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educational considerations

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WOMEN IN ADMINISTRATION

Guest Editor: Trudy A. Campbell

Table of Contents

Foreword	1
Guest Editor: Trudy A. Campbell, Kansas State University	
Invisible and Silent Along the Blue Highways	2
Patricia A. Schmuck	
Losing the Leaders: Academic Talent and Teaching Careers	7
Karen D. Arnold	
Empowering Students For Leadership	12
Mary Woods Scherr	
Patterns in Women's Emerging Leadership	15
Deborah Walker	
Topics of Interest to Women in Educational Administration	18
Marilyn Grady and Doreen Gosmire	
By Power Defined: Women in the Superintendentcy	21
C. Cryss Brunner	
The Future of the Superintendentcy: Women Leaders Who Choose to Leave	27
Marilyn Tallerico and Joan N. Burstyn	
The Socialization of Women Administrators in Education:	
How Can They Fit In?	31
P. Kay Duncan	
The Use of Narrative, Dialogue and Critical Reflection in the Development	
of Women as School Leaders	36
Joanne E. Cooper	
Like Mother, Like Daughter: Intergenerational Programs for Hispanic Girls	44
María Luisa González, Joanna Glickler and Cynthia Risner-Schiller	
Mexican-American Women in the Principalship	48
Trudy A. Campbell	
How Female Principals Communicate: Verbal and Nonverbal	
Micropolitical Communication Behaviors for Female Anglo	
and Hispanic School Principals	53
Carolyn Carr	
BOOK REVIEWS	63

PUBLICATION INFORMATION

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Foreword

This issue of *Educational Considerations* focuses on issues surrounding women in school leadership. The collection of articles represents a wide range of perspectives. The contributing authors include women just beginning their academic careers and gaining prominence as well as those with a long history of national recognition and significant contributions to the field. Research from both the qualitative and quantitative approaches appear in addition to reflective pieces about practice. The issues addressed span career stages from high school students entering teaching (the administrative pool), to the principalship, and the superintendency. Finally, the reader will note that this issue affirms the need to report the varying experiences within groups of female administrators rather than concentrating solely on differences between males and females.

The lead article contains the comments of the keynote speaker at the Fifteenth Annual Rural and Small Schools Conference. Schmuck uses this address to answer the question of how rural schools provide equal educational opportunity for their students. What follows is a discussion of how to break down myths surrounding the belief systems of teachers and administrators; the development of a school culture; the patterns of school administration; and, those who are "invisible and silent" in our schools.

The second article highlights conditions affecting career choices of academically gifted female high school students. It points out that the leadership pool in American schools depends on attracting and retaining talented female teachers. Unfortunately, women who have been outstanding students are rarely channeling their leadership abilities into teacher training programs and we are losing their potential contributions.

The next three authors discuss professional development issues and university preparation programs. Scherr looks at alternative ways of teaching to minimize the traditional hierarchy in classrooms, to encourage more participation by students, to

create a more inclusive curriculum, and to help students discover their own voice—especially women and minorities. Walker confronts the failure of university programs to address how women develop as leaders and what kinds of structures foster and encourage development. Finally, Grady and Gosmire report on fourteen areas of training needs as identified by women in K-12 and post secondary administration.

The superintendency is the subject of the next two articles written by Brunner and Tallerico and Burstyn. Brunner provides a discussion of the superintendent's power as "power to" get things done with others, something more easily done for women than for men, and "power over" as a form of domination which insures that one person can cause another to do what the dominant person desires. Tallerico and Burstyn document the factors contributing to females who choose to leave chief executive roles.

Duncan and Cooper describe the socialization process of female administrators. Duncan notes that women must be trained not only as an administrator but must also be able to answer the question of how women "fit in" in the male dominated world of administrators. Cooper follows with a study of sixteen women in a single elementary school and describes how to begin critical reflection and possible transformation of the assumptions about leadership and the possible roles of women as organizational leaders.

Finally, the last three articles feature insights as to how both gender and ethnicity impact educational practices. Gonzalez, Glickler, and Risner-Schiller note the importance of Hispanic mothers acting as role models for their daughters. Role models increase academic achievement which is critical to ensuring the availability of minority candidates in the leadership arena. Campbell speaks of the "realities" of principals who are both Mexican-American and female. Finally, Carr points out communication patterns of female principals and how they differ on the basis of ethnicity.

Trudy A. Campbell, Guest Editor

If you are to achieve equal educational opportunities, you as educational leaders, must be the people who confront the stereotypes; you must be the leaders who deliver the rhetoric of equality. If you don't deliver it, no one will.

Invisible and Silent Along the Blue Highways

Patricia A. Schmuck

In 1989 Dick Schmuck and I visited 25 small school districts in 21 different states. We traveled over 10,000 miles for six months along what author William Least Heat Moon called the "Blue Highways of America"—those two lane roads marked blue by the cartographer's pen. We interviewed over 500 people; teachers, administrators, students, clergy, custodians and citizens. Our experience is reported in several articles and a book, *Small Districts: Big Problems* (1992). One question we asked of all administrators and teachers was, "tell me how you provide equal educational opportunity for your students?" Let me give you three examples of responses. These three examples illustrate the pervasive myths about diversity in our small town public schools.

In a small Louisiana town on the Mississippi Delta, where bald cypress trees grow bunched together in the lake that separates the white and the black community, we visited one school district. This town was perhaps the most economically devastated we saw on our trip. The 1960s federal order for racial desegregation resulted in an all-white private academy being formed, which still exists. The north side of the river has middle class homes and green lawns that run to the lake. The south side of the river holds the town—such as it is—amidst boarded up stores and run down houses. The previously small farms had been sold to corporations, and those who were sharecroppers and tenant farmers moved to the center of town. The public school is about 90 percent black. The public school struggles for tax funds and the white community is struggling also—not only to pay the tax funds but to support the all-white academy. It's an economically bereft and spiritually bankrupt community. We visited an elementary school just outside of town; the principal was a white male. He said—listen to the assumptions behind his words—"colored kids who do well in school have mixed breeding." Let me repeat, "colored kids who do well in school have mixed breeding." This is a school leader, one who helps form a belief pattern in schools. Yet he believed a white blood strain was necessary for "colored" kids

Patricia A. Schmuck is Program Director and Professor of Educational Administration at Lewis and Clark College in Portland, Oregon. Her article features a keynote address she delivered at the Fifteenth Annual Rural and Small Schools Conference held at Kansas State University.

to succeed in school. While this was perhaps the most overt racist statement we heard, we did hear from other teachers and administrators in the midwest, and in the north about Hispanics, about Indian children, and about children from poor homes; statements that echoed the myth that some children cannot learn. That's the first important myth: **Some children cannot learn.** Do you believe that some children cannot learn?

In northern Texas where the flat land stretches on forever, where small towns dot the flat landscape, and flashing neon signs light the liquor stores lined outside of dry towns, we visited a high school. The high school was antique; wooden lockers without locks lined the halls on the old wooden floors where students gathered, like they do in all high schools, to meet each other and talk about their concerns. The vast majority of students in this school were white; they were bussed from the small ranches surrounding the small town where the local businesses were mostly boarded up as a new Walmart had been created in a nearby community. In response to our question, "how do you provide equal educational opportunity for your students," the high school principal responded, "students are students. I don't care if they are girls or boys, black, yellow or green, they all ride the same bus, eat the same food, have the same classes." This sentiment was repeated by others, "we're so small here, kids are scheduled for all classes, there is no choice, it's the same for everyone." Here is the second myth: **Same is equal.** Do you believe if you offer the same educational opportunities, you are providing equal educational opportunity? Do you believe same is equal?

The most prevalent response to the question, "how do you provide equal educational opportunity for your students" was "this is not a problem." The following comments were not unusual: "we don't have any blacks here so we don't have to worry," or "we don't go out of our way," "we don't do anything here," "there are no barriers here," or "that used to be a problem 20 years ago but now girls can do everything boys can do," or "I don't do anything special because students can be whatever they want to be." We heard responses like this everywhere we went, the south, north, and midwest. This is the third myth: **There is no problem.** Do you believe you have no problem? If you do, I think you are sticking your head in the sand so you don't see problems of inequity.

Let me address those three myths:

Some children can't learn.

Same is equal.

We have no problem.

I will speak to these myths by addressing the following four topics:

1. The Belief Systems of Teachers and Administrators: Knowing the Language of Equality.
2. The Development of a School Culture: Meeting Equality Head-on.
3. The Patterns of School Administration: Knowing the "Mom and Pop" of School Administration in Small Town Schools.
4. The "Invisible and Silent" in our Schools: Establishing the New Agenda.

1. The Belief Systems of Teachers and Administrators: Knowing the Language of Equality

Since the federal court rulings of 1954, *Brown vs. Board of Education* positing that separate cannot be equal, the passage of Title IX in 1972 stating schools receiving federal funds cannot discriminate on account of sex, and the mainstreaming mandates requiring education in the least restrictive environment, our language has changed considerably. In the past few decades, during your lifetime, we have developed new words and concepts which we did not have before.

You probably are familiar with the work of the linguist, Benjamin Lee Whorf, who argued that language creates our perceptions of the world. His famous example is the 20 or so words for snow in some Indian languages in Alaska. These twenty different words for snow differentiate the kinds of snow; with such distinctions in language, people SEE different kinds of snow. Skiers need adjectives such as wet, dry, packed, or fluffy to describe snow. Our language helps form our concepts of the world. Words are powerful constructs. Our words and our constructs change over time. With new words we construct new meanings; language constructs the reality we see.

Just listen to how our language has changed. Listen to the words that have been used with regard to race—nigger, negro, colored, black and African American. In your own lifetime you have seen the different labels we give to someone whose ancestors came from Africa. These words have different meaning constructed over time. "Nigger" is offensive, it carries meanings which are offensive. We now use the word "racist" with understanding what it means. That would not have been the case even 30 years ago.

Sexism. That's a word we use today. We didn't use or understand that word just 20 years ago, it was not part of the regular lexicon. Although some people still think that sexism is about "sexual relations," the way we use it refers to the differential experiences of what it means to be male and female. You can identify a sexist joke; someone is being demeaned for being female. Probably some of you are replacing the word "sex" with "gender," you say this is a person of the male or female gender. Gender has become the new word. Technically, sex is about biology; one is of the male or the female sex. Gender has come into our vocabulary to separate biology from social phenomenon. That is, gender is the social meaning given to a person of the female or male sex. GENDER, such as RACE, is a concept that is socially constructed. It is based on sex, but the meaning changes. For instance, it's only 150 years ago that women could not teach, because it was not a job for a respectable woman. It was only about 150 years ago that psychologists and doctors argued that females should not go to school because too much brain activity would destroy their reproductive capacity. We hold such ideas as hogwash today, but it's been fairly recent in our history that being female had such gender meanings. Gender is the study of what it means to be male and female in the society and that meaning changes.

So what does language have to do with providing your students equal educational opportunity? I go back to the interviews with teachers and administrators we had on our travels. The ONLY administrators and teachers who could give a thoughtful answer to our question, "How do you provide equal educational opportunity for your students?" had the language and the concepts to answer the question. Let me give you a few examples.

A vocational education teacher said, "I'm glad when girls take welding and boys do home economics, but it's hard for them. The stereotypes are so ingrained in our society. There is a feeling in our community that girls will become housewives only. There is more pressure on traditional roles from the community than there is from the school." This person understood the concept of gender stereotypes.

A female high school vice principal said, "awareness about sex stereotyping needs to begin early, probably at the elementary level. It's asking high school students too much to buck the system of stereotyping at this level. They are dealing with so many things." This person understood how we all are socialized into our respective gender roles.

A male student said about his male principal, "Mr. Jones tries real hard I know. But he grew up at an earlier time. He's a real male chauvinist; I see how he treats the female teachers but he's just unaware." This is a student who could see how Mr. Jones treated female teachers from male teachers. Evidently Mr. Jones could not see that.

These are thoughtful teachers, administrators and students. They had the language to express the concepts of inequality. They used words such as stereotype, bias, and the "isms—racism, sexism, chauvinism," which we didn't have available to us just 20–30 years ago. They had language to express the conceptual constructs of the differential experiences of males and females.

The majority of educators who could give a thoughtful answer to the question about equal educational opportunity were those who had attended a workshop about issues of equal educational opportunity such as GESA, Gender Expectations and Student Achievement, developed by Dea Grayson, in Des Moines, Iowa. How many of you or any of your teachers have attended a GESA workshop or another workshop on providing equal educational opportunity? It requires learning how to see to make aware what is unaware.

In regard to Title IX, we surmised 37 percent of superintendents saw no problem, 28 percent reported full compliance, and 35 percent expressed concerns. I guess at least one-third of the districts were not in basic compliance with the legal mandate of Title IX to "not discriminate on account of sex."

What about YOU? Do you have the language to see inequality? Does your faculty have the language to see inequality? If you don't have the language you will not see it. Having a language helps construct how we see the world.

2. Developing a School Culture: Meeting Equality Head-On

Differences exist between students. Even peas in a pod, if you look carefully, are different from pea to pea. You have more variation in your school than peas in a pod. Maybe some of you do have obvious ethnic or racial diversity. When you think of diversity you think of perhaps someone who is not white, since white is the majority culture in our society. Maybe you have blacks or Hispanics in your community who have been there for generations. Maybe you have some of the new immigrants to our shores: Vietnamese, Russians and others who have come to the "land of liberty." Even if you don't have such obvious racial or ethnic diversity, you have diversity. You have girls and boys, you have students who come from homes where family has been "first teacher" (those who have well prepared their children to achieve in school), and you have lots of kids where family has not been a first teacher (who have not prepared their children for success in school). You have students who are athletic, kids who are "nerds," students who operate from their right brain only when we demand mostly left brain activity. YOU HAVE DIVERSITY WITHIN YOUR MIDST.

How can a school meet such diversity? How can educators meet the needs of such a diverse population? That is a problem in American schools. It has always been a problem, and it is a problem today.

Let me go back to language and how we communicate our respect for diversity. We have laws on the books that say we will "not discriminate" on the basis of sex, race or special needs. There are those of you who say, "what is the big deal," this is merely the big hand of the federal government telling me what to do. I know how to manage compliance, or circumvent compliance, with the federal government. One of the enduring, dear, and perverse attributes I give to educators in small town and rural districts is the individualism which has been the forefront of this country. Small town and rural school administrators do NOT (I repeat), do NOT like to deal with the bureaucratic mentality of the federal government. But let me try to turn this around for you. IF you truly want to provide equal educational opportunities for your students, the laws are there to help you.

Certainly we have seen a narrowing of those laws since 1980 and the Reagan–Bush administrations. I talked to a superintendent of a small district in Oregon in the late 80s, he said he called the Region X office to help provide him with some help about inequities in athletic opportunities for males

and females. He was told, "Don't bother about it, we're really not investigating these cases." In fact, I know of no school district in the United States which has been called on the carpet for non-compliance with Title IX. Perhaps we will see a new era, maybe some of you will hope that the next 12 years will eke out like the last 12 years and you will not really have to deal with gyms already crowded for boys practice, to include girls practice, or that you will not really have to look at classes which are predominately one sex and have to develop strategies to include more girls in shop, boys in home economics. Interestingly, most small school administrators did not report a difference in girls and boys in academic achievement such as advanced math and science classes, in fact the girls predominated. Girls in small town schools are more likely than boys to be academic achievers.

You say you have no problem. I say unless you hit the issue of inequality head-on, you have a problem. After all, kids today are not recluses; they have seen TV, they see who does what in this society. They already know the "isms" in our society. Kids bring the "isms" to school.

I will tell you a story about how students bring the "isms" of society to school. When our son, Allen, was in kindergarten, he had a masterful teacher, Elga Brown. She knew how to confront the "isms" students brought with them. Elga was talking to the children about what she should show about their kindergarten to the parents who would be visiting school for a parent meeting that evening. The children responded, "You should show our fathers the shop and you should show our mothers the kitchen area." Elga then confronted their stereotypes. "But how many of you have seen your mothers with hammers and screwdrivers fixing things in your house?" Of course, most children raised their hands. Elga concluded, "then your mothers would be interested in seeing the shop too." They agreed. Then she asked, "How many of you have seen your fathers in the kitchen cooking family meals?" Again, most children raised their hands. At which point Allen called out, "My dad cooks, he makes bananas and whiskey!" We heard this story from Elga that evening as she invited herself to our home for this famous dessert.

If you are to achieve equal educational opportunities, you as educational leaders, must be the people who confront the stereotypes; you must be the leaders who deliver the rhetoric of equality. If you don't deliver it, no one will.

I have lived abroad and worked with schools in many different countries. In most countries in the world there is no rhetoric about providing equal educational opportunities, therefore there is no policy. While I have always been a critic of our public schools in the United States because we do not achieve the equal educational opportunities we aspire toward, at least we *aspire* toward them. Your rhetoric about providing equal educational opportunity to your staff, to your community, and to your students is critically important. If you have no rhetoric, you probably have no policy. If you have no policy, you are probably among those who say, "we have no problem." If you have no rhetoric, or policy, you are not using the laws which exist to assist your schools toward equal educational opportunities. If it is not part of our rhetoric, how could we dream toward it to make it policy? If it is not part of our policy, how can we use the law? If it isn't in our rhetoric, policy and law, how could our dream for educational equality ever be achieved?

There are schools which **MAXIMIZE OR MINIMIZE** the differences between students who enter their doors. There are schools which have the spectrum of a rainbow of color of students. There are schools which have only one ray of the rainbow but nevertheless they are diverse. In a study I did with Jane Schubert (Schmuck & Schubert, 1995), we investigated the equal opportunities provided by schools; these schools had female principals. We categorized three responses to the question, "how do you provide equal educational opportunity?"

The three categories were:

1) Equity as a single event. A role model is invited to class, or there is a day, a period, a special bulletin board emphasizing equality. This is only one teacher doing something on one day.

2) Equity as a School Add-On. This was a school event, but a one-time only, such as celebrating Martin Luther King Day, celebrating Women's History Week in some way. It was a day devoted to a celebration of those silent and invisible in our history.

3) Equity as Institutional Practice. This is ongoing practice, it's part of the "way we do business." It's keeping data on disciplinary practices that may differentiate on sex, race or ethnic lines; it's looking at curriculum exploring bias in text books. As someone who has equal educational opportunity as a goal, you look at test scores, are there discrepancies on the basis of sex, race—and you develop plans to deal with that. You investigate how you offer equal educational opportunity and when you find a problem of inequity, you tackle it. On the Blue Highways we saw no school that treated equity as institutional practice.

You probably are all familiar with that line of research called the "effective schools research." Ron Edmonds started that research in inner city black schools (1982). He found some schools did a more effective job of addressing and ameliorating the racist assumptions in our society. You know the research-effective schools are those with high expectations, clarity of goals, safety, and have an ethos of caring. Those effective schools in the inner city, primarily black neighborhoods, did not believe that some children could not learn, they believed that all children could learn. And they did it. Today there are exemplary examples of schools, such as Debbie Meiers, Central Park East in New York, who have turned things around. Kids who were not generally expected to achieve, did achieve. You are not administrators or teachers in the inner cities of our country, yet you can learn something from this research. There was a pervasive culture of caring, and these schools met the hidden myths of our society head-on. They believed all students could learn and they created a school culture on this premise. Those effective schools hit head-on the racist assumptions in our culture.

Rural and small town schools are different from urban schools, from suburban schools. Your school is your community unlike urban or suburban communities, you hold the lead. You do not compete with other athletic events or theatrical offerings. When something happens in your town it usually is in the school. The school is the center in many rural and small towns. And you as educators, as administrators and teachers in small towns have an important community role.

Your school is influenced deeply by the community norms and morals. One of the problems emerging most recently in the research is about sexual harassment in the schools. Have you addressed the problem in your school? If you say no, you are hiding your head in the sand. Let me tell you about two incidents in rural schools, both in Oregon.

In one small school district in Oregon a female student reported to a female teacher that she had been harassed by a student at a school party. The student happened to be the student body president. The teacher encouraged her to report the incident to the administration and the girl did. She was called to a hearing to "investigate" the charges; attending the meeting were the male student body president, the male principal and two male vice principals. Facing all these males at her hearing, she recanted her story. She became invisible and silent.

In one other small school district a female student reported the unwanted advances of a popular male teacher in the high school. She reported it to the female vice principal, who reported it to the male principal and a hearing ensued. It received publicity in the local community and many community members called the school incensed that such charges had

been brought. The community sentiment was, "we know he makes advances to female students—she should have known better and stayed away from him." It suddenly became her responsibility; the teacher was dismissed from school amidst the objections of parents.

What do you do to provide a school culture to meet the "isms" of society? Equity as a single event, equity as an add-on, or equity as institutional practice? If you report "no problem" and do nothing, you are the problem. Unless you confront the "isms" in our society you are not providing equal educational opportunity. SAME is not equal. Because same does not account for the "isms" in our society.

