INCREASING GENDER EQUITY IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

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INCREASING GENDER EQUITY
IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the research on gender equity in educational leadership published since 1985. Since the numbers of women in educational administration have remained very small compared to the numbers of men in educational administration, the research on gender equity has focused on women. There have been some gains at the central office level and in the elementary principalship, but the majority of educational leaders in schools and districts are still White men. Many of the studies investigating this problem over the past two decades have contributed knowledge of women's experiences as principals and superintendents to the existing literature on educational administration, which was largely written about and by men. In particular, scholars have targeted the barriers to women in school administration, career paths of women administrators, and women's leadership styles. These categories are little changed from the literature reviewed in the previous chapter on "Strategies for Overcoming the Barriers to Women in Educational Administration" (Shakeshaft, 1985) in the *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education.*[1] Women still dominate the teaching forces from which leaders are recruited, and, as the following studies confirm, women prepare for leadership in degree programs, and aspire to the positions. This research has tried to understand better what it will take for leadership positions in PK–12 settings to become more equitably distributed. The postsecondary chapter addresses administrative gender equity issues in higher education.

[AQ1]

The studies reviewed in this chapter include all empirically based dissertations and research published since 1985 that we were able to locate. Studies included range from samples of one to samples of thousands and include quantitative, qualitative, and historical inquiries. The organization of this chapter was guided by the previous *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education* chapter on women in leadership.

[AQ2]

Representation of Women
in School Administration

Comparing the representation of women in school administration "20 years later" is not as easy as looking up the numbers. As was true in the mid 1980s, documenting women's representation in formal leadership positions in schools continues to be difficult because of the absence of reliable and comparable data either nationally or within and across states. Because no federal or national organization, including the National Center for Education Statistics, collects or reports annual administrative data by gender—let alone by gender and ethnicity combined—there is no easy way to compare the representation of women in administration by position from year to year. Currently, the field relies upon membership counts in administrative organizations, occasional surveys by these organizations, or occasional surveys by the National Center for Education Statistics to report the percentage of women in administrative positions in public and private schools.[2]

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[1]A full copy of this chapter will be posted on the web page accompanying this new 2007 *Handbook*.

[2]The most recent Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS) from the National Center for Education Statistics in the U.S. Department of Education reports on data collected in 2003–2004. The report does not indicate the percentage of females in the principalship, although this question was included on the survey. To find the percentage of women in the principalship, it is necessary to analyze the public use data sets for SASS. The latest data set available to the public reports 1999–2000 SASS results.

FIGURE 6.1   Percent of women in superintendency by sex and ethnicity.
Source: Glass, Björk, and Brunner (2000); Grogan and Brunner (2005a)

FIGURE 6.2   Percent education doctorates by sex and ethnicity.

cation, they do provide a framework for understanding educational attainment by sex.

An examination of doctoral degrees in education by sex and ethnicity indicates that for every ethnic group females earn more doctoral degrees than males. Figure 6.2 illustrates the dominance of females in attainment of doctorates in education in 2003–2004.

Looking at the pools from which administrators are selected—teachers, those administratively certified, or those with master's and doctoral degrees—the data indicate that both White and women of color are underrepresented in school administration.

History of Gender and School Leadership Research

In the field of school administration, the literature that identifies as *gender* research is almost entirely research on women in administration. The studies that include only males are not labeled gender research. Critics of the traditional research on education administration suggest that the literature of the field is really the study of male administrative behavior. Gender research in school administration, then, is generally thought to be studies of women, or studies which compare women and men.

Like the field itself, women are underrepresented in the administrative research. For instance, in the most recent analysis of the content of articles published in the *Educational Administration Quarterly*, Jones (1988) found that of the 187 empirical articles published, 41 or 21.9% included a gender mention, and only 18 (0.6%) provided sufficient information for a gender analysis. More than twice as many studies (*n* = 94) could have examined gender but did not. Of review or synthesis articles,

3.2% examined gender (7 out of 213). Of all types of articles, 25 (6.3%) reported or discussed gender.

The majority of empirical research in educational administration is found in the dissertation. Within dissertation research, women are similarly underrepresented as targets of study. Brown and Irby (2005) noted that dissertations that specifically include the study of women make up only about 9% of all leadership dissertations completed between 1985 and 2005 (Table 6.4).

The history of research on gender and administration is one that began with a social change agenda. Early research focused on documenting the numbers of women and men in administrative positions. Those studies prompted research on why there were fewer women than men in administrative positions. Barrier research opened the question of female approaches to leadership and to seeing the world from a female lens, as opposed to comparing male and female behaviors within a previously identified male paradigm. Many of the earlier studies compared female and male administrative styles and behavior and were undertaken in an effort to accumulate a knowledge base that would document female capability as equal to or better than male capability (Gross & Trask, 1964; Lyon & Saario, 1973; Schmuck, 1976).

As women became the focus of study, research began to move away from comparisons of women and men toward understanding the world of women. To understand women's worlds, it has been necessary to learn about them from women, not measured against male experiences. This perspective has influenced the research in the field so that 20 years after the publication of the *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education*, the prominent paradigm is the study of women, not women in comparison to men.

As early as 1987, Schmuck asserted, "the inclusion of women within the domain of inquiry must change the nature of the inquiry" (p. 9). Brown and Irby (2005) indicated that the more we know about women in leadership roles, how they obtain their positions, and how they have become successful, the greater the likelihood of increasing the numbers in the field. Blount (1995) stated that "As long as silences exist in data describing superintendents by sex, the phenomenon of the under representation of women in the superintendency will receive

[AQ6]

TABLE 6.3   Female Degrees in Education 1980–81 to 2003–04

	Bachelor's Degrees	Master's Degrees	Doctoral Degrees
Percent female 1979–80	73.8	70.2	43.9
Percent female 1989–90	75.0	75.9	57.3
Percent female 2003–04	78.5	76.7	66.1

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, E*arned Degrees Conferred*, 1949–50 and 1959–60; Higher Education General Information Survey (HEGIS), Degrees and Other Formal Awards Conferred surveys, 1967–68 through 1985–86; and 1986–87 through 2003–04 Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System, Completions Survey (IPEDS-C:87-99), and Fall 2000 through Fall 2004.

TABLE 6.4   Dissertation Research Related to Female Superintendents and Principals

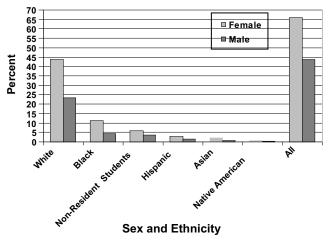| Level of Administrator (Descriptor)	# of Dissertations Related to the Generic Descriptor	# of Dissertations Related Specifically to the Generic Descriptor Including the Descriptor of Females/Women	Percentage of Studies that Included the Descriptor, Female/Women
Superintendents/Superintendency	3,323	292	8.8
Secondary/High School Principals	2,938	238	8.1
Elementary Principals	3,440	321	10.7
Total	9,701	851	8.8

TABLE 6.5   Research on Women by Methodological Approach, 1985–2005

	Qualitative		Quantitative		Mixed method		Historical	
	n	Percent	n	Percent	n	Percent	n	Percent
1985–1990	11	55	8	40	1	5	0	
1991–1995	20	53	13	34	4	11	1	2
1996–2000	32	53	17	28	11	18	0	0
2001–2005	49	61	18	23	10	13	3	3
Total	112	57	56	28	26	13	4	2

limited critical examination, a condition that obscures the need for remedies for systematic discriminatory hiring practices" (p. 4). Gupton (1998) further indicated a need to have objective gender data if women are to be dealt with fairly, in particular, in the superintendency. Skrla, Reyes, and Scheurich (2000) noted the lack of empathetic research methods that would record the voices of women. They also argued that as research is conducted with females in administrative positions, it is important that the research context encourage an empathetic dialogue that provides a comfortable place where women can tell stories of successful professional work interwoven with acknowledgments of their own silence. In this context, women are more likely to be able to relay candid accounts of their experiences with sexism and discriminatory treatment, which may make it possible to "learn how women leaders construct their identities in inherently inequitable circumstances such [as] those found in the superintendency" (Skrla et al., 2000, p. 71).

Although the number of studies from a woman's perspective has increased, Christman (2003) argued that qualitative, feminist research is trivialized and viewed as a threat to the stakeholders of the status quo because it challenges basic assumptions through alternative paradigms (Kelly, 1993).

Others pointed out that most findings are over or under generalized. For instance, Brown and Irby (2005) cautioned that a study that generalizes to all principals from a sample that is predominantly male is likely to misrepresent women's experiences. Similarly, generalizing to all administrators from studies that include primarily White administrators results in inaccurate assumptions and conclusions.

In 1999, Tallerico noted that "in virtually all cases, it is women and persons of color who are studying women superintendents and superintendents of color," and she further noted that there

is a "meager distribution of women and persons of color in the superintendency" (p. 43). Tallerico stated, "we need more than just a handful of researchers working toward this end in the future" (p. 43). The research on women and school leadership has begun to provide an additional perspective and to inform practice for both women and men.

