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# Giving Voice to Women

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Marilyn L. Grady

If you sit and listen long enough, you can identify recurrent patterns of communication in organizational settings. I am struck by two communication models I observe repeatedly that involve women's voices in meetings.

In one model, the super-educated, pellucid, articulate woman, in meeting after meeting, makes suggestions, "points," or recommendations for initiatives, problem-solving, future direction, program improvement, decision making, or conflict resolution. All of these comments drop into silence . . . the great abyss of being totally, and decisively ignored by her colleagues. This scenario is repeated, week-after-week, month-after-month, year-after-year. One could speculate endlessly about why the phenomenon of invisibility persists. But it does. Perhaps the invisibility phenomenon isn't the exclusive province of the woman's voice in the male enclave. However, the persistence of women's experiences in having their voices ignored is pernicious. Fortunately, even when women's words are not attributed to them or credited to them, their words may find life through the silver-throated males who repeat the same words . . . and they are heralded as brilliant and insightful. In many ways, this oft-repeated scenario is humorous. For those who watch and listen, this is both funny and lamentable. Perhaps it is merely an extension of how those who are in minority status or low status are treated in any organization or food chain. The pattern is repeated too often.

In a second model, the woman is the first to speak on each and every item on an agenda. Loud, forceful, confident, and pejorative, her voice is never silent in a discussion. Long-winded, authoritative, certain, she can filibuster the opposition to silence. She kills a conversation. Perhaps her years at the helm of an organization have given her the confidence and license to fire verbal volley after verbal volley. She is a formidable presence at the table or in the room. She states her position. Is she heard? Or is she, too, invisible? Her pattern of communication is repeated consistently. She is predictable.

These two models of communication are not the most effective. In the first model, the woman's voice is filtered through a man's voice. In the second model, the woman's voice is resisted because of the presentation style.

Women's voices need to be heard. Because women are often minorities in groups, we should focus on developing strategies that allow all voices to

be heard. Nominal group technique is an ideal strategy to accomplish that goal!

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Proposals and Registrations for the *21th Annual Women in Educational Leadership Conference* are being accepted!  
For information about the conference contact Marilyn Grady  
at [mgradyl@unl.edu](mailto:mgradyl@unl.edu)

# Women in History

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## Sarah Winnemucca: Native Educator and Human Rights Advocate

Bernita L. Krumm

On March 1, 2005, Congressman Jon Porter of Nevada addressed Congress on a bill to allow for the placement of a statue of Sarah Winnemucca into the National Statutory Hall. "Sarah led an incredible life," Porter asserted, adding that Winnemucca "has become a part of Nevada history that will never be forgotten" (Porter, 2005). One of only eight women represented in the National Statutory Hall Collection, Winnemucca was a spokesperson and advocate for Indian rights. Her autobiography, *Life Among the Piutes*, the first published book by a Native American woman, relates the story of white settlement from the Native American perspective. Although she died at the age of 47, Winnemucca's accomplishments were numerous; she is revered as an educator and defender of human rights.

Born into the Northern Paiute tribe in Nevada State Territory around 1844, Winnemucca lived in various parts of Northern Nevada, including Pyramid Lake, McDermitt, and Lovelock. Her first experiences with white people occurred at the age of six when her grandfather, Chief Truckee, took her to California. "Winnemucca's grandfather believed that assimilation was necessary in order for their people to live in peace with the whites. He informed his family and his people how important this was" (McClure, 1999). At age thirteen, Winnemucca stayed with the family of Major William Ormsby at Mormon Station, later known as Genoa, Nevada. By the following year, Sarah knew five languages, including three Indian dialects, English, and Spanish. In 1860, Winnemucca went with her sister Elma to San Jose, California, to be educated in a convent school. The two girls were never officially admitted to the school because "complaints were made to the sisters by wealthy parents about Indians being in school with their children" (Hopkins, 1994). This experience gave Winnemucca a new perspective of the white culture.

By the time Winnemucca reached adulthood, white emigration forced Native Americans onto reservations, first to the Pyramid Lake Reservation in Nevada, then the Malheur Indian Reservation in Oregon, and finally to Yakima, Washington. "Because she became fluent in English and fully

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proficient with Euro-American customs, she inherited the role of translator, mediator, negotiator, and all-purpose go-between for her people as they lost more and more of their land. In the process of becoming acculturated to Western customs and language, Winnemucca never lost her Paiute identity, nor did she devalue or abandon it" (McClure, 1999). In 1871, Winnemucca began working as an interpreter for the Bureau of Indian Affairs at Fort McDermitt on the Nevada/Oregon border. At this time, Winnemucca was married to Lt. E. C. Bartlett; the marriage lasted less than a year, and her later marriage to an Indian man was also short lived (Women's Biographies).

When Indian Agent Samuel Parrish on the Malheur Reservation in Oregon was replaced with a less reliable agent and reservation problems increased, Winnemucca began the journey to Washington, D.C., to speak on behalf of her people. However, when she learned that her father and members of her tribe had been taken hostage in the Bannock War of 1878, she offered to help the Army. She helped free her father and the other hostages, and continued to work as an interpreter and scout for the army.

Winnemucca traveled to Washington, D.C. in January of 1880 to meet with Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz and President Rutherford B. Hayes. She procured promises of improvements in living conditions for her people; however, these promises were later broken by the government, causing many of Winnemucca's people to distrust her. Winnemucca was not deterred from her cause; with support from the Peabody sisters, Elizabeth Peabody and Mary (Mrs. Horace) Mann, she traveled throughout the Western and Eastern United States, and Washington, D.C., giving more than 400 speeches on the behalf of her people, and seeking citizenship for the Paiutes.

Winnemucca was self-educated, spoke fluently, and could write in English. Aided by Elizabeth Peabody and Mary Peabody Mann, who edited her grammar, Winnemucca eventually decided to write her story to explain the mistreatment of her people by the government and white settlers. In a

time when Native Americans were not even considered citizens in their own land, Winnemucca wrote as an advocate of human rights, striving to gain support to improve living conditions for her people. Published in 1883, *Life Among the Piutes* is Winnemucca's legacy to the Native American and white cultures.

Following the oral tradition of her people, she reaches out to readers with a deeply personal appeal for understanding, recording a portion of the history of the far west from the Native American perspective. The book was a monumental achievement, recording the Native American viewpoint of whites settling the west, told in a language that was not her own and written and published by a woman during the time when even white women were not allowed to vote, second only to the work she performed every day to promote understanding across cultures. (Women's Biographies)

Winnemucca, given the name Thocmetony, meaning "shell flower" in Paiute, was just a child when white settlers began coming to her homeland. Members of the Paiute tribe held differing views on their presence: Sarah's father, Chief Winnemucca, distrusted the whites and warned his people to stay apart from them; however, Winnemucca's grandfather, Chief Truckee, welcomed the arrival of his "white brothers." Winnemucca had to negotiate between the opposing philosophical views of her elders. In *Life Among the Piutes* she described the coming of the white people:

I was a very small child when the first white people came into our country. They came like a lion, yes, like a roaring lion, and have continued so ever since, and I have never forgotten their first coming . . . When the news was brought to my grandfather, he asked what they looked like? When told that they had hair on their faces, and were white, he jumped up and clasped his hands together and cried aloud--"My white brothers--my long-looked for white brothers have come at last!" (Hopkins, 1994)

Chief Truckee's response was based in his own belief of the traditional Indian story handed down through his ancestors that all mankind began as one family. In *Life Among the Piutes*, Winnemucca retold this story in her grandfather's words:

In the beginning of the world there were only four, two girls and two boys. Our forefather and mother were only two, and we are their children. You all know that a great while ago there was a happy family in this world. One girl and one boy were dark and the others were white. For a time they got along together without quarrelling, but soon they disagreed, and there was trouble. They were cross to one another and fought, and our parents were very much grieved. They prayed that their children might learn better, but it did not do

any good; and afterwards the whole household was made so unhappy that the father and mother saw that they must separate their children; and then our father took the dark boy and girl, and the white boy and girl, and asked them, 'Why are you so cruel to each other?' They hung down their heads, and would not speak. They were ashamed. He said to them, 'Have I not been kind to you all, and given you everything your hearts wished for? You do not have to hunt and kill your own game to live upon. You see, my dear children, I have power to call whatsoever kind of game we want to eat; and I also have the power to separate my dear children, if they are not good to each other.' So he separated his children by a word. He said, 'Depart from each other, you cruel children;—go across the mighty ocean and do not seek each other's lives.'

"So the light girl and boy disappeared by that one word, and their parents saw them no more, and they were grieved, although they knew their children were happy. And by-and-by the dark children grew into a large nation; and we believe it is the one we belong to, and that the nation that sprung from the white children will some time send some one to meet us and heal all the old trouble. Now, the white people we saw a few days ago must certainly be our white brothers, and I want to welcome them. I want to love them as I love all of you. But they would not let me; they were afraid. But they will come again, and I want you one and all to promise that, should I not live to welcome them myself, you will not hurt a hair on their heads, but welcome them as I tried to do." (Hopkins, 1994)

Honoring her grandfather's request, Winnemucca sought throughout her life to create understanding between her people and the whites. She worked for peace and friendship between the two cultures, believing that friendship with the whites was vital to the survival of her people. Winnemucca attacked the idea that her people were uncivilized. She hoped to destroy the idea that she and her people were savages; she wanted the "civilized" white population to examine themselves as they did the American Indians.

Winnemucca described acts of racism that she and other tribal members experienced. She also described abuse by reservation agents who were responsible for overseeing her tribe's living conditions. Unscrupulous agents gave the Indians only meager supplies of government rations of food and clothing and kept profits for themselves (Voices from the Gaps). Winnemucca expressed her opinion of those who mistreated her and her people; she described an argument against an abusive priest:

Oh for shame! You who are educated by a Christian government in the art of war; the practice of whose profession makes you natural enemies of the savages, so called by you. Yes, you, who call yourselves the great civilization; you who have knelt upon Plymouth Rock, covenanting with God to make this land the home of the free and the brave. Ah, then you rise

from your bended knees and seizing the welcoming hands of those who are the owners of this land, which you are not, your carbines rise upon the bleak shore, and your so-called civilization sweeps inland from the oceans wave; but oh, my God! Leaving its pathway marked by crimson lines of blood and strewn the bones of two races, the inheritor and the invader; and I am crying out to you for justice -- yes, pleading for the far-off plains of the West. (Hopkins, 1994)

Winnemucca was witness to the conflict between the Native Americans and officials of the white government; she met with those who controlled their future. She made long journeys and endured harsh treatment in order to fight for the rights of her people. Although her interaction with the white people caused many of the Paiute to believe she was untrustworthy, they still saw her as a leader.

Winnemucca devoted the last years of her life to teaching Paiute children. In 1884 she worked with Elizabeth Peabody to open Peabody's Institute, a Native American school that promoted Native American language and values. The school drew criticism from people who believed that Native American children must attend English-speaking schools as a means to assimilation. Winnemucca responded to the criticism with a pamphlet published in 1886, *Sarah Winnemucca's Practical Solution to the Indian Problem*. However, the Dawes Severalty Act of 1887 forced Native American children to attend English-speaking schools. The Peabody Institute lost valuable funding and, subsequently, closed. When her husband, Lt. L.H. Hopkins died, Winnemucca moved to Montana to live with her sister, Elma.

Sarah Winnemucca died on October 17, 1891, at the age of 47. Her writing remains as a testament to the struggles of all Native Americans; she was posthumously awarded the Nevada Writers Hall of Fame Award from the Friends of the Library, University of Nevada, Reno. Sarah Winnemucca devoted her life to building communication and creating understanding between the Native and white cultures. She is remembered as an educator, translator, and communicator, a dedicated advocate of human rights, and an integral part of Native American history.

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# **Female Superintendents: Historic Barriers and Prospects for the Future**

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Stephen K. Miller  
Yolanda C. Washington  
Jeanne R. Fiene

This paper addresses the historic under representation of female superintendents. The primary focus is the legacy of discrimination, in which the barriers to female advancement in a traditionally male field are described. Particular attention is given to three different models of male dominance that have been developed to explain how and/or why women have been excluded from top positions in educational administration. In part two, recognition of the importance of women's contributions to evolving theory in educational administration and a description of the feminine leadership model is offered, wherein women utilize flexible web-like structures, empower others, and prioritize children and learning. In conclusion, future prospects for women in the superintendency are discussed.