3. The Patterns of School Administration: Knowing the "Mom and Pop" of School Administration in Small Towns

In 1973 I was gathering data for my doctoral dissertation, "Sex Differentiation in Public School Administration." By the way, I was the second female ever to receive a doctorate from the Department of Educational Administration at the University of Oregon. Now at least one-half of the student body is female. My question was why were there so few women in school administration? At that time there were about six percent women administrators in Oregon. I traveled the state and talked to women administrators, and when there were no women I talked with men administrators about why there were so few women administrators. Let me give you a few quotes I heard in those interviews from male administrators. Frankly, I was shocked that they would say such things to me, as a woman, exploring the topic of women in administration. I remember one male superintendent who cautioned me, "most women Ph.D.'s end up divorced—their husbands just can't stand brainy women." I'm pleased to announce I am not divorced and Dick loves a brainy woman.

One male superintendent said, "It's easier to work without women. Principals and superintendents are a management team. We need each other for survival. I wonder if we could hang together so well if some of us were women? Could we talk together? I don't have that concern with a guy, he talks the same language. I can count on him. I don't have to take a risk."

Another male superintendent said, "If a woman goes into administration she must understand the workings of a man's mind. So when things are said, they should not be taken from a woman's angle but from a man's angle."

In 20 years perhaps some things have changed; we have seen some behavioral changes from such Neanderthal thinking about women as school leaders. Maybe there are some of these dinosaurs still in existence, but they probably wouldn't say such things out loud anymore. Maybe they do.

A major happening in the last 20 years are new concepts and constructs of educational leadership. It is an interesting corollary that the change from top-down, authoritarian, head boss concepts of leadership are changing to leadership that is empowering, facilitative and participatory as more women move into administration. In fact, Sally Helgesen calls this "The Female Advantage." She argues that the new call for leadership is the kind of training that women have received in this society—a call for relationship-building rather than bossing. Some argue that women are more able to meet the call for the new kind of leadership because of their experiences of being in a female culture. Yes, but you say. But I know women who outdo the male stereotypes; they are authoritarian, top down and see themselves as boss. Yes, unfortunately I know some of these women too. And these women often don't take their responsibilities for providing equal educational opportunity either. One woman high school principal told me, "I bend over backwards not to give preferential treatments to girls and women on my staff. I want to be an effective administrator, not an effective woman." Yes, there are women who try to become

what they consider to be the model of school leadership. They rejected the gender female stereotypes and modeled themselves after the old models of leadership. But I am hopeful, that we will not only achieve some parity in educational administration, but that the kind of leadership women—and men will bring—will encourage, support and empower teachers and students to live up to their potential, that they will lead school organizations toward greater realization of our human potential.

In a recent book I edited with Diane Dunlap, *Women Leading in Education* (1995), Michelle Collay wrote a chapter about a small rural school in North Dakota, called the "Mom and Pop of School Administration." This is a story where social gender roles are transported to the school setting. The superintendent/principal is male. The head teacher of the Elementary school is female. The male superintendent/principal plays the traditional "Pop" role—what is referred to in the old literature about families as the "instrumental role." He makes pronouncements, deals with paper work, attends state meetings and spends most of the time in his office. The head teacher, a female, plays the "Mom" role—what is referred to in the old literature about families as the "expressive role." She mediates between the pronouncements of the superintendent and the practices of teachers; she organizes the faculty meetings, always with food, to set the stage for the pronouncements from "Pop." She is the one teachers go to with their problems, she is the one who deals with parents—primarily mothers, she is the one who listens, who consoles, who offers help. It is the traditional family roles of "Pop" and "Mom" set into the context of the school.

You may say, this sounds like a good arrangement; they complement each other. Yes, it **works**. BUT, this arrangement perpetuates the old stereotypes of males playing the instrumental role and females playing the expressive role. I believe this is not only limiting to individuals who unconsciously accept the gender messages of the society, it communicates to teachers and to students about "proper" roles. What of those girls and women who would like to play a more instrumental role? What of those boys and men who would like to play the more expressive role? Just because the gender stereotypes call for girls and women to be expressive, it does not mean that role fits all girls and women. Just because the gender stereotypes call for males to be the authoritarian boss, it does not mean that role fits all boys and men.

The educational leader we write about today calls for strengths in both the traditional male and female roles. The old models of pronouncement making and bossing do not work today, if they ever did. The old model of being the authoritarian boss is being replaced by a call for leaders who can be tough and tender, who operate with their head as well as their heart, who can build relationships with people by listening, facilitating, and empowering.

The predominant leadership style we saw along the Blue Highways was primarily authoritarian. Of the 28 secondary principals and 12 elementary principals we categorized as authoritarian, all were male. Of the 40, 38 had been coaches and from our interviews we surmised most of them conceived of communication and decision-making as hierarchical, more like the military than the new calls for leadership. When we asked teachers, "what voice do you have in the operations of this school, most teachers reported they had little voice such as the teacher who said, "What kind of voice do we have? Ha. None. We have a dictatorship in this school. This principal is just like my dad, that's the age they learned this stuff. If you don't like the captain, get off the ship."

We categorized 10 of the high school principals and 15 of the elementary principals as democratic. There were 10 women in our sample, 9 of those were categorized as democratic. They exemplified democratic leadership; teachers

had a voice, they solicited feedback and information from teachers and from students, they ran effective meetings where people had a voice.

Rural and small schools seem to be mimicking a model of bureaucratic governance that so many of our urban and suburban schools are trying to eliminate. Too many schools were characterized by distant and superficial relationships yet they are in the context of close, personal communities. We saw many administrators not taking advantage of the unique, inherent qualities of small and rural schools: the tight community of learners and the close, intricate lives that people live. This is what many urban or suburban schools are trying to do. You, as school leaders, can set the agenda so that people truly believe all children can learn. You, as school leaders, can build a school culture that rejects the "isms" of society students bring with them; you can determine you have a problem and provide equal educational opportunities. If you are not openly confronting it, you are not dealing with the inequities in your schools. You have a problem; if you are providing the same education for everyone, you are not providing an equal education. Our students do not come to school as equals, they come to school as unequals—primarily as an accident of birth. SAME is not equal.

4. The "Invisible and Silent" in our Schools: Establishing the New Agenda

Finally let me address what I see as our challenge as educators for the future. How to make the invisible visible, and how to listen to silenced voices. You are all privileged people in this room, I am a privileged person. By privilege I mean having unearned advantages. By the **condition of your birth** you have privileges. Most of you are white, that is a privileged position in this society. Many of you are men, that is a privileged position in this society; these are unearned privileges. Then there are earned privileges. All of you are educated, that is a privileged position. You are generally economically secure, economic privilege is important in this society. As a privileged person in this society you have more than less access to all the places you wish to go, you meet more than less with people you wish to meet, you can belong to organizations and feel connected, not alienated, you can raise healthy children, you have access to medical care and support systems in your lives. Many doors open for you. Compare your privilege with the students in your school. They don't yet have any earned privileges, some have unearned privileges. Many have no unearned privilege. Many face no open doors.

Peggy McIntosh has an article called "White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack" (1989). She argues there are privilege attributes in our society and we, who are privileged, carry an invisible package of unearned assets. Our privilege is unacknowledged, it is a condition of our birth, it is invisible yet it gives us an advantage over people who do not carry such privilege. You need to understand your privilege if you are to work with students who have little or no privilege in this society.

We, as educators, silence the voices of many of our students if they do not fit into the mainstream of unearned privilege, and then discount the voices of those who are silenced; we move them to the margins and ignore them. Our public schools were created originally for those who were privileged; white, middle class and upper class boys. White girls were "smuggled" into the high schools at the turn of the century but

the curriculum didn't change. It's only since 1954 that we have a desegregated public system. I argue schools still are institutions which perpetuate the unearned privilege in our society. We discount the experiences of those who do not have privilege, the unearned advantage. What a study of the "isms" has done in twenty years is move us to the margins—to see those who are on the margins, who have been invisible and those who have been silenced. We need to listen to the voices of students in our schools, of lesbian and gay students who deal with assaults, of young women and young men in lower class communities who struggle for an identity and a job in a transforming global capitalist economy. We need to hear the voices of African American students and African American teachers trying to make sense of a public educational system with deeply fractured lines along race and class. We need to hear the silence of abused young girls as they struggle with their identity. These are not the privileged in our schools or our society, yet these are our students. If we deeply believe that schools are the democratic sphere of our society, that in them and through them we will continually build toward a greater democracy, a greater sharing of privilege, we need to move to the margins. We need to make visible the invisible, and we need to hear the silenced voices of students in our schools. You need to understand your privilege, you need to make it visible to yourselves so you can work with those without privilege.

In order to address the silent and invisible in our schools we need to attack the three myths, we need to believe that all children can learn, we need to understand that same is not equal, and that you have a problem—there is a problem of respecting diversity in your schools. Finally, you in leadership positions, as administrators and teachers, are the standard bearers in your communities. If you do not take on the task of providing equal educational opportunities for your students, then we may expect no one will do it in your community.

Do **you** believe all children can learn? How can **you** communicate that belief? If you don't believe that all students in your charge can be taught to be effective contributing citizens in our democratic society, then you are in the wrong business. This must be a fundamental belief—you cannot write students off because they are not privileged like you—you cannot write them off when they are five, nine, or fifteen years old. There must be a fundamental belief that all children can learn, an understanding that same is not equal and an acknowledgment that we have a problem in respecting diversity in our schools.

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Women who have been outstanding students rarely channel their leadership abilities into pre-college education careers. The nature of teaching careers, as well as societal views and reward of teaching, would have to change considerably to attract large numbers of academically gifted students.

LOSING THE LEADERS: Academic Talent and Teaching Careers

Karen D. Arnold

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I had wanted to be a teacher since I was in high school. I think a lot of it was respect for teachers. I liked to be motivated, liked school . . . Sometimes [people] think you're doing what you do because you couldn't do something else. Then I want to tell them: I did real well in high school, and I did real well in college, and I could have done other things. I chose to do this. (*Former middle school science teacher and high school valedictorian*)

The leadership pool in American schools depends on attracting and retaining talented female teachers. Exceptionally able educators serve as models to students, peers, and the public. They exemplify and stress intellectual excellence. And gifted women have the potential to contribute significantly to addressing the complex issues facing contemporary schools. Unfortunately, women who have been outstanding students rarely channel their leadership abilities into pre-college education careers. This article explores the career choice and professional experiences of academically talented female students in teaching paths, using data from a 15-year longitudinal study of high school valedictorians and salutatorians.

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A marked decline occurred over the past two decades in the academic qualifications of teachers, as measured by college entrance examination scores, high school and college grade point averages, and basic skills tests.¹ Of the 7.5 percent of college graduates who currently enter teaching, about 1 student in 10 scores in the highest quartile on standardized tests; 4 in 10 are from the lowest quartile.² Research has consistently shown that students who choose teacher education majors are less academically able than their peers in most other college majors.³ Highly ranked students who do choose teaching leave the profession earlier and in greater numbers than their less academically able peers.⁴

In their integrative review, Howey, Matthes, & Zimpher concluded that "a strong relationship has been found between intellectual performance and student learning. Teachers of high academic ability experience greater success in helping students learn than do teachers with low academic ability."⁵ Effective teaching requires highly complex tasks and behaviors that call for strong cognitive and academic skills.⁶ A 1989 American Association of School Administrators report cites an Oregon study on the relationship of high intellectual ability to effective teaching:

The complexity of the teaching function clearly demands high cognitive skills. Teachers must be life-long learners who are able to update continuously their base of knowledge, to use new strategies, and to adapt to changing students and community needs.⁷

Academic ability bears directly on teaching effectiveness, therefore, through its relationship to intellectually complex professional tasks and through a teacher's own ability to learn. Very strong students also presumably hold strong academic goals as teachers, an important point given the finding that most teacher education candidates favor interpersonal over academic goals of teaching.⁸ Besides its influence on classroom effectiveness, academic ability relates to the public image of teachers. Vance & Schlecty noted that the public's view of teaching, the attractiveness of the profession to able students, and the strength, vitality, and credibility of teacher education programs are adversely affected "by the relative inability of the teaching occupation to attract the more academically able students."⁹ Finally, the potential for intellectual and organizational leadership can be found disproportionately among academically talented individuals.

A Longitudinal Study of Academically Talented Teachers

The literature on teacher characteristics draws primarily from cross-sectional survey studies of single teacher education institutions.¹⁰ This article explores the entrance and retention of academically gifted women in teaching careers through a 15-year longitudinal study of high school valedictorians, the Illinois Valedictorian Project.

The 46 women and 35 men in the Project graduated in 1981 as valedictorian or salutatorian of public and private high schools in varied communities throughout the state of Illinois. Since 1981, the valedictorians have participated in six or seven semi-structured interviews of one to two hours and completed seven questionnaires. Seven of the eight valedictorians who majored in education or worked as teachers were interviewed in 1992-1993, during the most recent data collection point. Analysis of interview texts follows a grounded theory approach in which data collection and interpretation occur in an iterative cycle.¹¹

The first thirteen years of the Illinois Valedictorian Project demonstrated that academically talented high school students are indeed potential leaders.¹² The group continued to succeed magnificently in college academics, with a 95 percent college graduation rate, a mean college grade point average of 3.6 on a four-point scale, a fifty-seven percent graduate degree

attainment, and many academic honors and awards. Unlike the stereotypes of one-sided geniuses or study grinds, former high school academic stars are interpersonally adept, strongly career motivated, and exceptionally hard working.¹³ In addition to their indisputable academic skills, valedictorians are well-rounded individuals with multiple interests and with the ability and willingness to succeed within the rules and structures of established systems like formal schooling. These personal traits, along with outstanding academic credentials, led Illinois Valedictorian Project members to high level professions in their 30's.

Valedictorians as Teachers

Although high school valedictorians universally experienced positive relationships with pre-college teachers, very few ever considered teaching careers. Valedictorians reported that lack of prestige and low pay in teaching careers along with perceived lack of academic challenge in teacher preparation curricula contributed to their decision not to consider undergraduate education majors. For students with unlimited options, teaching provided scant challenge to the well-regarded, high-paying, growth fields of engineering, business, law, and medicine.

In all, three men and five women from the Illinois Valedictorian Project eventually majored in education (two women and one man), returned to school for teacher certification (two women and two men), or taught as an uncertified private school instructor (one woman) in the first 14 years after high school. A sixth woman entered college as an aspiring mathematics education major, but almost immediately changed her plans when she learned of other career paths in mathematics. (She is now an actuary with a masters degree in mathematical statistics.) At age 31, none of the five women who majored in education or taught after college was a classroom teacher. One only remains in pre-college education, as an administrator. The cases of the five women demonstrate a variety of professional channels. (An overview of the cases appears in Table 1.)

- Emily was valedictorian at a private Catholic school. At the prestigious private university she attended, Emily switched her major to elementary education after earning poor grades in her pre-medicine major. After college, she returned to her own Catholic K-12 school, taught there for several years, and became an administrator. The value base of Catholic schooling is central to Emily. While working as Assistant Principal, she earned a Masters degree in educational administration and is continu-

ing for doctoral study. If she marries and has children, Emily has consistently reported, she will not continue working outside the home.

- Alice majored in psychology at the urban university where her father taught. After two years of unsatisfactory jobs as a restaurant manager, she returned to school for a teaching certificate. Unable to find a public school teaching job, Alice worked for one year teaching pre-school and gymnastics classes at a community center. The following year, newly married, she taught 6th grade at an urban Catholic girls school. Alice left the job before the end of the school year to have her first child. Now the mother of three, Alice does not work outside the home but plans to return to education in a non-classroom role when her children are in high school.
- The daughter of a community college instructor and an elementary school teacher, Jane qualified for early graduation after three years of pre-medicine studies at a fundamentalist Christian College. She received all A's in college. When she became engaged, Jane decided to forgo medical school and remained in college to complete a teacher certification program. She taught high school biology while her husband attended graduate school. Subsequently, Jane entered a doctoral program in science education and became a faculty member at a two-year college.
- Beth grew up in an upper middle class, intellectual family. She attended a public research university, where she excelled as a chemistry major. Conflicts with a research mentor led Beth to leave the elite doctoral program in chemistry that she began immediately after college. Between the time she withdrew from Ph.D. work and the time she began a new doctoral program at another university, Beth taught chemistry for two years at a prestigious independent girls school. In 1994 she completed her dissertation in organic chemistry and took a teaching-oriented faculty position at a 4-year college.
- Meg came from a middle-class family. She entered a Christian college as an education major but changed her major to psychology in her second semester. After three colleges and another switch of major to pre-medicine, she graduated as a secondary education/biology major and worked for eight years as a middle school science teacher. Meg married the summer after her college graduation. In 1993, she decided to leave teaching, returning to school to train as a physical therapist.

Table 1. Valedictorians in K-12 Education

Name	College Major(s)	Education Credential	Teaching Positions	Current Status
Emily	1. Pre-medicine 2. Elem. Ed.	Bachelors and Masters in Education	High School history: 6 years	Catholic administrator
Alice	1. Pre-medicine 2. Theater 3. Psychology	Post-BA teaching certificate	Elementary: 1 year	Homemaker
Jane	Biology	Post-BA teaching certificate	High school biology: 1 year	2-year college science faculty member
Beth	Chemistry	None	High school chemistry: 2 years	4-year college science faculty member
Meg	1. Education 2. Pre-medicine 3. Biology	Bachelors in Education	Middle school science: 8 years	Physical therapy student

Results

The valedictorians who chose teaching, both female and male, differed from the other academically able students of the Illinois Valedictorian Project in several ways. Teachers were generally from less advantaged families and were more risk-averse than other Project members. They expressed greater interest in serving others and lower emphasis on financial gain. Teachers and education majors changed majors and occupations more often than other valedictorians. The following themes characterized the women who seriously considered pre-college teaching careers.

1. All of the teachers and education majors are white, European-Americans. All but Beth describe themselves as coming from working class or lower middle class backgrounds.
2. Valedictorians who considered or who entered teaching adhere to traditional sex-roles, including the relative subordination of the woman's career in a marriage. Women reflect the stereotypical female emphasis on selflessness, relationships, and caring for others.
3. Valedictorians who enter teaching describe themselves as people-oriented and use that as a rational base for their decision to go into teaching.
4. Female teachers express strong Christian religious conviction. Their religious conviction supports altruism, traditional sex roles for women, deemphasis of material goals, and service to others.
5. Valedictorians attracted to K-12 education careers describe themselves as disliking risk and competition. They perceive teaching as a secure, safe, noncompetitive career in which they can succeed.
6. Those students who prepared for or entered education careers emphasize the vocational outcomes of higher education. They value career relevance in the curriculum and perceive college education as a vehicle for social mobility.
7. All of the valedictorians who taught or earned undergraduate education degrees spent part or all of their college years in other majors.
8. The majority of the valedictorians in education have family members who are teachers.
9. The valedictorians did not find their undergraduate or graduate coursework in education intellectually absorbing.

MEG: A Teacher's Career Path

The short descriptions of the valedictorians who chose teaching majors or careers and the themes that cross their cases can be elaborated and interpreted through the longitudinal story of Illinois Valedictorian Project member Meg (a pseudonym). Meg's case demonstrates both the personal factors that affect career development in teaching and the commonalities that link the experiences of academically talented teachers and teacher candidates.

Meg grew up in a middle-class home, considering college as vocational preparation and searching for a career that would yield secure employment. Although she received recognition in biology, she did not have sufficient self-confidence or career orientation to consider pursuing medicine or research science. After three changes of major, Meg settled on science education as a secure vocation in which she was confident she could succeed. She had no undergraduate mentors in education. At least one biology professor tried to dissuade her from becoming a teacher. "A professor in college said, 'Meggie, don't go into teaching. You need to go to medical school or do something else. That's a real waste.'"

By 1992, eleven years after high school graduation, Meg considered herself a successful teacher at her suburban middle school. She generally enjoyed her work but was planning to

leave teaching in the next few years. Meg gave several different reasons for leaving teaching. First, she felt she was not growing in her job.

It isn't that I hate teaching. I like teaching, there are certain aspects of teaching that I love. And I think, um, I think I'm an effective teacher. It's rare for me to say something like that. But on the other hand I feel as if I'm not growing myself. I just keep doing the same thing over and over and over . . . I feel a little bit bored. I feel a little bit like I'm in a rut.

The second reason Meg had decided to leave teaching was related to external rewards and social views of teaching. Meg felt teaching was valuable but was keenly aware of the societal attitudes about her profession.

Being a junior high science teacher is not a very prestigious position. In fact, I think it's something that's almost looked down on. 'Gee, is this all you do?' type thing. Although I enjoy it for the most part, sometimes I want to say, 'how could you do that?'. . . For myself, I want to feel like I'm doing something worthwhile, something important, and I'm viewed that way.

A third reason for Meg leaving teaching was personal change and growth. Meg had chosen teaching partly because another route to success would be chancy. Since college, however, Meg had slowly come to realize that opportunities sometimes requires taking chances.

What I'm realizing about myself is that I tend not to be a risk-taker. I tend to not just jump into something and do it, I need to be assured of success. And I think I'm starting to get over that a bit. I'm trying to get myself to take risks and do things because they're fun, because they have growth potential . . . So I'm getting ready to get and go back to school and do something else. I think part of it is just getting up the courage to do it.