In summary, the majority of studies on women leaders are reported in dissertations, few White men study women and/or people of color, and studies have shifted from comparisons by gender to examining the world as experienced by women.

Description of Research Reviewed

For this chapter, we include all empirical research on women in PK–12 administration that we were able to identify, either in the published literature or in dissertations.[3] We have limited the review to studies of administrative leaders. It does not include studies of teachers, school board members, unions, or parent associations.   [AQ7]

Appendix A in the web page accompanying this chapter lists the primary empirical studies reviewed in this chapter by topic and research method.[4] As illustrated in Table 6.5, over the past 20 years, there has been a slight increase in the percentage of studies of women in leadership that use qualitative methods— from 55 to 61% of all studies—and a decrease in quantitative approaches—from 40 to 28% of all studies.

Mirroring all research in the field of educational administration, the research on women leaders is primarily reported in the dissertation. Of those studies identified for review in this chapter, 51% are dissertations or reports of research originally examined in a dissertation. One disadvantage of dissertation

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[3]When the dissertation was not available, abstracted methods and results were reviewed.

[4]Although simplistic, we have coded studies into four categories, recognizing that these labels have descriptive limits.

research is that it is seldom reviewed for juried journal publications since the majority of dissertation research, whether about women or men, is not published. Therefore, many studies on gender and leadership reach a limited audience and do not add to the theoretical or practice foundation of the discipline. Not surprisingly, there was a scarcity of published research that grew out of the nearly 900 dissertations addressing women and leadership identified by Brown and Irby (2005). As a result, the majority of studies inclusive of women in educational leadership can only be read in dissertations

An additional limitation of the reports of research is that not all studies distinguish women administrators by role or disaggregate findings by role. Therefore, it is sometimes difficult to determine whether the finding represents assistant superintendents, superintendents, or principals.

Barriers to Women in Educational Leadership

The largest body of research related to women has examined barriers to women in entering the leadership hierarchy or in moving up that hierarchy. These studies focus on a number of challenges for women and largely expand or repeat the research conducted through 1985. The question that was asked over two decades ago in the *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education* continues to be appropriate. Why the "higher you go, the fewer you see" syndrome for women in school administration (Shakeshaft, 1985, p. 125)? The research on barriers reviewed in this section responds to the categories identified in the 1985 *Handbook*.

[AQ8]

The majority of the studies on barriers are self-report surveys or interviews in which women identify the barriers they experienced either obtaining an administrative position or keeping it. Although much has been written on the career paths of males, there is no distinct literature on barriers to White heterosexual males; where barriers are examined as part of male career advancement, race and sexual identity have been the focus.

In 1985, the barriers to women were described as either internally imposed or externally imposed. Since that time, the interaction of the two has been examined. The most recent research synthesized for this chapter indicates that more barriers previously identified as internal have been overcome than have barriers previously identified as external.

Poor Self-Image or Lack of Confidence

The barrier of poor self-image or lack of confidence was introduced by Schmuck in 1976, almost 10 years prior to the 1985 production of the first *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education* (Klein, 1985). Twenty years after the original Schmuck citation, several studies have been added to the literature that relates to self-image of women administrators (Brown & Irby, 1995; Gupton, 1998; Hewitt, 1989; Lutz, 1990; Scherr, 1995; Walker, 1995). The results of these studies are not disaggregated by race/ethnicity.

Women who aspire to become administrators are more likely to report lowered aspiration or lack of confidence than women who have become administrators. In studies of females

aspiring to become administrators, Brown and Irby (1995) found a marked lack of self-confidence. On the other hand, 20 female elementary teachers who had been tapped for the principalship but who didn't want to become administrators exhibited no signs of low self-esteem or lack of confidence according to Hewitt (1989).

Although, Walker (1995) and Gupton (1998) both noted that female administrators rarely see themselves as experts, often expressing a lack of confidence about seeing themselves at the top, women superintendents studied by Lutz (1990) reported no internal barrier of poor self-image or lack of confidence. Grogan (1996) found the superintendent aspirants in her study to be very confident of their abilities and qualifications to lead school districts. Similarly, Grogan and Brunner (2005a, b) report that 40% of women in senior central office positions feel competent to take on district leadership positions.

Low self-esteem and lack of self-confidence may be different than leadership identify, which is the feeling of belonging to a group of leaders or to a specific level of leadership and of feeling significant within that circle (Brown & Irby, 1996). Lack of a leadership identity can lead to a feeling of isolation and the feeling of being an outsider (Christman, 2003). In their findings related to superintendents and aspiring superintendents, Walker (1995) and Scherr (1995) indicated that women lack a sense of themselves as leaders and perceive that they have further to go in developing this leadership identity than do men.

[AQ9]

Perhaps it is this lack of leadership identity, rather than low self-esteem that also perpetuates the perception of women that they must get more information, more education, and more experience in the classroom prior to seeking an administrative position (Grogan & Brunner, 2005a,b; Young & McLeod, 2001). Or perhaps it is the reality that for a woman to be considered equal, she must be better prepared than the man with whom she is competing for a job.

Lack of Aspiration or Motivation

Shakeshaft (1985) argued that women's lack of success in obtaining administrative positions was not due to lowered aspiration or lack of motivation on the part of women. Findings since 1985 document a healthy level of aspiration among women. For instance, a 1991 study of 488 central office administrators in New York found that 13.2% of the female respondents aspired to the superintendency. As stated in the previous section, a little over a decade later, Grogan and Brunner (2005a–c) found that 40% of women in central office positions plan on pursuing the superintendency.

Family and Home Responsibilities

Family and home responsibilities, place-bound circumstances, moves with spouses, or misalignment of personal and organizational goals were early contributors to women's lack of administrative success, either because the demands of family on women aspirants restricted them or because those who hired believed that women would be hindered by family commitments. According to Shakeshaft (1985), a direct impediment

for females in attaining administrative positions is the reality-based factor of family responsibility; she continued to voice this concern some 7 years later from data obtained in 1993 (Kamler & Shakeshaft, 1999).

A 1989 study of Kansas teachers documented family responsibilities as one reason why women teachers were not choosing to enter administration (Hewitt, 1989). Native American women in Montana also identified family responsibilities as a barrier to entering administration (Brown, 2004). Other researchers in the PK–12 field that have found similar tensions between the personal and the professional include Hill and Ragland (1995) and Tonnsen and Pigford (1998). In 2003, Lacey explored 1,344 female teachers' decisions in making or not making application to elementary or secondary principalships. Among her findings was that females were likely to be influenced in their decisions by family care responsibilities; however, these women did have conscious aspirations for leadership careers. Grogan (1996), Gupton (1998), Watkins, Herrin and McDonald (1993) and Wynn (2003) also noted that family responsibilities were considered by women in their decisions to apply for and maintain administrative positions. Balancing the personal and professional shapes the ways that some women structure their lives once they move into administration and is discussed later in this chapter.

Working Conditions and Sex Discrimination

The components of administrative work, as well as the perceived and real male-defined environments in which many women administrators must work, shape women's perceptions of the desirability of administration. The women teachers studied by Hewitt (1989) were discouraged from applying for administrative positions because of their understanding of the definition of the job of the principal. They did not perceive this definition as flexible or open for social construction. Principals studied by Clemens (1989) and McGovern-Robinett (2002) noted that supportive work environments were essential in choosing to become principals. Fourteen years later, Wynn's (2003) study of teachers with leadership skills determined that these women chose to stay in the classroom, rather than move into administration, partly because of their negative perception of the job of the principal. These women identified student discipline as one of the negative dimensions of the principalship.

Relatedly, the perceptions of lack of aspiration may also result when teachers fail to apply for leadership positions because their personal values are not aligned with those of the organization (Lacey, 2003). Scherr (1995) determined that women's failure to aspire to the superintendency might be a result of their experiences working with male superintendents, role models whose leadership behaviors may not be compatible with women's preferred ways of leading. The perceptions that women hold of what leaders do are largely based upon what they see administrators doing, rather than on imagining a different role.

Gardiner and Tiggemann (1999) found that the job stress of women was higher than that of men when working in a predominantly or traditionally male environment. Skrla, Reyes, and Scheurich (2000) described organizational contexts in which

men used intimidation and silence to discourage women. Intimidating tactics and behaviors of board and community members included name-calling, rumors, and overt lies. Additionally, women reported that male subordinates were intimidating, at times indicating directly that they did not want to work for a woman. Logan (1999) also supported this finding in a study of 54 educational leadership department chairs. Lange (1995) in a survey of 561 women administrators found that 78% of women reported they had been sexually harassed by a higher status male and that sexual bribery by higher status male coworkers was a problem. Silence as a form of sexism was represented in personal silence about gender issues while in the superintendency and the feelings of not being heard.