## **The Male-Dominated Superintendency**

Women in school administration inhabit a traditionally male profession that has evolved from the male managerial, command and control model of the early 20th century. At that time, schools were organized into bureaucracies in which male principals and superintendents supervised female teachers who, in turn, organized the students (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). The educational system parallels the traditional home. The gender structure in both domains was based on a dominant male whose legitimacy was unquestioned. Society has viewed the ideal leader as displaying forceful masculine qualities, associated with the behavior of men in formal positions of authority.

Women historically have had few employment opportunities in K-12 educational administration (Restine, 1993); the selection of a woman superintendent still remains the exception in public education. Increasingly, however, women have negotiated the male culture and expressed interest in

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top administrative posts. Pavan and Robinson (1991) indicated that women are well prepared, hold the necessary certification, yet largely have been excluded from key administrative roles.

## **Purpose**

This paper addresses the historic under representation of female superintendents. The primary focus is the legacy of discrimination, in which the barriers to female advancement in a traditionally male field are described. Particular attention is given to three different models of male dominance that have been developed to explain how and/or why women have been excluded from top positions in educational administration. In part two, recognition of the importance of women's contributions to evolving theory in educational administration and a description of the feminine leadership model is offered, wherein women utilize flexible web-like structures, empower others, and prioritize children and learning. In conclusion, future prospects for women in the superintendency are discussed.

## **The Legacy of Discrimination**

Researchers and educators concur that the fact of so few female administrators stems from subtle notions of gender and leadership, as well as outright discrimination. For Sadker and Sadker (1985), gender bias reflects expectations about peoples' abilities and interests. The concept encompasses "culturally-determined cognitions, attitudes, and belief systems about females and males. Furthermore [gender bias] varies across cultures, changes through historical time and differs in terms of who makes the observations and judgments" (Worell & Remer, 1992, p. 9). Patterson (1994) indicated that white men tacitly define and legitimate the dominant culture, thereby shaping the observations and judgments of society.

Discriminatory attitudes and institutional barriers for women are prevalent. Researchers blame women's inability to advance on attributes that are not compatible with traditional leadership styles (Helgesen, 1990). Society views tough, logical, hierarchical control as necessary in leading school districts. People tend to hire people like themselves, i.e. white males hire white males (Shakeshaft, 1989). Because women remain in the minority in management circles, the male stereotype endures and hiring men is "normal" and never questioned (Powell, 1988). Women find themselves in staff rather than line positions with little chance for advancement (Pavan & Robinson, 1991). Women generally advance only through central office staff; the move to the superintendency is thwarted by the "glass ceiling" effect (Shakeshaft, 1989).

In the 2000 Study of the American Association of School Administrators, Glass reported that 13.2% of superintendents were women, the highest percentage observed during the 20th century. The greatest gains

in the 1990s were in suburban/urban districts serving 3,000-24,999 students. Female superintendents in those districts nearly tripled, from 5% in 1992 to 14.1% in 2000. These gains however, were tenuous. More than one-third of the 297 female superintendents had tenure of less than three years and 58% had served fewer than five years. Even these recent gains, are not reflected in the overall percentage of women superintendents in the last century (Blount, 1998).

### ***Models of Male Dominance***

In educational administration, a patriarchal system prevails. Dominant male administrative models create attitudinal and institutional barriers for women seeking leadership positions. These include traditional male lenses (Grogan, 1996), subtle gender stereotypes (Gupton & Slick, 1996), and socialization processes (Lougheed, 1998). Social scientists have developed three different conceptual models based on these structural and cultural factors to explain the under representation of women in leadership positions.

#### ***The Meritocracy Model***

The first model has been referred to as “the meritocracy model” (Estler, 1975), “the individual perspective” (Schmuck, 1980), “internal barriers” (Hansot & Tyack, 1981), and “person-centered explanations” (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). Despite multiple labels, all use a psychological orientation to explain the persistent and continuing gender segregation in the profession. Women themselves are the issue: personal traits, characteristics, abilities, self-image, confidence, motivation, or aspirations. The meritocracy model “assumes that the most competent people are promoted according to their ability” (Estler, 1975, p. 370). This implies that men must be more competent than women because they are chosen more often (Dopp & Sloan, 1986). When the focus is on person-centered causation, individuals (women) are held responsible for their own problems (Schmuck, 1980). From this perspective, women are not assertive enough, don’t want the power, lack self-confidence, don’t aspire to line positions, are unwilling to play the game or work the system, and don’t apply for jobs (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). The emphasis on so-called internal barriers lends itself to “blaming the victim” (Ryan, 1976). Solutions are framed by correcting the defect, that is, changing the individual.

Haslett, Geis, and Carter (1992) discovered several stereotypes that interfere with women being accepted as leaders. Females are perceived as less intellectually competent and rational. Compounding the problem, it is considered inappropriate for women to display self-interest instead of

working solely for the group's success. But this sets up a classic "Catch 22." Women are considered to lack the traits of traditional male leadership; they are too centered on people, too emotionally demonstrative, and not assertive enough. Yet when women do exhibit these characteristics, they are considered too masculine, and not true to their female self. This is a true "damned if you do, damned if you don't" double bind (cf. Banks, 1995; Koonce, 1997). Thus feminine leadership traits, such as collaboration, alternative use of power, and people-and process-oriented skills, are too "soft" for leadership; women displaying forceful, traditional male traits are too flawed as females to be leaders.

These mixed messages affect mobility within the organization. Shakeshaft (1989) noted that success has been defined as upward movement in the organizational hierarchy, a traditional male viewpoint. Ortiz and Marshall (1988) found that women do not have poor self image or lack aspirations; rather female subjects directed their emphasis to the job at hand as a major source of satisfaction and self-esteem. Within this context, Hackney (1994) indicated that women's inward focus on the job, as opposed to upward mobility, is not due to a lack of aspirations, but negative conditioning and lack of validation within the organization. Hackney's study revealed feelings of isolation, being stifled and held back. These conditions "eat away" at self-confidence and self-esteem in work situations. The cumulative effect of these stereotypical messages and negative feedback was that many women gave up their aspirations of power and leadership.

Even with the lack of encouragement to seek higher positions, Bowles (1990) found that the low percentage of women employed in line positions could not be attributed to a lack of aspiration to be principal or superintendent. With the number of women who have entered and completed educational administration programs since 1980, lack of aspiration is clearly not a barrier. Utilizing the knowledge and skills of graduate work, more women than men are entering the application pool.

The inward orientation toward success and personal satisfaction many women derive from the job is consistent with the strong feminine value of child-centered advocacy. In the field of education, success and support for students is the ultimate purpose of schooling. In an era in which schooling has become highly politicized, it is not a bad thing that women are true to this fundamental value, especially when all too often the welfare of children has been betrayed by agendas driven by power and ideology (cf. Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Bracey, 2002).

### ***The Discrimination Model***

The second conceptual model explains men's and women's differential career aspirations and achievements, not as a function of different psychological pre-dispositions, but as an effect of the limited opportunities for women that accompany systemic gender bias (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). This "organizational perspective" (Schmuck, 1980) or "discrimination model" (Estler, 1975) turns attention from the individual to the educational system, with its complex of institutional structures, policies, and practices. The shift is from internal traits to external obstacles that hinder advancement (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). Hansot and Tyack (1981, p. 7) noted that, "[w]omen behave in self-limiting ways, not because they were socialized as females but because they are locked into low-power, low-visibility, dead-end jobs" such as directors, supervisors, consultants, coordinators, planners, and evaluators—roles generally not leading to the superintendency.

Wiggins and Coggins (1986) reported that women's career paths hinder progress to top administrative positions. Most females are found in elementary principalships. In contrast the route to the superintendency typically begins at the secondary level (Schmuck, 1975). According to Hansot and Tyack (1981), men are sought for line positions with direct supervisory responsibility and linkage to the external environment. Women are more likely to occupy positions that look inward to the system and that require a professional (staff) orientation rather than line supervision.

Asbury's (1993) study of Alabama public schools revealed that females perceived discrimination in hiring practices. The top three factors listed by women for not holding secondary principalships were (a) lack of interest, (b) the belief that male supervisors think females should not be high school principals, and (c) lack of experience in leadership activities. Lad (1998) indicated that few women held secondary principalships because (a) they had few role models as children and (b) the expectations for high school principals are high and become higher when the candidate is a female. The women in Lad's study reported they had been "passed over" in favor of males.

Traditional sex role structures in the home can exacerbate the problem. Demands on the secondary principal may be impossible for women with family commitments. Society is more likely to see the long hours (and concomitant neglect of family) as "ok" for men. Even when women became high school principals, they reported they had to work harder and longer to obtain evaluations equal to that of men (Napier & Willower, 1990-1991). Estler (1975) noted that such organizational structures and practices discriminate against women in educational administration.

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) elaborated: "it is organizational structures that condition women's behaviors and attitudes in the work place" (p. 130). Tallerico and Burstyn (1996) argued that structural and systemic barriers work against the advancement of candidates who are not white males. Kanter (1977) postulated that power begets power. This works to the advantage of males when organizational leadership is dominated by men and women do not have access to the extant power base through activities and alliances. As Kanter noted, "[o]ppportunity structures shape behaviors in such a way that they confirm their own prophecies" (p. 158).

Kanter's (1977) work on organizational mobility is relevant to the so-called lack of aspiration in women. Kanter proposed that individual organizational behavior is a function of three structural elements: opportunity, power, and relative representation. For Kanter, reduced aspiration for administrative advancement for women can be viewed as an accurate reading of true lack of opportunity. As Maienza (1986) noted, access to top administrative positions in education results from an interaction between individual behavior and organizational structures, a fundamental insight into human behavior that has been recognized for over 50 years (cf. French & Raven, 1968; Lewin, 1951).

Kanter's (1977) work on gender generalized insights from class and race. In a major study on the effects of stratification, Sennett and Cobb (1972) used the term *protective alienation* to explicate the "negative" external locus of control that various researchers have ascribed to individuals from lower class and minority backgrounds. This belief in luck, fate, or powerful others (racism, classism) that keeps people down contrasts with an achievement-oriented internal motivational set, in which people believe their own efforts are the primary determinants of success or failure. But Stinnett and Cobb suggested the external orientation protects persons with extremely limited opportunities for success from the almost certain prospect of seeing themselves as failures if they maintain an internal causal scheme. Both reduced aspirations and an external locus of control are realistic responses to very low probabilities of beating the odds when the organization or the wider society represents an extremely uneven playing field.

A number of empirical studies produced evidence of discriminatory practices and structures that tilt the environment against females in educational administration. This evidence is consistent with Estler's (1975) suggestion that preferential sponsoring and promotional practices explain the gender disparity in top management positions in education. Maienza (1986) concluded that three general tendencies influence mobility: (a) opportunity and power interrelate, specifically the individual's behavior and sponsorship, (b) individuals learn to react to opportunity and power early in their careers



and those who are successful parlay these significant relationships into continued mobility, and (c) relative to men's experiences, women's career opportunities occur at lower levels of management and reflect longer tenure in lower positions before moving upward.

Hudson (1994) examined employment discrimination in practices related to job contacts. Approximately 90% of superintendents reported they learned about their jobs through some form of pre-employment assistance. White males utilized both formal job contacts and informal networks to access these positions and the individuals involved in hiring. In contrast, both women and minorities indicated that they encountered organizational restraints and territorial discrimination in seeking these jobs. Paddock (1977) noted that women were isolated by the "good ol' boy" networks which reinforced the attitudes and philosophy of school boards. These school boards, who appoint superintendents, are composed largely of men. Furthermore, Hansot and Tyack (1981) reported that male boards typically believe men to be superior candidates. Then too, many secondary principals and superintendents are former coaches who have established public reputations as leaders through these highly visible extracurricular activities.