As Meg grew as a person, she began seeking ways to live according to her own wishes and goals, rather than her usual expected or safe path. Pursuing a career that might be more fulfilling, despite the risks and unknowns, was an expression of Meg's new self-understanding.

Finally, Meg had come to doubt the service mission that had initially drawn her to teaching.

I think when you look at kids and realize all the forces in their life, you're really a very small force . . . I question how big an effect it is. That doesn't mean that it's nonexistent, but I don't feel like I'm changing the world.

Meg speculated about academically gifted students choosing teaching. Gifted students are expected to enter other fields, she said. "I think for the most part, those students that are gifted aren't encouraged to enter teaching . . . I think it's encouraged that they do something else, medicine or law. That's what the kids want to do." Once in teaching, such students might find themselves frustrated in some of the ways Meg expressed.

If we're talking sincerely gifted, very creative genius-level kids, I don't think they would be rewarded teaching. Because a lot of teaching is fairly mundane tasks. That's not all of it, there is a lot of creativity and I think really good teachers don't allow themselves to be caught up in the mundane tasks. There's always going to be a certain amount of that. I think it's just part of the job. And that's one of the characteristics of a gifted student is that they don't like repetition.

By 1994, Meg had decided to leave her job and enter a new "people-oriented" field. Physical therapy would offer more flexibility, variety, money, and prestige, she said, Meg is

currently earning top grades in an accelerated physical therapy degree program and looking forward to beginning her new career.

Discussion

Following Meg from high school graduation to age 31 reveals the complexities of her career path and perceptions and the interaction of her gender, class, and personality with the decisions to enter and then leave teaching. Regardless of her superior academic performance, Meg's story demonstrates the major themes in the literature on first-time teacher characteristics.

Like nearly all the other K-12 teachers and college education majors in the Illinois Valedictorian Project, Meg is white, European American, and from a middle-class background. For her, teaching does not represent downward mobility; for some Project members, it offers a step up from their parents' material circumstances. Like her valedictorian peers in education, Meg holds traditional sex-role beliefs. Alice chose teaching because the profession allowed her to mold her career around her primary childrearing role. Similarly, Jane changed from medicine to education in order to remain flexible for her husband's career moves. Emily, an administrator contemplating a doctorate, expects to leave paid work when she marries and has children. Only Beth does not expect family to drive career and she has chosen to teach at the university level.

The academically talented students who became teachers are strongly people- and service-oriented. Each sees her involvement in education as socially valuable. Beth and Jane, for example, care deeply about connecting young people to science. Emily describes the Catholic values of her private school as essential to her professional commitment. The theme of service to others relates to the strong religious convictions of most of the academically gifted teachers. In particular, Jane and Emily's religious faith anchors their value system and choice of teaching careers.

Meg and other academically talented students who studied and worked in education chose teaching as a safe, secure profession in which they could be reasonably assured of success and continuing employment. Alice chose teaching as a profession to which she could reliably return after full time childrearing.

Their pragmatic reports of choosing teaching might relate to the valedictorians' rather isolated experiences of career planning. The academically talented teachers all enjoyed their own schooling experiences deeply and all could point to influential elementary and secondary school teachers. At the college level, however, few in the group reported strong professional role models. Meg, for instance, did not have mentors among her educational professors or supervising teachers who urged her to consider teaching or helped socialize her into the profession. Only Emily, with her strong ties to Catholic schooling, cited important outside influences in her decision to become a teacher. Interestingly, few of those with educator parents reported that their family members either urged them to enter education or discouraged them from becoming teachers. However, it is likely that teacher parents influenced their daughters by modeling a sense of the profession and its issues.

Along with a notable lack of mentors, students gave mixed reviews to their preservice experiences. No certified teacher spoke highly of the intellectual component of education coursework. Meg said her education courses were unchallenging and unenriching. Emily thought teaching could only be learned through full time practice. During college, the group focused their deep intellectual interests on liberal arts studies. At the graduate level, Emily thought her Masters degree was "too easy." Meg disdained a degree she perceived as unchallenging:

They are making it easy to get [the Masters] so you can step up the salary schedule. And I really don't want my Masters degree to be that. I want it to be something I'm proud of, that I feel that I've worked for, that I feel like I learned something.

Student teaching reports ranged from "enjoyable" to "terrible," but no teacher candidate referred to her field experience as deeply meaningful.

Meg, along with Jane, Emily, and Beth, eventually came to consider teaching as repetitive and unable to generate continued intellectual engagement and professional growth. Alice and Jane could not envision long classroom careers because of the pressures related to heavy work loads, school politics, and discipline. Finally, Meg and her fellow teachers in the Illinois Valedictorian Project actively considered other career paths. Many options were available to these top ranked students, and they reached teaching as a desired or compromise vocation in the full knowledge that the profession was demanding, relatively low paying, and unprestigious.

Conclusion

Creative efforts to involve academically talented women in the teaching profession are critical in developing a leadership pool for American education. The high leadership potential of academically talented teachers rests in part on their vision of schooling as centered on student effort, perseverance, and genuine engagement in academic learning. Highly effective students themselves, academically outstanding teachers also have access to complex cognitive processes for understanding and solving the ill-structured problems of contemporary classrooms and schools.¹² They bring to teaching a record of achievement and effectiveness in reaching difficult, long-term goals. These academic values, complex reasoning abilities, and goal attainment skills provide academically talented women with exceptional potential for educational leadership.

What are the prospects for attracting more top women students to teaching? According to a yearly survey of over 200,000 entering college freshmen, the interest of American undergraduates in education majors and careers is gradually increasing. Although still many fewer than in the late 1960's, about twice as many 1993 entering college freshmen (10%) indicated an interest in teaching majors and careers than a decade before.¹⁶ Even as student interest in teaching careers is increasing, however, there is little indication that talented students will make up a greater proportion of those entering the profession. Schlicy's conclusion about attracting talented students to teaching in the mid-1980s continues to hold true a decade later:

Talented people who enter teaching must now do so out of a positive attraction to teaching. Unfortunately, teaching has few positive attractions and those few it does have are relatively unimportant when contrasted with the attractors of other occupations. Even persons who value working with ideas and with people and even persons who see themselves as nurturing and developmental can now find many equally attractive career opportunities that permit them to pursue such values while at the same time pursuing values like the need for recognition, advancement in status, and career growth.¹⁶

The Illinois Valedictorian Project illuminates the literature on the recruitment and retention of potential education leaders by placing profiles of academically talented teachers in the context of previous research findings. The analysis of these cases does not indicate that highly ranked students are much different from students in general in terms of their motivations to choose teaching and the disincentives to enter and remain in the profession. With their wide academic and career options,

many academically able students fit Schlechty's conclusion. Talented students often focus strong teaching interests on post-secondary careers. Even valedictorians seeking teaching as a second career report significant frustration with paths to the profession. "For a profession that says it wants young, talented and dedicated people to be a part of it, educational professionals have done nothing to help me. As a matter of fact, they have continually put up obstacles in my way," said a male second-career teacher. The valedictorians' stories suggest that the nature of teaching careers, as well as societal views and rewards of teaching, would have to change considerably to attract large numbers of academically gifted students.

The profile of the entire valedictorian group also suggests, however, that many top students who choose other fields have a deep interest in education and service careers that might lead them to short or long-term teaching activities after college graduation. The results of this study point clearly to the need to encourage such late entrants, as well as to continue establishing leadership channels, career ladders, and professional development opportunities for current teachers. Given the interest of academically talented students in service and education, but not in teaching careers, educators should seriously consider working with industry, government, and higher education to engage talented adults in non-teaching professions in formal, ongoing participation in schools.

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Some students have never considered that books were written and research conducted by men and about men for centuries before women were even admitted to universities. If two of six texts are by women, a sex bias can be attributed since students think of books by men as neutral.

Empowering Students For Leadership

Mary Woods Scherr

Believing strongly that a central goal in educational leadership courses is to empower students for leadership as well as teach theories and skills, I began four years ago to consider alternative ways of teaching—to minimize the traditional hierarchy in classrooms, to encourage more participation by students, to create a more inclusive curriculum, and to help students discover their own voice—especially women and people of color.

This essay briefly reviews the process I followed in re-examining the courses I teach, includes a section analyzing the difficulties women (and men) may experience from both students and colleagues when they initiate non-traditional ways of teaching in college classrooms, refers to recent research on university teaching, and concludes with an optimistic forecast. First, a few words on leadership.

I believe that leadership is an influence relationship that energizes, inspires, and empowers participants in a dynamic process that continually evolves to accomplish goals envisioned for a more just society. My views of leadership have been influenced most notably by colleagues who teach in the doctoral leadership program at the University of San Diego. The concepts of leadership as an "influence relationship,"¹ as an "educative function"² and as a process moving toward a more equitable society³ have become central to my philosophy of leadership. Helen Astin's work supports my goal of empowering students within a graduate classroom: She views leadership as "a process by which members of a group are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common goal or vision that will create change and transform institutions and thus improve the quality of life."⁴ Drawing on the work of Jean Baker Miller, I ask students to join me in promoting relationships that are "growth fostering," which result in personal empowerment. "Each person feels a greater sense of 'zest,'" is "more able to act and does act . . . has a more accurate picture of her/himself and the other person(s), . . . a greater sense of worth. . ." and "feels more connected to the other person(s)

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and a greater motivation for connections with other people."⁵ To practice this type of leadership in a classroom, the students need opportunities to articulate their emerging views; to share their personal experiences and observations, and to hear and understand diverse views. Only when their experiences, their understanding of theories, and their observation of their particular worlds are respected, do students acquire a stronger sense of their own unique voices and feel a greater sense of empowerment. (See Figure 1.)

But college classrooms are traditionally hierarchical and students arrive in graduate classes thoroughly experienced in the strategies of academic survival, often seeking to know what the professor wants and deferring to the professor as the source of knowledge. I think graduate students usually speak in at least two voices: the academic, formal voice that they deem appropriate and an inner, personal voice. As Beverly McElroy-Johnson explains: "There are people who have a particularly difficult time making contact with their inner voice with any confidence, and thus often take the authority of external voices as their own. Some people are so used to hearing their own voices that they hardly hear anything else, while others have been silenced or unheard for so long that they either never learned to speak or have forgotten how."⁶ My concern focuses on the inner voice of students, the voice that springs from a special sense of identity and the assurance of belonging to the academic community.

Thus, I believe a professor must consciously create an environment in which students can discover their own inner voice and safely participate as knowers as well as learners in a classroom committed to expanding the boundaries of knowledge.

Creating the Classroom Environment

To create a classroom environment that empowers students for leadership, I began to critically review the course syllabus, course content and my teaching strategies as well as the student evaluations for three different courses. I was influenced by the literature on feminist pedagogy, by the personal accounts of teachers at all educational levels who shared their action research at conferences, and by colleagues, both men and women, committed to empowering students within classrooms. Gradually I acquired the courage and commitment to review more categories for each course. These are listed below along with representative questions, far from comprehensive, that I found useful for consideration.

The Syllabus

The course syllabus offers significant opportunities in two major areas for increasing empowerment by involving students. First of all, do students have an opportunity to help plan the course to meet the needs of students in this particular class? If so, what aspects? Do they realize that meeting the needs of a particular class inevitably requires changes (unless we begin with no syllabus)? Are issues such as flexibility vs. inconsistency discussed?

Does student planning extend to evaluation? Is the grading system ever negotiated? Are there multiple forms of assessment? Do students help plan the final assessment? Can students meet in small groups to develop a stimulating essay question for a take-home final? (I have found that they develop complex, penetrating, and provocative questions.)

The Curriculum

Does the course content include works by women and people of color? Are reasons for their inclusion or omission discussed with the class? Are students encouraged to write reports or give presentations on topics or authors that may be needed for a more inclusive curriculum?

Collaboration and Team work

The academic literature,⁷ especially in relation to school reform and the improvement of administrator training programs, discusses the importance of collaborative work, yet many college classrooms are still very individualistic and competitive. Are there opportunities for group work? Perhaps more important, are group processes introduced if needed? Are difficulties openly discussed and resolved?

Communication

If speech contributes to "an emancipatory effort, a movement toward social clarity and self-comprehension,"⁸ then critiquing classroom discussions to see if they fulfill this potential will be beneficial. Are there opportunities for students to articulate their own meaning? Are other students encouraged to seek to understand before they criticize? Do discussions often become exciting academic dialogues rather than competitive confrontations? Does the class recognize the differences between discussion as a war metaphor⁹ and discussion to increase understanding?¹⁰ Are the uses of language as "power over" openly acknowledged?¹¹

Sharing works in progress

Feminist pedagogy believes in demystifying the teaching, research, and writing processes. In *Women's Ways of Knowing*,¹² the authors reported that few professors ever shared works in progress. Students only saw the finished product and had no idea of the evolving process, the tentative analyses, or the multiple drafts that led to the product. Do I share work in progress? Do we encourage each other to try out ideas in class?

Questioning aspects of a course in the above categories can lead toward the following goals, which can be listed as classroom characteristics: 1) student participation in planning; 2) an inclusive curriculum; 3) respect for students as knowers as well as learners; 4) safety for experimenting with ideas; and 5) collaborative learning. (See Figure 1.)

With Eyes Wide Open

How we teach as much as the course content can empower students and promote leadership. If we intend to prepare students for collaborative work and if we seek to empower students, the traditional, hierarchical, teacher as expert model needs to change. Be prepared, however, for a challenge if you have created an environment in which it is safe to challenge

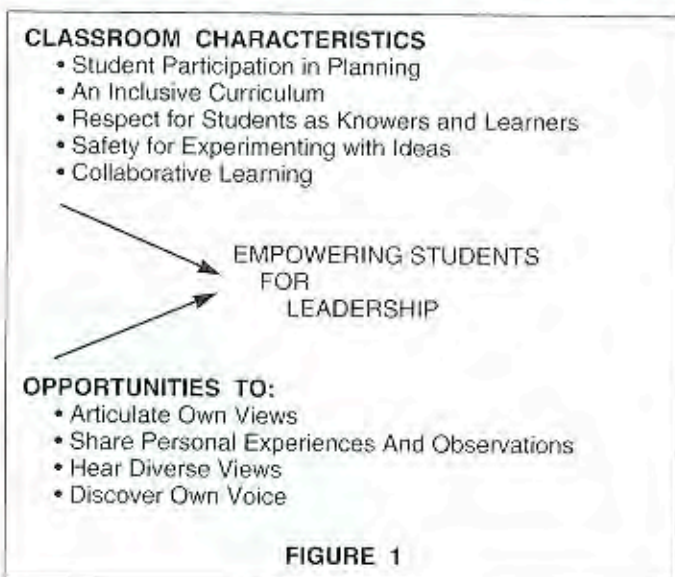


FIGURE 1

authority. They may well challenge you! In addition, there are two other areas of potential difficulty for professors who plan to alter their ways of teaching. One is the expectations students bring to classrooms which may be in conflict with how you hope to teach; and two, the expectations of colleagues who may have a definite view of the professor's role that may adversely affect your evaluations in the tenure and promotion process.

Students' Expectations

Students tend to hold traditional expectations of professorial roles and equally traditional views regarding knowledge. In one recent study men were judged more competent as professors than women partly because of their use of "power" language and in another study students rated men more highly than women even when the professors interrupted students and referenced themselves as an authority.¹³

The knowledge base in a course needs to be discussed and omissions acknowledged, for many students are unaware that women were excluded from theory-building research until recently. If two of the six texts for a course are by women, students may feel there's a sex bias in the material because they think of books by men as neutral.

Colleagues' Expectations

The appropriate professorial role may be largely influenced by men or by women who have followed male models. One colleague reported that she heard a department chair complain that a young professor lacked a "professorial edge." These types of evaluative comments need exploration to determine the underlying assumptions regarding professorial roles. Did the professor lack understanding of the subject, the inability to organize a course, or the mannerisms of an authority?

Arranging Support

Professors who realize they have a non-traditional teaching style, or are striving to acquire one, can collaborate with other professors for encouragement and support, and to share strategies.¹⁴ From a colleague in another graduate school I learned the advisability of carefully explaining to students reasons for syllabus changes, the reasons for various texts, and the basic tenets of knowledge production. It is also important to discuss role expectations for both students and professor.

Gender and University Teaching: Explanatory Power of Research

In a study investigating the influence of gender on university teaching, the authors used both quantitative and qualitative data to examine instructional activities, authoritative management, and students' reactions.

Although the instructional activities utilized by men and women varied little, the authors found "striking differences" in teaching emphases:

Women tended to focus more on the student as the locus of learning; men, on themselves. Although both sexes claimed to use an interactive style, women did so more extensively, taking more pains to involve students and to receive more input from students.¹⁵

In general, students gave higher evaluations to men and women who followed "gender-appropriate" models. Women, for example, were expected to interact with students, acknowledge students' contributions, and personalize. Men received higher ratings when they followed a "teacher as expert" style. Fortunately, students rated men and women as equally effective although there were differences in focus, communication style, and degree of personalization.

Conclusion

While reviewing the course syllabus for "Leadership Development for Women" during the first class meeting, I was surprised to hear myself blurt out: "I've never been taught the way I want to teach!"

Later that night while driving home I realized that that explains, at least in part, why so many teachers at all educational levels find it difficult to change the ways they teach, for we tend to teach the way we were taught.

Three forces, in particular, have the potential for promoting alternative ways of teaching that will empower students and promote their meaningful participation in leadership. One, women and people of color in university classes tend to resist hierarchical, individualistic, competitive teaching approaches. To meet their needs, changes in teaching styles will continue to be considered. Two, the schools are emphasizing collaboration in classrooms, in management, and with other service agencies. Graduate students in preparation for educational leadership need skills for, and practice in, collaboration. Three, the literature on both feminist pedagogy and collaborative learning offer insights for professors who believe in "shared power in classroom process and course design"¹⁶ Thus, in spite of the entrenched professorial roles, the general resistance to any change, the denial of gender differences in learning or role expectations, and the dismissal or trivialization of feminist pedagogy—change is in the winds. The goals of feminist pedagogy are congruent with efforts to promote educational leadership by first empowering the participants.

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The majority of the literature dealing with improving university preparation programs fails to address how women develop as leaders and what kind of structures foster and encourage their development. The women students in our classes create a new vision of leadership, through their use of language, their actions, and their growing understandings of the unique ways in which they develop a leadership identity. Our response to this new vision is critical.

Patterns in Women's Emerging Leadership

Deborah T. Walker

Introduction

When I entered a school leadership and certification program seventeen years ago, few of my fellow classmates were women. All of the professors, with the exception of one adjunct instructor, were men. The practitioners who interviewed our class as potential school administrators were also men. There was nothing about the program to encourage me to believe that school administration was a field hospitable to women or that leadership preparation took seriously my perceptions and views of schooling.

Five years ago I joined the faculty of California State University at Hayward, a sister institution to where I had earned my administrative degree and credential. In contrast, nearly all of the leadership students were women. An average class of thirty graduate students had twenty-five women and five men. Class composition differed from my own experience in that a number of the students represented racial and ethnic minorities. The result was a setting where different voices were heard, and where the experiences and perceptions of the students significantly influenced the conduct of the courses.

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From my experiences as a university faculty member preparing potential and novice school administrators, I found that leadership develops in women according to definable patterns which capture the unique perspectives women bring to their studies, professional endeavors and personal lives. These patterns are supported in the research literature and are given life through the sharing of anecdotes and direct observations. The patterns to be explored through this article, and documented through references to research and personal observation, include: 1) collaboration as a work style; 2) concern for relationships with others; 3) the need to construct personal meaning and participate in sense making; and 4) the interplay between the emotions and the intellect as a way of developing a personal sense of leadership. While discussed separately, these patterns appear to be interrelated and mutually reinforcing.

Collaboration as a Work Style

For many years school leadership remained a male-dominated field, in part because women considering leadership roles were uncomfortable with existing authoritarian and hierarchical models of school administration. The emergence of shared leadership in the literature and in practice opened the door for many women to assume leadership roles and to continue their often preferred work style of seeking input, making joint decisions and sharing authority with colleagues.¹

In the university classes I taught, women students readily adapted to the team learning structure that formed an integral part of coursework, and to the use of quarter-long support groups as a way of sharing ideas and reacting to written work in progress. I observed men and women students giving thoughtful feedback to each other, because a new norm was at work, supported by a new majority. Women students in my classes discussed at length their lack of comfort in imagining themselves as the sole authority on campus. They also expressed their desire to adapt some of our classroom practices as a way of including teachers in school governance. They rarely saw themselves as experts, although of course they possessed expertise in many areas, and were concerned with how to draw upon the expertise of their colleagues once they assumed a school leadership role. Did the principal need to be all-knowing? How could the principal enlist the creativity and imagination of teachers to improve instruction and solve persistent school problems? What were the expectations of the central office as related to individual or shared leadership?

In role play and simulation activities and in class discussions, women students most often used collaborative language as a way of talking about leadership. They infrequently used the pronoun "I" to talk about a project or effort they had initiated, but instead used "we" to discuss both successes and difficulties. They often phrased desired behavior in the form of questions, or used the "let's" construction to suggest a course of action. A caveat is necessary here: While I observed this use of language on the part of women students, I also modeled collaborative forms of language in talking about leadership, so I cannot separate out their preference for this language format and my influence in this regard.