Lack of Support, Encouragement, and Counseling

Shakeshaft (1985) noted research studies from the late 1970s (Baughman, 1977; Schmuck, 1976) that pointed out that women traditionally had little support, encouragement, or counseling from family, peers, superordinates, or educational institutions to pursue careers in administration. At this time, even a little support from a few people such as a spouse or an administrator within the school district encouraged women to enter administration or stick with it. [AQ10]

Support has continued to be an important factor for women moving into administration. Most researchers found that family endorsements and support and mentoring made the difference in encouraging women into principalships, the superintendency, community college presidencies, and other high-level executive positions in education (Alston, 1999; Brunner, 2000, 2003; Edson, 1988; Enomoto, Gardiner & Grogan, 2000; Gardiner, Enomoto, & Grogan, 2000; Grogan, 1996, 2000b, 2002; Grogan & Brunner, 2005a,b; Hill & Ragland, 1995; Jackson, 1999; Mendez-Morse, 1999, 2004; Scherr, 1995; Smulyan, 2000; Wilmore, 1998; Young & McLeod, 2001). Hewitt (1989) found [AQ11] lack of encouragement and support one of the reasons female elementary teachers in Kansas reported not entering administration. Several studies of women of color noted their lack of encouragement and support, as did a study of native women in Montana (Brown, 2004).

As late as 2000, Skrla, Reyes, and Scheurich found that silence on gender issues in educational administration preparation programs, state education agencies, professional organizations, and among school board members and associations was still characteristic, and that women equated silence with lack of support.

Pounder (1987) suggested that women should be encouraged to be on search teams for administrators and that professors of educational administration could encourage women by assuring school boards that women can be competent administrators. The National Policy Board for Educational Administration (1989) suggested that women can be encouraged toward administrative careers through the adoption of rigorous recruitment strategies by departments of educational administration to seek women in administrator training programs.

In the absence of attention to women's needs within traditional organizations and preparation programs, support systems specifically for women were developed. In 1998, Irby and Brown

indicated that women's support organizations should serve as vehicles for the growth of women at initial administration career stages as well as for women in top level positions. While some women administrators' organizations, such as Northwest Women in Educational Administration in Oregon, which celebrated its 30th year of operation in 2006, or the Women's Caucus of the Pennsylvania Association of School Administrators, have continued to be strong influences in women's career paths; other organizations have been discontinued (Irby & Brown, 1998). For instance, the 25th anniversary of the American Association of School Administrators' (AASA) women's leadership conference was celebrated in 2005 with the announcement that the conference would no longer be sponsored by AASA.

Socialization and Sex Role Stereotyping

Organizational socialization is the process by which new leaders become integrated into the formal and informal norms, as well as the unspoken assumptions of a school or a district. Because traditional stereotypes cast women and minorities as socially incongruent as leaders, they face greater challenges becoming integrated into the organization (Hart, 1995). The 1985 *Handbook for Achieving Sex Equity through Education* reported, "socialization and sex role stereotyping have been potent obstacles to increasing women's participation in the manage-
[AQ12]   ment of schools" (Shakeshaft, 1985, p. 127). Brathwaite (1986) attributed women's failure to advance to upper-level leadership positions in schools to oversaturation with the "cultural message of female inferiority within white male systems" (p. 16). This marginalization results in women not only being expected to "behave like men," but also on being judged on how "womanly" they are.

Since the mid 1980s, studies have continued to report that women believe that negative stereotypes of women by superintendents and school board members are a barrier. Reportedly, some persistent stereotypical and inaccurate views held by gatekeepers about women are their perceived inability to discipline students, supervise other adults, criticize constructively, manage finances, and function in a political frame (Folmar, 1989;
[AQ13]   Johnson, 2003; Lutz, 1990; Rossman, 2000). Young and McLeod (2001) stated, "many school board members, search consultants, search committee members, practicing administrators, and private citizens continue to believe old myths that have prevented women from becoming educational leaders in the past" (p. 494). Assumptions about appropriate activities relate to concerns about whether or not a woman can do the job. For example, the school board may lack confidence in a female superintendent's competency to oversee the construction of a new building, and when she completes the task successfully the board is surprised. Logan (1999) also found that women were still perceived as lacking the ability to handle discipline at a secondary school.

Skrla et al. (2000) reported that school boards and other administrators believe that women are malleable. The authors described malleable personalities as referring to school board perceptions of women superintendents as easy to direct just because they are female. If women turn out not to be malleable, the reaction is much more negative for women than for men

because women are violating expected norms. Thus, women are penalized not only when they don't act like men, since they are seen as incompetent, but also when they do act like men, because they are perceived a cold. Skrla et al. (2000) noted that these expectations of feminine behavior result in negative perceptions of assertive actions of women.

Bell (1995) and Skrla et al. (2000), suggested that in the superintendency, males have set the standard for what is valued, and, consequentially, women who do obtain superintendencies have pressure to de-feminize, or even to disaffiliate from other women, just so that they can prove themselves. Brown, Irby, and Smith (1993), in a study of 40 aspiring female administrators, also found this gender prejudice in that colleagues interpret negatively women's intelligence and assertiveness. Brunner (2000) reported that women must be aware of their leadership style because directness or assertiveness is unacceptable. Furthermore, Hill and Ragland (1995) indicated that colleagues might say such things as "the man is firm, but the female is stubborn," and school boards are more likely to negatively evaluate women superintendents who portray decisiveness, assertiveness, and directness (Bell, 1995).

Hill and Ragland (1995) pointed out the perpetuation of gender bias in media images of women leaders in which they are scheming, gold digging, seducing their way to the top, devious, immoral, and running over everyone in their way. Negative examples of women leaders in books, television, and movies also influence society's expectations of appropriate female leader behavior.

Another form of sex stereotyping reported by Irby and Brown (1995) related to societal perceptions that women work on an emotional level. Langford (1995) indicated that it is perceived that because women are intuitive (akin to the emotional work response), they cannot be natural, logical decision makers. Kamler and Shakeshaft (1999) supported these findings, pointing out the existence of the myth that "women are too emotional and can't see things rationally and so that affects their decision making" (p. 56).

Christman (2003) indicated that there exists a societal climate of unexpectation for women who hold administrative positions. Perhaps due to this "unexpectation," a more difficult socialization process into the profession occurs with women as opposed to men. Carr (1995), Reese (1993), and Christman (2003) indicated one of the reasons for the difficult socialization process is male dominance of the profession.

Studies of women of color found the double whammy of negative stereotypes, first about being female and then about ethnic background (Prescott-Hutchins, 2002; Trujillo-Ball, 2003).

Preparation Programs and Curriculum Materials

In the 1985 *Handbook*, Shakeshaft reported that there were fewer females than males participating in certification, doctoral, or internship programs in administration, and that women were less experienced and less prepared for administration than were men. She indicated, however, that this barrier could be overcome with more women receiving internships, administrative certifications, and doctoral degrees. As described earlier in this chapter, in the 20 years since the last *Handbook*, women have

achieved parity and, in some instances dominance, in the student populations in preparation and doctoral programs. While data are not available nationwide on the proportion of females who are certified in school administration each year, the majority (66.1%) of doctoral degrees in education are earned by women (Rooney et al., 2006).

The increase in the proportion of women is not reflected in the curricular materials in these programs, however. Criticisms of educational administration programs, particularly superintendency training programs, have been consistent since the mid 1980s and include:

• Lack of attention to equity issues (Shakeshaft, 1993, 1995, 1999)
• Underrepresentation of women in curricular materials and case studies (Shakeshaft, 1993, 1995, 1999)
• Curriculum that is based upon gender deficit theories (Brown & Irby, 2005)
• Insufficient information regarding female relationships with local school boards (Douglas, 1992)
• Failure to address the gender knowledge and skill base needed for the superintendency (American Association of School Administrators, 1993).

While more administrators are prepared at local and small colleges, the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) has been central to reform in preparation programs. In operation since the mid fifties, UCEA is a consortium of major research universities with doctoral programs in educational leadership and policy. The dual mission of UCEA is to improve the preparation of educational leaders and promote the development of professional knowledge in school improvement and administration. UCEA is a strong supporter of social justice issues as evidenced by its conferences, and there have been 13 women presidents out of 45. At present there are more than 75 institutional members.

However, Logan (1999) indicated that in general University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) universities are doing little to address the traditional deterrents to hiring women. She stated, "the historically androcentric paradigm is still present in UCEA educational administration programs; little, if anything, is being done to change that reality at the structural and cultural level." (p. 5). She suggested that it was time for educational administration departments to "reassess, adjust, and activate gender equity strategies that will bring about an equitable hiring context for all . . . graduates." (p. 6)

Skrla et al. (2000) found that women considered their superintendency preparation programs noninclusive of the experiences and voices of all women, including women of color. According to Iselt, Brown, and Irby (2001), recent research offers evidence that traditional paradigms and the university continue to perpetuate barriers encountered by women who seek the superintendency.

According to Iselt et al. (2001), 76 female superintendents in Texas found their programs less relevant than did 76 male superintendents. Male and female superintendents indicated that 21 of 30 leadership knowledge and skills topics were relevant to their job performance but were not emphasized suffi-

ciently for them in their programs. Female superintendents noted an additional 8 topics among the 30 as more relevant to job performance than did males, pointing out that the following were not emphasized in their programs; (a) legal issues, (b) organizational culture/climate, (c) ethics, (d) working with the cultural/political system, (e) collaboration, (f) networking, (g) use of mentors, and (h) interviewing practice.