Adding to the web of informal influence, Ryder (1994) indicated that most search consultants are former superintendents, primarily white and male, who typically hold traditional gender values. Chase and Bell (1994) found a combination of both tacit values and structures that were part of the "glass ceiling." Beliefs about men being breadwinners and an expectation for men to have higher salaries were common. More directly, search consultants reported that the primary skill sought was the ability to network successfully, a trait considered necessary for managing the often conflicting demands of the various stakeholder groups seeking to influence schools. But this represents a conundrum, seemingly unrecognized by the search consultants. Those who were perceived as most capable of networking were ensconced in the extant local and state networks of educational administration. Because these networks were part of the "good ol' boy" system of informal influence, women and minorities were at a decided disadvantage. Even if they had managed some access to these networks (and many have not), they were highly unlikely to have attained the prominence that leads to the perception of being skilled at networking.

Finally, the framework of person-organization fit theory provides one more example of how discriminatory practices in a district can work against females and minorities. Little (1998) investigated the effect of rural values on personnel selection practices in rural/small town districts in Kentucky. Universalistic hiring criteria were objective qualifications such as grade point average, experience, quality of references, and leadership. Idiosyncratic fit

related to perceptions of the “match” between the candidate’s background and the district, e.g., race, community norms, being too intelligent (can’t relate to students), or hand delivering a job application (if it was mailed, the person must be an outsider). Little found that the stronger the rural values of the hiring officials, the more likely that idiosyncratic (just like me) fit factors were utilized while universalistic criteria were discounted. Of particular relevance to the study of women in the superintendency was the not surprising result that “good ol’ boy” networks were alive and well in smaller, rural districts. Moreover, these attitudes had their negative effect on gender at the level of the superintendent. Since most teachers are female, insider versus outsider fit was the more relevant factor for teacher employment. Yet it was the insider males, not females, who were destined to climb the administrative ladder to the superintendency.

### ***The Women’s Place Model***

The third conceptual model views society as a whole, not individuals or educational systems, as the root cause of inequities (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). Estler (1975) refers to this as “the women’s place model,” Schmuck (1980) as “the social perspective,” and Shakeshaft (1989) as “the social structure of society.” Schmuck (1980, p. 244) explained, “[t]he folkways, norms, and mores of the society coincide with different socialization patterns and channel women and men into different areas of work, which are assigned differential pay and status.” Hansot and Tyack (1981) describe male hegemonic forces, embedded in the fabric of society and accepted without question. Androcentric bias is “viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective. It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal, and the honoring of men and the male principle above women and female” (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 94). Patriarchy results, with men and women occupying different places with different rules. Estler (1975) noted that sex role values and expectations for both the organizational and institutional models are closely interrelated.

This perspective is illustrated by (a) the different ways boys and girls are enculturated, (b) the lack of female role models in positions of formal authority in general, (c) endemic differences in gender expectations, and (d) sociocultural stereotypes about “what’s ladylike” and “who looks like a leader.” For example, the balancing of career and family can be viewed as part of a much broader socio-political framework for understanding culturally defined roles. These socialization processes, by which children learn gendered behavioral expectations, have been considered a restriction to women in the field of educational administration (Restine, cited in Merle, 1999).

Whitaker and Lane (1990) pointed out that the educational system follows the model of the traditional home; men manage and women nurture the learners. Even grade levels reflect this gender segregation as females represent a much greater percentage of the teachers for primary/elementary grades compared to secondary schools where men are more commonly seen. Men are socialized to seek success outside the home, and their identity is associated with their profession. Women who teach follow the stereotyped role of nurturing and supporting others while men are expected to display the masculine traits of dominance, aggression, leadership, and autonomy.

When women do move into administrative posts, they often experience conflict between their socialized values and the more masculine demands of leadership (Curcio, Morsink, & Bridges, 1989). Several empirical studies revealed these tensions. Skrla's (1998) case study explored the conflicting social constructions of the female gender and the superintendency. Three former women superintendents talked about rules of exclusion and silence in a profession dominated by men. Traditional "male" realms such as taxes, interactions with the local business community, and especially sports were essentially off limits, i.e., these women reported they were basically considered irrelevant in these areas.

McCreight (1999) discovered that women faced barriers related to marriage and family in pursuit of the superintendency. This sex role stereotyping was evident in marital status. Males were typically married; their wives followed to a new job and set up housekeeping as usual. Women were much more likely to be single, widowed, divorced, or have commuter marriages. Men merely had to relocate and begin a new job. Women had to make alternative arrangements in their personal lives. Men had primary responsibility for their work; women were expected to retain their role as homemaker as well as being chief executive officer.

Ryder (1994) found that the traditional division of labor in the home (females take care of the household, males tend the yard and outdoor maintenance) remains unchanged in most superintendent households. A sole emphasis on professional identity conflicts with gendered expectations for women to be wife and mother (Mark, 1986), a handicap men typically do not face. This nurturing role spans the life cycle. Merle (1999) reported that women entered administration later in their careers because of their commitments to being the primary caregiver for their own children. Similarly, women more often find themselves taking the lead in elder care for parents or needy siblings, a demand that affected even single women with no children of their own.

Thus in the women's place model, discrimination exists as a reflection of societal role definitions that reinforce those expectations long after the

reasons for their existence have passed (Estler, 1975). Tallerico and Burstyn (1996) noted that this model emphasizes cultural and social norms that encourage discriminatory practices, often at a taken-for-granted, unconscious level of existence (Polanyi, 1967; Schutz, 1970). These social conventions devalue what is associated with the feminine. The strength and power of these gendered expectations should not be underestimated. Faludi (1991) has written in detail on the extent to which efforts to roll back these one-sided, traditional expectations have produced a powerful backlash against modern, feminine perspectives on equality between the sexes. As Shakeshift (1989) stated, “[t]he historical records show that women have always been second choice in the selection of school leaders” (p. 81). Since 1990, studies have documented the existence and influence of the traditional barriers that work against women.

### ***Networks and Political Structures***

Gabler (1987) contended that women have not accorded the “ol’ boys” network its due importance in attaining top administrative positions. Women believing that people who work hard and demonstrate skill will be rewarded, are now realizing that a supportive network is as significant as skill and hard work. Consequently, attempts have been made to establish an “old girls” network. But as Kanter (1977) noted, relative representation is a key structural component and these female linkages remain too weak to assist many women, i.e., there are still not enough women, particularly in positions of power, for female networks to be very effective.

Leonard and Papalewis (1987) pointed to the importance of sponsorship for women’s access to administrative positions. They suggested that establishing relationships with sponsors is more difficult for women because mentoring dyads are generally within gender and race. Therefore, females tend to be excluded from these supports, which appear to be crucial to advancement. Whitaker and Lane (1990) indicated that whenever cross mentoring does occur between male mentors and female protégés, sex roles diminish its effectiveness. They emphasized the importance of efforts of women in administration to mentor females who wish to advance into the ranks. Hill and Ragland (1995) indicated that women shared a sense of isolation i.e., a feeling like they are “the only one.”

The traditional bureaucratic model of schools has operated within a political context, led by administrators who governed teachers, students, and staff through formalized goals and procedures (Lee, Smith, & Croninger, 1996). In top-down hierarchical organizations, authoritarian leadership is the preferred pattern for school administration. Men are perceived by the public

as better able than women to handle discipline, particularly at the secondary level. Men also were viewed as more suited than women for working with predominantly male boards of education and dealing with political influences on the superintendency.

Hill and Ragland (1995) noted that men often act as gatekeepers, and make deals before positions are announced: women normally are not privy to those informal agreements. When women enter the policy arena of the superintendency, they must learn to fight biases and negotiate the increasingly political nature of the job. The micro-management of boards, fiscal constraints, and board-superintendent hostilities can lead to disenchantment for those not already entrenched in established power networks.

Whitaker and Lane (1990) noted the perception that finances and tough personnel issues are the strength of males, not females. This belief is reinforced by the structural differences in career paths: success in coaching, secondary principal, and line positions such as finance and personnel for males; the elementary principalship and central office staff positions where curriculum and instruction predominate for females (cf. Hansot & Tyack, 1981; Wiggins & Coggins, 1986). These trajectories provide differential opportunities to learn political skills for navigating various interest groups, both internal and external to the district.

### **The Feminist Leadership Model**

The foregoing discussion of barriers to women superintendents highlights a reality in the field of educational administration. Until recently, much of what has been studied and taught has been based largely on the experiences of white males (Blackmore, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1989) and interpreted from structural-functionalist perspectives (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). Yet, leadership has always been a central focus for research in this field (Fennell, 1999). Shakeshaft (1989) makes the case that studying leadership through women's eyes and experiences is an initial step toward a transformation of leadership theory.

The feminist paradigm critiques dominant white male, control-oriented leadership (Fennell, 1999). When women talk, supervise, or behave in ways not consistent with the dominant paradigm, their work is not credited as leadership (Marshall, 1986). Similarly, the feminized fields of teaching (Lortie, 1975) and child rearing institutions (women who head households and run daycare) are accorded the status of "unimportant" work. Blackmore (1989) stated, "when women's subjective experience does not fit the 'reality' of scientific management, it is treated as an aberration, non-relevant and

deviant” (p. 113). The feminist model challenges hierarchical views of organizational structure and function and questions epistemological assumptions about the nature of humanity inherent in male-dominant theories.

### ***Women, Instruction, and Leadership***

The research on women’s leadership suggests that the traditional top-down hierarchy has been replaced by a web-like organization in which females operate from the center. This allows them to utilize their strengths: acting on their priorities, relating to people, encouraging employees, providing opportunities for collaboration, soliciting input, and opening two-way communication channels. Particularly in educational systems, women’s experiences in teaching and knowledge of curriculum allow them to guide from a position of expertise. Their “natural” empathy and compassion (read “product of gendered socialization mores and folkways”) are essential in creating a positive, collegial workplace environment (Fennell, 1999; Helgesen, 1990; Wesson & Grady, 1994).

### ***Uncertainty in the Educational Terrain***

This general model of female leadership is well adapted to the demands of school districts in the current era of accountability. Ultimately, education involves student learning as its *raison d’être*. No matter how much accountability dictates measurable assessment outcomes, the learning that underlies these test scores remains an uncertain endeavor: (a) highly complex, (b) variable from student to student and school to school, (c) strongly influenced by family background, and (d) dependent upon a number of factors that are beyond the control of the classroom teacher, let alone the superintendent, several layers removed from student contact (cf. Meyer & Rowan, 1978).

The uncertainty in school districts goes beyond the fuzziness of learning outcomes. The environment for schooling is unstable. Threats ranging from cuts in resources to competition from private and religious schools (not to mention home schooling) are exacerbated by efforts among conservative critics to move to a market-driven system of vouchers featuring parental choice (cf. Berliner & Biddle, 1995; Bracey, 2002; Chubb & Moe, 1990). More immediately, the emphasis in many accountability systems is not just high student outcomes, but *increasingly higher* achievement, a value-added perspective (Miller, 1992).

### ***Women and Change***

With uncertainty comes change. When the goals for education are in flux, or are set as targets that are *higher* than current levels, the way things have always been done is not good enough. Best practice needs to be improved. What this implies is a learning organization (Senge, 1990). When results depend upon not only the most up-to-date knowledge available but also on new and more effective ideas, the involvement of everyone in the district is essential. This is particularly the case when learning depends upon highly educated professionals, whose practice is steeped in judgment and fast-paced decision making rather than routine. This is not to suggest that set procedures and practice are not elements of an effective education. One aspect of student mastery is repetition. But ultimately, learning depends upon the stimulation and exchange of ideas. For that, professional judgment is crucial. Even the choice as to how much repetition, when, and in what form requires effective professional input. Not all practice is equally effective (to wit, the over reliance on low level “drill and kill” worksheets in many schools).

Thus uncertainty implies empowerment as an approach to leadership. Optimal organizational output requires the best efforts and ownership of the professionals who inhabit the core technical productive units (classrooms and school). Even more so, these professionals must be engaged in the collaborative search for more effective strategies for engaging students in learning. Neither maximal effort nor better professional practice can be mandated from above. Effective leadership requires that the various stakeholder groups, especially but not limited to professional staff, be involved in the collective response to the challenges of schooling that are both excellent and equitable (cf. Chance, 1986; Roeder, 1999, 2000).