Concern for Relationships with Others

An interesting dichotomy exists in the literature on leadership between the importance of achieving organizational goals and the importance of fostering collegial relationships. In regard to the former, Paul Hershey and Kenneth Blanchard's work on situational leadership differentiates between task and relational behavior, with high task behavior considered more efficient and effective in accomplishing organizational goals.² Lawrence Kohlberg's stage theory for moral development places concern for justice as the highest stage of development

rather than concern for relationships with others.⁴ And the literature on instructional leadership paints a picture of a single leader promoting improvement in the school.⁴

In regard to the latter, fostering collegial relationships, Nel Noddings' research and writing on the ethic of caring suggests that schools can foster concern for students and for the world beyond by emphasizing mutual caring and nurturance.⁵ Lynn Beck's recent book, *Reclaiming Educational Administration as a Caring Profession*, approaches leadership through language and concepts grounded in the formal study of ethics, philosophy and religion, to underscore the critical nature of caring in school leadership.⁶ Carol Gilligan's reworking of Kohlberg's theory, placing relationship as the highest stage of moral development for women, focuses attention on how women integrate relationships from their personal and professional life to achieve meaning and satisfaction.⁷

Women students, in discussing their aspirations, typically portrayed themselves in relation to others: their colleagues, supervisors and families. Many talked of the trust they had built with colleagues while assuming teacher leadership roles as department chairs or mentors, and their fear that elevation to a traditional position of authority such as the principalship would jeopardize that trust. In the stories they told in class, they demonstrated patience in giving their colleagues time to understand new practices and also a willingness to support initial efforts at change. Implementing a new curriculum, experimenting with grouping strategies, and developing portfolio assessment were innovations for which they had provided leadership and support, and for which they recognized and reinforced the efforts of their colleagues to change established practice.

An interesting phenomenon I observed among the women in my classes is the way they viewed their personal and professional lives, not as separate or compartmentalized, but as part of a continuum of increasing responsibility and complexity. The quality of their interactions and the time they could devote to colleagues and to their families were ongoing topics of discussion. This does not mean the men in class did not share their concerns; several of them were new fathers, trying to juggle school responsibilities with night feedings and transportation to day care. It was clear, however, that as women added leadership tasks to their traditional roles of homemaker and caretaker, there was an effort to integrate these various roles, to maintain close relationships, and to craft a coherent whole from many disparate pieces.

Constructing Meaning and Making Sense

Constructivism as an educational theory has gained credence in recent years, although its roots can be found in the work of Dewey, Piaget and others.⁸ When applied to how adults learn, constructivism suggests that learning takes place when learners share ideas, inquire and problem solve together. Adults, in this case leadership students, need opportunities to make sense of new knowledge and create meaning for themselves based upon individual and shared experiences. Moreover, new learning is mediated by prior experience, values and beliefs.⁹

Women students in my classes did not approach school leadership as a body of technical knowledge or set of skills to be mastered. They constantly questioned what they saw as the practice of school leadership, and the discrepancy between their experiences and the vision of "bold, socially responsible leadership" we promoted in class. They sought ethical frameworks for working with their colleagues in ways that were not controlling or manipulative. They struggled with reconciling their own emerging vision of schooling with what might be the conflicting visions of their faculty. They wanted to know how to be inclusive, collaborative, and how to honor and value others. Most of all, they wanted to develop a sense of themselves as

leaders that was congruent with their values and beliefs. They sought to construct models of leadership that were either non-existent or at the least did not represent the norm.

Because our society encourages boys to be aggressive and in charge, while it encourages girls to be agreeable and compliant, the women students in my classes had farther to go in developing a leadership identity than the men. This is not to diminish the men's journey toward leadership, especially the men who were ethnic minorities and who also felt disenfranchised from existing authority structures. But for the women, seeing themselves as leaders took time, support, and most importantly, opportunities to create meaning for themselves from the literature we read, from an analysis of existing practice, from conducting action research, and from their own experiences as teachers and novice administrators.

The Interplay Between the Emotions and Intellect

The literature on story and narrative, especially in teacher education, offers many lessons on how teachers' experiences and their interpretations of these experiences can help them to develop as professionals.¹⁰ The use of personal story can summon powerful images of people and events that help to shape individual identity, and that provide a bridge between emotional and intellectual ways of knowing. Having students tell their own leadership stories, develop metaphors for their style of leadership, and do reflective writing can help them to make sense of the field of school administration and fit it to their own developing view of leadership.¹¹ Moreover, forging a leadership identity does not depend on intellectual development alone but rather involves the emotional life, dreams and beliefs of teachers and aspiring administrators.

The women students in my classes shared successes and failures they experienced as they assumed leadership roles. They discussed how they wanted to be perceived, their own insecurities, and the images and symbols that had meaning for them. For example, one student related what was for her a defining leadership story. In attempting to mediate some racial conflicts among students and between students and faculty, she was perceived as being racist. This was particularly troublesome for her, not only because equity and fair treatment were such important values to her, but also because she was from South Africa and experienced a sense of guilt over her country's policy of apartheid. She shared with the class her struggle to make her values known, to have faculty see her as a real person rather than equating her with her role. She found that in describing her values and her background to the faculty, using language from both the intellect and the emotions, she was able to clarify for them and herself what she stood for as a leader.

Another student shared with the class her efforts to empower other teachers at her school, by working with them to become knowledgeable about the research on change and to use that knowledge to influence school improvement efforts. She talked about how most teachers experienced school change as something that was done to them and how infrequently they were asked to help shape the process and outcomes. For her, involving teachers in this way enabled her to bring together the intellectual and emotional facets of herself. She provided intellectual leadership for the seminar process she engaged in with her colleagues; and she functioned in a caring and nurturing way to help them develop professional expertise and confidence in guiding the course of school improvement.

In both instances, the women students related their stories and experiences within the context of their feelings. These were not objective discussions of case studies, but rather personal accounts of their own journeys toward developing a leadership identity. They talked about personal struggles, about

replacing fears with a new sense of personal and professional courage, and about how their emerging leadership meshed with the other roles they played in their lives.

Conclusions and Implications

Reviewing my four years of preparing leadership candidates at the university level, I recognize the gap that exists between traditional views of educational administration as a profession, and how women leadership candidates develop a sense of themselves as leaders. The majority of the literature dealing with improving university preparation programs fails to address how women develop as leaders and what kind of structures foster and encourage their development.

The patterns I observed through my teaching and advisement of women students—collaboration as a work style, concern for relationships with others, constructing meaning and making sense, and the interplay between the emotions and the intellect—suggest that leadership preparation be reconceptualized in new ways. Each pattern gives clues as to how program content and structures can be designed to meet the developmental needs of women leadership candidates. These clues include:

- Creating opportunities for leadership students to form both work groups and support teams, to enhance learning and to model and provide experience with the kind of work style they are most likely to implement on the job.
- Shifting from a technical approach to administration to one that emphasizes ethics and caring, and that develops in leadership candidates the ability to create caring school climates where students and teachers are nurtured and valued.
- Using the experiences, values and beliefs that leadership students bring with them as the basis for creating new professional knowledge; and moving from a teacher-centered approach to one in which students have responsibility for constructing and making sense of new learning.
- Expanding the context for leadership development to recognize the importance of the emotions, particularly the interaction between the intellect and the emotions, to forging a leadership identity; recognizing the multiple and sometimes conflicting roles women play as they assume positions of school leadership.

Even as we "teach" leadership candidates, we learn valuable lessons that can inform our educational practice. The women students in our classes create a new vision of leadership, through their use of language, their actions, and their growing understandings of the unique ways in which they develop a leadership identity. Our response to this new vision is critical, if we are to fulfill our role of preparing leaders for our schools.

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The topical interests [training needs] of women in K–12 and post secondary administration were quite similar. Those interested in providing professional development opportunities should be attentive to the fourteen areas of training needs indicated by the respondents [in this study].

Topics of Interest to Women in Educational Administration

Marilyn L. Grady and Doreen Gosmire

Topics of Interest to Women in Educational Administration

Leadership in education has long been considered a man's role; fortunately, more and more women are calling for their institutions to recognize their worth. Throughout the United States, the majority of the students enrolled in programs in educational administration are women.¹ Women who are certified as administrators and underemployed are a wasted resource to the education profession.² It is clear that women must serve as role models and mentors for other women.³

The struggle to gain leadership positions continues in the 1990s. A survey conducted by *The Executive Educator* and Xavier University shows that women are best represented among the ranks of elementary school principals (39.7%), followed by junior high/middle school principals (20.5%), and high school principals (12.1%). The lowest percentage (10.5) of female school administrators work as school superintendents.⁴ In 1991 fewer than six percent of superintendents were female; so the numbers are increasing.

Female administrators in postsecondary institutions have long been a beleaguered minority. Despite affirmative action requirements of the 1970s that mandated the placement of more women in faculty and administrative positions, women are still underrepresented in postsecondary administration. Colleges and universities in the United States employed an

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average of only 1.1 senior women at the level of dean and above per institution according to the Office of Women in Higher Education.⁵ Women tend to remain concentrated in a small number of lower-status areas that have been traditionally viewed as women's fields, such as nursing and home economics, or in support roles, such as student affairs.

Historically, employers have limited women's chances to exercise power. The majority of office firms surveyed by the U.S. Women's Bureau in 1940 barred women from positions of authority. During the next 30 years, women's share of occupations classified by the Census as managers and administrators rose slowly; from one in nine to one in six. During the 1970s, women posted unprecedented gains in management occupations, and in 1980 and 1990, respectively, they claimed 30% and 40% of the jobs the Census Bureau classified as managerial, executive and administrative.⁶

The evidence shows a gap between the overall gains that women have made in management and the gains that women have made in educational leadership positions. Reskin and Ross⁷ point out that invisible barriers separate women from top jobs and genuine authority. Natale⁸ quotes Sandra Tonnsen, an associate professor of education leadership at the University of South Carolina at Columbia: "Discrimination is subtle, but it's out there."

Why are so few gains being made? Furthermore, why do women in educational leadership lag behind the gains of women in management positions? The answers often are framed in issues and concepts such as place boundness, training and development.

Individuals at the University of Nebraska–Lincoln have been working to develop and foster women as educational leaders since 1986. Through the leadership of a faculty member, the department of educational administration has organized and sponsored an annual national conference focused on the training and development of women as educational leaders. The conference has served over 800 educators throughout the country in various ways. Grady & Bohling–Philippi examined the needs and training interests of women administrators at the K–12 and postsecondary levels. The topics investigated by Grady and Bohling–Philippi⁹ have served as a focus for the Women in Educational Leadership Conference and other staff development efforts. However, as time has elapsed, once again the training needs of women in educational administration need to be reviewed. This study was designed to answer two specific research questions:

1. What topics—administrative skills or personal concerns—are of greatest importance to women in educational leadership positions?
2. Is there a difference in the topical interests of women administrators in K–12 education and those in postsecondary education?

Methods

A survey instrument was developed to identify the topical interests of participants at the Women in Educational Leadership Conferences. The topics included in the instrument were derived from a review of current literature, conference evaluations, and from the survey conducted by Grady and Bohling–Philippi.¹⁰

Eight hundred individuals have attended the past annual conferences (1987–1993). Of the 800, we were able to locate 216 individuals to participate in the survey. We found that most conference attendees were no longer at the address we had on file for them. We mailed the survey to the 216 subjects during December 1993. The participants included educational leaders in K–12 and postsecondary education. Although conference participants were from the United States, Australia, New Zealand, and Malaysia, only subjects from the United States were included in this study. All respondents were female.

Table 1. Future Training Topics*

	Total N	Total Mean	K-12 N	K-12 Mean	Higher Ed—N	Higher Ed—Mean
Conflict Resolution	206	1.534	122	1.410	84	1.714
Communication Skills	196	1.750	115	1.678	81	1.852
Use of Technology	200	1.875	118	1.907	82	1.829
Evaluation and Appraisal	203	1.892	121	1.868	82	1.927
Culture and Climate	197	1.929	116	1.922	81	1.938
Legal Issues	194	2.000	114	2.079	80	1.888
Motivation	194	2.005	114	2.026	80	1.975
Career Mobility	191	2.026	112	2.80	79	1.949
Staff Development	196	2.036	116	2.017	80	2.063
Group Techniques	196	2.082	117	2.060	79	2.114
Stress Management	195	2.129	118	2.017	77	2.286
Time Management	195	2.190	115	2.009	80	2.450
Financial Issues	194	2.237	112	2.313	82	2.134
Coping with Success	196	2.255	115	2.217	81	2.309

*Based on Likert-type scale with 1 representing greatest interest, and 5 representing least interest.

Results

All 216 instruments were returned. Of these instruments, 127 were completed by K-12 educational leaders and 89 were completed by postsecondary educational leaders. The surveys were analyzed using the Mann-Whitney statistical test. A significance level of .10 was identified.

The purpose of the study was to determine the topics of greatest interest to women at the K-12 and postsecondary levels and to determine whether there is a difference between the topical interests of the two groups. Fourteen topical interests were identified. These interests and their mean ratings are listed in Table 1.

The 216 respondents indicated greatest interest in the topics of conflict resolution and communication. These topics are similar to the areas of development that are requested by women who are in managerial positions in other fields.¹¹

The Mann-Whitney U Test was used to determine whether the distributions of scores of the K-12 administrators and postsecondary administrators differed significantly from each other.¹² Results of the survey analysis showed a difference between the K-12 administrators and the postsecondary administrators in leadership development as a past training topic.

There were two significant differences found between K-12 and postsecondary respondents regarding topics for future training. The topics of conflict resolution and time management were viewed differently by the K-12 population and the postsecondary population. There were no other significant differences found. The results of the Mann-Whitney U Test are presented in Tables 2 and 3.

Discussion

The findings of this study are helpful to individuals who are attempting to assist women who seek careers in educational administration. Those interested in providing professional development opportunities should be attentive to the fourteen areas of training needs indicated by the respondents (Table 1).

The findings of the study are limited due to the size of the sample. We, however, found that the topical interests of women in K-12 and postsecondary administration were quite similar. For those offering seminars for women, this information will be useful in that a program can be prepared that can meet the needs of both groups using these topics.

Table 2. Past Training Topics

Past Topics That Were Rated	Mann-Whitney P Value
Leadership Development	.0838*
Skill Development	.1508
Career Mobility	.3004
Networking	.7837
Personal Development	.8332

Table 3. Future Training Topics

Future Training Topics Rated:	Mann-Whitney P Value
Conflict Resolution	.0029*
Time Management	.0042*
Legal Issues	.1010
Financial Issues	.1384
Communication Skills	.1492
Stress Management	.1673
Career Mobility	.2076
Use of Technology	.3776
Evaluation and Appraisal	.4997
Coping with Success	.5916
Motivation	.6695
Group Techniques	.7289
Culture and Climate	.9306
Staff Development	.9728

*Significant = .10

Universities and school districts should examine these findings in relation to the professional development and preparatory experiences they provide. The needs indicated by respondents to both the 1987 study and this study are topics and skills that can be addressed within the classroom or workshop setting. Providing more experiences in these areas will serve the profession of educational administration.

Professional development sessions that focus on administration—the job itself and the changing administrative role should be provided. These sessions would encourage female teachers to consider administration and would widen the pool of potential female candidates.

Professional development sessions should be followed by workshops for women who want to apply for administrative positions. These workshops would also be helpful in identifying women who should be encouraged to apply for administrative positions.¹³

Programs should be designed to give women additional expertise in management and career planning, as well as to provide them with a supportive network. Programs should be highly accessible in terms of admissions policy, cost, and sites where the programs are offered. Career advancement as well as the development of leadership skills should be emphasized. Career counseling should be part of the program as well.¹⁴

Ultimately opportunities for skill development and networking must be provided if women are to attain and succeed in administrative positions. It appears that women's interests and program needs have remained stable in recent years. The challenge is to increase the number of women participating in the programs and to strengthen the network of mentors and role models in the profession.

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Women who are successful in powerful positions define power as "power to" get things done with others, something more easily done for women than for men because women do not view themselves as powerful. They work using a collaborative, inclusive, consensus-building model with their own voice being used in concert with the others rather than in authority over or dominance over others.

BY POWER DEFINED: Women in the Superintendency

by C. Cryss Brunner

In the jargon of modern American committee life and of general responsible social relationships, a phrase has crept in the last few years, "from where I sit." It is often said half-jokingly, and yet it implies a total change in point of view. As one adds with a grin, or a half-smile, or perhaps a little rueful twist to the mouth, "from where I sit," this is an admission that no person ever sees more than part of the truth, that the contribution of one sex, or one culture, or one scientific discipline that may itself cross both sex and cultural lines, is always partial, and must always wait upon the contribution of others for a fuller truth.¹

This article was written from the standpoint of a white woman of middle age, of an American, and of an educational administrator. It must be acknowledged that as a white American female educational administrator, I am privileged and powerful when compared to most women. I have been educated by and later co-opted into the basically white male world of educational administration so that "where I sit" has been altered over time and should be held suspect by those wishing a "woman's point of view."

As a white woman author, a woman of privilege and power as compared to most women, I have used a language which, as Trinh T. Minh-ha points out, is part of the "white-male-is-norm ideology,"² and which is used predominantly as a way to reify established power relations. This dilemma was intensified when I found myself writing uncritically and thus putting myself in a dominant position in relationship not only to those who par-

ticipated in the study, but [also] in a dominant position in relationship to the reader. The narrative represents an earnest but necessarily incomplete effort to establish a degree of equity for those who participated in the study. These raw voices that yelled, whispered, calmly spoke, or in other ways communicated with me from the field are vivid and much more alive than any other part of my research experience, and thus, my "narration is never a passive reflection of a reality."³ I still hear the voices in my mind, waking and sleeping. I doubt they will ever allow me undisturbed rest. Hear them . . .

- Q. If you were to advise women who wanted to be superintendents of schools, what advice would you give them?
- A. *[quietly]* I don't know. . . .
- Q. Are women disadvantaged?
- A. YES! . . . they can hardly get the jobs—my girlfriend has tried! *[with exasperation]*
- Q. Why not?
- A. *[almost shouting]* BECAUSE THEY ARE WOMEN. . . ! THERE'S LOTS OF THEM OUT THERE—THAT HAVE ADMINISTRATIVE DEGREES. . .

My own life history, in fact, includes several attempts to become either an assistant superintendent or superintendent, including being a finalist in the selection process. As of this writing, I am neither, and it is my hope that this research will be helpful not only to me, but [also] to other women seeking the position of superintendent of schools. My research, then, was altered by my own desires and aspirations, and even though it is full of the voices of others, it is my study, my understanding of other voices, and the reflection of what I have decided to share with the reader.

Need for the Study

Currently the canon in educational administration asserts a desire to attract the best candidates for administration positions in education.⁴ This canon is asserted while tremendously capable women are not being hired. The overwhelmingly prevalent practice of hiring men rather than women for administrative positions is a common event. This regular practice of hiring men rather than women is based on shared beliefs and values which are taken as given—not questioned. There is a need, then, to reexamine and rethink this seemingly non-problematic practice and the discourse surrounding it. As Hochschild points out, ". . . when evidence leads us to expect something that does not happen, an investigation may be warranted."⁵ It is this thought that drew me to a discrepant event, one which does not happen with any regularity—that is, the selection of a woman as superintendent of schools in a single community.

Theoretical Perspective

When faced with the fact that around ninety-seven percent of superintendents of schools are men, the obvious question is "why?"⁶ Although experience as a building-level administrator is not always a requirement for superintendency credentials, at a practical level it certainly is a pre-requisite. Thus, the low number of women as principals—a fact which is difficult to explain when the vast majority of the pool from which building-level administrators are hired is female—would be an obvious reason for the low number of women in the superintendency. Other rationales such as lack of support from network/mentors, lack of role models, and family demands have been offered as explanations.⁷ In my judgment, however, these rationales are insufficient to explain the low number of women in the superintendency.

A neglected but important theoretical perspective suggests that cultures, communities and "professions are constituted by what is said and done in their name."⁸ This perspective

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suggests that the hiring of superintendents of schools can be explained by examining the regularities in what is said (discourse) and done (practice) in the community power network or "circuits of power."⁹ [Clegg defines circuits of power as rings of social integration complete with normative rules which fix relations of meaning and membership.] Further, because there is evidence that women "see, value and know" their world differently than men¹⁰, I will investigate the possibility that communities contain both a "male circuit of power" and a "female circuit of power" accommodating different normative rules, understandings, and conceptions of power and its use.

The educational administration profession or community can be viewed as one circuit of power, and it is a male-dominated circuit of power. Cherryholmes states that "professions are constituted by what is said and done in their name."¹¹ He continues by adding that consistencies in what is said and done are based on shared beliefs and values. Large areas of agreement about how to proceed in education become the basis for conflict resolution. The rule of thumb is to ask: How was this done before? Areas of agreement about how to proceed in educational practice include: ". . . structured use of textbooks in classrooms, instruction based on learning objectives, educational practice guided by research findings, standardized approaches to research design and program development, learning as acquisition of a positive body of knowledge and skills,"¹² and the hiring of school personnel according to written and unwritten standards. To the extent that beliefs and values that establish those standards are male-defined or androcentric, the educational administration community is dominated by a male circuit of power.

