degree of equity discrimination between men and women superintendents. These values were graphed to provide a visual view of the non-equity differences, as illustrated in Figure 1. Male superintendents had the greatest level of access and negotiation power with a centroid score of 0.101, whereas, female superintendents were found to have a low power equity score of -0.660.

Conclusions and Discussion

A review of the statistical analyses results revealed that significant differences existed in public school district assessed valuation and school district size between those employing men and those employing women superintendents. Missouri women superintendents consistently score lower on the Superintendency Power Equity Score as defined by Alexander (2002). Lower power equity scores are directly translated into lower salaries, employment restricted to small rural districts, and lack of urban representation that women superintendents in Missouri have and continue to experience.

When access power is defined as access to wealth and the power that wealth provides, it is apparent that men have greater access to power than women superintendents in Missouri through their control of much larger school budgets. Men also had a higher average number of years experience in

Figure 1. Missouri men and women superintendent inequity is clearly illustrated by their respective “Superintendency Power Equity Score.”



the superintendency and total years of educational experience compared to women, thus creating a potential barrier for women who seek employment in more prestigious (i.e., larger and wealthy) public school districts. If women are to reduce the non-equity employment in the Missouri superintendency, they must gain access to the superintendency at a younger age. The literature suggested that another type of barrier delays women from entering this power position, that of child bearer. Although not investigated in this study, additional research conducted should be undertaken to determine the role of child bearing and rearing in delaying women in their pursuit of the school superintendency.

Recommendations

Women who aspire to the superintendency should consider the following suggestions if they are to increase their “Superintendency Power Equity Score.”

- Aspiring women superintendents should seek higher certification/degrees at younger ages.
- Qualified women should be encouraged to enter the superintendency at a younger age.
- Qualified women are encouraged to aspire and seek the superintendency in school districts that offer greater access to power.

- Aspiring women superintendents should seek and work with strong supportive mentors who are committed to the promotion of women into positions of power.
- Aspiring women superintendents should seek and develop peer superintendency networks that promote and advance women at a faster rate.
- Aspiring women superintendents are encouraged to be assertive in their pursuit of the superintendency.

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A Reflective – Reflexive View of Women and Leadership

Glenda Moss

This article reflects the author's personal experiences through a reflective-reflexive view of women and leadership. Significant writings on women and leadership, particularly Rhode (2003) *The Difference "Difference" Makes: Women and Leadership*, are included in the analysis.

During my ninth year of teaching, one of my male colleagues said, "No woman will every be principal here if I have anything to do with it." The comment was in response to hearing that I was thinking about applying for the position, that had been vacated by the principal's move to assistant superintendent. I had been enjoying a successful teaching career in the school and had been selected as District Teacher of the Year two years earlier. I had a master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction, had written and self-published a book, was mid-management certified, and presented at professional conferences and inservices for classroom teachers. I was committed to the school, in which nearly 70% of the students were on free or reduced meal programs. I did not apply for the principal position since I did not think I had a chance. I supported the new principal but found it difficult to work under his autocratic leadership style. Two years later I resigned from my teaching position to pursue a doctorate in educational leadership.

For the most part, I was supported by the faculty in the doctoral program. It seemed to me that two of my male professors used their position to dominate rather than contribute to my professional development. During a philosophy/ethics class, my male professor expected me to examine feminist educational literature. I remember expressing feelings of not being able to relate to one particular feminist reading, and my male professor challenged me by saying that I was afraid. I did not feel afraid of what I had read, I just did not relate to that particular author's perspective. It was paradoxical to me that the same professor, who required me to be open to feminist ideas,¹ was oppressive in the exercise of his authority in relationship to me as his student. I was not afforded the right to disagree with him; and, on one occasion, as my adviser, he stated to me that I would never attain a teaching position in a university because I had never held a position in school administration. He was far from a feminist disposition of leadership and teaching. I requested a

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different adviser, completed my doctorate in educational leadership, and moved into a university teaching position in which I prepare secondary classroom teachers and serve as the Associate Director of the Appleseed Writing Project.