In 1987, Murphy and Hallinger criticized university preparation programs for their failure to connect theory and practice; more recently, programs have been criticized for the biased knowledge base, which does not include experiences of women administrators (Skrla et al., 2000). Superintendents have continued to insist that course time should be spent on field-based learning rather than on outdated gender-impoverished theoretical lectures (American Association of School Administrators, 1993; Iselt, 1999) in which the theory espoused comes from the male perspective and the assumption has been that male experiences can be generalized to explain all human behaviors (Brown & Irby, 1995; Irby, Brown, Duffy, & Trautman, 2002; McKay & Grady, 1994; Schmitt, 1995; Shakeshaft, 1989). Brown and Irby (1995) indicated that "the current theories taught in administrative preparation programs are negatively impacting the field because they (a) do not reflect currently advocated leadership practice; (b) do not address the concerns, needs, or realities of women, (c) perpetuate the barriers that women encounter, and (d) do not prepare women or men to create and work effectively in inclusive systems" (pp. 42–43). [AQ14]

This void of leadership theory inclusive of women's voices results in sexist curricular material. Since the publication of the 1985 *Handbook*, Papalewis (1994) examined 13 educational administration textbooks published after 1990 and determined that only one made any reference to the presence of women in the field of administration, and that single reference evoked negative connotations. Lunenburg and Ornstein (2004), co-authors of one of the most widely used educational administration texts (Monument, 2006), are the only scholars in educational leadership who include a deliberate, gender-inclusive leadership theory, the Synergistic Leadership Theory (Irby et al., 2002).

Brown and Irby (1996) argued that women in educational administrative programs have particular and unique needs, concerns, and challenges, which should be addressed in leadership preparation programs. They presented a model for preparation considerations including 26 broad categories from research of women's needs that should be addressed in programs educating teachers who will be entering administrative ranks. In general, programs should assist women candidates in: [AQ15]

• learning how to alter negative perceptions of female leaders
• enhancing decision-making skills, while also encouraging their intuitive nature
• learning how to effectively select and work with role models, mentors, networks, and sponsors
• working successfully within the cultural and political system
• developing an understanding of language differences between men and women
• learning how to handle conflict
• managing legal issues

• learning stress management and time management techniques
• practicing fiscal management of various budgets
• learning how to present qualifications in a positive light
• learning techniques for creating inclusive environments
• learning how to reflect on experiences and project new goals
• examining theory and practice critically for gender bias
• developing career plans, résumés, portfolios, and interviewing skills. (p. 10)

Although a number of universities offered women in administration courses in the 1980s and 1990s, anecdotal reports indicate that these are no longer being widely offered, either because the need is not identified or because university faculty report that they have integrated gender issues into programs and courses. However, there is no study that focuses specifically on this issue.

Finances for Continuing Training

According to Shakeshaft (1985), women, more than men, referred to a lack of finances as a reason for being unable to continue administrative training. She cited Databank (1982), stating that women in public schools earn less than their male counterparts. She further noted that women have tended to sacrifice financially for their families and, therefore, cut short their educational opportunities. She suggested that women, more than men, are expected to give up their education or needs to shore up family resources.

Although there were no studies that directly examined this issue since 1982, Sokorosh (2004) in a study of 773 educational administration doctoral students in 69 programs found no differences by gender in the awarding of financial support.

Too Few Role Models, Sponsors, Mentors, and Networks

More than three decades ago the literature cited a lack of role models, lack of networks, and lack of support, sponsorship, and mentoring as barriers to women's entry into and advancement in educational leadership (Baughman, 1977; Lovelady-Dawson, 1980; Poll, 1978; Schmuck, 1976). Currently, the literature reveals similar barriers for women.

Professional socialization and growth continues to be enhanced by positive role models, sponsors, mentors, and networks. Role models are people who serve as examples of success, often because the role model is similar in characteristics and background. A mentor is someone who takes an active and focused role in developing another person, often shaping that person in the image of the mentor. A sponsor fills a similar role, but is much more a support than someone to be copied.

[AQ16]   ***Role models.***   Role models provide standards and patterns to copy or modify. In 1985, Shakeshaft reported that research suggested that same-sex role models were the most effective for females, but not necessarily for males. Since that time, several researchers have reinforced the need for role models in the education administration profession (Brown & Merchant, 1993;

Hinkson, 2004; Irby & Brown, 1995; Slick & Gupton, 1993; Wesson & Grady, 1995).

In the Young and McLeod (2001) study, a purposive sample of 20 female administrators and educational administration students were interviewed. The researchers found that elementary school principals—more than any other administrative role—identify with their administrative role models. While there is a greater likelihood of having a role model of the same sex at the elementary level, this does not hold true of role models of the same ethnicity.

Mentors and sponsors.   These two terms are often used interchangeably in the literature, although there are some important distinctions. Sponsors help others, providing advice and networking. They may or may not be role models, but they do provide access for aspiring administrators or for those wishing to make moves. Mentors take this a step farther and try to mold the mentee into the image of the mentor. Mentors may provide a number of functions. First, mentors may provide career development functions, which involve coaching, sponsoring, and advancement. Second, mentors may serve psychosocial support and increase the mentor self-confidence by serving as a friend, counselor, or role model (Kram, 1985, Ragins, 1989).

Shakeshaft (1985) noted that sponsors and mentors of either sex, unlike role models, were effective for women. However, Hinkson (2004) identified the importance of strong Black female role models for African descent women. Similarly, Gardiner et al. (2000) found that while male mentors were sometimes very helpful for women aspiring to educational leadership positions, the best mentors for women were female and of the same ethnicity. Until the cycle is broken, little hope exists for major breakthroughs in advancement of females and persons of color.

Because White males are still the majority of superintendents and principals, they provide note only the largest number of possible sponsors for women, but also the highest likelihood of supporting others like themselves. Research that examines the sexual tensions between male mentors and female mentees concludes that these tensions, which are seldom addressed directly, result in a less open and productive relationship for the mentee (Haring & Pauldi, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1992). Without a [AQ17,18] sponsor or mentor, only 17% of women who aspire to be principals are able to advance, according to Edson (1995, p. 42). In the original *Handbook* it was recounted that most women who *had* been successful in acquiring administrative titles had sponsors or mentors (Poll, 1978; Shakeshaft, 1985). While family [AQ19] support is important for women to be able to gain the time and the approval of those immediately impacted by a decision to work longer hours, professional mentoring is vital to gain the knowledge and political information necessary for a woman to position herself as a viable top-level candidate.

Research has demonstrated that in general women lack mentoring since it has been more often associated with the male model of grooming the next generation of leaders. Women of color, in particular, have found great difficulties finding appropriate mentoring (Alston, 1999; Enomoto et al., 2000; Grogan & Brunner, 2005a; Jackson, 1999; Mendez-Morse, 1999, 2004; Ortiz, 1999; Salleh-Barone, 2004; Walker, 2003). Not only are there fewer individuals of color in executive positions in education, but women of color, even more conspicuously than White

women, are outside the norm of those usually tapped for leadership positions. Salleh-Barone (2004) reported that only 1 of 10 Asian descent women administrators she studied had experience with a mentor. Walker evaluated a mentoring program for African descent women administrators and found that the group who received mentoring ended with higher self-images than those women who did not receive mentoring.

In a recent AASA study of women superintendents and women in central office positions, Grogan and Brunner (2005a, b) found that central office administrators received less mentoring than superintendents (60% compared to 72%). One conclusion that might be inferred from this finding is that it takes additional mentoring to make the jump from a central office support position to the superintendency than it does to make it to the central office. Thus, a woman needs more mentoring to become a superintendent than to be appointed to the central office. Despite the fact that the majority of women in the study were mentored, it is important to note that nearly a third of women superintendents report that they were not mentored. In addition, 25% of women of color in that study reported waiting 5 or more years to gain a superintendency compared to only 8% of White women and 9% of men who wait that long.

Mentors and sponsors are critical to the socialization of women to the profession. This importance was stressed by Hill and Ragland (1995) in their study of 35 female educational leaders: "From the mentor in one's work setting, the novice learns political realities, secrets of moving a project through the chain of command, techniques for dealing with the bureaucracy, ways to creatively budget, contacts throughout the narrow and broader community, and other survival techniques not written in any employee handbook" (pp. 73–74).

The importance of sponsorship and mentoring for both females and males who are seeking academic advancement has been documented earlier in the research reviewed (Haynes, 1989; Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1989). Dreher and Cox (1996) found that women who have been mentored have greater opportunities for career advancement . Thus, while mentoring relationships are important for all organization members, they may be particularly important for women (Burke & McKeen, 1990; Noe, 1988; Ragins, 1989). The important sponsoring and mentoring experiences, which include both career and psychosocial aspects, continue to be addressed in the literature. Catalyst's 1999 study of women of color in all types of management documented that women of color surveyed placed greater emphasis on the importance of mentoring now than in the past. In fact, over the 3-year period of the study, "69% of the women with mentors had received a promotion [compared to 49% of the women without mentors]" (p. 42).