The broader community served by professional educational administration can be viewed as another circuit of power. Such communities are also constituted by consistencies in what is said and done [discursive practices]. These consistencies in what is said and done are based on shared beliefs and values—and comprise the political culture of the community. There is both overt and covert agreement in a given culture about how to proceed in all the activities of daily life. Areas of conflict many times are resolved by reflecting on what was done before. Areas of agreement may include notions of what church is socially acceptable, what neighborhood is the "best" one for residence, which group of people is "the" group at the top of the community, which character traits are valued for parenting, and which characteristics are seen as appropriate for the superintendent of schools. Although a simplified example, it is apparent that when a newcomer moves into a community, if they are to be accepted, they must pay attention to the normative values and discursive practices of that community. Certain social skills which include the ability to be sensitive and adaptive to an environment are important as people move into any setting or culture as a newcomer.

The dominant circuits of power within both the educational administration profession and the local communities normally are dominated by the values, norms, and understandings of white men. Because traditional patterns of discourse in the "male circuits of power" restrict access, women who do become part of those networks—usually in relatively subordinate positions—must initially become familiar with ongoing practices. A woman whom I interviewed said it this way:

I learned a long time ago that when you go into a new area you get acquainted with the woodwork before you change much . . . don't make any big moves.

Getting "acquainted with the woodwork" is another way of saying that a person wishing acceptance by a community or culture must learn the written and unwritten standards of that culture and act within them. Knowledge and practice of shared beliefs and values allows one to belong to a culture or community and attain access to its dominant circuit of power. An ability

to articulate common discourse in a way that is familiar to those of a particular culture can provide access to that culture. The male culture of educational administration has its own peculiar "woodwork." Women wishing access to that male culture and the male circuit of power must learn the discourse common to that community. But access for women into the male circuit of power is complicated by the fact that female aspirants most often come from backgrounds having different norms, values, and understanding; they have developed different discursive practices that constitute the "female circuit of power."

The female circuit of power has its own set of consistencies in what is said and done. These practices are ones which women have been socialized to embrace. Their practices include comfort with subordination, something unheard of in the male circuit of power. It would appear, then, that the two circuits of power are incompatible. For a woman to move from a female circuit where she is comfortable with subordination, into a male circuit which sees subordination as a weakness seems an unlikely event. It is this unlikely, discrepant event which is the focus of this study. A close examination of such an event in one setting may reveal the transformation which a woman must make when moving from the female circuit of power to the male circuit of power, or it may uncover the circumstances which allow this event to occur. In research, then, we should be ". . . encouraged to search for conflict, dissensus, contradiction, resistance to power, and the possible benefits derived from such a search."¹³

In addition, it is important to adopt a theoretical perspective which recognizes multiple realities and is open to the possibility that certain types of discourse and practice can overcome the common constraints that block women's mobility into supervisory roles. That is, while such explanations as "lack of support from networks/mentors, lack of role models, and family demands" explain only the under-representation of women, a perspective that examines various discursive practices and power networks recognizes that, while predominant discursive practices and power networks constrain women's opportunities, other discursive practices and power relations can make women's access to positions of authority possible. Thus, my research question asks not only about the constraints on women but also what it is about the regularities in discourse and practice in relationship to power in a particular community that would allow a woman to be selected for the position of superintendent of schools when around ninety-seven percent of the time a man is selected.

With this question established, it is hypothesized that the definition of power is gender specific. That is, that women define power as "power to," as collaborative and inclusive in nature, while men define power as "power over," as a form of domination which insures that one person can cause another to do whatever the dominant person desires. The "power over" model remains in place in most communities because it insures that the power hierarchy will remain in place. Those in power will remain in power and the commitment on the part of those in power to remain there is great for obvious reasons—the greatest of which is wealth.

Further, it is hypothesized; that *circuits of power* exist in the world of men and in the world of women; that the definition of power in the male circuit of power is "power-over," while the definition of power in the female circuit of power is "power-to;"¹⁴ and, that the discursive practices of men and women in their separate circuits of power are different just as the languages from one culture to another are different. The experiences of women in their circuit of power train them to "sound" a certain way, to view power a particular way, and to interact in relationships in a specific way. As anyone placed in a foreign culture does not "fit," a woman placed in an unfamiliar circuit of power (male) will not blend unless she makes radical adaptations in the way she sounds, perceives, and interacts. Finally, it is

hypothesized that if a woman is co-opted into the male circuit of power giving her access to positions viewed as powerful by a white male-dominated culture, she must abandon her own circuit of power, and adopt new discursive practices surrounding the concept of power. The test of these hypotheses is not a traditional experimental design but was a critical ethnography of a single site—a particular educational community/culture and the fuller community/culture in which it is embedded, where a woman has become superintendent of schools. The framework used for this critical ethnography is a conceptualization of power borrowed from political science power research, in general, and, in part, more specifically from the work of Stewart Clegg, *Frameworks of Power*.¹⁵

Power Research

Stewart Clegg¹⁶ and Thomas E. Wartenberg¹⁷ divide the literature on power along two trajectories which represent its dualistic nature. One trajectory defines power as the ability to do something—the “power to.” The other trajectory defines power as control, command or dominion over others—the “power over.” Hannah Pitkin’s¹⁸ work supports this division when emphasizing that the idea of power in “power to” is significantly different from the idea of power in “power over.”

It is the “power over” definition of power which has dominated the discussion of community power by political scientists and sociologists.¹⁹ Theories grounded in the belief that power is defined as domination involve a specific type of relationship between people, one that is “hierarchical in virtue of one person’s ability to affect the other without the other’s being able to reciprocate.”²⁰ Theories that fall into this category include: elite theory²¹, pluralism²², and economic theory.²³ However, this traditional, dominant discourse by political scientists is slowly being replaced by current literature which asserts that power be conceptualized as “power to.”²⁴

The development of a female circuit of power which defines power as “power to” follows the thinking of Nancy Hartsock²⁵ when she calls for a theory of power for women—a theory which begins from the experience and point of view of the dominated. “Such theories would give attention not only to the ways women are dominated, but also to their capacities, abilities, and strengths. . . . [These] theories would use these capacities as guides for a potential transformation of power relationships—that is, for the empowerment of women.”²⁶

Research Objectives

The literature on women in the superintendency is clear.²⁷ If a woman wishes to be a superintendent of schools, her chances are poor. Some studies offer rationales such as lack of support from networks/mentors, lack of role models, and family demands for the fact that so few women become superintendents of schools.²⁸ It is the judgment of this researcher that none of these rationales are sufficient to explain this dilemma. There is a need for a fresh description of this aged problem.

Such a perspective should accomplish the following:

1. The development of a male “circuit of power” and a female “circuit of power” in a community/culture [“New View”] where a woman [Dr. Mary Osburn] is the superintendent of schools.
2. The establishment of a definition of the concept of power, and a description of the discursive practices related to the concept of power by men in a male “circuit of power” and by women in a female “circuit of power”.
3. The establishment of the definition and use of power by one woman [Dr. Mary Osburn] in a superintendency.

Critical ethnography is the principal method employed in the research to accomplish these objectives. An ethnography ties together fieldwork and culture²⁹, and a critical ethnography

ties together fieldwork and culture while taking the critical position against racism, sexism, and classism. This particular study takes a critical position against sexism. Three primary methods of data collection were utilized for this critical ethnography: non-standardized interviews; nonparticipant and participant observation, and document/record review and analysis. Document and record reviews and interviews have complementary strengths and weaknesses and served to strengthen each other. In addition, non-participant and participant observation were employed when possible to serve as triangulation.

From the Field: What is Power?

It is the more inclusive definition of power which I believe makes “New View” [the chosen field site] receptive to the idea that placement of women in positions of power is appropriate. In order to determine whether an inclusive definition of power is necessary to allow women into the circuit of power typically constructed solely of men, I spent hours in interviews listening to definitions and descriptions of power. In addition, many hours were spent with Dr. Mary Osburn in order to determine her definition and application of power.

Women Define Power

After establishing a list of women who were considered powerful in New View, I asked each one to define power. The answers came in many forms, but most stated that it is the ability to get things done. Elaborations on that statement were made when I asked participants to talk about how things get done. Those elaborations include: “. . . getting things done through consensus building.” “. . . through someone who empowers others.” “The ability to find the people who can help get it done.” “I always think about who will work with me to get something done.” “I stay in the background to get things done . . . to start things . . . motivate.” “In order to get things done, I believe you have to be a servant.” All respondents in the female circuits (community and school settings) of power viewed power as an active term. In addition, they described the action as collaborative and inclusive in nature. None of them perceived themselves as powerful in their own right. Most expressed surprise that their names appeared on the “circuits of power” list. They could imagine that people appreciated their work or the time they spent in community service, but they did not view themselves as powerful. Comments that expressed these themes follow: “I don’t see myself as a power person, I see myself as a popular person.” “I don’t think about power that much, I don’t think about power over someone else or influencing anyone in my day to day life.” “I think more of the responsibility of my position rather than the power of it.”

Men Define Power

After establishing a list of men who were considered powerful in New View, I asked each one to define power. The definitions they offered most often included the concept of influence. When asking respondents how they influence others they replied: “. . . you influence by gaining authority, getting into a position of responsibility.” “. . . if someone is so good that everyone is afraid he will go somewhere else. It’s okay to be an SOB if you are right 100% of the time, but you better be right.” “There are people who grab the reins of a project and push it and keep pushing it till it’s done. They are more or less consensus people until they reach a certain point. They finally reach a level of frustration where they say, ‘Hey, I’m tired of sitting around here talking about this thing. Let’s get it done.’ Then he is sort of like a bull and others follow.” “My power and influence come from my position.” “. . . the application of knowledge through political connections . . . you influence because you work hard and know more than other people. Knowledge is power. That’s all it is. The person who works hard is going to

override people who sit on their butts . . . It must be a broad knowledge base—a cross-section of everything.” “You persuade by explaining your position, by talking others into going along so they want to take part and believe in what they are doing. Hopefully, you don’t have to tell them they have to do it because they only do it halfheartedly.”

For the men in the male circuits (community and school settings) of power, being informed was the most common method of influence. Information and knowledge elevate people to privileged positions—positions in which they are able to convince others of their own leadership. There was much less discussion from the men about getting things done. It was implied that something happens after someone is established as the leader—that others follow the leader. Only one of the men talked about collaboration, but interestingly, he did not see collaboration as powerful.

Dr. Osburn Defines Power

When asked to define power Dr. Osburn replied with a definition of action, “Power is the ability to achieve desired outcomes. It is executed in a number of ways. I would say it is situational, not autocratic or conciliatory.” When asked to elaborate on ways she achieves desired outcomes she continues, “I have the ability to organize people in a manner that achieves desired goals—that manner being the ability to lead people to consensus . . . I bring together the people who will be affected by the decision and say, ‘Here is the perceived problem—is this really the problem?’ You may find that it is not the real problem, so you come to consensus about what the real problem is. Then you discuss many solutions to come up with a solution which benefits the most people—especially who is affected by it. It needs to be for the greatest good.”

Obviously, as was true for other women of power, Dr. Osburn had a collaborative, “power to” definition of power. Clearly, she took her definition into practice. Her practical application went to the extreme of consensus-building even at the level of determining the nature and articulation of the problem. In addition, Dr. Osburn was similar to other women in the study when she added, “It is difficult for me to say that I have power.” This perception of self may be necessary for a person to be truly collaborative. One who views self as powerful more naturally believes other input as less important than one’s own. True collaboration occurs when all participants are viewed as equally as possible.

Dr. Osburn’s commitment to collaboration was vividly revealed when she shared, “One of the harder things to do is to support a decision that you wouldn’t have made yourself but have given someone else the opportunity to make it so you need to support it . . . I think that the decision I make is the decision to make a decision collaboratively. Then I give up the right to the final decision. I must support whatever is decided.”

Others View Dr. Osburn’s Use of Power

It was apparent when talking with people around Dr. Osburn that she was accurate in her reporting of her own use of power. Each person interviewed, from the community-at-large or from the education community, male or female, referred to her as a collaborator/consensus-builder. Responses included: “Dr. Osburn wields power through other people. She is a very capable leader.” “She is less than direct—more of a background substance that she possesses that is not confrontational, not frontal. She uses her people be they volunteers or professionals, very effectively in that sense. Mary is a real good leader. She resisted the temptation to take the front position and recognized that the win had to be in a plurality. . . She listens, collaborates, gets the best out of the people who are available to her.” “I have rarely seen someone work as effectively as she does in two areas: a) building consensus and

laying the foundation in moving things in the direction that she wants them to move, but one step at a time, and b) in her delegation of authority to cause the people who work for her to be highly motivated. . .” “She is quietly persistent . . . I’ve seen this quiet persistence on committees, etc. I don’t know how she describes herself. She is a collaborator.” “Mary is a quietly powerful person. She does not wield the power.”

Has Dr. Osburn’s Definition and Use of Power Changed?

Dr. Osburn did not believe that her use of power has changed over the years of her career. She reported that she was collaborative when teaching. “When I was a classroom teacher, I had students help establish how the classroom ran. When accomplishing a task I was a collaborator. You can accomplish change if you involve people in that change process.”

People who knew or worked with Dr. Osburn agreed with her assertions. “She hasn’t changed. She has changed her focus because she has to consider the whole district.” “No, she hasn’t changed. When she made decisions as high school principal she got input and background before making decisions. She has an open door even as a superintendent. She hasn’t changed.”

Reactions to the Study

Reaction Number One: Power is defined differently by women than men.

The basic definition of power differs dependent upon gender. Women in circuits of power, in a given setting, define the concept of power differently than men in circuits of power in the same setting. In addition, women in positions of leadership in a given educational setting define power differently than men in positions of leadership in the same educational setting.

Women in circuits of power and those in positions of educational leadership in a given setting define power as the ability to get things done through collaboration and consensus building, while men in circuits of power and those in positions of educational leadership in a given setting define power as the ability to influence or lead others by having more information and knowledge than others. Women define power as “power to,” that is, as the ability to empower others to make their own decisions collaboratively and to carry them out through a collective, inclusive model. Men, on the other hand, view power as “power over,” or the ability to convince others to do as they wish through any means necessary. These findings are consistent across virtually all interviewees, and, thus, result in a “male definition” of power as “power over” and a “female definition” of power as “power to.”

Reaction Number Two: When women operate according to the female concept of power their chances to acquire positions of power increase dramatically.

Since using the reputational method resulted in lists of people viewed as successfully powerful, my impression, contrary to what was hypothesized, is that the female definition of power—“power to”—allows women success and access to positions of power while the male definition of power—“power over”—is important for men to hold if they want to be considered successful and have access to positions of power.

Reaction Number Three: Women who attain positions of power are most successful when they adopt female approaches to power which stress collaboration, inclusion, and consensus-building—models based on the belief that one person is not more powerful than another.

“Power to” women, who are successful in their powerful positions, get things done with others. This collaborative role is comfortable for them because they do not view themselves as powerful. These women work using a collaborative, inclusive,

consensus-building model with their own voices heard in concert with the others rather than in authority over or dominance over others. Thus, contrary to the hypothesis, when successful women become a part of a male-dominated circuit of power, they retain their "feminine" use and definition of power as opposed to adopting the "male" use and definition of power.

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These women were open to entertaining the possibilities of exercising influence and making expert contributions in roles other than "at the top" of the structural hierarchy. Neither their long-term career interest nor their egos were tied to particular positions.

The Future of the Superintendency: Women Leaders Who Choose to Leave

Marilyn Tallerico and Joan N. Burstyn

The Future of the Superintendency: Women Leaders Who Choose to Leave¹

The superintendency represents what many consider the leadership apex of public school educational governance. We recently had the opportunity to interview 20 women who successfully prepared for and entered that leadership role, only to exit after an average of 3.3 years. Elsewhere we have discussed at length the factors contributing to those exits for the two-thirds of our informants who left the superintendency involuntarily.² Our purpose in this paper is to examine the circumstances and perspectives of the one-third who chose to leave (n=7). We believe their stories provide useful insights into how some women grapple with the demands of chief executive roles. They also shed light on the realities of educational leadership for today's women.

Definitions

"Unlike my case, the only ones I know have been driven out".

This verbatim quotation from one of the women in our study who chose to leave the superintendency captures in the vernacular a distinction we make between "voluntary" and

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involuntary exiters from the position of superintendent. To begin, however, it is first necessary to define our use of "exit." Superintendents who retired or those who left one district to move to another superintendency were not considered to have "exited" the position. Rather, for the purposes of our research, exiters are women who, either voluntarily or under pressure, were non-renewed or resigned from the superintendency. They subsequently moved into other roles, internal or external to K-12 public education. More specifically, an exit was considered voluntary when it was the superintendent's choice to leave and when it was clear that the school board would have (or already had) renewed her contract.

Discussion of Findings

Taking our 20-person sample of exiters as a whole, we found that multiple factors contributed to their leaving the superintendency. These factors overlapped and accumulated over time. We did not find single trigger events or critical incidents that accounted for these women's decisions, if it was their decision, to leave. At work were both "pushes from" the superintendency and "pulls toward" other options or interests. Perhaps not surprisingly, the pulls were more influential in the cases of voluntary exiters; the pushes more salient for those who left involuntarily.

Although the purpose of this article is to focus on the insights of those who chose to leave (and, therefore, on the pulls they felt), we will briefly summarize those factors and conditions which served to push women out of the superintendency. We discovered four patterns that characterized our informants' cumulative disenchantment with the pervasiveness of what they termed the "politics" of the role: (a) deterioration of the superintendent-school board relationship; (b) dysfunctional union-district relationships; (c) over-emphasis on non-instructional issues; and (d) moral or ethical clashes with board members.

While voluntary exiters were likewise disenchanted by their derailment from instructional and curricular issues, and the relentless political and other demands of the role, they dealt with these issues with greater equanimity than did the involuntary exiters. Moreover, voluntary exiters were simultaneously pulled away by attractive new job opportunities, academic goals, or familial considerations. Those who chose to leave had good relationships with both their school boards and teacher unions, with few, if any, significant clashes among these key political stakeholder groups.

Comparisons With Involuntary Exiters

Although there is considerable diversity within each group, additional patterns became evident when we compared the experiences of these 13 involuntary and 7 voluntary exiters. For example, a higher proportion of those who chose to leave than those who were forced to leave occupied superintendencies in the smallest sized districts (300-2,999 students)³. Voluntary exiters were more likely to head districts in rural communities⁴. In the case of both voluntary and involuntary exiters, the percentage who left the role after one superintendency was high. However, whereas 85% (6 of 7) of the voluntary exiters had held only one superintendency in their career, just 60% (8 of 13) of the involuntary exiters found their first superintendency was also their last. Also, related to career path, voluntary exiters were more likely to have previously been principals than were those who left involuntarily⁵. A much higher proportion of voluntary than involuntary exiters had more "line" than "staff" experience in their career histories⁶. And voluntary exiters remained in their last superintendency, on average, slightly less time than their involuntary counterparts: 3.0 compared to 3.5 years.

What did these 20 women do **after** exiting the superintendency? Some patterns of differences between voluntary and involuntary exiters were apparent, although the numbers are so small in each of the seven different categories of roles which were assumed subsequent to their departures that use of percentages seems inappropriate. To summarize briefly, six took positions in K-12 central office administration (3 voluntary and 3 involuntary exiters). Four became university professors (1 voluntary and 3 involuntary). Three were self-employed (1 voluntary and two involuntary). Two voluntary (but no involuntary) exiters returned to principalships. And of the remaining five involuntary exiters: two became directors of not-for-profit organizations; two remained unemployed at the time of our interview (two months and one year, respectively, after their exits); and one became a full-time graduate student to complete her doctorate.

The Perspectives of Those Who Chose to Leave

More central to our purpose than comparing the two subgroups of exiters along multiple dimensions, however, are the perspectives and insights shared by the women leaders who chose to leave the superintendency. In this section, we provide illustrations of how they captured their experiences in their own words.