In Rhode (2003) edited book, *The Difference "Difference" Makes: Women and Leadership*, "Women remain dramatically underrepresented in formal leadership positions. The aim of this book, and the women's leadership summit on which it is based, is to explore the reasons for that underrepresentation and identify strategies for change" (p. 3). Although the verbal discouragement I received from the two males in the above scenarios is not the only barrier to women moving into positions of educational leadership, women need more than the extinction of explicit roadblocks. White men must champion change for women (Barnes, 2003; Jones, 2003). Rhode (2003) identified four barriers to women accessing leadership positions in the field of law:

- Gender stereotypes
- Lack of mentoring
- Workplace practice vs. Family commitments
- Lack of legal support to address gender disadvantages

Rhode also suggested strategies to facilitate change:

- Recruit, retain, mentor, and promote women as a matter of policy
- Assess gender-related issues getting in the way of women accessing leadership positions and respond through affirmative policies

- Equalize leadership opportunities through serious commitment to addressing work-family conflicts and related issues involving quality of life
- Encourage mentoring programs and women's networks

Kellerman's (2003) "You've Come a Long Way, Baby—and You've Got Miles to Go" is applicable in the field of education. It engaged me both as a woman in a male-dominated society and as a classroom teacher in a field dominated by top-down authority—male-dominated school administration vs. primarily female classroom teachers and male-dominated academic scholarship vs. female-dominated classroom practice.

Drawing on Kanter (1977), *Men and Women of the Corporation*, Reskin (2003) noted that "people who see little chance of advancement tend to disinvest in their careers, and sex segregation means that such people are more likely to be female than male" (p. 62). While a middle school classroom teacher, I felt powerless and voiceless. Part of what I hoped to accomplish through studying educational leadership and attaining a doctorate was to access higher education and the privilege of having voice in the academy. I hoped to exercise leadership from that position and validate the professional experiences of classroom teachers. It is because of my position in higher education that I have been afforded the opportunity to participate in the discourse.

The Difference Different Positions Make

I am an assistant professor who is grounded in classroom teaching practice and scholar-practitioner² leadership doctoral studies (Jenlink & Horn, in press; Moss, in press). Scholar-practitioner leadership, although grounded in a critical perspective, is not gendered. Emerging as a female teacher leader, I engaged in leadership conversations with three other women in positions of leadership at Indiana University Purdue University Fort Wayne, the university where I teach. I co-designed a study in preparation for a presentation at the 17th Annual Women in Educational Leadership Conference. During one focused conversation, and after I had made a position statement that all members of educational organizations can lead from whatever position they are occupying, the Vice Chancellor of Academic Affairs stated her interest in studying leadership among people in positions of authority.

Vice Chancellor Hannah: A lot of people can at different times and different places assume a leadership role, and that's really what she [Glenda] is talking about. She's talking about the leadership people can provide any place in an organization—in the classroom, or one project or another. But

I'm in a particular place in my leadership development, where I am interested in leadership as practice by people who also have authority. What do they do with that? So while I don't disagree at all, that people in lots of different places lead, we couldn't do our job if there weren't leaders all over the place doing their job. But because of where I am and what I'm doing right now, I'm particularly interested in leadership as practice by people who also are in positions of authority. (Murphey, Moss, Hannah, & Wiener, 2003, p. 4)

I realize that positions do carry with them power that we cannot access without being in that position. I used to have an ideal view that the position in and of itself did not necessarily create power, that it was the person, the people. But I have to face the fact that given the position of being a faculty member, there are some things I can do as a result of holding that position that I wanted to do when I was a seventh-grade teacher. As a seventh-grade teacher, I had visions of accessing the services of preservice teachers to work with me in teaching the numerous students in my classes who were identified as at-risk of not graduating from high school. It seemed like a simple project to organize and facilitate and one that would benefit preservice teachers, middle school students, and university teacher educators. I pictured myself helping the university teacher educators prepare preservice teachers by allowing them to come into my classroom, where I could teach them how to teach in a diversely-populated middle school context. However, I never had power to play the role I wanted to play in preparing classroom teachers until I pursued a doctorate and accepted a position in higher education. Now, from this position, I have found avenues to return to the public school classroom to prepare teachers, but I had to do it from my position of authority. That is the difference position made for me as a woman and a teacher.

However, my position as a teacher educator did not have the overriding authority and power needed to transition my methods courses to a high school campus. As pointed out by Dean Wiener³ of our School of Education:

Dean Wiener: But it also depended on the leadership above you. If I had said, "I don't like that idea," or if Susan had said, "No, I don't like the liability," or if I said, "I'd rather that the faculty teaches in a class right here," you couldn't have taught your class at a high school. So, you had control of your ideas and where you wanted to go, but still you had to rely upon the hierarchical system. (Murphey et al., 2003, p. 10)

I have been fortunate to be a part of an educational organization that supports innovation. I was also fortunate, for two years, to be a part of the only department on campus led by a female dean. From my point of view, she was a model and mentor.