In the uncertain milieu of today's education, women seem to have an instinctive sense of empowerment, based on societal expectations (Irwin, 1995; Rosener, 1990). According to Blackmore (1989) the feminist reconstruction of leadership involves meaningful discourse on organizational life. Workers are viewed as autonomous individuals rather than objects to be manipulated through patriarchal expertise. There is more focus on relationships between individuals and the larger community; power is perceived as multi-dimensional and multi-directional. The key is to empower others rather than to have power over others, with leadership diffused throughout the organization and not tied exclusively to formal roles.

Empowerment is not an end in itself, however. Power undirected is likely to feed the agendas of the groups so empowered, particularly if the stakeholders have long been denied meaningful input and control over their role in the work place. This is illustrated by early returns on site-based decision making (SBDM). School SBDM councils frequently focused their

attention on teacher concerns, governance issues, or community affairs (Talley, 2002). These highly politicized issues essentially had no direct impact inside the iron triangle of learning—the teacher and the student engaged with the curriculum (Lockwood, 1994). Yet those councils that specifically focused their attention on school improvement seemed to produce higher achievement.

There is more widespread evidence that empowerment needs to be directed toward organizational goals. The research on school climate is consistent in this regard. Too much focus on non-learning issues can have negative effects on achievement outcomes. Conran and Beauchamp (1976) found that higher levels of organizational climate (based on the widely used Organizational Climate Description Questionnaire, OCDQ, of Halpin & Croft, 1963) actually resulted in lower achievement, a finding confirmed by other analyses of the OCDQ (Lezotte, Miller, Hathaway, Passalacqua, & Brookover, 1980). This phenomenon can be explained by a fundamental distinction: the OCDQ emphasizes esprit de corps and affective teacher concerns; in contrast, school climate instruments in which higher levels of climate are associated with higher achievement have in common an emphasis on factors that influence student outcomes such as teacher expectations, instructional push, time-on-task, and instructional leadership. All such factors are part of the *learning* climate. When adult concerns peripheral to the organization displace attention from the primary goal of student learning, such surprising and unintended effects can occur (Warner & Havens, 1968).

Thus effective leadership demands a vision for the district, educationally focused, with both excellence and equity goals (see Petersen, 1999). The collective efforts of the organization must be guided by this priority. The discipline to ensure that various agendas from different role groups do not subvert this emphasis is a primary responsibility of the empowering leader. Again women seem to have a strong sense of this priority. Socialized as primary caretakers (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Loughheed, 1998; Shakeshaft, 1989), women have a strong “children first” orientation. This child centered value is supplemented by their strong backgrounds in teaching and instructional development (McGarth, 1992; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). The combination of these two values leads naturally to a vision of instructional success for all children. Schools, programs, professional development—all are judged by adherence to this vision that all children can and will learn and at high levels.

If women’s leadership reflects a strong vision of academic success for all children (consistent with child-centered values and instructional background and expertise) and a commitment to empowering professionals to create a learning organization, there is the question of how they manage the



conflicting demands of the uncertain environment that currently defines education. Balancing multiple political agendas (every group has its own), allocating scarce resources, and monitoring the progress of multiple units requires both an efficient and effective organizational structure and the skills in human relations to bring people together, resolve conflicts, and inspire the best in employees from disparate backgrounds.

The research on feminist leadership indicates that women eschew the traditional hierarchical structure in favor of a more flexible web-like organization. This is in contrast to the male style of top-down management that had served educators so well during the American century: an emphasis on stability, control, and providing an education that was “fitting” for the presumed aptitude of students, i.e., differentiation of curriculum and instruction through ability grouping and tracking (cf. Callahan, 1962; Oakes, 1985; Spring, 1976). However, the prominence of social Darwinism (Hofstadter, 1955) in this industrial model of schooling, with its deleterious effects on minorities, the poor, and special needs children, is now recognized (Miller, 1985; Portes, 2005).

In several respects, women’s web-like model of leadership can be seen as countering the weaknesses of hierarchical management. Being at the center of an organization increases the probability of two-way communication and of direct linkages to multiple stakeholders. Various groups can be more quickly involved in strategic planning and the flattened organizational structure facilitates collaborative efforts among professionals who are asked to work *with* a leader instead of *for* a boss. The flexibility of the webbed structure also works well in an era of environmental flux and uncertain resources. Coupled with the drive for ever higher academic achievement for *all* students, the need for highly motivated, empowered professionals who are themselves learners, open to new and more powerful approaches to instruction, becomes obvious (cf. Helgesen, 1990; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Shantz, 1993).

Yet this more open style of leadership does not come without risk. Collaboration, more challenging goals, altered roles, and fundamental changes in beliefs about the capacity of all students to learn (social Darwinism dies hard)—all have a tendency to produce conflict among newly or differently empowered educators (perhaps especially so since teachers have traditionally been among the least empowered of all professionals). Here the interpersonal dimension of the feminist model is crucial. As Rogers (1988) noted, socialization of females encourages affiliation, cooperation, empathy, caring, non-violence, listening to others, and interconnectedness. These skills are essential in negotiating conflicts, valuing the contributions of group members, distributing responsibilities, and building a common vision,

with a mission centered on child welfare. Thus the feminist leadership style combines the flexibility of communication from the center of a webbed organizational structure with the set of human interaction skills that are required to operate this model effectively. If those “people skills” seem to come “naturally” to women, it should be remembered that the experiences of young girls in American society closely match these processes, especially when compared to the “macho” expectations that young boys encounter.

### **Prospects for the Future**

The context for this review is worth noting. In the last decades of the 20th century and continuing today, the male dominant world is increasingly being questioned. Traditional models of leadership that reflected male values and top-down, hierarchical control have been challenged in business (e.g., Barney & Ouchi, 1986; McGregor & Cutcher-Gershenfeld, 2006; Ouchi, 1981; Peters & Waterman, 1982) as well as education (Callahan, 1962; Greenfield, 1974). Similarly, the “rightness” of the traditional family is no longer universally accepted (e.g., Coontz, 1992; D’Antonio & Aldous, 1983). More generally, there is a growing literature on differences between male and female styles (cf. Key, 1996; Sandelands, 2001; Shields, 2002) with the inevitable disagreements on whether these differences are socialized or inherent (see Lipka, 2005).

These debates about sex roles structures and models of leadership can be related to more fundamental changes in the economic system. As society hurtles through the transition from the industrial era to the post-industrial, information age with globally-based service economy (Toffler, 1980), the decline of manufacturing (cf. Bluestone & Harrison, 1982; Wilson, 1987; Wright, 1979) forced institutions across the spectrum to change and adapt to new conditions (cf. Harris, 1979, 1999). The origins of the feminist movement and other societal trends can be traced to this flux in basic economic production (Harris, 1981).

As the economy adapts to post-industrial conditions, theories of leadership must change accordingly. The emphasis on accountability (Linn, 2000; Linn, Baker, & Betebenner, 2002), the search for more efficient models of managing knowledge development (Bukh & Chistensen, 2005; Peters, 1988), and data-based decision making (Halverson, Grigg, Pritchett, & Thomas, 2005) can be seen as factors driving the evolution of district instructional leadership. With value-added increases in achievement becoming the norm (Miller, 1992; Sergiovanni, 1990), superintendents can no longer defer instructional leadership to the school level (Anthes, 2002; Bjork, 1993).

The era of accountability requires schools to be both excellent and equitable (cf. Chance, 1986; Roeder, 1999, 2000). At the same time, many of the state reforms require decentralized decision making such as site-based management (Mohrman, 1993; Talley, 2002; Wohlsetter, Smyer, & Mohrman, 1994), teacher empowerment (Maeroff, 1988; Terry, 1995-1996), or community involvement (Comer, 2005; Crowson, 1992; Haynes & Comer, 1996). Thus superintendents must be committed to the values of caring and diversity to ensure success for *all* students (cf. Brunner, 1998; Noddings, 1991). Yet a powerful vision is not enough. Somehow, the different stakeholder groups across the community, district, and individual schools must be involved in a collegial effort to realize these challenging goals. Top down mandates simply do not work in the complex environment of the knowledge-based, post-industrial world. Successful leadership requires exceptional skills with respect to communication, collaborative empowerment, and caring—for employees as well as the “customers” (students, parents, and community).

Enter the woman superintendent. The set of skills that are emerging from the research on district instructional leadership are essentially parallel to those depicted in studies of women’s educational leadership (Miller, Washington, & Fiene, 2006). The challenges facing schools today are more daunting than ever. *Increasing* student achievement is far more difficult than *maintaining* the level of readiness that children bring from the home. Even more challenging than these overall improvements (excellence dimension) is *closing* achievement gaps (equity dimension) which are strongly associated with racial, class, and cultural differences in the wider stratification hierarchy (cf. Miller & Moore, 2006; Tilly, 1998). Success in this uncertain environment will require more powerful educational models. That clearly implies change. Flexible leadership from the center of a web-like structure, and the concomitant people skills to raise people up and bring them together would seem to be essential for effecting this change. These traits are the very hallmarks of the feminine style, not coincidentally the product of women’s gendered enculturation experiences in a society in which patriarchy still looms large.

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# The Role of Gender and How it Relates to Conflict Management Style and School Culture

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This investigation focused on principals, by gender, and the impact that the principals' conflict management style had on cultural aspects in schools. Findings were: principals with a conflict management style that is high in dominating show lower school culture scores in professional development, and, conversely, principals with a conflict management style that is high in initiating indicate higher school culture scores in teacher collaboration. When split by gender, the findings were: male principals whose conflict management style is dominating receive lower school culture scores in teacher collaboration, while female principals whose conflict management style was viewed as integrating receive higher school culture scores in professional development and teacher collaboration.

Men and women in leadership positions are exposed to different expectations in their careers due to the gender role stereotyping applied to male and female behaviors (Burke & Nelson, 2002; Curry, 2000). Lipman-Blumen (1992) postulated that the integration of femininity with the male dominant view of leadership could be difficult to achieve due to the conflict that arises between the female orientation and male-dominated organizational practices. Slaikeu and Hasson (1998) declared, "While [sic] conflict is an integral dynamic in the growth and development of living organisms and groups" (p. 5), different results have been found from research on gender differences in conflict styles (Ruble & Schneer, 1994). However, Eckman (2004) noted "there are both similarities and differences between female and male high school principals in terms of their attributes as well as their experiences of conflict, job satisfaction, and commitment" (p. 381).

Males, using a masculine task-oriented leadership style, have led secondary schools in a similar manner as that seen in for-profit organizations. However, reform research has identified that the leadership style in a school

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setting should embody and articulate a vision of collaboration and sharing (Donaldson & Sanderson, 1996). The building of collegial relationships is essential (Hargreaves, 1994). The principal, as leader, must create the environment that supports a culture for learning. Although studies on conflict management style and culture (Rahim, 1992; Ruble & Schneer, 1994), and the importance of organizational culture (Gruenert, 1998; Schein, 1992) exist, few studies identify how gender and conflict management of the secondary principal affect the school culture (Gates, 2003). This research focused on two questions related to secondary school principals impact on school culture.

1. To what degree is the conflict management style of the principal related to the culture factors of professional development and teacher collaboration?
2. To what degree does gender change the relationship of the conflict management style of the principal on the school culture factor of professional development and the school culture factor of teacher collaboration?

## Conceptual Organizers

### Gender Characteristics

Various researchers have identified characteristics associated with feminine and masculine roles (Harriman, 1996; Hines, 1992; Marshall, 1993). Women

stereotypically are nurturing, passive, sensitive, compassionate, family-centered, and responsible for the education of children. Men are described as self-reliant, dominant, hard, impersonal, outer-focused, action-oriented, competitive, and assertive.

According to Grant (1988), "Organizations clearly reproduce themselves. People in power (who are mostly men) mentor, encourage, and advance people who are most like themselves" (p. 57). This may explain one reason why women who have been able to rise to management positions have done so by identifying with and emulating the male model in order to progress in the organization. Bell and Chase (1995) stated women's leadership strategies are shaped by the bureaucratic and male-dominated structure that research has generally described as an exercise of power from the top down (Dunlap & Goldman, 1991). In educational leadership, women's experiences are increasingly documented (Brunner, 2000; Eckman, 2004; Grogan, 1996).