The limited research that is available on women of color reveals similar important findings. Mentors were found to be extremely important for women of color in higher education (Ramey, 1993), however, professional women of color indicated a need for increased availability of same-sex and same-race mentors (Hite, 1998). Byrd-Blake (2004) examined a sample of female administrators serving in upper administrative ranks in the public school system to determine any similarities and differences among African American, Hispanic, and White female administrators related to their perception of barriers to career advancement. The survey responses from 175 women revealed that African American female administrators perceived more barriers as hindering their career advancement than Hispanic and White respondents, including lack of access to professional networks, a need for more training, and the feeling of exclusion from the informal socialization process.

However, Ragins (1997) noted a problem for both White women and women of color to be a lack of access to mentors. Many mentoring programs fail. Dunn and Moody (1995) found that adequate funding and cooperation of participants mean the difference between a successful or failed mentoring program. Trust can be a barrier of mentoring when programs suffer from a shortage of mentors, ill-matched partnerships, and an unreliable chain of command. The Cullen and Luna (1993) study included a total of 24 women in executive or administrative positions (e.g. provost, vice president, dean, director, or chair) also confirmed that the lack of senior women served as a barrier to mentoring. This study also noted that institutional environment and organization culture served as barriers to mentoring for women. Dunn and Moody's (1995) qualitative study comprised of 228 selected U.S. colleges found that gender continued to be an issue when matching participants for mentoring.

In Bova's (1995) qualitative study of Hispanic women, mentoring was found to be crucial to their career development; however, these women cited concerns regarding mentoring in the following areas: (a) limited opportunities for informal contact, (b) stereotypes of Hispanic women compounded by stereotypes of women in general, and (c) cultural conflicts" (as cited in Bova, 2000, p. 8). In addition to culture conflicts facing women of color, Kalbfleisch and Davies' (1991) study on the availability of mentors for Black professionals found "race to be a significant factor in the mentoring relationship" (as cited in Bova, 2000, p. 8). A more recent study of Bova (2000), using an exploratory research design and a primary data collection technique of in-depth interviews with 14 Black women, concluded, "mentoring was very important to their career development, however, stereotypes and racism were themes that emerged from the data" (p. 10). Clearly, mentoring relationships have the potential for enhancing the career advancement of women and particularly women of color. Hansman (1998) confirmed Bova's findings that the challenges of women of color are "compounded by the intersection of race and gender" (p. 67). Additional research is recommended related to mentoring and the intersection of race, culture, and gender.

Lack of networks. Networks are less formal connections than are sponsor or mentor relationships. In 1985, Shakeshaft noted a lack of established networks as a barrier for women. Related to sponsors and mentorships is the need to have access to a network that provides information on job openings and administrative strategies as well as promotes visibility and functions as a support group. Thirty years ago, Schmuck (1976) noted that women traditionally had been excluded from networks, had been unaware of administrative positions, had been unknown by others, and had few people to approach for support. Several studies postdating Schmuck have indicated that although women are gaining access to more networks, they still experience exclusion (Howell, 1989; Sherman, 2002; Washington, 2002).

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In a study of formal and informal leadership programs and networks, Sherman (2002) found informal networking crucial to women aspiring to an administrative position and a factor that moves the aspirants into formal leadership positions. Brown and Irby (1998), in a study of 69 aspiring women administrators, reported that while the workplace is the most obvious arena for creating a network for career advancement, contacts in other settings can also be of great assistance to women. They suggested that women create a variety of networks—neighborhood, community, church—and, further, that they consider each person with whom an aspiring female would come into contact a member of her network. Additionally, they noted that the more people the aspirant knows and the more others know about the aspirants' capabilities and career goals, the greater the chances of learning about a position or having someone put in a "good word." Irby and Brown (1998), in a study regarding women's administrative support organizations, determined that state and regional organizations need to publicize information about networking opportunities and to actively promote activities that would allow women administrators networking opportunities and career advancement techniques. In summary, it appears from the literature these 20 years later that women still need assistance in establishing and effectively using networks, which include not only men who are in positions of power, but also other women; and, further, that organizations, single-sex or coed, should find ways to support networking.

Sex Discrimination in Hiring and Promotion

By 1985, a number of studies documented overt sex discrimination by school boards, departments of educational administration, and educational administrators, which prevented women from becoming school administrators. Shakeshaft (1985) indicated that people tend to hire those like themselves; thus, White males hire White males (Kanter, 1977; Ortiz, 1981). Marshall (1981) pointed out that affirmative action policies were often misused. In almost a quarter of a century since Marshall's assertion and despite the enormous gains made by the civil rights and women's rights movements, women and people of color still face unfair obstacles in education in general.

While sex discrimination occurs in hiring and in treatment once on the job, there is some evidence that discrimination in the principalship and in staff positions is decreasing. For instance, Goldberg (1991), in an experimental study of 598 superintendents who rated applicants for a position as an "assistant to" based upon identical resumes that differed only by female or male name of applicant, found no differences in the ratings by sex of applicant.

Shepard (1998) noted that women receive less than half as many interviews for the superintendency as men, indicating that women are not considered as serious candidates by school board presidents as are men. Logan (1999) found that some boards were reluctant to consider women for leadership based upon local cultural beliefs and the reluctance to change traditional hiring patterns. Both administrators and school board members identified covert sex discrimination as a barrier to women in Kentucky (Washington, 2002). The gatekeepers to the superintendency, school boards or search consultants are in a position to give access to the superintendency. Marietti and Stout (1994) reported in their study of 114 school boards in 19 states that female-majority boards hired female superintendents more frequently than did male-majority boards; however, such boards are more likely to be governing K–8 districts. Chase and Bell (1990, p. 174) described subtle forms of sex discrimination by explaining how school board members and superintendent search consultants "may be helpful to individual women and at the same time participate in the processes that reproduce men's dominance." Kamler and Shakeshaft (1999) documented the filtering process of search consultants and the reluctance of headhunters to increase contacts with women. On the other hand, 23% of women superintendents nationwide reported they were hired by districts that used professional search firms compared to 17% of men. In addition, more women of color were hired by districts that used professional search firms (36% compared to 22%; Brunner & Grogan, in press). Men were more successful than women when the search was managed locally.

The most recent nationwide data on teacher salaries disaggregated by gender indicated that, with comparable backgrounds, years of experience, and school type, female teachers earned 95% of what their male counterparts were paid, not counting extra pay for after school or advising activities. In real terms, however, male elementary teacher salaries were 9.85% higher than female elementary salaries and 12.97% more than female secondary teacher salaries (Chambers & Bobbitt, 1996). Hewitt (1989) reported lack of financial support and fear of losing job security as reasons women elementary teachers in Kansas gave for not pursuing administrative careers.

There are very little data on gender differences in administrative salaries. Goldberg (1991), in a survey of 588 administrative assistants in central office positions in New York, found that women reported earning half the salaries of men in similar positions. A *Scholastic Administrator* report in October 2003, which included a nationwide sample of all superintendents, found that "overall, female superintendents made slightly more than their male peers, averaging $128,349 versus $125,697 in base pay. Only the largest public school systems paid their female leaders less than their male head honchos." However, these data do not take into account school district size or urbanicity. A 2004 study of 127 superintendents on Long Island found that time in the superintendency was related to gender differences in earnings. There were no meaningful sex differences in salary for superintendents in the first 3 years of the superintendency. However, males with 4 or more years in the superintendency earned more than females with similar experience. These differences were both statistically and practically significant (Shakeshaft, 2004).

Finally, the title that women use may affect the way they are perceived. In an experimental study, Griffith-Bullock (2005) randomly assigned 315 elementary students to one of four video presentations. Three of the four presentations were identical except for the title given to the female presenter (Ms, Mrs., Miss). The fourth video was a male who delivered the same presentation as the females. Students watched one of the four videos and then rated the presenter. Griffith-Bullock (2005) found that teachers and administrators who use "Ms" were significantly more likely to be rated as caring, friendly, honest, strong, and

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gentle than those educators who used the titles Miss, Mrs., or Mr. This acceptance of the gender-neutral Ms by elementary school children may signify a change in the ways women are evaluated by children. Many women in school administration still believe that using Ms is detrimental, which may help to explain why many women look forward to being able to use the gender-neutral title, Dr.

SUMMARY

Most of the barriers to women in administration that existed in the mid 1980s are still in evidence today. However, there have been gains in every category. Women no longer lack confidence, aspiration, or motivation. Family and home responsibilities are still more likely to affect the career patterns of women than of men, but women have received increased encouragement to enter administrative careers. Sex role stereotyping and overt discrimination still exist and impede women's career progress, but women are no longer underrepresented in preparation programs or in doctoral classes. Administrative preparation programs have not kept the faith with their women students or their students of color, still offering inadequate curriculum and materials. Sex discrimination is evident in hiring decisions, particularly at the superintendent level, and salaries are not yet equal. Finally, women continue to experience hostile workplaces that discourage participation and leadership

Career Paths of Women in Educational Leadership

Since the 1985 *Handbook* was published, research has continued to document women's career paths. The majority of these studies are descriptive, telling the story of women's choices as they move through administration. Some studies (Blount, 2003; 2005; Triggs, 2002) provide historical evidence of women's leadership contributions in education. Most of the studies on career paths report women's recollections of the obstacles the women face and their career decision-making process they employed. These studies tend not to be built on any theoretical foundation. Grogan's 1996 study grounded in feminist poststructuralism is an exception.