Rhode (2003) identified mentoring programs and women's networks as strategies to facilitate change for women accessing leadership positions, but I think it takes more than mentoring programs. It takes the commitment of women and men in leadership positions supporting subordinate women as they emerge with creative leadership ideas. In my own case, we do not have an official mentoring program, but I perceived both my Dean and Vice Chancellor as developing leadership among female faculty members as a type of mentoring.

Rhode (2003) heightened my awareness of the void of women in positional leadership and made me conscious of the ways I had been excluded in the past and the ways I have been mentored into positions of educational leadership in the present. Similar to my opening stories, I felt devalued when the school board of the small parochial school where I enjoyed my first teaching job contacted me and informed me that my contract was not being renewed. The board member told me that I had done an excellent job during my three years at the school, that my file was without blemish, and that I had received an excellent evaluation by the outside evaluator. He said that he could not explain why my contract was not being renewed. The outside evaluator hired to evaluate all the teachers in the school that year later told me that I had received the highest evaluation in the school. He told me that the decision must have been political, but I should not pursue making a legal case on my behalf if I wanted to continue in a teaching career. He pointed out that other schools would not hire me if I made a legal case out of my situation. I then accepted a new position in a public school setting. That fall, I learned that the new male football coach at the parochial school was teaching my classes. I did not make a case out of the inequity.

Stretch Assignments

The transition to public schools turned out to be a good move for me and retrospectively appears as a "stretch assignment," defined by Hill (2003) as "assignments with which considerable positional power is associated" in that it included "*relevance, visibility, and autonomy*" (p. 155). Based on Hill's diagram, *Building Power and Influence Over the Course of a Career*, my personal, reflective-reflexive analysis is on target. Hill outlined the process as follows: Fit, learning opportunity → Stretch assignments → Expertise → Results → Track record/Credibility → Stretch assignments, positional power (relevance, autonomy, visibility) begins to grow → Expertise → Results → Track record/Credibility → Stretch assignments, Positional power (including formal authority) continues to grow → Currencies to exchange. This process parallels building network relationships and centrality.⁴

In reality, I had little official line power in the school's site map; but in my new middle school teaching position; I quickly grew a reputation as an outstanding teacher, successful with underachieving students. The female assistant principal was a strong instructional leader and mentored me to grow in confidence as I brought my creative teaching ideas to the forefront and advanced my teaching for student learning. During my second year in the school, she supported me as I wrote a small anecdotal book, *Tender Talk for Tough Kids*, and began to inservice classroom teachers and presented my ideas at professional teacher conferences. My assistant principal completed her doctorate that summer and accepted the principalship in another school. I continued to grow under the support of the male principal and the new male assistant principal, but this changed during my ninth year at the school, when a new, autocratic principal was hired. It was then, that I pursued a doctorate in educational leadership.

Female and Male Mentorship Makes a Difference Women and Leadership

At the beginning of this essay, I related one story of discouragement in the doctoral program. The scenario was more than balanced by three doctoral professors, two white male and one white female, who mentored me through the completion of my dissertation and transition into higher education. To this day, the two white male professors have remained sources of support whenever I decide to give either one of them a call to discuss a difficult situation that I am facing as I continue on my journey in educational leadership. Likewise, I have described the rich mentoring experiences and support I have received in my university teaching position.

My experiences support the difference that white men can make in terms of women advancing in leadership. In her chapter, "Strategies for developing white men as change agents for women leaders," Barnes (2003) stated that "white men must be brought to the table to participate actively in the dialogue for change and to become champions for women's leadership" (p. 181). Interestingly, at my university, the hiring of our new Dean of the School of Education (SOE) in the summer of 2003, gave us 100% male deans in the university. Within the SOE, we also have two white male department chairs. Although this was not a conspiracy, it is easy to see why there is a great deal of interest in researching gender issues in leadership and career progress as statistics continue to show that women are held at the margins of leadership opportunities (Carli & Eagly, 2001; McDonald & Hite, 1998).