Most organizations reflect masculine work orientations and male interests that can cause conflict between the female orientation and male-dominated organizational practices (Alvesson & Due Billing, 1997). However, "with the trends toward participatory style leadership and decentralization of power on the upswing, women's tendency toward a more integrative leadership style may actually be coming into vogue" (Gupton & Slick, 1996, p. 109). This distributed leadership perspective is relatively new and is emerging as an influence in empirical studies of school leadership (Smylie, Conley, & Marks, 2002). Spillane, Halverson, and Diamond (2004) referred to such leadership as distributed practice. They postulated that "leaders' practice is stretched over social and situational contexts and is not a function of just the positional leader" (p. 6).

### **Conflict Management Style**

According to Yukl (1998), "the primary purpose of conflict management is to build and maintain cooperative working relationships with all stakeholders and include efforts to mediate conflicts between other people within the organization" (p. 116). Taylor and Miller (1994) said that gender shapes conflict issues as well as conflict management processes. To connect people to each other and their work through a collaborative culture, principals must apply strategies that symbolically build commitment to the needed approaches, attitudes, and behaviors (Alkire, 1995). The manner in which the principals build commitment is affected by gender and conflict management style and can be a determinant of organizational effectiveness or lead to disintegration (Rahim, 1992).

Earlier researchers (Blake & Mouton, 1964; Kilmann & Thomas, 1977; Pruitt & Rubin, 1986; Putnam & Wilson, 1982) identified and labeled

conflict handling styles. Their instruments range from two to five styles in varying degrees of concern for one's self and concern for others. We used *The Rahim Organizational Conflict Inventory II* and focused on the five conflict handling styles developed by Rahim (1992, 2001). These styles differed on two basic dimensions, concern for self and concern for others. The first dimension explains the degree (high or low) to which a person attempts to satisfy his or her own concern. The second dimension explains the degree (high or low) to which a person wants to satisfy the concern of others. These variables are important aspects in an organization and impact culture of that organization (Schein, 1992).

### **Organizational Culture**

Schein (1992) defined culture as a "pattern of shared basic assumptions that the group learned as it solved its problems of external adaptation and internal integration" (p. 12). Building upon Schein's definition, Yukl (1998) asserted, "a major function of culture is to help us understand the environment and determine how to respond to it, thereby reducing anxiety, uncertainty, and confusion" (p. 330). Manifestations of a school's culture are observed through the interconnectedness of symbols, ceremonies, heroes, myths, values, and norms. These manifestations are representations of what school personnel value (Gruenert, 1998). The culture needed is that of collaboration where everyone is considered a resource and works collectively so that the school will be effective (Claes, 1999).

Research does support that some gender differences exist in how individuals lead and how leaders are perceived. However, little research exists that examines the relationship between culture, conflict management style, and if and how those variables are affected by gender.

## **Methods**

### **Participants**

Determination of the population and sample size was based on geographic location, time constraints, financial considerations and gender distribution. A stratified random sampling by gender and school size of 30 secondary school principals and 150 teachers was used. Fifteen male and 15 female principals along with five faculty members were selected from the 30 principals' buildings.

### **Data Collection**

Data for the study were obtained by surveying secondary principals and faculty members. Two survey instruments were administered. The first half

of the survey instrument included *The Rahim Organizational Conflict Inventory-II (ROCI-II)* (Rahim, 1992, 2001) that determined the conflict management style used by the building administrator. Two forms of the ROCI-II, oneself and the other by observer were used.

The second half of the tool was the *School Culture Survey (SCS)* developed by Gruenert (1998). The SCS evaluated the school culture in terms of six factors found in the culture: collaborative leadership, teacher collaboration, and professional development, unity of purpose, collegial support, and learning partnership. Of particular interest were the factors of professional development and teacher collaboration.

### Data Analysis

The data from participant surveys were analyzed using the Pearson Coefficient to determine the relationships among gender, and five styles of conflict management, and the factors of school culture. For this study, the five styles of conflict management were: integrating, obliging, dominating, avoiding, and compromising within two dimensions of handling interpersonal conflict, concern for self and concern for others. The variables of school culture as measured by the SCS included: teacher collaboration and professional development. Statistical significance was determined at an alpha of 0.05.

### Findings

*To what degree is the conflict management style of the principal related to the culture factors of professional development and teacher collaboration?*

**Principal perspective.** No statistically significant correlation with the management style of the principals and the culture factor of professional development was found. No statistically significant correlation of management style of the principals and the culture factor of teacher collaboration was found.

**Teacher perspective.** Statistically significant correlations between principals' conflict management style of integrating and the culture factor of professional development ( $r = +.308$ ;  $p = .000$ ), and principals' conflict management style of avoiding and culture factor of professional development ( $r = +.192$ ;  $p = .019$ ) were determined. No other correlations were significant. Interpretation means that principals with a greater use of integrating and avoiding conflict management styles promoted greater professional development in the school culture. The literature supports that principals with

an integrating style of conflict management promote a climate that encourages professional development (Hargreaves, 1994).

A statistically significant correlation between principals' conflict management style of integrating and the culture factor of teacher collaboration ( $r = +.331$ ;  $p = .000$ ) was determined. No other correlations were significant. Interpretation of the results means that principals' who were perceived to be more inclined to use the integrating conflict management style were more likely to promote greater teacher collaboration among staff. Again, the literature supported that principals high in utilizing the conflict style of integrating would also support a culture conducive to collaboration (Donaldson & Sanderson, 1996; Gupton & Slick, 1996).

*To what degree does gender change the relationship of the conflict management style of the principal on the school culture factor of professional development and the school culture factor of teacher collaboration?*

**Principal perspective.** No statistically significant correlation with the culture factor, professional development, or the culture factor teacher collaboration, was found for male principals' self perceptions of conflict management style.

A statistical correlation between female principals' self perception of the conflict management style of compromising and the culture factor of professional development was revealed through analysis ( $r = +.634$ ;  $p = .010$ ). Female principals perceived that as compromising increased, so did the professional development within the staff.

A statistical correlation between female principals self perception of the conflict management style of compromising and the culture factor of teacher collaboration was revealed through analysis ( $r = +.643$ ;  $p = .010$ ). Female principals perceived that as compromising increased, so did the teacher collaboration among the staff.

In the literature (Alvesson & Due Billing, 1997; Curry, 2000; Lipman-Blumen, 1992), female principals were more often associated with people-oriented behaviors (e.g., compromising). Those behaviors generally support a culture of positive professional development. Specifically, these findings revealed that female principals' perceptions were that as their use of a compromising style of conflict management increased, so did professional development in school culture.

**Teacher perspective.** The analysis of the teachers perceptions of the role gender plays in the principals' conflict handling style with the school

culture factor of teacher collaboration showed statistical significance for both male and female principals. Of the 80 teachers who had a male principal, a statistical significance was revealed for the conflict handling styles of integrating ( $r = +.252$ ;  $p = .024$ ) and compromising ( $r = +.238$ ;  $p = .034$ ). This significance indicated that as male principals' utilization of the conflict handling styles of compromising and integrating increased, their school culture factor of teacher collaboration also increased.

A statistical significance was also perceived by the 70 teachers who had female principals who utilized the conflict handling styles of integrating ( $r = +.406$ ;  $p = .000$ ) and obliging ( $r = +.306$ ;  $p = .010$ ). These correlations indicate that as female principals utilization of integrating and obliging styles of handling conflict increased, so did the school culture factor of teacher collaboration. Statistical significance was determined at the 0.05 level of confidence.

Although teachers perceived that both male and female principals integrated conflict management style and professional development in school culture, female principals had a stronger significance level than males. The data revealed that teachers who perceive female principals displaying high levels of integrating and obliging have strength in teacher collaboration in school culture. In addition, integrating and obliging styles of conflict management were supported in the literature review as utilized by females more often than males (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Taylor & Miller, 1994). Additionally, the data revealed that male principals who display high levels of integrating and compromising conflict management styles were perceived by their teachers as having strength in teacher collaboration in school culture. It appears from the data that male and female principals, through the use of different conflict management styles, approach both professional development and collaboration differently in a school setting. Since the organization's culture can be affected by the way the principal handles conflicts (Gruenert, 1998; Rahim, 1992), and since gender can shape those conflict management processes (Taylor & Miller, 1998), it is important that leadership is viewed through both those lenses.

### **Implications for Practice**

The findings of this study suggested that the secondary principal's conflict management style and school culture were related and that gender played a role in how leaders' conflict style was perceived. There were numerous correlations between the principal's conflict management style and the two identified school culture variables in this study. In addition, gender had an impact on those relationships. Therefore, it is suggested that institutions with leadership preparatory programs should incorporate a conflict management

program into their curriculum so that aspiring leaders could have a deeper understanding and increased awareness of which conflict management style is their preferred style. Such leadership preparatory programs could utilize the *Rahim Organizational Conflict Management Survey* (Rahim, 1992, 2001) as a screening tool, and once the dominant style is identified, strategies could be implemented that would enhance the utilization of all appropriate styles. Regardless of gender, leaders should utilize styles that will promote and enhance professional development and collaboration. Also, since female principals were perceived able to utilize a myriad of conflict styles more effectively than the male principals who tended to utilize predominantly only integrating or compromising style, the training approach to teaching conflict styles should take into consideration the gender of the participant and build on their conflict style strengths.

Additionally, school district personnel should utilize a conflict management assessment as a screening tool for new applicants or for determination in the placement of individuals. Because a school culture warrants a need for nurturing and collaboration in a school setting, which is in contrast with the traditional masculine management approach of competitive and authoritarian (Claes, 1999), a conflict management assessment could also be used as a staff development tool to enhance training and retention of personnel.

When principals, regardless of gender, begin to identify the strengths and weaknesses of their conflict management styles and understand how it affects school culture, perhaps they will improve individually. As a result, schools should also improve and grow to become true collaborative learning organizations. This collaborative school culture should support the teaching process by providing time for professional dialogue, providing appropriate support through resources, and collaborative planning time for teachers. The open discussion that will prevail in this collaborative learning environment will allow open and frank discussions about learning and teaching and will result in articulated alignment among the school personnel regarding values and beliefs. In this current arena of school reform, the building of collegial relationships is imperative, which warrants the continued examination of what makes for an effective and successful school culture and does the gender of the principal have a significant role in that investigation.

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# Recruiting and Retaining Women Faculty in Science and Engineering

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Dorothy Brockopp  
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The purpose of this project was to assess the perceived efficacy of university-based activities designed to improve the recruitment and retention of women in academic science and engineering (S&E). Numerous approaches to recruitment and retention have been described and implemented but little change occurs. An evaluation of suggested activities by 35 S&E women faculty was conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods. Eight of 25 activities were strongly recommended by participants as effective strategies related to recruitment and retention. Mentoring, as frequently operationalized, was not found to be effective. Several recommendations are offered to improve the system of mentoring.

Although female undergraduate students are beginning to outnumber male students, women faculty at most institutions of higher education are in the minority. The often cited reason for this discrepancy is that there are not enough women prepared to assume faculty roles. This reason is no longer valid. During the academic year 2001-2002, more doctorates were awarded to women than men. Thus, more women are earning degrees that lead to faculty roles however, little change in the ratio of male to female faculty at institutions has occurred. This situation is particularly problematic in the fields of science and engineering (S&E). Although there are a sufficient number of women gaining graduate degrees in S&E to warrant a substantial increase in the number of women faculty, the ratio has not changed from previous estimates (Wilson, 2004). Women are gaining the educational preparation for an academic career but are either rejected for faculty positions, do not remain on faculty, or are not choosing the university as their workplace (Wyer, Barbercheck, Giesman, Ozturk, & Wayne, 2001).

Women may be reluctant to accept a faculty position in S&E or remain in academia once there, because the commitment required precludes a

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comfortable balance between work and family responsibilities (Monhardt, Tillotson & Veronesi, 1999; Zakian et al., 2003). They also may perceive these roles as highly competitive and prefer work that is more collaborative in nature (Monhardt et al., 1999). Other factors, such as the traditional male-oriented structure of universities, the expectation that faculty not be deterred from their pursuits by caregiving activities, and a culture that often penalizes women while demanding more from them, adds to the reasons why women may choose non-academic careers. Although family-friendly policies are being adopted by universities, it remains more difficult for women than men

to be successful in academia (Hopkins, Bailyn, Gibson, & Hammonds, 2002; The Study of New Scholars, 2004; Zakian et al., 2003).