Qualitative studies of women are representative of research on career paths. The following dissertations are typical examples of case studies of women's careers. They include studies of 5 women administrators at a state agency (Black, 2003), 10 Asian American administrators (Salleh-Barone, 2004), 3 Anglo high school principals (McGovern-Robinett, 2002), 1 Texas superintendent (McAndrew, 2002), 9 women superintendents in California (Schuler, 2002), 4 Mexican American principals in Texas (Trujillo-Ball, 2003), African American superintendents in the mid-West (Celestin, 2003), 6 superintendents in Iowa (Montz, 2004); and 4 high school principals in Virginia (Robinson, 2004).

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The meaning of family responsibilities and the impact on women's careers is not fully developed. Most studies that do examine the issue do so only for women. While the role of males may be changing, the impact of family responsibilities on male education administration careers has not been documented. Nevertheless, research continues to document the tensions resulting from women being positioned in the conflicting discourses of leadership and family management.

In a comprehensive look at women's career development patterns, Schreiber (1998) contended that women's career choices must be understood in the context of current social norms and beliefs about women's capabilities and acceptable roles. Hawkins (1999) reported that for women administrators the traditional roles of mother, wife, and homemaker still weighed considerably in their everyday lives, and although many women have support, such as a partner or spouse, pursuing career goals can be very difficult in comparison with the norm established by their male counterparts.

In a study of 15 male and 15 female superintendents in California, Lutz (1990) reported anxieties of women superintendents in California. This finding was repeated by Rossman (2000) in New York. The women superintendents studied by Barbie (2004) described how their professional lives dominated their personal lives.

Family obligations often include geographic immobility due to spousal commitments (Brown & Irby, 1998; Gupton, 1998; Hill & Ragland, 1995; Irby & Brown, 1994; Walker, 1995; Watkins et al., 1993 from NCPEA 1995), which is more likely to restrict women than men.

In Grogan's (1996) study of women superintendents, women expressed fear of failing as a mother, responsibility for the maintenance of relationships, and the difficulties of coping with household labor. Unlike men who were in similar high-level central office positions, women experienced daily contradictions having to balance work and family. Ironically, some of the women in this study found themselves relying on husbands and partners to take up some of the slack in the management of the household, only to find themselves later separated or divorced.

Yet, divorce and separation are not always projected in a negative light. Smulyan's (2000) study of women principals highlighted the freedom and career changing opportunities presented to women aspiring to the principalship. Just as in Brunner (2000) and Grogan (1996), some women gained mobility from the dissolution of a restrictive relationship, and a subsequent sense of self and confidence that propelled them to be successful in reaching career goals. Smulyan (2000) and Brunner (2000a) argued for the need of a more complex approach to understanding women's career trajectories. The interactions between gender, age, experience and context must be thoroughly analyzed, and space must be provided for the individual whose situation places her outside the stereotypical.

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Descriptions of female career choices often relate to efforts to achieve a balance between work and family, career interruptions, and alternative career patterns (Amey, VanDerLinden & Brown, 2002; Hawkins, 1999; McKenney & Cejda, 2000; Schreiber, 1998). The world of work has historically been set in the traditional model, with little accommodation to the necessary combining of both work and family. For women who commonly interrupt their careers to care for young children or older parents, the challenges are getting back on track in terms of preparation, advancement, promotions, informal networking, and participation in special projects or committee work that bring career enhancing opportunities.

The eight New York superintendents studied by Guptill (2003) stressed the necessity of pre-planning to prepare for both the professional and the personal demands of the job. Other researchers have found a similar interaction between personal and professional needs (Hill & Ragland, 1995).

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At the same time, there is growing evidence of women taking different career paths than typically followed by men (Amey et al., 2002; Grogan & Brunner, 2005a–c; McKenney, 2000; Schreiber, 1998; Young & McLeod, 2001). Women's careers are believed to be less well planned than men's, so what might be described as a career path for a man may not be as helpful to a woman who may choose to or be forced to take detours and come into the ladder of advancement from the side. Many of the studies of women describe what Mary Catherine Bateson (1990) has called "composing" a life. On their way to leadership positions, many women engage in part-time or project work. Many take staff positions as opposed to the more linear "line" positions that situate them on the ladder. Many women have no choice in the matter as contract work replaces full-time work in schools and universities all over the world (Blackmore, 1999).

The research still documents some differences in background and preparation of women and men. Warren (1990) in a study of Massachusetts administrators found that women were more likely than men to have doctorates and to be more interested in continuing professional development than their male counterparts. Women traditionally enter administration later in life and with more years of classroom experience. More recent research of a sample of all women superintendents in the U.S. (Grogan & Brunner, 2005a) found women are entering the superintendency at earlier ages than has previously been reported, indicating shorter periods of time in the principalship and in central office. Most women in their national study had gained a superintendency by the time they were 50, and 36% became superintendent before or by the time they were 45.

When career paths and family issues are researched, they are almost always based upon a heterosexual model of family. Conspicuously absent from the literature on career development of school administrators is research into gay, lesbian, and bisexual individuals' experiences. A January 2003 special issue of the *Journal of School Leadership* contained four articles (Blount, Lugg, Koschoreck, Fraynd, & Capper) that analyzed the history and experiences of gay and lesbian school administrators. These articles pointed out that given societal bias, there is understandable reluctance on the part of lesbian or gay administrators to identify themselves. Many still risk immediate termination based on the belief that lesbian, gay, and transgender administrators pose a threat to the stability of the school community if identified as homosexual. Thus, we know little about the educational leadership career aspirations or paths of identified lesbian or bisexual women or men.

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Boatwright, Gilbert, Forrest, and Ketzenberger (1996) argued that the formation of a lesbian identity might disrupt the career process. They found that career development is often delayed in deference to the more pressing matter of identity exploration. In addition, because many lesbians face fear of discovery, efforts to hide their identity consume much of their time and place them outside the regular channels for advancement.

Lowell (2000), in a study of gay and lesbian educators, found that those who had broken the code of silence through disclo-sure perceive less heterosexist bias as a result. The presence of a supportive gay and lesbian community can help develop leadership and communication skills, give courage and provide a network of caring individuals

In summary, most career and family balance research is informed by a heterosexual paradigm as well as a traditional male roadmap. Within those contexts, male administrators tend to have more linear career paths than females, while women are more likely to have more education and more experience in the classroom than men.

Leadership Behavior and Gender Inclusive Leadership Theory

A number of researchers have noted that leadership theory is based primarily upon studies of males, which is not very useful for females nor for males trying to understand females. Gender-accurate leadership theory offers an understanding of leadership from all perspectives. In 1995, Brown and Irby echoed a 1984 challenge issued by Shakeshaft and Nowell (1984) and "averred that true reform in administrative preparation programs will not occur unless current theory is reevaluated and revaluated. The term 'reevaluated,' deals with the technical examination of the subject; while the term, 'revaluated,' refers to an examination of deep, personal value systems" (Brown & Irby, 1995, p. 41). They indicated that "the current theories taught in administrative preparation programs are negatively impacting the field because they (a) do not reflect currently advocated leadership practice; (b) do not address the concerns, needs, or realities of women; (c) perpetuate the barriers that women encounter; and (d) do not prepare women or men to create and work effectively in inclusive systems" (pp. 42–43). Grogan (1999) suggested that new conceptions of leadership theories are needed because current leadership theories have contributed to gender inequities. She stated, "it is reasonable to imagine that because women's lived experiences as leaders are different from men's, new theoretical understanding of a leadership that is premised on social justice might emerge" (pp. 533). McCarthy (1999) noted that educational administration programs have focused the study of leadership on traditional theories and understandings of how schools should be led and that the ways that women might lead are not included.

Young and McLeod (2001) warned, "exposing our students solely to traditional leadership literature [including leadership theories] essentially legitimizes traditionally male behavior and perspectives and delegitimizes the behavior and perspectives of women" (p. 491). Irby et al. (2002) stated, "male-based leadership theories advanced in coursework, texts, and discussion perpetuate barriers that women leaders encounter" (p. 306). Additionally, Young and McLeod found that "exposure to nontraditional leadership styles is a key element in facilitating women's paths into administration" (p. 491).

Although not always acknowledged by those doing the research, many of the early studies of leadership style compared females to males in an attempt to provide documentation that either there were no differences between the two groups or that women were better school administrators than men. This research was conducted in the larger context of few women being

hired as administrators partly because women were believed to be "unfit" for administrative jobs due to their supposed inability to discipline, to work with men, to "command" respect, and to possess rational and logical approaches to leadership. In these early years, studies that did not compare women to men were deemed "inadequate." Critics argued that research on women was only valid if linked to research on men. Male behavior was the measuring stick against which all studies of women were to be compared.