Barnes (2003) described the important role that both women mentors and white men can play as allies to women's advancement. Hansman (1998) and

Chandler (1996) argued that it takes more than formal mentoring programs. Although the university where I teach does not have a formal mentoring program, I have been fortunate in my position in the SOE to experience mentor-type support of both females and males in leadership positions. Joe, a white male, chaired the search committee that hired me. I researched the faculty before meeting for the interview and was concerned that the quantitative research orientation of the search committee chair would be a barrier to his viewing me in a positive way. I was pleasantly surprised to learn that Joe valued diversity and was hoping the committee would hire someone with different research skills than his own. Likewise, the chair of the Professional Studies Department that housed secondary education was a white male. Bill, though not an official mentor, took responsibility for advising me about the kinds of service activities I needed to be involved with to meet the requirements for promotion and tenure. What makes them different?

As I reflectively-reflexively think about the issue of family-career conflicts and the influence that women's priorities play in their lack of advancement in leadership (Herring, 2003; Rhode, 2003), I pondered what has been the difference in my department, where there does not seem to be a shortage of white male support. In part, it is the core values of the males, who each value and equally accept family responsibilities. I also realize that because my children are grown, I no longer have the stress of balancing career and family.

I realized before reading Rhode (2003) that I put my career on hold for ten years to raise two children in a traditional family configuration. I also made a commitment to staying in the middle school classroom even when people in positions of authority encouraged me to move into higher education at an early time in my life. I am conscious that my decisions were influenced by the society in which I was raised during the 1950s and 1960s. I remember a time when I believed that men should be paid more than women because they had to support the family. Everyone, male and female, has decisions to make, and each decision makes a difference or reproduces the status quo. Rhode's edited book is a springboard for reflective-reflexive thinking and for critical conversations about women and leadership, and the difference that both female mentors and white males can make to create a more equitable society, beginning with the legal field, where power is at the center.

Notes

¹ For a review of feminist critique in education, see Lather (1984, 1987, 1991, 1996).

- ² The scholar-practitioner leader concept connotes the development of professional practitioners who move beyond the casual consumer level of research and scholarship to a level of authentic practice where research and scholarship are intimate components of the leader's (including the administrator and the teacher-as-leader) practice on a day-to-day basis (see Jenlink, 1999, p. 1; Moss, 2004).
- ³ Dr. Wiener served as Dean of the School of Education at Indiana University Purdue University for four years, summer 1999—June 1, 2003, when she retired.
- ⁴ See Linda A. Hill's Figure 1 on page 154 of chapter 13, Are we preparing ourselves to lead?, in Deborah L. Rhode (2003) *The difference "difference" makes: Women in leadership*.

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Character Citizenship

Donald F. Uerling

Introduction

The American way of life rests on a foundation of rational thought and civil behavior. Simply put, the strength of America depends on its culture -- the set of beliefs, values, and behavioral norms to which most citizens adhere.

Most educators have always viewed schooling for character and citizenship as a fundamental purpose of public education. Nevertheless, schooling that touches on personal beliefs, values, and behaviors can become a topic of controversy.

The thesis of this article is that public schools have both the legal authority and the educational responsibility to provide schooling for character and citizenship. We will begin with a review of constitutional principles expressed in selected Supreme Court cases; we will end with some observations about such schooling from an educational perspective.

Constitutional Principles

Supreme Court opinions are replete with references to the role of public education in the development of character and citizenship. The language is instructive.

General Expectations

From mid-20th century on, the Court has often expressed its view that schooling for character and citizenship is not only appropriate, but an expectation of public education.

"[Education] is the very foundation of good citizenship. Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment." *Brown v. Board of Educ.* (1954), p. 493.

"[S]ome degree of education is necessary to prepare citizens to participate effectively and intelligently in our open political system if we are to preserve freedom and independence. Further, education prepares individuals to be self-reliant and self-sufficient participants in society." *Wisconsin v. Yoder* (1972), p. 221.

About the Author

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"The importance of public schools in the preparation of individuals for participation as citizens, and in the preservation of the values on which our society rests, long has been recognized by our decisions:" *Amback v. Norwick* (1979), p. 76.

"The process of educating our youth for citizenship in public schools is not confined to books, the curriculum, and the civics class; schools must teach by example the shared values of a civilized social order." *Bethel Sch. Dist. v. Fraser* (1986), p. 683.

"The undoubted freedom to advocate unpopular and controversial views in schools must be balanced against the society's countervailing interest in teaching students the boundaries of socially appropriate conduct." *Bethel Sch. Dist. v. Fraser* (1986), p. 681.