I think it's the worst job in education. . . . The salary is terrible. I was making \$55,000 at that time and I was working 15-17 hour days. And I said to myself, "What am I doing? I have to be crazy." . . . I didn't have any free time. [exiter A]

And there I was, an hour away from my home . . . I had moved at that time . . . and I was in at 6 a.m. every day and attending board meetings that often went till 3 a.m. With no help and no resolution really in sight. So I just began to think, "Is this the way that I really want to spend the next few years?". . . . The farther you go up the administrative ladder, the less options you have for any **privacy**. For example, as a teacher, you have community responsibilities, but they still expect you to lead a life of your own. As a building principal, you have a strong commitment to your building and a lot of evening hours; but there are still times that you can call your own. As a superintendent, I don't think you ever have time that you can call your own. You're **always** on call. Each group feels like they have some ownership of you. And every action is scrutinized. Every statement is scrutinized. . . . What I didn't like was the total commitment that it takes and feeling like I might be shortchanging my family. [exiter B]

The **job** has to change. It needs to involve a lesser amount of time, especially if you want to get younger women involved in it. Even some of the male superintendents are now saying three nights out a week is just too much. It's too demanding a job. You have to be a workaholic to do it. Maybe men are more used to giving up that amount of time for their work. [exiter C]

Embedded in each of these excerpts are insights into the all-consuming public accountability and time demands of the modern day superintendency, as well as the dilemmas which such environments present for women trying to balance familial responsibilities. Two of the seven voluntary exiters we interviewed even used the term "survivor" to describe themselves after their experience in the superintendency. We heard time and time again how the nature of the job precluded much of a life outside work. And we heard how that cost was eventually weighed against other life interests. Moreover, much of the extraordinary work-load of the superintendency centered on

financial, budget, and facilities concerns. As summarized by one superintendent, it took a "massive effort" to focus on curriculum and instruction. And another: "I felt that my job had very little to do with the education of kids."

Thus, the relentless nature of public scrutiny and the demands of the job, coupled with the centrality of what were viewed as non-educational issues, created a work setting incompatible with the private aspirations and relational worlds of these women. While single women, married women, and women with children were represented in our sample, it was the women with young children who found the balance of work and family most problematic. To wit:

I was never home. I went to a Parent Teacher Conference in my second year for my daughter, and her teacher said, "I want you to know that, when I asked your daughter what she wanted for Christmas, she said I want my mommy to get a new job." [exiter A]

Thus, voluntary exiters considered both professional and personal goals, as they deliberated their difficult decisions to exit the superintendency. Several described this broader perspective on their choices in terms of quality of life:

I reached a crossroads in my thinking. Why am I doing this? Is this the right role for me? [exiter E]

Others were concerned with longer-term life goals or academic objectives:

Also, by that time, I had finished all my coursework for both the superintendent certification and the Ph.D. So it was time to do the dissertation. Yet I found it impossible to do anything that required that much thought with the way my life and work was going. I felt that, if I ever was going to finish the doctorate, it wasn't going to be while I was being superintendent. [exiter C]

Since most of the women in our sample were married, they considered the financial ramifications of their exits in the context of dual family incomes. Only two who left voluntarily had to face the potential financial strain entirely on their own. We sensed, as several of our informants put it, that they had some financial flexibility that allowed them the freedom to choose to exit. While in some cases, leaving a small, rural superintendency for a central office job in a larger, suburban district actually meant a pay **increase**, several elected to leave even though it entailed a salary loss (e.g., moving to university professorships):

I think one's own financial circumstances has a lot to do with exiting or not. Each family has their own financial considerations. If I'm a superintendent and not the main breadwinner, it allows us to be freer to give it up. I know two women superintendents whose husbands are not working. These women are **miserable**, but they can't leave. They're burned out, but they can't quit. Whereas I could walk away. [exiter B]

I make wonderful money [now]. I make \$71,000. I work ten months. I work one night a month: for PTA meetings. I don't have to attend board meetings. I get all teacher holidays. And in my district I only have to work 15 days during the summer. So, you have to be bright enough to know when you have it good. [exiter A]

What was striking was that, in all seven cases of voluntary exit, appealing new job opportunities became available simultaneously with these women's growing disenchantment with the role of superintendent. In some instances, previous mentors who knew of their situations assisted them again. In most cases, however, it was a matter of serendipity and keeping their eyes and ears open to other work opportunities in education within commutable driving distance. Besides the opportunities

mentioned, the following excerpts also reveal that these women moved to a less stressful and more autonomous work environment, when compared to the superintendency:

So I just began to think, "Is this the way that I really want to spend the next few years?" And, **out of the blue** . . . and I **do** mean out of the blue . . . I had a phone call from the district that I had been a teacher in for eight years. It was from the present superintendent, and he said, "What would it take to get you back here and have you do curriculum work for us? We're designing a new position for Assistant Superintendent of Curriculum. You're the person who we'd like to fill it, but what do we have to offer you to make you consider it?" It was like an announcement from **heaven!** [exiter C]

I got a call from the superintendent [in her original district] who said something like, "Well, if it's a principalship that you now want, we have one here for you." [exiter F]

Soon after my intended resignation was announced in the newspaper, I got a call from a nearby university pursuing me. Even though my original intent was to start up my own business. [exiter G]

It's a **very** interesting position because I do a lot of the **fun** things that I had done as a superintendent, but without the **stress!** [laugh] I can see how this job is very, very attractive to many people. It's about teaching and curriculum, and people really want to get things done, and there it is, kind of served up on a platter to me. [exiter B]

I'd be nuts not to be happy here. Now you see what the whole picture is. They give me plenty of money. They let me run the building. And they stay out of my hair. Now, I **love** going to work. [exiter A]

Conclusions

Taken together, the findings indicate that all seven women examined their lives holistically as they made their decisions to exit the superintendency. That is, they viewed their careers as just one aspect of their social worlds. They carefully deliberated quality-of-life issues and asked themselves, "Is the nature of the superintendent's job something that I want for myself for the long term?" They usually considered such inquiry in a collective context as well: "Are the stresses and demands of this leadership role worth it to me and my family?"

Implications for Leadership

In addition to considerations of work and life quality on a personal and familial basis, the data also provide evidence of reflection on educational leadership at a broader level. These women were open to entertaining the possibilities of exercising influence and making expert contributions in roles other than "at the top" of the structural hierarchy. Their ideologies of leadership valued a wide gamut of potentially significant leverage points within the educational system, including principalships, assistant superintendencies, directorships, and teaching at the university level. They either already had found, or were certain they would find, satisfaction and reward in a diverse constellation of leadership roles. Neither their long-term career interests nor their egos were tied to particular positions.

In this way, then, our findings imply cause for optimism. We can celebrate both the insights into self and role that these women leaders attained, and the range of attractive new opportunities available to them. Our informants' experiences illustrate that there is "someplace to go" after the superintendency . . . a perspective often contradicted by the conventional

lore of the field. Additionally, these voluntary exiters confirm that there exist choices of leadership roles for women in education, which may well be more compatible with balancing family and career than is the superintendency.

Implications for the Future of the Superintendency

Despite these optimistic interpretations, however, there are important implications of these data that are much less sanguine. There is ample evidence, both from our study of exited women and previous research, that the superintendency has become evermore distant from the instructional and curricular heart of the educational enterprise. Instead, it is characterized by isolation, political conflict, financial pressures, inexorable scrutiny, and vulnerability.⁷

We argue for reforming the superintendent's role, in ways that would re-connect it to the core tasks of teaching and learning, and diminish the relentless demands on its individual occupant. Although we are not sure how to operationalize such change, one way to begin is by raising this issue for discussion and linking it to other current reform initiatives. Our rationale is based on the belief that such reform harbors potential for both attracting and retaining more women in this important leadership role. As Marshall hypothesized some ten years ago, women in male sex-typed careers may be "rejecting a patriarchal, political, manipulative model of school leadership . . . seeing [such models] as disconnected to the core technology of schooling".⁸

We have argued elsewhere that attention to issues of retaining women in the superintendency is as crucial as entry-level considerations, if we are ever to remedy the imbalance of male predominance in this position.⁹ There has been surprisingly little research on superintendents' attrition or retention, despite the obvious link between those factors and improving the numerical representation of women in this leadership role.¹⁰ As we have learned, however, from studies of college student attrition, exclusive focus on minority **recruitment** without equal attention to issues of retention, does little more than create a revolving door.

In the study reported in this article, the women leaders who chose to leave shed light on a revolving door phenomenon for women in the present-day superintendency. We contend that the future of our schools warrants the retention of capable leaders of both sexes. The data presented here suggest that this can only be done by reforming the superintendent's role. In this era of re-thinking teaching and leadership roles in less hierarchical ways, sharing decision-making among broader collectivities, and flattening organizations, the time seems right for reconceptualizing the superintendency.

Endnotes

1. This research was supported, in part, by the National Policy Board for Educational Administration. The perspectives expressed herein, however, are those of the authors.
2. See Marilyn Tallerico, Joan N. Burstyn, and Wendy Poole. (1993). *Gender and politics at work: Why women exit the superintendency*. Fairfax, VA: The National Policy Board for Educational Administration. See also Marilyn Tallerico, Wendy Poole, and Joan N. Burstyn (1994). Exits from urban superintendencies: The intersection of politics, race, and gender. *Urban Education*, 28 (4), 439-454.
3. 70% (5 of 7) of the voluntary exiters and 54% (7 of 13) of the involuntary exiters. Elsewhere we discuss the nature of the superintendency and school board conflict in small, "starter districts". See Marilyn Tallerico and Joan Burstyn (1995). Women and the public school superintendency: The context matters. Manuscript submitted for publication.

4. 70% (5 of 7) of the voluntary exiters and 30% (4 of 13) of the involuntaries.
5. 60% (4 of 7) of the voluntary exiters, and 46% (6 of 13) of the involuntary exiters.
6. 75% (9 of 12; 1 unknown) involuntary versus 30% (2 of 6; 1 unknown) voluntary.
7. See, for example, Arthur Blumberg (1985). *The school superintendent: Living with conflict*. New York: Teachers College Press. See also Larry Cuban (1976). *Urban school chiefs under fire*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Larry Cuban (1985). Conflict and leadership in the superintendency. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 67 (1), 28–30. And see Marilyn Tallerico, Joan N. Burstyn, and Wendy Poole (1993). *Gender and politics at work: Why women exit the superintendency*. Fairfax, VA: The National Policy Board for Educational Administration.
8. See Catherine Marshall (1985). The stigmatized woman: The professional woman in a male sex-typed career. *Journal of Educational Administration*, 23 (2), p. 150.
9. Marilyn Tallerico, Joan N. Burstyn, and Wendy Poole (1993). *Gender and politics at work: Why women exit the superintendency*. Fairfax, VA: The National Policy Board for Educational Administration.
10. See, for example, Joan Curcio (1992, April). *Vulnerability of the school district superintendent*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco. See also Gene Hall (1992, April). *State administrators association directors' perceptions of the exiting superintendent phenomenon*. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, San Francisco.

The expectations of others for a female administrator can be extraordinary and even the woman administrator's self-imposed aspirations can be formidable . . . it becomes apparent that a female must undergo socialization or training not only as an administrator, but more specifically as a "woman" administrator.

THE SOCIALIZATION OF WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS IN EDUCATION: How Can They Fit In?

P. Kay Duncan

It is intriguing to note that although women constitute about 66% of the nation's K-12 instructional personnel¹ and earn more doctoral degrees than men in the field of education², they make up only 30% of the general category of personnel called school administrators.³ In fact, in an American Association of School Administrators 1989-1990 survey which included only principals, superintendents, deputy, assistant, and area superintendents, only 24% of these school administrators were women.⁴ These figures have two significant implications. The first is that women who do become administrators generally must carry out their administrative roles in situations where the majority of their fellow administrators are men. The second implication is that these women must also learn what it is to be a woman administrator, a role which can be significantly different from any previous roles they have experienced. The expectations of others for a female administrator can be extraordinary and even the woman administrator's self-imposed aspirations can be formidable.

In light of these implications it becomes apparent that a female must undergo socialization or training not only as an administrator, but more specifically as a "woman" administrator. Indeed, how does the woman administrator "fit in?"

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Working in a World of Men

Individuals and organizations mirror the social system of which they are a part.⁵ Since being a man or woman is at the core of our social lives and of our inner selves, gender is among the bases of the social fiber according to Warren.⁶ Therefore, dependence upon gender and other social categories for the societal division of labor forms the underpinning of culture throughout history. Living within a society presumes, therefore, gendered interaction, conversation, and interpretation.

Young⁷ recounts the recent evolution of feminist confrontations with patriarchal constructs of women's nature. Young asserts that the dominant feminist impulse has been to deny any significant difference between women and men, primarily because for centuries men in power (philosophers, theologians, and politicians) excluded women from meaningful human enterprises. Such men have argued that women's essential natures are different from men's. According to Young the second wave of feminist theory attempted to attain women's liberation through "androgyny", a social condition of those having neither specifically feminine nor masculine characteristics. Through androgyny, women attempted to transcend gender in social situations. This was politically important as feminism asserted that women can do anything men can do and thus should not encounter discrimination, exclusion, or differential treatment.

In the past ten years, this assertion has been challenged by other interpretations of women's equality and liberation, which adds to the complexity of the issue. One such interpretation, "humanist feminism," basically regards femininity, in company with the social status and gender-specific situation of women, as constraints, even liabilities, to the advancement and autonomy of women. This version of feminism is committed to an ideal of universal humanity in which gender differences are simply accidental and which subscribes to gender neutral universal standards of excellence and achievement.⁸ Tavis,⁹ a social psychologist, terms this view "minimalist", adding that there are no significant differences between the sexes other than those temporarily imposed by society.

"Gynocentric feminism", a term coined by Young,¹⁰ does not accept the humanist ideal of gender neutral equality and has rediscovered and displayed value and virtue in feminine experience, social status, and expression. This model of feminism exalts female experience, virtues and activities and resists their exclusion, devaluation, or exploitation by a male-dominated society. Key to this feminist paradigm, according to Young, is the gender-based psychology theory of Chodorow that generally women seek to relate to others as opposed to men, who often settle for separateness. This view might be termed "maximalist", claiming that there are major, fundamental differences between men and women.¹¹

It is undeniable that in contemporary Western society the socialization of women does often contribute to the development of skills, expectations, and temperaments that are different in women than in men—profound differences that can divide men and women in their daily lives.¹² In fact, the upshot of this socialization is a gender-induced culture gap.¹³ Tavis¹⁴ indicates that for women to cope successfully with this gender-based culture gap a socialization process is needed that:

organizes for its members different influence strategies, ways of communicating, nonverbal languages, and ways of perceiving the world. Just as when in Rome most people do as Romans do, the behavior of women and men depends as much on the gender they are interacting with than (sic) on anything intrinsic about the gender they are.

Based on extensive examination of research, Tavis asserts that masculinity and femininity are not permanent personality traits; the behaviors and qualities of men and women will emerge and vary depending on the situation and the need.

Most men and women are flexible in their behaviors and display both "feminine" and "masculine" qualities. Tavis goes on to say that people who can embrace the best qualities associated with both extremes are more healthy, both mentally and physically, than those who are rigidly feminine or masculine.

Tavis presents her point in spite of current literature on women in our society that includes discussions of: a woman's morality based on responsibility and on relationships among people, rather than on separation and competition;¹⁵ women's special ways of drawing conclusions about truth, knowledge, and authority,¹⁶ and; women's use of conversation as "a way of establishing connections and negotiating relationships".¹⁷

*Megatrends for Women*¹⁸ claims that women even have a different management style than men and describes "Women's Leadership Style" as open, trusting, compassionate, understanding and nourishing continual education. In fact, recent thought on women in educational administration also dwells on traditional female descriptors: nurturing, sensitive, empathetic, intuitive, compromising, caring, cooperative, and accommodative.¹⁹ However, in light of Tavis' views as well as recent management theory, it seems apparent that both women and men who embody these so-called female descriptors would benefit in their capacity as administrators.

Women As Educational Administrators

What do these socialization issues mean for women leaders in our society? What do they mean for women in educational administration? Little girls originally possess a strong will to power, autonomy and mastery (from which derive leadership, creativity, genius, original thinking, and integrity in the face of adversity). However, little girls are socialized to repress this will by participating in female-only play groups and by mimicking the women they see.²⁰ Pigford and Tonnsen²¹ in their book on women in school leadership offer that in their formative years, girls learn the importance of being polite, clean, and courteous whereas boys are encouraged to explore, to be independent, to take charge, and are allowed to be active. They go on to state that schools teach and reinforce behaviors considered to be "gender-appropriate" with boys and girls assigned gender-appropriate tasks and toys and rewarded for gender-appropriate behavior. The recent AAUW report, *How Schools Shortchange Girls*,²² substantiates this claim. Curcio, Morsink, and Bridges²³ also confirm that learned behaviors of women can be traced back to the differences in responses that teachers make to girls and boys, adding that girls developed a sort of learned helplessness when they were told they were trying hard but not making it.

Furthermore, according to Pigford and Tonnsen,²⁴ the language of society applies strict sanctions to increase the likelihood that boys and girls will engage in gender-appropriate behaviors as identified by Western society: girls who climb trees, have an interest in snakes and bugs, or play contact sports are labeled "tomboys"; boys who play with dolls, associate with girls, or prefer solitary, reflective activities to active sports are called "sissies." A recent Newsweek article²⁵ claims that for all the major advances in the status of women in the last 25 years, attitudes haven't changed all that much as our children are socialized. Girls are still raised to become wives, and sons to be sons. Society is caught in a cultural lag, still training women to be pliant and to be nice, pleasing and nurturing.²⁶ By the time girls reach adulthood, they "believe that they will be considered unfeminine if they confront conflict assertively. They do not want to be disliked, and they feel uncomfortable if other people are upset with them."²⁷

The socialization of males prepares them to be leaders while the socialization of females prepares them to be followers and helpers.²⁸ Society tends to define leadership using so-called "male" characteristics. These stereotypes can place women administrators in a dilemma. "They can be either

to be both is generally viewed as contradictory."²⁹ Marshall³⁰ agrees that women are constrained by cultural definitions of appropriate behavior. Northcraft and Gutek³¹ argue that the fact that men and women are viewed as different and unequal in many ways puts women at a definite disadvantage because men have more power, and thus characteristics and behavior associated with men will be valued more than characteristics associated with women. In fact, Belenky et al.³² cite extensive research on sex differences that indicates that girls and women find it more difficult than boys and men to assert their authority or to even consider themselves as authorities. Brunner and Duncan,³³ in their research on women central office administrators, found this reluctance on the part of some women to display assertive behaviors to be more a function of power and socialized reactions to that power than a matter of sex differences. They claim that there is a type of female administrator that manages her own powerlessness by asking permission of others to act and think even though she is in a position of power. These women instinctively or consciously feel they must carry out their administrative role in this manner in order to be accepted and supported in that role. Wolf asserts that many adult women are ambivalent about using power because they have repressed the will to power and the natural longing to use power.³⁴

Adkison,³⁵ presenting the critical elements of ICES, a program directed toward both individual and organizational change to mitigate discrimination, confirms that sex role socialization creates internal barriers for individuals who accept cultural prescriptions for appropriate behavior. Realistically, women who wish to become successful administrators almost have to accept these cultural prescriptions,³⁶ and thus should attempt to be resocialized by developing the skills necessary to gain entry into the male dominant culture of school administration.³⁷ However, there are many problems inherent in the process of socialization as a woman administrator. Women who adopt "masculine" behavior usually associated with leadership, might be rejected as too competitive, too aggressive, too tough. Women who display behavior generally accepted in society as feminine behavior, might be rejected as leaders. Either way, women may have to deny their identity—their core—and "may find that the cost of being at the top, in terms of their self-concept, can be extremely high".³⁸ Most women administrators are aware at some level that if they are to be accepted and supported, they must adhere to societal norms and expectations and behave as "ladies should".³⁹

Marshall⁴⁰ examined data from a field study of twenty-five women in educational administration careers from the perspective of Erving Goffman's theory. Goffman states that people who deviate from the "normal" develop management techniques which result in either their acceptance or rejection by the community or group that establishes and upholds the norms. Marshall theorizes that women administrators are perceived as unable to fill the identity norms of either "normal women" or "normal school administrators" and that after denial and retreat, acceptance of cultural and organizational norms occurs. This acceptance is often followed by alienation and rebellion. Finally, some women cope with the stigma and learn to "pass".

What this means, according to Marshall, is that women must strike a balance between being gender appropriate and nurturing without threatening their professional image. "They must avoid appearing aggressive, liberated, and uninterested in children and recipes, to avoid alienating others."⁴¹ She states that people possessing stigmas have to find ways to help others to be at ease and comfortable. She goes on to say that women administrators learn that showing anger does not improve their treatment. Successful female leaders learn to laugh about how men react to their being administrators and to display a caring, supportive impression. They distinguish themselves from other women's roles, functions and positions in the

organization by dressing more formally, by not serving as secretary in meetings, and by managing their appearance and behavior to give the appearance of unobtrusive normal women and to neutralize their sexuality.

Marshall summarizes by stating that some women school administrators, after going through a long phase of passing, as they mature or attain high positions, finally become secure enough and demonstrate their competence enough to be themselves. She emphasizes, however, that it is not enough to describe the adjustments made by women; that ways must be found to help women in career development and to overcome others' resistance to women as administrators.

Meaningful Differences

As mentioned previously, Tavris⁴² emphasizes differences of context rather than the sex differences of personality traits and ego development. To develop her argument, she cites the work of psychologist Lawrence D. Cohn who analyzed 65 studies for the extent of sex differences in personality and concluded that differences between young men and women eventually disappear with no difference between adult women and men in "maturity of thought" and complexity of reasoning. Tavris adds the two sexes also ultimately converge in moral reasoning and other dimensions of personality development. She states that context consistently overpowers personality in the pursuit of meaningful differences between men and women. By context, she is referring to everything in the environment of a person's life: work, family, class, culture, the immediate situation and its requirements, etc. The differences of consequence show up in persistent inequities in employment and work opportunities, family obligations, medical and legal obligations, and income. In other words, she sees the behavior of women and men in context as flexible behaviors rather than permanent qualities of the person or of their gender. She prefers to describe the world of men and women as cultures that are not only different but are unequal as well in power, resources, and status.