Data to date suggest that women choosing to pursue careers in academic S&E may find it necessary to make difficult life choices such as waiting post-tenure to have children or deciding not to have children (Tracy, 1998). If a woman takes a position in academia but decides to forgo a tenure-track position in order to spend time with family, she may suffer in terms of salary, career advancement and job security (Hopkins et al., 2002; Kulis, 1998; Zakian et al., 2003).

Men in academic settings guide most policies, procedures and future planning activities. This male influence is particularly apparent in S&E. Women are minorities within academic S&E, and comparatively few women reach full professor, often a pre-requisite for important decision-making committees such as promotion and tenure. In addition, few women hold dean or chair positions within colleges, and these positions often offer opportunities to change policies and procedures (Hopkins, et al. 2002; The Study of New Scholars, 2004; Zakian et al., 2003). In regard to scholarship, men have dominated the research arena in S&E for many years. They tend to define scholarship narrowly in terms of the traditional scientific method, and women's interests may be more psychologically or sociologically oriented (Monhardt et al., 1999). Because men are the majority in these fields and hold most positions of power, a differing view of what constitutes science may penalize women. Research suggests that women's scholarship has been devalued in comparison with men's and their successes limited as a result (Wenneras & Wold, 2001).

Women face premature placement in administrative roles in academic S&E, such as assistant dean and department chair. These roles leave them little time for the scholarship necessary to reach full professor (Wenneras & Wold, 2001). Also, women are often required to have more publications and national recognition than their male colleagues to succeed (Olson, 2002). Evaluation inequities exist related to the scholarship of women compared with men (Wenneras & Wold, 2001). As a result of these problems, job satisfaction among women faculty tends to be lower than job satisfaction among men (Hopkins et al., 2002).

Although numerous activities have been initiated to increase job satisfaction, enhance success, and recruit and retain women in academic S&E, few outcome studies have been conducted. Research in the area has focused largely on identifying the impediments to success (Hanson, Fuchs, Aisenbrey, & Kravets, 2004; Rosser & Lane, 2002). In addition, the most important participants in any investigation—the women faculty themselves—have not been asked to identify those activities that would be most likely to

assist them with their careers. This gap in the literature forms the foundation for this study. The intent of this project was to examine data regarding the efficacy of activities suggested in the literature as a means to furthering the careers of women faculty in S&E. Mentoring was given special attention in this project because a number of books and articles identify mentoring as a meaningful process in career development. Unfortunately, there are little data available to support or refute this position (Ensher & Murphy, 2005).

## **Method**

### **Participants**

Thirty-five of 106 women faculty in S&E (response rate 33%) agreed to attend a two-hour discussion related to the effectiveness of activities designed to recruit and retain women in academic S&E. Forty-three percent had been employed by the university for five years, 39% for 6-10 years, and 17% for 11-31 years. Twenty-one percent were social scientists, 66% basic scientists and 13% engineers.

### **Design and Procedure**

Participants first responded to a 24-item questionnaire by identifying their level of agreement that an activity would be effective (see appendix). A five-point Likert scale was used to determine level of agreement (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree). Participants were also asked to identify whether or not they would be willing to be involved in the listed activities. Questionnaire activities were derived from the literature on women scholars in S&E (Rosser & Lane, 2002) and/or were based on discussions with successful (full professors, administrators) S&E women prior to the meeting. A comments section was available with each item and additional concerns were requested at the end. Participants also completed an open-ended questionnaire related to their experiences with mentoring. The focus on mentoring was the result of repeated descriptions in the literature suggesting mentoring as a powerful mechanism for promoting success (Grant & Ward, 2000; Moody, 2004; Muller, 2000; Murphy & Ensher, 2001; Quinlan, 1999; Schwiebert, Deck, Bradshaw, Scott, & Harper, 1999).

Participants formed small groups of their choice (six to eight) led by facilitators (one per group) from the President's Commission on Women. They were asked to complete the questionnaire and then to discuss university-based activities that they believed would be most effective in recruiting and retaining women faculty in S&E.

## Results

Tables 1 and 2 display the results of the questionnaire. Activities receiving a mean score of 4 and above (4 = agree) were divided into three categories: direct support for scholarly pursuits (e.g., financial support for laboratories, summer projects, and grant writing seminars); recognition and support of care giving needs (e.g., improve childcare and stop the tenure clock for care giving); and changes in the system (e.g., promotion and tenure committees and search committees). Educating those individuals, mainly men, who play a role in the success or failure of women academics was perceived as very important. Understanding barriers by assessing gender equity indicators and conducting objective exit interviews was also a priority. Desire to participate in these activities varied from 25% to 74% and may have been a function of the individual's career path (e.g., some participants did not have children or their children were grown and they would not be interested in participating in those activities).

Facilitators recorded the discussion in the small groups and these data were analyzed for themes. Agreement on each theme ranged from 88% to 96%. Three themes related to the needs of women faculty emerged from the small group discussions: (a) the provision of accurate information regarding procedures and policies related to promotion and tenure (P&T), (b) a more dynamic administrative structure that would be responsive to the needs of women faculty, and (c) improvements in the overall climate for women faculty on campus. Participants reported that women faculty frequently were not given the information necessary to assist them to make tenure. When information was given it was often given informally, was partially correct or incorrect, and was not provided in a timely manner. No one suggested that information was intentionally withheld, but participants noted that adequate support in relation to informing women regarding university and/or department expectations was not seen as a priority.

Women stressed that more flexible, responsive administrative structure was necessary if a variety of work-life issues were to be addressed. On-site child care and tenure clock options should be seriously considered if administration was more responsive to the needs of the women on campus. Traditional views and administrative structure were seen as impediments to moving forward on these issues.

Participants perceived an overall improvement in the climate on campus was essential to recruitment and retention of women faculty. Negative stereotypical responses to women regarding child-rearing, scholarly pursuits, and personality traits were seen as deterrents to retention of women faculty.

There was concern that rewards in terms of resources were based on gender stereotypes with women receiving less support for scholarly endeavors.

Data on mentoring showed that 72 % (18 out of 25) of those participants who had experienced mentoring agreed that it had been ineffective in assisting them to be successful. Twenty-eight percent (7 out of 25) of those mentored agreed mentoring was helpful in advancing their careers. Twenty-nine percent (10 out of 35) of all participants had not had a mentoring experience. Fifty-four percent of all participants (19 out of 35) agreed that administrators, mentors, and new or junior faculty needed to be educated as to the role and purpose of the mentor. Thirty-one percent (11 out of 35) of participants agreed that mentoring must be strongly supported by university senior administration and that at least one mentor needs to come from the specific discipline and/or the research area of the person being mentored.

## Discussion

This study examined the effectiveness of current activities designed to recruit and retain women faculty in S&E. Data collected support the premise that women faculty in S&E want direct support for their scholarly pursuits, understanding of care-giving needs, and, in some instances, assistance with those needs.

In relation to scholarly pursuits, there was a strong indication that the traditional structure of academia may itself be a barrier to success for many women. For example, research productivity may decline because the tenure clock coincides with childbearing years for most women. Reactions were mixed regarding the proposed option of modifying the tenure clock based on care giving needs. Some women did not want *special* [italics added] treatment because anecdotal evidence suggests that promotion and tenure committees will often not consider extensions of the tenure clock when making promotion decisions. Modification of the tenure clock is discussed in the literature as a method for assisting women's advancement through the ranks; however evidence indicates that the implementation of this policy is flawed.

Although women were concerned about the potential conflict between care giving and an academic career, they also wanted more information about potential barriers to promotion and strategies that promote success. Comments in small groups included, "I didn't know how to put a dossier together," "I wasn't sure what our promotion and tenure committee wanted," and "my male colleagues seem to understand the system better than I do." This lack of understanding/information may relate to the perception on the University's campus that for the most part, mentoring as established, has not



worked. Participants concluded that one or more mentors are needed within the area of their expertise to provide assistance with their scholarly work and to effectively guide them through the promotion process.

Two immediate recommendations that emerge from this study are (a) design a system of mentoring that meets the needs of faculty as they move through the faculty ranks and (b) propose a modification of the tenure clock for men and women based on care-giving needs. The mentoring system should be devised so that areas of expertise as well as guidance through the system are addressed. Education of all promotion and tenure committee members must accompany the proposed possibility of modifying the tenure clock so that the extension is considered during deliberation of the faculty member's performance.

In summary, data suggest that promotion and tenure policies within universities need to be clearly articulated. In addition, the administrative structure of the university needs to create greater flexibility regarding promotion of faculty and a more positive climate for women needs to be developed to support career advancement. There was strong support for mentoring in terms of guidance for scholarly activities within the faculty member's discipline. In order for the mentoring relationship to be effective, both mentors and mentees require training on how to structure this relationship so that both benefit. Major issues in this study revolved around providing timely and accurate information, increasing flexibility, and improving the general climate in relation to women.

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## Appendix

### Recruiting and Retaining Women Faculty in Science and Engineering

1. Circle the number that represents your agreement that the activities described in the following items would promote the success of women in academic science and engineering. (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree)
2. Identify (circle yes or no) whether or not you would participate in the activities described below.

<b>Question 1:</b> Would each suggested item promote the success of women in academic science and engineering?						<b>Question 2:</b> Would you participate in this activity?	
1. Develop a program of advocacy in which senior faculty would be trained and receive a stipend to mentor incoming or junior women faculty	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
2. Provide funding for all female assistant and associate professors in science, engineering, and math (SEM) to attend a professionally directed leadership/management program	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
3. Organize monthly luncheons for women in SEM that would include deans and chairs of SEM as well as senior administrators. The focus of discussions would be related to strategies for success in academics	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
4. Provide opportunities for every woman faculty member in SEM to meet with the area committee to better understand the tenure path	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
5. Develop an exit interview process for women in SEM that would provide valuable information regarding barriers to success (e.g., hiring an external interviewer)	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
6. Develop a component of the Women's Commission website focused on Women in SEM	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
7. Provide additional funding for start-up packages for new female faculty in SEM	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
8. Provide education/support for teaching activities	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
9. Develop term professorships for 5-6 women faculty in SEM (e.g., \$50,000 each for 5 years)	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No

<b>Question 1: Would each suggested item promote the success of women in academic science and engineering?</b>						<b>Question 2: Would you participate in this activity?</b>	
10. Improve child care options on campus	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
11. Develop policies/procedures that would encourage the hiring of dual career couples	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
12. Stop the tenure clock for women for childbearing (1 year for each child)	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
13. Provide assistance to women SEM faculty (e.g., clerical support) to facilitate research publication	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
14. Provide additional funds for travel to conferences, national labs or consultation	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
15. Provide funds for extramural pre-review of grant proposals	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
16. Recognize success of SEM women on campus by featuring their work at a seminar	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
17. Provide grant writing seminars	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
18. Require SEM women to be involved in all search processes	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
19. Provide small summer research grants	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
20. Develop and maintain a database in SEM on gender equity indicators	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
21. Establish a visiting Women's Scholars Program	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
22. Provide required education for the area committee relative to gender equity	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
23. Devise a strategic plan for advancement of women in each SEM department	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
24. Provide seminars for department chairs to address all aspects of being a successful chair including advancement of faculty	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No
25. Develop mandatory sexual harassment workshops for all faculty	1	2	3	4	5	Yes	No

**Optional:** For purposes of planning and implementing programs and activities, please supply your department name. \_\_\_\_\_

**Please provide us with other suggestions of ways to promote increased participation and advancement of women in academic science and engineering careers.**

Table 1

*Activities Designed to Diminish Barriers to Success: Responses of Women Faculty in S&E Regarding Structural Barriers (n = 35)*

Activity	M	Standard Deviation	Responses to Items (# & %)	Compliance to Activity (# & %)
Funding for startup packages	4.2	0.96	33/94%	24/69%
Establish visiting women S&E scholars program	4.2	0.93	35/100%	26/74%
Funding for travel to conferences for consultation, etc.	4.1	1.05	35/100%	29/83%
Grant writing seminars	4.1	1.02	35/100%	25/71%
Funding for summer research grants	4.0	1.1	35/100%	24/69%
Develop term professorships for 5-6 women faculty in SEM	4.0	1.2	35/100%	25/71%
Develop policies/procedures that would encourage the hiring of dual career couples	4.0	1.0	35/100%	24/69%
Advocacy	3.9	0.99	35/100%	29/83%
Provide leadership workshops	3.8	1.2	34/97%	24/69%
Recognize S&E success at seminars	3.7	1.2	35/100%	21/60%
Hold monthly lunches with administration	3.6	1.3	35/100%	25/71%

Note. Compliance with activity indicates whether participants would be willing to participate in the activity if it is offered to them.