Limitations on Authority

Although schooling for character and citizenship is an expectation of public education, school officials must be aware that there are constitutional limitations on their authority. The Supreme Court has made clear that presenting students with a wide range of ideas is permissible, but that requiring students to affirm a belief or philosophy is not.

West Virginia State Bd. of Educ. v. Barnette (1943) held unconstitutional a West Virginia statute that required public school students to salute the flag and recite the Pledge of Allegiance. The Court noted that "National unity as

an end which officials may foster by persuasion and example is not in question (p. 640). Nevertheless,

If there is any fixed star in our constitutional constellation, it is that no official, high or petty, can prescribe what shall be orthodox in politics, nationalism, religion, or other matters of opinion or force citizens to confess by word or act their faith therein. . . .

We think the action of the local authorities in compelling the flag salute and pledge transcends constitutional limitations on their power and invades the sphere of intellect and spirit which it is the purpose of the First Amendment to our Constitution to reserve from all official control. (p. 642)

Distinguishing between the secular and sectarian roots of the American way of life is not without its difficulties. But in public education that distinction between teaching about religion and teaching religion *per se* must be maintained. Again, a key factor is that exposing students to ideas that may be inconsistent with their religious convictions is constitutionally permissible, but requiring acceptance or affirmation is not.

Stone v. Graham (1980) held unconstitutional a Kentucky statute that required the posting of a copy of the Ten Commandments, purchased with private contributions, on the wall of each public classroom in the state. The legislature contended that the fundamental legal code of Western Civilization and the Common Law of the United States are grounded in the Ten Commandments; however, the Court concluded that the statute violated the first prong of the three-part establishment clause test, which requires a statute to have a secular legislative purpose. But the Court noted an important distinction: "This is not a case in which the Ten Commandments are integrated into the school curriculum, where the Bible may constitutionally be used in an appropriate study of history, civilization, ethics, comparative religion, or the like" (p. 42).

The rationale for official actions also matters. *Board of Educ., Island Trees Union Free Sch. Dist. No. 26 v. Pico* (1982) held that a board of education does not have unfettered discretion to remove books from a school library, and reversed and remanded for trial on the issue of the board's motives for removing the books. In his plurality opinion, Justice Brennan noted "that local school boards must be permitted 'to establish and apply their curriculum in such a way as to transmit community values,' and that 'there is a legitimate and substantial community interest in promoting respect for authority and traditional values be they social, moral, or political'" (p. 864). He also noted that boards "might well defend their claim of absolute discretion in matters of *curriculum* by reliance upon their duty to inculcate community values" (p. 869). Justice Rehnquist agreed with these sentiments in his dissent. "When it acts as an educator, at least at the elementary and

secondary school level, the government is engaged in inculcating social values and knowledge in relatively impressionable young people. . . . [I]t is 'permissible and appropriate for local boards to make educational decisions based upon their personal social, political and moral views'" (p. 909). But the crux of the matter was set out by Justice Blackmun in his concurring opinion; "the State may not suppress exposure to ideas--for the sole *purpose* of suppressing exposure to those ideas--absent sufficiently compelling reasons" (p. 877).

Freedom of Expression

Tinker v. Des Moines Sch. Dist. (1969) was a seminal student rights case. Students suspended for wearing black armbands to protest the war in Vietnam brought suit, alleging that their constitutional rights had been violated. The Court noted that "[i]t can hardly be argued that either students or teacher shed their constitutional rights to freedom of speech or expression at the schoolhouse gate" (p. 506), and pointed out that the problem posed by the case did not concern aggressive, disruptive action or even group demonstrations; rather, it involved direct, primary First Amendment rights akin to "pure speech." The Court held that prohibition of expression of this one particular opinion, at least without evidence that the prohibition was necessary to avoid material and substantial interference with school work or discipline, was not constitutionally permissible. The distinction between the regulation of expression and the regulation of conduct was made clear.

In our system, students may not be regarded as closed-circuit recipients of only that which the State chooses to communicate. They may not be confined to the expression of those sentiments that are officially approved. In the absence of a specific showing of constitutionally valid reasons to regulate their speech, students are entitled to freedom of expression of their views. (p. 511)

But conduct by the student, in class or out of it, which for any reason--whether it stems from time, place, or type of behavior--materially disrupts classwork or involves substantial disorder or invasion of the rights of others is, of course, not immunized by the constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech. (p. 513)

The constitutional parameters of *Tinker* were defined more clearly 17 years later in *Bethel Sch. Dist. No. 403 v. Fraser* (1986). School officials disciplined a student for delivering for a friend at a school assembly a nominating speech, laced with "elaborate, graphic, and explicit sexual metaphor" (p. 678). The Court set the stage for its decision by delivering a powerful statement about the purpose of public education.