Among the differences of magnitude that Tavris⁴³ lists are some that impact the role of the woman administrator:

- Caretaking
- Communication
- interaction styles
- uses of talk
- power differences
- Emotions
- contexts that produce them
- forms of expression
- Power and status at work, in relationships, in society
- "Second shift": housework, child care, family obligations

In essence, these are differences of power rather than differences of culture. For example, Tavris explains that whenever social scientists have explored many of the apparent linguistic differences between men and women, they often find that qualities assumed to be typical of women, are, instead, indicators of a power imbalance. In fact, Dr. Tavris states "women and men who are in a one-down position in a relationship, such as being witnesses in a courtroom, reveal the hesitations and uncertainties of so-called 'women's speech' [pauses, hedges, 'sort of's,' and the like]."⁴⁴

These differences of power represent complex socialization issues that can have a significant and enduring effect on women administrators.⁴⁵

Concluding Comments

Thus we return to the initial inquiry: How exactly do women administrators fit it? There are no easy answers to this question. The long-range goal for women administrators is, of

course, to reduce the power imbalance. Reducing the power imbalance would help women to attain status equity and thereby no longer have to "fit in". Female and male administrators and those who train them and mentor them must make it a primary objective to bring the existing status inequity and its accompanying socialized behaviors into full view, analyze it, discuss it, and do what they can to neutralize the inequity. It is important that both men and women administrators understand how their cultural identities as males or females interact with each other and the effects this interaction has on organizational dynamics.⁴⁶ Men and women must support one another in dealing with this interaction and striving for healthy organizational dynamics.

There are many indicators that a change is taking place which may bring status equity to women in leadership positions. The book *Megatrends for Women* reports that women are challenging the most patriarchal institutions in the country and that "the time for women to embrace their power and set their creativity free has at long last arrived."⁴⁷ Wolfe agrees, stating: "It is no longer necessary for women to ask anyone's permission for social equality."⁴⁸ In educational administration alone, the percentage of women superintendents in the U. S. has increased modestly from less than 1% in 1971 to 6% in a 1992 study.⁴⁹ There has also been a gradual increase of women assistant superintendents from 3% in 1971 to 22% in 1988. Female principals have increased from a low of 13% in the years 1973-1976 to 27% in 1990.⁵⁰ Unscientific estimates based on information from the National Association of Elementary School Principals places the percentage of females who are elementary principals near 50% in the school year 1994-1995. The numbers of women administrators in public education are, indeed, rapidly acquiring critical mass. This increase of numbers suggests that women administrators are approaching, in concert with other women in public and private life, "an open moment,"⁵¹ a moment in which they will be able to neutralize the imbalance of the present.

In the meantime, females who are also administrators can enhance their socialization process if they have not already "passed" by using a full range of situation-appropriate behaviors, regardless of whether those behaviors are typically considered to be masculine or feminine. In other words, the woman administrator should learn to react appropriately to specific situations instead of to cultural or social demands for "feminine" behavior.⁵² Interviews conducted with female school leaders in 1991 in Dallas indicated that although these women believe that the major strengths they bring to their leadership roles are empathy, sensitivity, caring, nurturing, support, compassion, and patience, they also view assertiveness, confidence, high self-esteem, strength, and competence as the most important characteristics of effective women in school leadership roles.⁵³ Additional research substantiates that women should demonstrate high levels of competence and advertise that competence rather than their "differentness."⁵⁴ Women must view themselves as capable and worthy. The female administrator needs to acquire the skills—that is, the ways of talking, ways of dressing, ways of interacting, and ways of acting—necessary for success in the dominant culture while still validating her own identity and self-esteem. A recent article in *The Topoka Capital—Journal*⁵⁵ cites further advice from a clinical psychologist whose clients are women and who has studied female executives across the country: form strong friendships, allow yourself to express a wide range of emotions, put female characteristics back into your life, exercise vigorously, avoid self-blaming, nurture your self-esteem, and being aggressive and find a more measured style of problem solving.

The current educational environment is opportune for women as they seek to find their place in school administration. Educators are focusing on the importance of gr

interactions and collaboration, leadership supports, and organizational systems which are more open and less hierarchical in nature. These conditions stimulate a sense of belonging and power for all. If they become the norm in education, an environment will be provided which will be more supportive of women in administration. Women and men school leaders will become full partners as they seek to make a positive difference in the lives of children and co-workers. No longer will it be necessary for anyone to "fit in".

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Through the recursive process of working alone and collectively, the combination of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection offers possibilities for more feminist, collaborative processes in schools and creates relationships in which conversations can take place. These conversations foster the social construction of reality and interdependence among organizational members, two crucial elements in creating feminist forms of leadership in schools.

The Use of Narrative, Dialogue and Critical Reflection in the Development of Women as School Leaders

Joanne E. Cooper

This article describes the use of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection to enhance the professional development of women. The author first discusses current feminist theories of leadership and the recent history of women in school administration. A case study of sixteen women in a single elementary school is then used to describe the impact of narrative and dialogue as springboards to begin critical reflection and possible transformation of the assumptions about leadership and the possible roles of women as organizational leaders.

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Introduction

Although a growing number of women are entering administrative positions in the educational world, most women working in this field represent a vast untapped resource of potential lead-

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ers. One of the organizational and societal constraints women encounter in what is essentially still a patriarchal system, what can be done to foster the growth and development of women as leaders in education? One possibility is the use of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection in school staff development programs to begin the formation of more feminist forms of leadership. The use of narrative allows women to find a voice and begin to tell their own stories of professional practice, thus forming a legitimated knowledge base that challenges more hierarchical, bureaucratic forms of professional practice. Dialogue among teachers and between teachers and administrators begins to break down the isolation many women encounter in their work in schools, fostering mutual respect between colleagues and the recognition that all toil in the same organization for essentially the same purposes. Finally, critical reflection begins the essential work of examining the values and assumptions upon which women in education currently base their professional practice and provides opportunities to rethink crucial epistemological constructs. This paper argues for the use of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection in the creation of fertile soil upon which women can develop their leadership capabilities and realize their ultimate potential.

Many feminist scholars have argued elsewhere that the profession of teaching has been engineered to recreate patriarchal practices¹. Grumet² claims that

... the contradictions that evolved in the nineteenth century between the doctrine of maternal love and the practice of a harsh and regimented authority, between women's dominance in numbers and our exclusion from leadership, between the overwhelming presence of women in classrooms and the continuing identification of men as the only persons with the capacity to know, are still present in the culture of schooling.

Recent texts have argued for the rejection of male authority as the basis for all knowledge and the reclaiming by teachers of the ability to create knowledge through research involving both "reflective practice" and "critical praxis".³ Scholars, such as Clandinin and Connelly,⁴ advocate the inclusion of personal, practical knowledge and the power of teachers' stories as valid forms of knowing in education. Narrative or story is presently emerging as a way of knowing that honors local knowledge derived from experience rather than formal knowledge derived through positivistic scientific research.⁵ Narrative and dialogue thus become important avenues for validating the authority of women educators in their own profession.

The move from recipient of knowledge derived from authorities into a position of producer of knowledge, a claim for one's own professional authority, empowers women in both teaching and administrative positions. It is then possible for feminist processes, such as collaborative dialogues, to take place around the examination and solving of mutually defined problems in schools. As Pagano³ has stated: "The task I see for feminist theory in education just now is one of making conversation with our professions and with our history within them."

What follows is a description of how both dialogue and critical reflection might foster this conversation through the use of narrative in an elementary school setting. I will first discuss women and leadership, both to examine the impact of past theories of leadership on women and to describe more feminist forms of leadership. I will then give a brief overview of the history of women in school administration. From there I move to a discussion of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection and their impact on a particular group of women working together as teachers and administrators in an elementary school.

Women and Leadership

Feminist theories of leadership assert that in traditional conceptions of leaders and leader traits, women were viewed as lacking the necessary attributes for leadership. Nieva and

Guterk⁷ claim that traditional studies of leadership, which studied male leaders and applied the findings to women, often concluded that women were compliant, submissive, emotional and had great difficulty making choices. In other words, if leadership relied on the "great man" theory, women simply did not measure up.

More recent studies suggest that participative and democratic leadership styles which were usually condemned as stereotypical female behaviors and therefore sometimes shunned by women, are more accepted in women today. They are also currently considered to be more appropriate management behaviors for men.⁸ However, these recent studies have relied on traditional models of leadership. With Hollander,⁹ feminists have called for studies of leadership which break through traditional concepts of a leader as one who occupies a high position. They are advocating studies which examine the ways in which this hierarchical definition defies notions of empowering and collective leadership. Asking that researchers put aside their preoccupations with the effects of leader behavior on followers, these scholars call for efforts to understand the origins of leadership by posing questions about leaders' self-perceptions and expectations.¹⁰

Astin and Leland's cross-generation study of leaders and social change reflects current feminist studies of leadership, and relies on three constructs found in feminist discourse: 1) the social construction of reality, 2) interdependence, and 3) power as energy, not control. According to this conceptual framework,

leadership is a process by which members of a group are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common goal or vision that will create change, transform institutions, and thus improve the quality of life. The leader—a catalytic force—is someone who, by virtue of her position or opportunity, empowers others toward the collective action in accomplishing the goal or vision.

This definition underscores the fact that leaders can be both formal or informal. Formal leadership roles in the school include positions such as principal, vice-principal or grade level chair. Informal leadership roles can be held by any organizational member and would fall under Astin and Leland's definition of a leader as someone who empowers others by virtue of her opportunity, rather than by her formal position in the organizational structure. In this case, informal leadership roles are available to women who may be floundering but through narrative, dialogue and critical reflection are able to be the leaders of their own lives. Clarifying the map of their own lives thus becomes a precursor to stepping into more formal leadership roles in the school.

Women in School Administration

Given the past theories of leadership which emphasize "great men," it is not surprising to find little written about women as school leaders. As Shakeshaft¹¹ asserts:

The traditional literature in school administration largely ignores women. It tells us little about their past or present lives, nor do we hear of their struggles. Only in the past decade has there begun to be a literature about women in school administration, and only in the past couple of years have scholars begun talking about examining current theory and practice for the impact of gender.

Not only the literature on women as leaders, but the profession itself, vastly underutilizes its pool of potential female candidates. In 1982, for instance, the American Association of School Administrators reported that women held a mere two percent of the nation's superintendencies, only nine percent of the assistant superintendencies, and just sixteen percent of the principalships.¹²

Shakeshaft¹³ believes that schools might profit if all administrators, men as well as women, borrowed from the leadership strategies and practices more traditionally associated with women. New ideas on how women are leading in education can be found in "Women Leading in Education" by Dunlap and Schmuck, 1995. However, until the organization and culture of schooling recognizes the untapped and valuable resource women provide as potential leaders in schools, many women, both teachers and students, will continue to see themselves as followers and will miss valuable opportunities to realize their potential.

As Edson¹⁴ has stated, "Because women are under-represented, people assume they are either unsuited for school management or they do not desire those careers. Literature on educational administration proclaimed it, both female and male educators believed it, and consequently, even some female administrative aspirants internalized it." Although not all women must hold formal positions of authority to be leaders, these positions enhance the informal power women may already hold in organizations. In addition, formal administrative positions place women so that they can begin to legitimate newer and more feminist forms of leadership in schools.

How might schools be changed to encourage women to see themselves as potential leaders and to foster more feminist forms of leadership in organizations? Once women have attained leadership positions, how might they be encouraged and supported in their role? A beginning step is the use of narrative and dialogue to enable women to find their own voices. Their voices can then be used in collaborative and shared leadership processes. Finally, having experienced collaborative leadership, women may move to formal administrative positions from which they can both initiate and nurture shared leadership processes. The following study of the use of narrative and dialogue in an elementary school provides possibilities for just such changes, changes that both foster and support the potential of women as educational leaders.

Narrative

Educators, researchers and scholars in education today have shown increasing interest in the power of narrative as a way of knowing.¹⁵ Scholars¹⁶ have made story or narrative a central element in their analyses of teachers' knowledge. Personal narratives are known to draw on the strengths, experiences, tacit knowledge and expertise of public school educators.¹⁷ In contrast to quantitative measures such as test scores and correlation coefficients, narrative and dialogue as ways of knowing are believed to be more reflective of the "richness and indeterminacy" of educational experience.¹⁸ When critical reflection is added to narrative accounts of experience, a powerful combination is formed that can lead to transformative and emancipatory learning in adulthood.¹⁹

As a result of the above scholarship, women today are being encouraged to tell their own stories. Narrative, or story, has taken a central role as a mode of knowing, a vehicle for research on teaching and teacher education, a framework for issues of gender, power, ownership and voice, and a pedagogical tool in the education of teachers and administrators.²⁰ Wood²¹ used personal narratives to provide a more humane evaluation process in a private school. Yet relatively little is known about the effects of the combination of narrative knowledge, dialogue, and critical reflection, especially in a public school setting. How do these stories or narratives, once told, impact other teachers, counselors, librarians, and administrators and the school in general? Can narrative function to foster more feminist forms of leadership through the social construction of reality, a sense of interdependence and the empowerment of women educators? What follows is an attempt to answer these questions.

Narrative (or story, terms which are used here interchangeably), is defined as a basic form of representing action.²² Everyone tells stories. The ability to recognize and produce narratives appears in children about the age of three.²³ Narratives help us make sense of our experience and help us tell who we are.²⁴ They provide a means for us to look back on who we have been, to reflect on who we are now, and to project a sense of who we might become.

Furthermore, narratives, coupled with critical reflection, "can allow a moral investigation of the practical consequences of beliefs and theories that are otherwise decontextualized abstractions."²⁵ Often both administrators and teachers operate on a set of theories-in-use which do not match the espoused theories they discuss when asked to give a rationale for their professional practice.²⁶ Traditional conceptions of leaders as those who occupy hierarchical positions within the organizational structure and behave in prescribed ways are an excellent example of espoused theories which may not match the current viable forms of leadership both at work and possible in schools today. Sometimes women may simply be unaware that the theories upon which they actually base their practice differ from those they espouse. In other instances, the organizational culture does not encourage them to explore deviations from currently accepted educational theories. Furthermore, theories-in-use are difficult to uncover because they are often derived through experience and based on intuitive or tacit knowledge. Many scholars²⁷ have argued that practical knowledge is often tacit. However, much of this knowledge can be uncovered through narratives or stories of practice.²⁸ As Mattingly²⁹ states:

Storytelling or story analysis can facilitate a kind of reflecting that is often difficult to do, a consideration of those ordinarily tacit constructs that guide practice. Stories point toward deep beliefs and assumptions that people often cannot tell in propositional or denotative form, the "practical theories" and deeply held images that guide their actions.

Thus, reflecting on stories of their professional lives allows women in both teaching and administrative roles to learn from experience and provides them with alternative future actions. In other words, new possibilities for women to see themselves as leaders, as well as new forms of leadership in schools are awakened through narrative, dialogue and critical reflection. What follows are examples of how the women in this study used narrative and dialogue to examine and learn from their own experience and to find new leadership possibilities for themselves.

Reflection, here, can be defined as "a generic term for those intellectual and affective activities in which individuals engage to explore their experiences in order to lead to new understandings and appreciation."³⁰ If reflection is the exploration of experience, the question logically arises: "Reflection upon which experiences?" In this case, narrative provides the structure and expression of past experience which can then be reflected upon. Reflection upon the professional experiences of others can take the form of case studies or case analysis.³¹ Reflection upon our own experiences can take the form of identifying and analyzing critical incidents in our professional or personal lives. Critical reflection upon these experiences moves beyond mere reflection and begins to critique the underlying assumptions and presuppositions upon which we base our beliefs and actions.³² Brookfield asserts that critical reflection has three interrelated phases:

- 1) identifying the assumptions that underlie our thoughts and actions; 2) scrutinizing the accuracy and validity of these in terms of how they connect to, or are discrepant with, our experience of reality (frequently through comparing our experiences with others in similar contexts); and 3) reconstituting these assumptions to make them more inclusive and integrative.³³

What follows is an examination of the effects of asking a group of women in a single elementary school to write and share narratives of critical incidents in their professional and personal lives and to reflect upon the underlying assumptions embedded within these incidents through dialogue and writing. By reflecting critically upon the assumptions which guide their actions, these women can begin to rethink the validity of their premises. By sharing these reflections, women are able to find their own voice and begin to emerge as both informal and formal leaders within their organizations. Ultimately, it is through critical reflection on their guiding assumptions about themselves and their roles as leaders that transformative learning takes place.

The sharing of narratives and critical reflection upon those narratives was studied in a series of staff development activities in Lokahi Elementary School, originally built in 1968 for 600, but now housing about 1300 students in grades kindergarten through sixth, with a staff of 65 to 70 teachers who serve a predominantly military population. Because the school serves a mobile population, they experience a 25–50% annual student turnover rate. The current principal has been there for eight years. Sixteen women in both teaching and administrative roles from Lokahi met on a regular basis on Wednesday afternoons and Saturdays for five months, from January through May.

These women, both teachers and administrators, were asked to identify and recount critical incidents in their teaching or learning experiences. Those incidents were shared in small groups and occasionally with the whole group. The women kept individual journals in which they made entries both at home and in the group and through which they engaged in continual reflection on themselves and their place in Lokahi Elementary. They also kept a collective journal, a collaborative document in which all shared reflections about the progress of the group, about themselves and their organization.

Narrative and Dialogue

Encouraging educators to produce and share narratives of professional practice can be a powerful tool in the development of leaders in the school and of the organization as a whole. Mezirow and Associates³⁴ assert that the role of dialogue is crucial to critical reflection because "it is through dialogue that we attempt to understand—to learn—what is valid in the assertions made by others and attempt to achieve consensual validation for our own assertions." Thus, the formation and facilitation of dialogic communities is centrally involved in education for adults. Dialogue among school personnel allows them to begin to find their own voices and to share their professional concerns. Using narrative or stories of practice as a springboard for this dialogue encourages school personnel to examine the assumptions upon which they base their practice.

Yet it is not always easy to begin writing and sharing these stories. Women often do not trust or value themselves and their ability to contribute as members of the group. They often believe they have nothing of value to offer to a collaborative leadership process. At the beginning of the course, one teacher wrote:

I feel very apprehensive . . . I really can't write my thoughts as I would want to. I also feel embarrassed about sharing my writings because it seems too superficial compared to others . . . it's tiring at this time of day to sit and write . . . to think about what I want to write. . .

Despite the apprehensions, these women soon found great rewards and a sense of connection through their writing and dialogue. Tired at the end of a school day, the process of creating and sharing narratives can be energizing, rather than draining. Later this same teacher wrote:

Brownie points to this [group]! I feel light and carefree!
This morning was a drag—waking up, semi-cold, still tired . . . coming to school was no fun either—kids, plans, after school faculty meeting . . . but now, this . . . it's fun. I feel good. I like the camaraderie. I like what I'm learning. I like the way in which my eyes and brain have been opened like a venetian blind.

Given a chance to reflect upon their personal and professional lives proved useful and insightful to these women in many ways. One teacher wrote about being burnt out and what a year of professional leave had meant to her. She is now much more conscientious about taking time for herself away from school in order to prevent further burnout. Several others wrote about their need to find their own voices, to speak up in various situations. A first step here is the recognition that they have remained silent when they had something they really wanted to say. After attending a state commission meeting on educational performance standards, one teacher wrote:

I didn't speak out. I didn't ask questions. I simply left my destiny in the hands of these people. Why didn't I assert myself in this situation when I felt so strongly about it? Why did I just sit there and make snide remarks? I'm so disappointed with myself.

Given this recognition, the class became a safe place for school personnel to begin voicing their feelings and concerns. The chance to write, think, and dialogue with others in the school gave these educators positive experiences with finding their own voice, speaking up and being heard. A member of the teaching staff wrote:

I've found I need to speak up, too, and not merely solve things on paper. By becoming comfortable with this group, I've found I can speak out about some of the things that bother me.

Through finding her own voice and the ability to speak out about her concerns, this teacher became an informal leader in the school. No longer silent, she was able to step forward and become part of the collective conversation that feminists, such as Astin and Leland,³⁵ define as leadership.

Narrative and dialogue not only allowed school personnel to find their voices and be heard about issues of concern to them, but began an important process of building trust between various members of the school. One woman, for instance, chose to write about her attempts to regain a sense of trust after her former principal had tried to fire her. She wrote:

"Dragon Lady," one of my former principals . . . broke and violated the trust I had for her and henceforth all administrators. . . Teaching at Lokahi Elementary these past two years has been very positive . . . the administrators at Lokahi have been fair and impartial. I am beginning to start to trust administrators. I needed this . . . I (have begun) to trust both myself and others in a discerning way.