Table 2

*Activities Designed to Diminish Barriers to Success: Responses of Women Faculty in S&E Regarding Cultural Barriers (n = 35)*

Activity	M	Standard Deviation	Responses to Items (# & %)	Compliance to Activity (# & %)
Provide seminars for dept. chairs on equity	4.6	0.6	33/94%	24/69%
Devise a career plan for women in S&E	4.5	0.75	34/97%	27/77%
Institute dual career program	4.5	0.78	35/100%	20/57%
Educate area committees	4.2	1	35/100%	22/63%
Conduct exit interviews-external	4.2	0.98	35/100%	25/71%
Develop database of gender equity indicators	4.2	1.01	34/97%	24/69%
Improve campus child care options	4.14	0.86	35/100%	13/37%
Stop tenure clock for childbearing	4.1	1.17	35/100%	13/37%
Provide clerical support to facilitate research	3.9	1.36	35/100%	24/69%
Hold mandatory sexual harassment workshops	3.9	1.22	35/100%	23/66%
Meet with area committee	3.8	1.27	35/100%	24/69%
Provide educational support for teaching	3.7	1.4	35/100%	25/71%
Develop website for women in S&E	3.6	1.2	34/97%	21/60%
Require SEM women to be involved in all search processes	3.15	1.23	35/100%	22/63%

Note. Compliance with activity indicates whether participants would be willing to participate in the activity if it is offered to them.

# Voices of Women in the Field

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## I'm Glad No One Told Me. . . .

**Misty Schwartz**

Prior to beginning my current position, I'm glad no one told me that many women find the academy unappealing, with a chilly environment that can be biased and hostile toward women. I'm glad no one told me that I may suffer from intellectual and social isolation that is brought about by the masculine principles of competition and individualism that often occur in institutions of higher education. I'm glad no one told me that I will have little guidance from my peers due to a lack of mentors and that I may be expected to compromise my personal values and beliefs to fit into the white male dominated academic culture. I'm glad no one told me that, as a woman, I will be less likely to pursue a tenure-track position and if I do, I will be more likely to leave before advancing through the review process. I'm glad no one told me that I would probably report lower satisfaction than white males on relationships with colleagues, professional development, and overall career experience. I'm glad no one told me about the barriers that I may face as a woman faculty member because I may not be in the position that I am in today. I love what I do and I believe I do it for the right reasons and NOW that I am here, I have the opportunity and the responsibility to DO something about these issues with women in higher education specifically related to the promotion and tenure process.

Trower and Chait (2002) found the most accurate predictor of success for female undergraduates is the percentage of women faculty members at the institution. We, as women, owe it to one another to be here. There is some irony that many colleges and universities have a mission of social justice and yet women are still generally underrepresented in the faculty ranks when compared to the percentages of women entering institutions of higher education and pursuing doctoral degrees. We have made great strides to increase the overall numbers of women but these accomplishments may be overshadowed by the fact women are still not present in positions of leadership and often have less opportunity to participate in significant institutional decision making (Shavlik, Touchton, & Pearson, 1987).

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Institutions of higher education have always had the freedom to decide who may teach, what may be taught, and how it will be taught. As a result, courts have been reluctant to become involved in academic matters. One initiative that has stimulated progress in gender issues in higher education is affirmative action. Specifically related to the promotion and tenure process, affirmative action seeks: to eliminate the effects of an institution's present or prior discrimination against women, to remedy discrimination that has been imposed by society, and to increase the representation of women on college campuses.

One of the most significant determinants of those achieving promotion and tenure is research. The more "pure" the research, the more valued it is in this process. Men and women tend to be very different in the area of research productivity. This can be explained by women's structural position in the university. Women tend to be in positions that have heavier teaching loads, greater responsibilities to undergraduate education, and more service commitments. Research is often valued more because of the traditional notion in higher education that anyone can teach, therefore teaching is assumed to be uncreative, unskilled and requires little effort. When teaching, women tend to spend more time preparing and are in the lower levels that have larger class sizes and younger students who need more personal and intellectual guidance.

Women also spend a greater percentage of their time in service activities. They are more likely to volunteer their time and expertise in order to be positive role models for other women. Often they are asked to represent their "group" to symbolize affirmative action and the achievement of diversity goals.

So, as women, what CAN we do to advance up the career ladder and be granted permanent positions? We need to make sure the promotion and tenure policies at our institutions are explicit, specific, and consistent and these policies clearly articulate how tenure is to be acquired. We should obtain as much information as possible to prepare for the promotion or tenure review process.

Women who are in positions of authority need to provide strong leadership that provides flexibility that will contribute to satisfying careers. A



nonsexist and equitable climate needs to be established by educating faculty about gender issues, by dealing with sexist behaviors and by offering support and mentoring for women. Advancement processes need to have independent stages, that incorporate a “checks and balances” system so that if bias does occur at one level it can be corrected at another. We need leaders who will advocate for changing the current rigid structure of traditional tenure-track career paths and the culture that makes it so difficult for women to succeed. Special attention must be given to recruiting and retaining women faculty.

Specific and valuable policies tailored for the campus, may include: stopping the tenure clock for women in certain situations such as the birth or adoption of a child, moving to part-time for a defined period of time, providing opportunities for re-entry after time out of the workforce, providing services that support families, establishing clear criteria for what is expected in teaching, research and service, having time, encouragement, and rewards for the professional activities they find most compatible with their talents and interests, and redefining scholarship as discovery, integration, application and teaching (Boyer, 1990).

The final point regarding the current criteria for promotion and tenure that is significant for women is, at most institutions, research, teaching and service are not equally weighed. One reason for this is research has been the primary way of evaluating because it is easy to quantify and it is too difficult to objectively evaluate the quality of teaching and service. This position can ultimately devalue what women do well. There is a double standard of predominately measuring the quantity of research and the quality of teaching and service because women are not rewarded for carrying higher than average teaching loads and performing many service activities and are penalized for having shorter publication lists. It is possible and necessary for academia to also look at the quantity and the quality of all three and make promotion and tenure decisions based on the big picture.

I wish someone had told me how rewarding my job would be and how I can make a difference in the lives of others. But that is what I plan to tell others now.

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# FIRST THINGS FIRST: WRITING STRATEGIES

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## Drops of Blood

Marilyn L. Grady

Recently, I was gifted with the best writing quotation of the season. It follows. “I don’t know how many times I read this Gene Fowler quote: ‘Writing is easy. All you do is stare at a blank sheet of paper until drops of blood form on your forehead’” (Weinberg, 2006, p. 8).

The quote captures the truth of the writing enterprise. It isn’t easy. In fact, if you don’t bleed a little and feel some pain, you aren’t putting enough effort into your work. There are a slew of adages about effort and work. All hold a kernel of truth about the linkage between the amount of effort that is invested in a task and the product that emerges from the effort.

Without sufficient effort, and blood, the product of writing will not be suitable for publication and will not pass successfully through a review process. Persistence, attention to detail, seat time, staring at the blank sheet of paper, all contribute to the quality of the writing experience. Writing, revising, rewriting, starting over, are all parts of the process of writing . . . as is the loneliness of thinking.

Writing demands discipline and commitment. Those who are able to meet the challenge of the discipline, have the reward of seeing their works preserved in published form. It is worth the pain, frustration, and bleeding.

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# Book Review

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Lyman, L. L., Ashby, D. E., & Tripses, J. S. (2005). *Leaders Who Dare: Pushing the Boundaries*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Education.

Carolyn L. Wanat

*Leaders Who Dare* provides anecdotal and analytical accounts of leadership by outstanding women educators in Illinois. Initially “an ambitious passionate project . . . to tell the stories of Illinois’ outstanding women educators, many who have been honored at *Dare to Be Great* conferences” (p. xi), the book documents the work of women honored annually by the Illinois Women Administrators (IWA) organization for daring “. . . to lead themselves and others to new possibilities” (p. xv). The book’s purpose is to describe the “*how* and *why* of the leadership practices of outstanding Illinois leaders . . .” (p. 3). These stories of leaders within one state highlight the importance of understanding and, at times, challenging local and state organizational, political, and social contexts in the practice of educational leadership.

The book is a carefully designed and documented interview study of the leadership of 18 Illinois women educators. In Chapter 1, the co-authors give a detailed explanation of the research process. A team of 23 trained interviewers, all members of IWA, collaborated to design data collection instruments and collect data. They used purposeful reputational sampling (Patton, 1990) to identify a list of 41 Illinois women educational leaders as potential participants. Using clearly defined nomination criteria, including participants’ consent to have their names published, the research team selected 21 participants and interviewed 18. The researchers used themes from acceptance speeches for the *Dare to Be Great* award to develop interview questions that covered four areas: participants’ personal stories of leadership, discretionary decision making, creative insubordination, and gender and values. Data were analyzed using content analysis and constant comparative methods (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Merriam, 2001). Participants and interviewers checked the transcripts and draft manuscript for validity. Interviewers reflected on the research process in a focus group meeting at the project’s conclusion. Although the central purpose of the initial project was to tell stories, the careful detail given to methodology shows that this book evolved into a well-crafted study of outstanding women leaders.

## About the Author

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## Overview and Themes

In Chapter 2, the authors place their study within the context of four contemporary issues in studying women's leadership. Their participants' stories are counternarratives to American culture, specifically to education. Counternarratives are "stories in which self images contrast with dominant cultural models for women" (Chase, 1995, p. 10). Yet the cultural script that women belong in domestic roles, not leadership roles, presented itself in counternarratives of success and barriers in the participants' stories. These stories revolved around the four themes of resolving cultural tensions, essentializing, honoring diversity, and concerns about feminism.

Scholars identify various approaches women use to resolve cultural tensions in defining themselves or their leadership roles. Blackmore (2002) enumerates several gender scripts women select to operate at work, through which they construct "individual solutions to the collective problem of inequality" (p. 178). Curry (2000) thinks that women construct a *leader persona* in the absence of female models. Freeman and Bourque (2001) argue that women in leadership must consider issues of power, concluding that "... the amount of power a person has, rather than the gender, makes a difference in how a person uses power" (p. 22). Blount (1998) states that women need to redefine the leadership role rather than themselves, paying attention to societal questions of who has power and how power is constructed.

Essentializing, or generalizing about gender differences in leadership styles, is an error to be avoided. Smulyan (2000) and Freeman and Bourque (2001) agree that essentializing limits our ability to understand how individual women leaders negotiate leadership based on their own needs and the specific context of their local situations. Although participants gave mixed responses to the question of essentializing, half of them thought that women's and men's leadership is different in education, particularly in the categories of focus, interpersonal skills, and collaboration. Yet, a majority of participants' stories had an essentialist view of women's leadership.

Perspectives of four African American women respond to well-documented calls to include women of color in the study of women's leadership. Scholarship on minority women addresses denial of access to leadership opportunities and positions (Alston, 1999; Brunner, 2003), alternative values and visions for leadership (AhNee-Benham, 2003; Mendez-Morse, 2003), and beliefs viewed from the context of leadership or spirituality (Atlas & Capper, 2003; Murtadha-Watts, 1999).

Feminist concerns complete the list of contemporary issues of women's leadership. Gardiner, Enomoto, and Grogan (2000) present three alternative approaches that characterize feminist leadership: "instructional leadership, participatory or shared decision-making, and caregiving leadership" (pp. 149-150). Blackmore (2002) challenges us to focus on "the social relations of gender, and not just women in leadership" (p. 63). Young and Skrla (2003) and Smulyan (2000) raise issues of methodological dilemmas in meaning and validity of research. Although this study did not originate from a feminist perspective and the authors did not impose a feminist interpretation, they hope that the women's stories impact the quality of leadership in schools.