Surely it is a highly appropriate function of public school education to prohibit the use of vulgar and offensive terms in public discourse. Indeed, the 'fundamental values necessary to the maintenance of a democratic political system' disfavor the use of terms of debate highly offensive or highly threatening to others. Nothing in the Constitution prohibits the states from insisting that certain modes of expression are inappropriate and subject to sanctions. The inculcation of these values is truly the 'work of the schools.' [citations] The determination of what manner of speech in the classroom or in school assembly is inappropriate properly rests with the school board.

The process of educating our youth for citizenship in public schools is not confined to books, the curriculum, and the civics class; schools must teach by example the shared values of a civilized social order. Consciously or otherwise, teachers--and indeed the older students--demonstrate the appropriate form of civil discourse and political expression by their conduct and deportment in and out of class. Inescapably, like parents, they are role models. The schools, as instruments of the state, may determine that the essential lessons of civil, mature conduct cannot be conveyed in a school that tolerates lewd, indecent, or offensive speech and conduct such as that indulged in by this confused boy. (p. 683)

The Court held that the school district acted entirely within its permissible authority in imposing sanctions on the student in response to his offensively lewd and indecent speech and set out the principle that schools teach values by omission as well as by commission. When schools allow inappropriate student expression in the context of school activities, the imprimatur of the school conveys the wrong educational message.

Unlike the sanctions imposed on the students wearing armbands in *Tinker*, the penalties imposed in this case were unrelated to any political viewpoint. The First Amendment does not prevent the school officials from determining that to permit a vulgar and lewd speech such as respondent's would undermine the school's basic educational mission Accordingly, it was perfectly appropriate for the school to disassociate itself to make the point to the pupils that vulgar speech and lewd conduct is wholly inconsistent with the 'fundamental values' of public school education. (p. 685-86)

The Court reiterated this principle in *Hazelwood Sch. Dist. v. Kuhlmeier* (1988), holding that public school "educators do not offend the First Amendment by exercising editorial control over the style and content of student speech in school-sponsored expressive activities so long as their actions are reasonably related to legitimate pedagogical concerns" (p. 273). The Court noted that a school must retain authority to refuse to sponsor student expression that might reasonably be perceived to advocate conduct

otherwise inconsistent with 'the shared values of a civilized social order,' or to associate the school with any position other than neutrality on matters of political controversy. Otherwise, the schools would be unduly constrained from fulfilling their role as 'a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him adjust normally to his environment.' [citations omitted]

Observations about Schooling

Schools do teach character and citizenship, either directly or indirectly. There are lessons to be learned in both those things that are permitted and those things that are allowed.

The question of "Whose values do we teach?" misses two important points. First, we teach those values about which there is some consensus; second, we teach that there are some values about which there is little consensus and perhaps much controversy.

A set of common beliefs and values defines a culture, and schooling is a primary means of transmitting that culture from one generation to the next. Absent that learning, neither the individual nor the society is likely to fare very well.

The American form of government depends on an electorate who will put the common good before personal interests. The primary public policy question should not be "what's in it for me?"

Through the rule of law, many expectations are set and many relationships are defined. Students should reflect on the function of such rules in this country and around the world.

Schools should expect student behavior that is civil and respectful toward others. Schools should not allow student behavior that is disruptive of the educational process.

Schools can explore with students ideas that are controversial, and in some instances, they should.

Students cannot be required to take or assert the philosophical or religious beliefs and values of others as their own.

Schools ought to be a safe, orderly, caring place. For some children, school is the only such place they know.

The major problems of this world are not the result of lack of knowledge or technical ability; rather, these problems are the result of people not treating one another well. Education needs to focus on the more important issues.

Administrators set the cultural and ethical tone for their schools. The beliefs they express and the behaviors they model are powerful influences on other staff and students. It is perhaps the very essence of leadership.

Conclusion

Both educators and courts have acknowledged that schooling for character and citizenship is not only permitted, but is indeed expected. Such schooling is not without difficulty, but perhaps the more important things in life seldom are. It is a matter that goes to the heart of the educational enterprise; it is a matter to which educators must attend.

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