As more women moved into school administration and as scholars argued that women's styles should be researched in their own right, more leadership studies that observed, interviewed, and surveyed only women administrators emerged. These studies sought to identify the ways in which women lead, as well as to describe best practice, regardless of whether or not there were differences in the ways that men administer schools. Comparison studies by gender have continued to be published, but the bulk of the studies from 1985 to 2005 are single-sex inquiries. These studies add to the literature on the many approaches to effective leadership and now provide a base for examining leadership through a number of perspectives.

Since the publication of the 1985 *Handbook*, several leadership concepts and/or leadership or organizational theories have either addressed female styles directly or have described leadership approaches that are consistent with research on women: (a) interactive leadership (Rosener, 1990), (b) caring leadership (Grogan, 1998, 2000), (c) relational leadership (Reagan & Brooks, 1995), (d) power-shared leadership (Brunner, 1999), (e) learning focused leadership (Beck & Murphy, 1996), (f) authentic, moral, servant, or value-added leadership (Sergiovanni, 1991, 1992, 1994), and (g) synergistic leadership (Irby et al., 2002).

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Female Leadership Behaviors

The body of research that examines leadership behaviors suggests several components of female leadership, although the gender comparative studies do not support that only women employ these approaches. These components are similar to the leadership concepts previously mentioned.

Social justice.   Interviews with four female African descent superintendents (Sanders-Lawson, 2001), a dozen administrators across the K–12 spectrum (Shapiro, 2004), six female African descent middle school principals (Smith-Campbell, 2002), and three female secondary school principals in New Zealand (Strachan, 1999, 2002) document commitment to social justice as a thread that runs across descriptions of what motivates women to enter administration and what keeps them focused. These studies describe behaviors that are compatible with moral leadership (Sergiovanni, 1999), servant leadership (Sergiovanni, 1992; Schlosberg, 2003), value added leadership (Covey, 1990; Sergiovanni, 1994), and the synergistic leadership theory (Brown & Irby, 2006).

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Women of all ethnicities and males of color discuss their desire to "make things better," right social wrongs, and increase support for underserved groups (Alston, 2005; Dantley, 2005; Foster, 2005; Murtadha & Watts, 2005). Several studies cast women's approach as "servant leadership" (Alston, 1999; Brunner, 1999) in which women seek to serve others by being the

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facilitator of the organization, bringing groups together, motivating students and staff, and connecting with outside groups. In these studies, women *minister* to others in the spirit of the Latin roots of *administer*. For instance, the 10 African descent women superintendents in Collins' (2002) study described their jobs as "a mission." Although not specifically identified as striving for or achieving a social justice mission, responses to surveys from 58 female superintendents (Hines, 1999) categorized women administrators as transformative leaders on the Leadership Practices Inventory, and Burdick (2004) found that the 64 elementary teachers she surveyed were more likely to rate women principals, as opposed to men, as reform leaders.

Spiritual.   Several studies document an additional dimension that some women add to their social justice, moral, or servant leadership approach. For instance, studies of African descent women who are principals and superintendents describe leaders who extend the ministerial aspect of their leadership and include a spiritual dimension (Bloom, 2001; Collins, 2002; Jones, 2003; Logan, 1989; Sanders-Lawson, 2001). Donaldson (2000), Stiernberg (2003), and Millar (2000) noted the spiritual dimensions of White women administrators.

Both women of color and White women administrators discuss the relationship between spirituality and the ways they model behavior and inspire others. Further, these women acknowledge the importance of their spirituality to their success and ability to push forward, often in conflicting and difficult situations.

Relational.   A number of researchers document the importance of relationships for women leaders that prioritizes communication, teamwork, collaboration, and community connections. Several studies document women's propensity to listen to others whether in teamwork or one-on-one. Researchers have explored the themes of nurturing, emotional connections, and interpersonal relationships among women administrators, similar to the previously mentioned interactive, connected, and relationship concepts or theories.

Formisano (1987), Carnevale (1994), and Smith (1996) noted women's discomfort with being described as powerful or as having power in their studies of women assistant principals, principals, assistant superintendents, and superintendents. Women often describe power as something that increases as it is shared. In order for many women to be comfortable with the notion of holding power, power needs to be conceptualized as something that is shared with others and that is not power over, but rather, power with. The connection of power issues and the importance of relationships to women are crucial. Power used to help others strengthens relationships, while power used to control damages relationships (Brunner, 2000).

[AQ31]

[AQ32]

Instructional focus.   Similar to learning focused leadership recommended by Beck and Murphy (1996), a number of studies noted that instruction is central to women. Women administrators are likely to introduce and support strong programs in staff development, encourage innovation, and experiment with instructional approaches. Women are likely to stress the importance of instructional competence in teachers and be attentive to task completion in terms of instructional programs. The importance of instruction overlaps with the social justice

agenda of many women administrators. Both men and women superintendents believe that women are advantaged by their instructional and interpersonal strengths (Grogan & Brunner, 2005c, February).

Striving for balance.   Women's leadership styles are developed within a framework of balancing personal and professional needs and responsibilities. Women administrators often report that it is difficult for them to determine the line between personal and professional.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN LEADERSHIP

Documentation of leadership behaviors that predominate among women is not the same as saying that women lead differently than men. More than 50 studies, which compare female and male approaches to leadership, are mixed, with 100% of the qualitative studies and 14% of the quantitative studies identifying differences.

Where differences are reported, women are more likely than men to be rated by both those who work with them and by themselves as instructional, task oriented leaders. Nogay's (1995) study of teacher and superintendent evaluations of 76 high school principals (38 women and 38 men) using the Principal Instructional Management Rating Scale found that women principals were rated more highly than men principals. Spencer's (2000) survey of 42% of male and female principals in Alabama found that women rate themselves higher in skill level and also access the importance of student, relational, and learning skills higher than do males.

[AQ33]

In both qualitative and quantitative studies of principals and superintendents, women are identified as more relational and interpersonal, logging in more one-on-one contacts with staff (Counts, 1987; Nogay, 1995; Perry, 1992). However, men send more memos and write longer memos to staff than women (Rodgers, 1986). Genge's (2000) interviews with male and female secondary principals found that women are more likely to use humor as part of their leadership style and especially to diffuse conflict. Garfinkel (1988) reported differences in the ways in which the five women and five men superintendents he studied define loyal staff members. For women, a loyal staff member is one who is competent. For men, the most loyal staff members are the ones who agree with them publicly.

According to Gardiner et al. (2000), Gardiner and Tiggeman (1999), and Eagley and Johnson (1990), the gender context of the workplace makes a difference in leadership styles. Women are more likely to be more interpersonal than males in female dominated workplaces, but equally interpersonal in male-dominated workplaces. Women are equally task oriented in female dominated organizations, but more task oriented than men in male-dominated organizations. Among the 12 female secondary principals that Applewhite (2001) studied, leadership approaches were strategically chosen based upon the context, with women sometimes using more female-identified strategies and sometimes using more male-identified strategies. Barbie (2004) and Rottler (1996) both describe a mix of traditionally male and female styles among the women superintendents they studied.

International Perspectives

There is increasing interest globally in women's educational leadership opportunities and in the conditions under which they serve in leadership positions. As in the United States, the issues for women in leadership include: the invisibility of women in positions of power in education; cultural tensions between professional careers and family obligations; and the values and priorities women in leadership positions indicate. The available literature written in or translated into English does not indicate that gender equity issues are different in other countries, though there could be much research that is not available in English.

Studies of women in educational leadership in Hong Kong, South Africa, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, the United Kingdom, Malaysia, Singapore, Thailand, Costa Rica, and Nigeria highlight the cultural interpretations of the *glass ceiling* effect (Blackmore & Sachs, 2000; Blackmore, 1999; Chisholm, 2001; Coleman, 2000; Court, 1998; Gill, 1997; Hall, 2001; Luke, 1998, 2001; McKay & Brown, 2000; Reynolds, 2002; Strachan, 1999; Twombly, 1998). Most authors caution that the western notion of a glass ceiling or set of barriers to leadership advancement cannot be assumed in all countries although similar challenges exist—women are generally underrepresented in positions of power. Despite the fact that women everywhere are investing in education more than ever before, and although equity legislation has found its way into most countries, there are no "significant breakthroughs into executive ranks . . . women in every country remain only a tiny fraction of those in senior positions" (Adler & Izraeli, 1994, p. 104).

In western countries like Australia, Canada, the United Kingdom, and New Zealand, findings are similar to those in the United States: women do not always have access to the "traditional" job preparation experiences on the way to advanced leadership positions; women work harder but their work is often less valued; women report conflicts between work and family responsibilities; women experience limited mentoring and role model experiences; lack of mobility; and hierarchical organizational structures repulse women who desire to work in more flattened, collaborative organizational structures.