Four organizing themes that emerged from the data analysis are presented as thematic chapters 3-6. Themes are explicated through interpretation of data supported by quotations from participants' stories.

In Chapter 3, collaborative decision making processes are identified as central to the evolving nature of leadership. Participants described themselves as decision makers, focusing on processes, difficulty of decisions, and personal values that guided their decision making. The career of Dr. Rebecca Van Der Bogert, superintendent of Winnetka, Illinois School District, exemplifies a commitment to collaborative decision making. Participants' decision making shows a balance between the importance of collaboration and data gathering and information analysis. Of the 14 participants who described themselves as collaborative, 10 also did their "homework" (p. 43), making sure they had the right information while involving the appropriate people. Four participants emphasized an individual decision-making process but still involved people in information gathering. Levels of commitment to collaborative decision making varied depending upon whether the outcomes were what participants' faculty and staff wanted. Rebecca van der Bogert recognized the psychological aspects of collaboration, observing that, "You have to really genuinely want to hear other people's opinions and you have to be able to tolerate the fact that possibly your opinion doesn't matter, and also believe it's going to be better because it's everybody's opinion (p. 47)." Sixteen of the 18 participants were comfortable with discretionary decision making, based on their own

judgments rather than bureaucratic rules or policies. Positive and problematic outcomes of discretionary decision making clustered around four themes: changing directions when decisions became problematic, time-frame considerations, dependence on involving procedures and programs or involving people, and a range of factors including incomplete information and political pressures. The most difficult decisions leaders had made involved personnel issues followed by value conflicts. Chapter 3 concludes with a discussion of gender and decision-making in which the authors note that there are many perspectives. Rebecca van der Bogert summarizes her philosophy of decision making with a startling statement: "I don't think of myself as a woman or a man. I just know how to make happen what I believe in" (p. 58). Her statement summarizes the practices these leaders used to engage people, use data, and focus on their values in making decisions they felt were the right thing to do rather than being bureaucratically correct.

In Chapter 4, how these leaders pushed bureaucratic boundaries to get things done is described. The chapter is framed around the concept of creative insubordination, originally identified by Morris, Crowson, Porter-Gehrie, and Hurwitz (1984) and defined as "a counterbureaucratic approach to decision making that bends and/or ignores rules and otherwise subverts the authority of the chain of command when such subversion is justified by the greater authority of personal values, service to students, and common sense" (p. 63). Women leaders practiced four aspects of creative insubordination that were identified in the original study: using the community as an ad hoc weapon, management by loophole, short circuiting standard operating procedures from necessity, and calling on the old crony network. These leaders gave examples of new practices of creative insubordination including *negotiating* and *just going ahead and doing something*. Participants used creative insubordination when they were principals to be congruent with their personal values, serve students' needs, and accomplish goals or get things done. They identified risks of creative insubordination as loss of influence, reputation, and one's position. Participants were not overly concerned with these risks. Some participants changed bureaucracies through transformative leadership practices, eliminating the need for creative insubordination. The chapter concludes with the story of Ola Marie Bundy, assistant executive director at the Illinois High School Association from 1967 until 1996. She worked within the bureaucracy to bring equity to girls and women in athletics. Basing her leadership on values, she worked tenaciously with local districts in Illinois to change the system.

Chapter 5 adds to the small body of literature on micropolitics of educational reform, specifically the expectation that leaders engage their

communities in change, the effect of local, regional, and state politics on leaders personally, and the relationship of gender and politics. Regarding participants' political awareness, 17 of the 18 participants made conscious decisions to engage in political acts to accomplish goals that were important. Leaders built relationships to gain leverage for decisions that upheld their moral principles. Dr. Hazel Loucks, deputy governor for education and workforce development in Illinois at the time of her interview, exemplified "working politically while thinking socially" (p. 92). Other participants practiced leadership roles to successfully accomplish political work in the schools and communities, cognizant that being female had an impact on their political work. Four political themes emerged from the interview data. First, leaders used collaboration as a political choice to support, influence, and increase the probability of a decision's adoption and implementation. Participants preferred open over hidden collaboration with six of 18 participants using networking to collaborate. Ten participants commented that not involving key individuals and groups in implementation could result in failure of excellent decisions. The second theme addressed personal and positional power. Most of the participants did not talk about using positional power. With only three leaders in political positions, the majority of leaders preferred using interpersonal relationships and networking to get things done. Although 17 leaders thought schools were political organizations, they felt that the use of political power was limited. They preferred a facilitative role of shared decision-making. Speaking about the third theme, integrity, participants stressed the importance of "being able to look at themselves in the mirror" (p. 104) while dealing with political realities. Participants viewed themselves as being in positions to balance the use of political actions to make decisions based on integrity. The fourth theme about women's positions revealed most participants felt like they were outsiders operating as insiders with several attributing their outsider/insider roles to gender. Hazel Loucks eloquently described the way in which a woman leader can work as an insider even though she is an outsider due to gender or other reasons: "'Don't throw up your hands and give up.' Don't say an organization doesn't represent me. Get in there and make it represent you" (p. 111). Other women talked about playing the role of insider to accomplish their goals without the mentorship available to male leaders. Some women became politically active for specific causes, often choosing gender-related agendas. Participants recognized that their decisions would be held to greater scrutiny than those of their male counterparts. Becoming politically active and developing a political voice were related to personal integrity as expressed by Hazel Loucks in her repeated comments that she wanted to "make a difference."

In Chapter 6, participants' values are explored. Five themes in the data show how leaders live out their values through leadership. Dr. Elizabeth Lewin, superintendent of Carbondale, Illinois schools, represents leaders who live their values. The first theme, valuing people and relationships, specifies important aspects of relationships: nurturing the talents of others, honoring and respecting others, and connecting with others. Sixteen participants spoke about the second theme of making decisions that benefit children. Articulating what is best for students as a standard for decision making, leaders were willing to take risks when current policies and practices were not in the best interests of children. The third theme involved maintaining personal integrity and doing the right thing. Personal integrity was defined according to four sub-themes: fairness, a willingness to leave or move on when personal and organizational values conflicted unalterably, admitting and taking responsibility for mistakes, and maintaining credibility or the willingness to stand up for one's convictions. Twelve participants identified the fourth theme, honoring diversity by respecting others. Three sub-themes were appreciating different perspectives, recognizing the contribution of new insights and possible solutions, and maintaining a commitment to recognizing potential in others. The fifth theme that defined leading from values was spirituality. Spirituality, or connectedness with the largeness of life, included religious practice, creativity, intuition, wisdom, beliefs, appreciation for others, and compassion (p. 137). Data were represented according to Keyes, Hanley-Maxwell, and Capper's (1999) three dimensions of relationship that form the basis of spiritually guided leadership: relationship with self, relationship with a power greater than oneself, and relationship with others. Participants' ethics of caring, justice, and critique fit Starratt's (1994) three ethics. Although many participants would not go against organizational rules and policies, all leaders would not adhere to rules that violated their values. Participants led from living and leading their values.

In Chapter 7, the authors redefine leadership as *doing* and *being*. They assert that the leaders in their study practice a redefined leadership that emanates from a constructive postmodern paradigm for social reconstruction. Postmodern leadership implies new ways of *doing* leadership that are based on moral and ethical dimensions, an emphasis on social justice, and social reconstructionism. Data included developing images and practices of postmodern leadership, or what the authors call the *doing* of leadership. Three themes in the book exemplify *doing* leadership within the framework of constructive postmodernism. The first theme, developing collaborative decision-making processes, was practiced by 14 of the 18 participants who



were committed to collaboration. The second theme, pushing the bureaucratic boundaries, was practiced by participants through creative insubordination and transforming and transcending bureaucratic systems. The third theme, claiming power through politics, was a choice for 17 of 18 participants who chose to collaborate and network as a political choice to accomplish goals that were important to them. The developing image and practice of leadership is framed as the *being* of leadership. Referencing earlier research about the visioning of leadership, the authors' present 96 descriptors that support the values-based leadership of their participants. Values-based descriptors cluster around purpose, nurturing and process-oriented people focus, and an assertive task focus. The authors state that authentic leadership integrates *being* and *doing* in a sense of wholeness, with the ultimate integration leading with soul. The chapter concludes with a call to redefine leadership in new ways, citing Wheatley's (1992, 1999) work on chaos that calls for a better understanding of the processes to build relationships, growth, and development.

Chapter 8 focuses on the story of Stephanie Pace Marshall, president of the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy (IMSA), whose leadership integrates *being* and *doing*. In telling the story of Marshall's role in the history and growth of IMSA, she is described as a visionary leader who uses the metaphor of "flying at 50,000 feet" to describe her ability to see the meaning of her higher purpose. Her vision involves transformation and liberation so that IMSA can "invite children to liberate their goodness and genius by inventing a new mind" (p. 172). Marshall articulates her belief that the academy can choose its own future by creating its own story or vision of the future. She uses "sense of self" as a fundamental principle to guide decision-making, asserting that most organizations suffer from having multiple "selves." She believes leadership is always about name, meaning who the leader is, what she stands for, and what matters. Marshall's vivid language includes other metaphors that illustrate her belief that we need a new language for leadership to help leaders integrate conceptualizations of their work.

In Chapter 9, the authors offer reflections on the research project. Interviewers shared reflections three times in the project through written and oral communication. In addition to learning interviewing skills, many interviewers felt a sense of inspiration and renewal from the stories of these women leaders that affirmed their personal career decisions. The authors share the interviewers' enthusiasm for the research project, noting they felt strengthened. They conclude the book by placing it in the context of scholarship on women's leadership. Their original intent was to challenge

traditional leadership theories and contribute to the reconceptualization of theory to include women's experiences. They conclude by noting the study's place in redefining the *being* and *doing* of contemporary leadership.

## Discussion

The origin of the book, as stated in the first chapter, is the storytelling tradition of the Illinois Leaders Who Dare conference. Lyman, Ashby, and Tripses wanted to tell the "rich stories and their lessons" of outstanding leadership before they became lost. They share those stories by showcasing leaders whose practices exemplify each chapter's theme. Specific examples and quotations from other women's leadership support the story of the leader who is showcased. These stories and supporting quotations provide specific instances of the *doing* and *being* of leadership. The extended stories are uplifting and inspiring, painting captivating pictures of these women's personalities, philosophies, and relationships with others. An appendix provides a biographical summary of the careers of the leaders and their interviewers. The very public way in which details of each woman's leadership are carefully documented is strong support for a creative methodology that goes against traditional concerns about maintaining participants' confidentiality. The authors also preface some quotations throughout the book with professional labels rather than by name, perhaps to protect the speaker. They also acknowledge that some women wore "masks" to avoid talking about controversial issues. This bold methodological approach balances ethical concerns to protect participants with offering their stories in a very public way.

Although the book provides a public forum to tell stories about leadership, *Leaders Who Dare* is much more than a book of inspiring stories. It is a thoroughly documented contribution to scholarship on women's leadership. The authors place their study within the context of contemporary issues of women's leadership through a thorough synopsis of the research on these four issues. Each chapter grounds the leadership practices and beliefs that emerged from the data within classic and contemporary research on each theme. More than 125 studies on leadership provide context for the current study and support its contribution to scholarship. The book's initial purpose of telling the stories of outstanding women educational leaders fits Shakeshaft's (1999) Stage 4 of research that reports how women experience leadership "on their own terms" (p. 7). The book's themes challenge traditional ways of leading (Shakeshaft's Stage 5) and contribute to reconceptualizing leadership theory (Shakeshaft's Stage 6). The authors

unquestionably have fulfilled their “hope” (p. 201) that their book will contribute to the redefinition of leadership that is gender inclusive.

## Conclusion

Although this book set out to tell stories about exemplary leaders in one state, I recommend it to a broad audience. Profiles of building, district, state, and university leaders provide lessons for anyone who practices or professes leadership. Practicing and aspiring leaders and those of us who teach them have many lessons to learn from this book. Although the major themes of the book provide valuable lessons, the “moral” of these stories involves core beliefs about values, philosophy, worldview, and self. Anyone who reads this book will learn and grow from the lessons each woman’s story has to teach.

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