In Asian countries, domestic, child care, and family responsibilities, as well as cultural beliefs about women, are powerful deterrents to success. Luke (2001) found that a lack of girls' success in schooling had a pipeline effect. She also talked of the *double-day* effect of Asian women having to take care of all the domestic duties after the workday is completed. Despite the cultural and class opportunities to employ household help, many of these women were expected to fulfill traditional mothering and partnering roles. Contrasting the somewhat negative western image of housewife, Luke (1998) pointed out that in most Asian countries, staying home with one's family and children is considered to be a luxury. In these countries only the poor and working class women must work to support their families.

Race intersects with gender in South Africa and Nigeria as many women fight the challenges of penetrating a largely male-dominated administrative force (Aladejana & Aldejana, 2005; Chisholm, 2001). The women in both studies indicated their struggle to have their authority accepted and respected once they were appointed to leadership positions. Chisholm reported that many were expected to do favors or were given extra responsibilities that would not have been asked of their male

counterparts. Black and White women felt unsupported and virtually invisible as if their ideas or input simply did not matter. In Nigeria, while women leaders were viewed as managing schools better than men, teachers preferred working in schools with male leaders because men would be less likely to discipline them. In addition, the South African women, like the Asian women, reported that men take even less responsibility at home than men in the West. Nevertheless, the African women expressed a deep and passionate belief in the strength and capability of women.

A seeming anomaly to the conditions cited herein is a study of Costa Rican university women leaders by Twombly (1998). In 1993 when the study was conducted, women were widely represented in the faculty and administrative ranks. Many were department directors, four were deans (including a dean of engineering,) and three held positions in the highest university ranks. Twombly believed that the "percentage of women faculty and administrators [was] relatively higher than in countries thought to be more 'enlightened' with respect to gender equality" (p. 368, quotation marks in the original). One factor that seemed to account for this outlier is that, unlike women leaders in other countries, these women did not see themselves in comparison to male leaders. They "located themselves as a subculture of the larger machista society: and compared to women in general, they clearly viewed themselves as privileged" (p. 393). In addition, the women did not make a clear distinction between work and family life. They talked of having power in the family unit and, like the Black South African women mentioned earlier, viewed themselves as strong-willed, capable women overcoming obstacles to their success.

These international perspectives also include beliefs about what women put their leadership energies into. Like many of the studies of U.S. women leaders in this chapter, these women spoke of what they value and what they prioritize in their work. Women in many of these settings were viewed as change agents and representatives of diversity (Blackmore & Sachs, 2000; Coleman, 2000; Hall, 2001) and of preferring collaborative modes of leadership where students come first (Court, 1998; Gill, 1997). A theme of determination runs through these works. Women have fought hard to reach leadership positions, sometimes at great cost to family and self, but the rewards are in seeing what can be achieved once in the position.

Summary and Recommendations

The research that has consciously examined gender and leadership has been primarily about women and has evolved from studies that compare women and men to studies on women from their own perspectives. The bulk of the research has concentrated on barriers to women as well as descriptions of career paths. The examinations of female specific leadership styles are mixed, with qualitative studies describing a female approach and quantitative studies finding no differences between women and men. More research is conducted on women in the United States than in other countries.

The research on gender equity in educational leadership since the 1985 *Handbook* publication indicates that although some gaps have closed in the area of equity issues, there is yet work to be done in the areas of leadership practice, leadership preparation, and professional development programs, research, and policy.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP PRACTICE

1. Women in positions of leadership need to communicate the feeling of efficacy they derive from their work. Emphasizing their joy in the work they do might motivate other women to seek positions of leadership, particularly at the level of the superintendent and counter perceptions of stress related to the superintendency that discourage those who have potential (Grogan, 2005).
2. Women serving in key leadership roles must talk about and think creatively with other women about ways to successfully balance family responsibilities and job demands (Grogan, 2005).
3. Women and men in positions of power in educational systems must deliberately mentor more women and especially more women of color.
4. Leaders need to be thoughtful about social justice and be strategic in promoting equity. Conducting equity audits is one tool for gathering evidence related to a socially just school, particularly in the area of gender.[5]   [AQ34]
5. Leaders must acknowledge and endeavor to equalize power.
6. Preservice women teachers must be directed toward leadership and assured that administrators can focus on children and curriculum (Grogan, 2005).
7. Gender and equity must become institutionalized in schools.
8. Education leaders at all levels should ensure that all applicable equity laws are fully implemented and that they appoint and support Title IX coordinators as one of their strategies to institutionalize and monitor gender equity in their schools.
9. Professional associations should institutionalize gender and equity research efforts, awards, programs, and presentations on an ongoing basis, rather than reflect the personal preferences of ever-changing staff and elected officials.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR LEADERSHIP PREPARATION AND PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The result of this chapter's synthesis holds a variety of implications for educational leadership preparation programs and pro-

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[5]Equity audits are inclusive surveys used originally by Civil Rights Act Title IV-funded state equity offices and Regional Equity Assistance Centers to review districts for compliance and later for data-based decision making for planning. Many equity professionals who work with practitioners have continued to use them as needs assessments, when doing strategic planning for technical assistance and training. The Observation/Commentary/Visitation (OCV), developed by Barb Landers in the 1980s was revised and expanded by Grayson (1999) and again in GESA for Administrators (Grayson, 2004). Other equity audits exist including those created by Brown and Irby (2002) and Shakeshaft (1995).

fessional development for leaders on campuses, in districts, or on school boards

1. Preparation programs must deliberately focus on social justice, making sure equity is emphasized; these programs will produce graduates that are a new generation of leaders that are more sensitive to specifically gender equity issues, as well as equity in general. This movement should change perceptions and help future administrators learn behaviors that will advance equity.
2. Leadership preparation programs need to conduct follow-up studies of graduates and their job placement and success in leadership positions. Sharing examples of successful women leaders via newsletters or the Internet may be encouraging to those women who are considering educational administration as a career.
3. Preparation programs should take the lead in teaching how to search and hire school administrators, including the superintendent, in ways that are gender appropriate. Departments are well situated to offer such training to school boards
4. A coalition of leadership preparation organizations such as University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA), National Council of Professors of Educational Administration (NCPEA), Division A of the American Education Research Association (AERA), and American Association of School Administrators (AASA) should provide an equity curriculum clearinghouse for leadership preparation that offers materials, ideas, models, and suggestions using the Internet and other strategies.
5. Gender equity knowledge, dispositions and skills, and related research efforts should be clearly articulated and promoted in administrative preparation programs and used in accreditation visits and reviews by these agencies. Visitation teams should receive training in gender equity issues.
6. Ongoing professional development on gender and social justice must be provided to graduates of administrative programs and those already in administrative positions.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR RESEARCH

To address the striking imbalance in the numbers of women and men in the highest position of educational leadership, as well as to continue to develop successful administrative approaches, research is needed.

1. State and federal agencies and foundations must fund more research on the topic. For example, NCES and others should collect and report information on the characteristics (sex, race, age, etc.) of education leadership/administration degree and certification enrollees and recipients.
2. In addition to major national studies, Education Administration Departments should encourage and support dissertation research on gender and social justice.
3. Studies of how women in educational leadership have engaged the legal system to counter gender discrimination in relation to hiring practices will increase the knowledge of employment policy and activism. For example, the strategy suggested for using Title IX compliance to obtain more gen-

der equitable hiring of chemistry professors to match the available supply of graduates in the "Gender Equity in Science, Engineering and Technology" chapter in this *Handbook* might serve as a overall model to increase the hiring of more women administrators, now that it is clear that the supply of qualified women is plentiful.
4. Research that examines how reorganizations at the central office and school levels related to a woman's sense of self, salaries, and compensation will focus on the gender aspects of organizational decisions.
5. Studies that examine curriculum in educational leadership programs nationally should be conducted to determine the extent of the integration of gender equity and other social justice issues.
6. Research on leaders must talk and think creatively about ways to combine administrative careers with family and personal lives.
7. Best administrative practices in advancing gender equity should be examined. Studies that document administrative behaviors and policies that promote equity will provide valuable practical examples of model administrative behavior and the effects of equitable leadership. Currently, there is very little available that provides evidence not only of administrators who engage in gender equity, but also of the benefits to their organizations.
8. Regional comparisons of school district equity audits would be beneficial. Annual equity audits by researchers that provide a way for school districts to see where they are strong and where they still need to focus attention can help to encourage schools to increase equity practices.
9. Studies of successful women and minority administrators would provide models of career choices.
10. Critical examinations of textbooks and other curriculum materials used in leadership preparation courses could provide administrator preparation programs with information on what is available, as well as what is missing related to addressing gender equitable leadership theory as well as special needs and interests of the many women students.
11. Comparable national statistics must be available to track representation by race and gender in administrative positions. Continued documentation of the distribution of senior administrative positions in relation to gender, race, ethnicity, and gender intersections in staffing positions, and examination of whether prestigious, higher paying, and influential positions are more common among one gender, race and ethnicity is vital.
12. Research related to mentoring and the intersection of race, culture, and gender is essential.

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