The opportunity to share thoughts with both teachers and administrators was a significant part of the healing process for this teacher. The group provided a vehicle for dialogue with caring administrators, as well as other educators and thus for the building of more trusting professional relationships. These relationships and the honoring of each individual's view provide fertile ground for the development of collective action toward a particular goal or vision, and thus toward more feminist forms of leadership.

Finally, the construction of narrative and the accompanying dialogue combat the isolation women often experience in their professional lives. Isolation has a direct bearing on professional development,³⁶ has been linked to the absence of shared practical knowledge,³⁷ and has been used to explain the minimal-to-nonexistent influence of research-based infor-

mation on teacher decision making.³⁸ Being given a chance to think, write and share reflections through dialogue begins to break down isolation and encourages teachers and administrators to see others as fellow travelers on the same path. In short, it becomes an important step in building more feminist and collaborative leadership practices.

After a writing exercise in class where everyone reflected on a piece of their past, one teacher said that she had never known another except as someone who taught at her school. Now she felt a sense of her "as a real person." Another teacher felt the group was able to make connections with each other, find the commonalities in their lives, through dialogue and reflection.

The physical arrangement of the school tends to increase teacher isolation. Many of the teachers work in portable buildings, scattered around the perimeter of the main building, isolated from the rest of the school. When one teacher had a fire under her portable, she ran to the school for help and was locked out. There is a big iron gate across the front of the school with a padlock on it. Several of the teachers described the place like a fortress or a zoo. When asked whether the school was locking people in or out, the group said, "Out. Vandals." Yet half the teachers and children are in portables, and thus are locked out of their own school.

Both teachers and administrators reflected this sense of isolation and its debilitating effects in the metaphors they chose to represent their school:

Lokahi Elementary is like a hat because the administration is isolated in the middle/center and the rest of us are on the outer fringes, left out, separated, segregated and isolated from the main/administration and from each other.

. . . I would like to say that Lokahi is like a prison—each teacher stays confined in a cell and the prisoners are dying to communicate with one another.

Past perspectives on teacher isolation include a view of isolation as a product of institutional characteristics, such as "egg-crate" architecture,³⁹ and a second view of isolation as a psychological state centered on teacher perception.⁴⁰ Both these perspectives are reflected in the above statements, the physical characteristics of the school as a prison with cells, and the feelings of being left out and "dying to communicate" with others.

A third perspective considers isolation as an adaptive work strategy, grounded in the transactional process of teacher-environment interaction.⁴¹ In this case, teachers actively seek isolation in order to protect the time and energy needed to meet immediate institutional demands. Although isolation functions here to allow teachers to provide the best instruction possible on a day-to-day basis, ironically, over the long term, it undermines "the very instructional quality this work strategy is intended to protect."⁴²

Critical Reflection

The opportunity for reflection upon critical events in one's professional life adds an important additional element to the use of narrative and dialogue in schools. Beyond providing a vehicle for speaking up, being heard, building trust and combating isolation, critical reflection invites the transformation of individuals and groups by allowing for the examination of assumptions upon which professional action is built.⁴³ As Mezirow and Associates⁴⁴ have stated, "Becoming reflective of content, process, and especially the premises of one's prior learning is central to cognition for survival in modern societies." In this case, school personnel were encouraged to take an honest and critical look at the bases for their behavior and their potential role as leaders.

One teacher named Jane, for example, decided to honestly and critically examine her growing dissatisfaction with the teaching profession. She wrote:

... for the last five years, my enthusiasm and enjoyment of being in the classroom has declined. This dissatisfaction with teaching really became apparent during the first day of this class. It embarrassed and troubled me to admit that I didn't enjoy teaching and that the only things that kept me in the classroom were the vacations and the steady paychecks.

Dialoging and sharing narratives in class provided Jane with a vehicle to begin her examination, as well as the contrast of other more enthusiastic educators:

Every time I saw Lou, Karen, or Sally, all of whom have such a love for teaching, it reminded me of the love and satisfaction I once felt and of the disappointments and unhappiness I now feel.

As she began to identify and examine critical incidents in her career, Jane realized that she was happier with structure and order in her classroom. However, her desire to try a whole language approach to teaching came into conflict with her need for order. She wrote:

At first, I thought my unhappiness with my job now was caused by this battle going on within me between my desire to have a whole language type learning situation and my desire for structure.

After writing about her unhappiness and struggle, Jane explored her dilemma in dialogue with her colleagues. This dialogue stimulated further critical reflection which helped her to identify the root of the problem:

However, as I discussed my incidents and discovery with some teachers in this class, I was told that they also detected another battle going on. This was the battle to find individuality as a person and teacher and yet to conform to the expectations of others. It shocked and troubled me because I did not think any one would notice. In the back of my mind, I've always known that I would do what others did or what they wanted me to do rather than make waves or be different. But . . . I just kept telling myself that a difference in teaching philosophy was the cause of my unhappiness rather than my inability to choose to be different.

Jane's experience illustrates that critical reflection and dialogue form a powerful combination. Without further dialogue with others, Jane might have missed the essence of her problem. In addition, dialogue allowed others in the group to take leadership roles in helping Jane to honestly examine her own professional practice. Through the use of both critical reflection and dialogue she was able to identify an important assumption she held which was getting in the way of her desire to teach in her own style:

So now, when I revisit incidents in my teaching career, I see a bigger battle. I see the battle within myself . . . my desire to teach to my own style and beliefs, against my fear of being different.

Jane was even able to identify the source of her fear of being different and therefore not acceptable:

This assumption was probably taught and ingrained in me by my well meaning mother, who stressed the importance of not standing out . . . of always doing the normal or what was accepted. To be looked upon as different might bring shame upon the family.

This assumption is most likely embedded in strong cultural messages. Jane is Japanese-American and both the need to blend in to the community and the need to avoid bringing

shame on the family are strong Japanese cultural imperatives. A familiar Japanese saying reflects the imperative for conformity: "The raised nail is hammered down."

At this point, Jane has moved from Brookfield's first step in the process of critical reflection, namely "identifying the assumptions that underlie our thoughts and actions," to step two, "scrutinizing the accuracy and validity of these in terms of how they connect to, or are discrepant with, our experience of reality" and has begun the third step, "reconstituting these assumptions to make them more inclusive and integrative."⁴⁵ She wrote:

How do I resolve this problem? I don't know if I'll ever overcome the fear of being different but it has helped me to feel better just by admitting that my unhappiness actually stems from my desire to be considered "acceptable" by my peers.

Jane has taken a step to change her reality by moving to another grade level, one with more permission to be different as well as one she feels fits her teaching style better. Through this step, she has provided a safer place for the further examination of how she might begin to "reconstitute her assumption." In addition, she provides leadership for others who may be unhappy with their current teaching practices.

By using critical incidents from her own life, this teacher was able to ground "the activity of critical reflection in the context of the daily decisions and dilemmas learners face."⁴⁶ She is wise in moving slowly and carefully. As Brookfield⁴⁷ has stated:

Admitting that our assumptions might be distorted, wrong, or contextually relative implies that the fabric of our personal and political existence might rest upon faulty foundations. Even considering this possibility is profoundly threatening. . .

Yet, Jane also reports that her new discoveries have been both a revelation and a satisfaction to her. Through critical reflection and dialogue, Jane was able to uncover the crux of her unhappiness with her work and has begun steps to improve both her understanding and her situation. This situation provided opportunities for both Jane and her colleagues to feel empowered. Her colleagues felt like an important and supportive part of the process, as Jane struggled to understand her unhappiness. In working through to the crux of her problem, Jane has given voice to her own desires and beliefs, no small feat for someone conditioned to always conform to acceptable ways of behaving. Through narrative and dialogue, a process of incubation was begun. Where this process will end is unknown. Whether Jane will step into a formal leadership role is both unknown and irrelevant. Jane has simply taken initial steps to solve her own problems, rather than to suffer silently. This, in itself, is a form of leadership, which may lead to further professional growth and development for her and for others who work around her.

Beyond the understanding provided when women teachers and administrators form dialogic communities, narrative, dialogue and critical reflection offer opportunities for women who might be burnt out or resistant to staff development activities. These individuals may be those most in need of encouragement to grow and improve their professional practice. The story of Helen, a member of Lokahi Elementary's faculty who expressed initial reluctance to join the group illustrates the remarkable transformation possible through dialogue and reflection. As a working, single parent, most of Helen's energy goes to the daily tasks her job requires, and to her daughter, whom she is raising alone. Like our earlier discussion of isolation, which professionals often choose, but which is ultimately debilitating, the lack of energy for staff development activities has long-term debilitating effects. Women like Helen (as well as many others) are not likely to volunteer for extra duties because they are already overwhelmed with their professional and personal responsibilities.

In January Helen wrote in her journal: "I don't really know why I am [doing this], since I hate to write and I hate to think. Guess that's because I haven't done either in so long . . . never have any time and when I do have the time, I usually fall asleep."

After several meetings she began to feel the benefits of the work she was doing:

"I really thought I would have a hard time with this writing. Now I'm beginning to have the opposite feeling. Once I can get started, it seems to go okay . . . I think this is something more people in the school should be doing; sometimes we make decisions so fast some people don't even know what's happening."

Toward the end of the school year, having identified and analyzed several critical incidents in her past, Helen wrote:

"This . . . turned out to be so much more than I thought or expected it would be. It has made me realize that I need to retake control of my own life and that I need to start planning for the future. . . Today I am not really certain where I am heading, but am very hopeful that since I now have the map, perhaps I can follow it correctly and finally emerge a better person. . . Thank you for giving me back my life."

Clearly, Helen has experienced growth and transformation resulting in renewed hope for her future life. Having been "given back her life," through narrative and critical reflection, Helen is now more understanding of her own human condition, as well as that of her fellow professionals. Although she may never take on a formal leadership role in her organization, she has started to emerge as an informal leader, one who has empowered herself and consequently those around her.

Conclusion

In the past, adherence to the "great man" theory of leadership meant that women interested in leadership roles in education, must either become great men or, at best, great women. They entered formal leadership positions, such as the principalship, often pondering their own identity and feeling constricted by traditional conceptions of what leadership in schools might mean. Today, feminist theory has opened the door for more collaborative definitions of leadership which center on the shared construction of knowledge. However, much work must be done to create articulate, empowered individuals and a high trust atmosphere that fosters the productive, shared creation of organizational vision. For example, while the group activities described previously were being conducted, the principal of this school was struggling with the entire staff to create a shared vision for the organization. The teachers in this group, for the most part, were skeptical and resistant to this process. It is evident from this that much groundwork must be done to prepare and empower teachers and administrators to engage in shared vision building and feminist forms of leadership.

Narrative, dialogue and critical reflection can provide the ground in which these leadership processes are fostered and through which new leaders can emerge. Through the recursive process of working alone and collectively, the combination of narrative, dialogue and critical reflection offers possibilities for more feminist, collaborative processes in schools and creates relationships in which conversations can take place. These conversations foster the social construction of reality and interdependence among organizational members, two crucial elements in creating feminist forms of leadership in schools. These conversations become opportunities to make sense of individual and organizational experience. They create understanding across disciplines, age, and racial lines, allowing women to come together in schools in order to think and talk about their lives and the life of their organization.

Narrative, dialogue and critical reflection are the tools which support the tiny, initial steps that must be taken with ordinary organizational members, especially teachers, who might be isolated, discouraged, or burnt out and feeling disempowered by the systems within which they work. The processes described in this paper begin to empower these women so that they are able to take first informal and then, possibly, formal leadership positions within their schools. Narrative enables women to find their voice and make much needed connections across often isolating circumstances. Dialogue enables the shared construction of reality so that the building of trust can begin. Critical reflection upon these narratives provides opportunities for educators to examine the values and assumptions upon which their lives and practice are based, allowing for possible transformations of professional practice. The transformation of professional practice, both individually and organizationally, is what leadership in schools is all about.

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Hispanic mothers' involvement with and expectations of their children, coupled with their position as role-models, have a lasting impact on their children's academic achievement. The successes of [mother-daughter] programs illuminate a potential for similar programs to reach other youth facing educational barriers, affording them the ideas that let them imagine and the tools that let them succeed.

LIKE MOTHER, LIKE DAUGHTER: Intergenerational Programs for Hispanic Girls

María Luisa González, Joanna Glickler
and Cynthia Risner-Schiller

Statistics describing the educational achievement of Hispanics are discouraging, to say the least. On average, Hispanics obtain a mere 7.1 years of schooling, a rate lower than that of either African-Americans or Anglos. The dropout rate among Hispanics, estimated at 35% to as high as 60% in some communities, is greater than that of both blacks and whites. In particular, Hispanic girls exhibit educational difficulties. Their dropout rate typically is 2% to 3% higher than that of Hispanic boys, and they attend college at a lower rate.¹

Indeed, Hispanic girls are perhaps some of the most at-risk of students. Demographic data show fewer Hispanic women complete four or more years of college than any other major ethnic population in the United States, and the college attendance rate for Hispanic women is lower than that of males of any ethnic group. Furthermore, girls of all ethnic backgrounds suffer a marked loss of self-esteem in early adolescence, a phenomenon that may compound their educational difficulties.²

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The ramifications of such educational discrepancies are far-reaching. Certainly one clear result is that minority representation—both male and female—in leadership positions in the public and private sector is vastly below the proportion of minorities comprising the population. Further, "Education, or the lack of it, is cited frequently as a major factor in the continuation of disparities between ethnic groups. Failure to acquire an education, whether at the high school or college level, leads to lowered self-esteem and the inability to obtain a high-paying job."³

Identifying the culprits

Faced with such a dismal picture, one might well ask how this state of affairs came to be and what can be done about it. Several contributors to the situation have been identified. Research indicates that for dropouts, a pattern of school failure and alienation begins as early as the elementary grades, when disenchantment with school sets in. While many dropouts clearly understand the need for education, school simply has not been a satisfying experience for them. In many cases, dropouts view school as an alien environment they don't fit into, one incapable of understanding them.⁴

Perhaps most troubling to educators is that several studies have traced negative attitudes toward education among young Hispanics to the school environment itself. Some researchers have found that low grades and disciplinary problems at school are more likely to push students to drop out than are family and economic factors. Others have noted certain school disciplinary sanctions send a message to potential dropouts that they are unwanted, particularly in situations in which student populations differ ethnically from the faculty and staff who serve them.⁵

Certainly, Hispanic girls are not immune to such messages, and their self-esteem and attitudes toward education undoubtedly are damaged by them. Other conditions that promote negative feelings among Hispanic girls about school are:

- a lack of adult Hispanic role models in the schools;
- a disproportionate level of referrals of Hispanics to special education classes;
- low expectations of Hispanics by school personnel;
- a lack of vocational or career counseling for Hispanic girls; and
- stereotypic portrayals of Hispanic women in the curriculum.⁶

But schools are not solely to blame for educational disillusionment among Hispanic youth; a number of socioeconomic factors are associated with the high Hispanic dropout rate as well. Dropouts tend to come from families of low socioeconomic status. Their homes often have weak educational support systems, as parents struggling for survival are less likely to monitor school and nonschool activities. Furthermore, there are fewer study aids at home, and opportunities for non-school-related learning are limited. Additionally, Hispanic mothers often have little formal education and have low educational expectations of their children.⁷

Jaime Escalante, the Los Angeles teacher whose success with Hispanic students was the subject of the movie, *Stand and Deliver*, said:

Children of the barrio have enormous obstacles to overcome to get an education. . . . Most of them come from families with incomes below the poverty line. The majority of the parents have not been to college—frequently Mom and Dad have never been to high school—and they may or may not fully appreciate the long-term value of education.⁸

But Escalante pointed out that these barriers are not impassable. He said while some educators "maintain the racist idea that Hispanic students are not as smart as some others," Hispanic students, just like students of other ethnicities, rise to the level of expectation that surrounds them.⁹

In search of solutions

What Escalante suggested is that when adults increase their educational expectations of Hispanic children, the children's performance rises to meet those expectations. It follows that an important consideration is the influence of Hispanic mothers over their children. Research suggests Hispanic mothers have a greater influence over their children than do Anglo mothers. Hispanic mothers' involvement with and expectations of their children, coupled with their position as role-models, have a lasting impact on their children's academic achievement.¹⁰

This mother-child connection is pivotal in programs established by several universities to try to reduce the dropout rate among Hispanic girls. Arizona State University, the University of Texas-El Paso, and New Mexico State University are among institutions to have developed programs that pair Hispanic mothers with their daughters, not only in an effort to reduce the dropout rate, but to increase the likelihood the girls will attend college.

What follows is a closer look at these three programs.

Arizona State University's Mother/Daughter Program

A decade ago, Dr. Jo Anne O'Donnell began the Mother/Daughter Program at ASU in Tempe, the first program of its kind in the nation. O'Donnell, who continues to direct the Mother/Daughter Program, said she began the program in 1984 when she realized many students, minority and otherwise, were coming to universities largely unprepared because they didn't know what preparation for college was. College became what O'Donnell termed a "revolving door," particularly for minority students whose underrepresentation in higher education was severe.

The Mother/Daughter Program began with 25 teams of Hispanic mothers and their eighth-grade daughters from four middle schools in the Phoenix Elementary School District. In its 10 years of existence, the program has seen 739 mother-daughter teams through its eighth-grade component, with about 60 new teams currently enrolled. Today, the program has an annual budget of approximately \$130,000 in state money, as well as some in-kind corporate support and private moneys from fund-raising efforts. The program's budget covers workshops for the girls and their mothers, banquets, mountain retreats, awards, a stay in the dorms and a newsletter, as well as staff salaries, research and student tracking. The program employs 15 mostly part-time staff—including counselors, peer advisers and liaisons in the public schools—and has no volunteer support.

Because of the size of the Phoenix metropolitan area, the program enrolls two groups a year. Teams from the East Valley communities of Mesa, Gilbert, Chandler, Scottsdale and Tempe begin the program in the fall, and teams from Phoenix start in the spring.

The program's objective is to excite Hispanic mothers and their daughters about the prospect of the girls attending college. Specific objectives are to:

- familiarize at least 50 mother-daughter teams per semester with higher education. Emphasis is placed on scholastic achievement, campus life, career exploration and self-esteem.
- enlarge Hispanic parental commitment to higher education by pairing mothers and daughters in "teams."
- build the capacity of secondary schools to counsel Hispanic girls effectively in matters related to college and career.
- enable Hispanic girls to make choices about their futures by familiarizing them with academic fields and by boosting their academic qualifications.

To be eligible for the ASU program, the eighth-graders must have no immediate family member with a four-year degree. Girls who demonstrate academic promise through

grades, class ranking and scores on standardized tests are recommended by their math, science or English teachers. The girls must write a page-long essay on their interest in the program, and they and their mothers are interviewed by staff members.

The program targets the girls at the eighth-grade level but maintains contact with them through high school and into college. Eighth-graders and their mothers spend between 80 and 100 hours over four months becoming familiar with the university, faculty, staff and students. Activities concentrate on goal-setting, building self-esteem, learning about academic fields and exploring career options. The culmination of the four-month program is a week spent by the girls in residence halls for a first-hand glimpse of campus life.

When the girls reach high school, the program provides them with continued guidance and support in the hopes they will remain on the path to college. Advisers in the program offer assistance on personal and academic problems. The girls continue to be part of program activities, such as workshops to strengthen writing and communication skills. In the past, some participants have been assigned an ASU student mentor to help with course work and advise on personal matters.

When the young women reach the college level, a support group is there for them that fosters information-sharing and problem-solving. Staff members assist students in identifying scholarships, learning financial aid procedures and finding campus work opportunities. Students are requested to sign up for tutoring and join a student organization.

The program's successes. In the program's 10th year, 56 students have attended ASU; three have graduated. About 10 young women from the program attend other universities, and numerous others are enrolled in community colleges. The retention rate of the girls who start college at ASU is 74%. Furthermore, O'Donnell said close to a third of the mothers who have been through the program have themselves pursued some sort of schooling, and "many of them aspire to college." One mother is a now college graduate.

Speaking on the impact of the ASU program, O'Donnell said she has seen a change in family dynamics among those involved. "There's some ripple effect—sometimes other family members look at education differently. They see a way out of the barrio, they see a way to another life."

The University of Texas-El Paso's Mother-Daughter Program

The Mother-Daughter Program at UTEP, modeled in part after ASU's program, has existed for eight years. It began in the fall of 1986, serving 33 mother-daughter teams from three El Paso-area school districts. Most volunteer help at that time came from the Young Women's Christian Association. In 1994, the program works with 17 schools in five school districts, with most volunteer time coming from the American Association of University Women. Dr. Josefina V. Tinajero, director of the program, said about 180 mother-daughter teams begin the program each September. She said since the program's inception, more than 1,000 mother-daughter teams have completed the sixth-grade component, with the program's first group of girls now freshmen and sophomores in college.

The program, which has two paid part-time staff members, is funded strictly by private moneys; the budget can range from \$50,000 annually to \$150,000. Primary funding is through grants from the Freedom Forum, the Meadows and Kellogg foundations, and the Rotary Club of El Paso. Tinajero said during years when funding is limited. "We still do the activities somehow. We really don't cut the program—we just look to see who can help us. We have lots of volunteers."

The UTEP program targets girls entering the sixth grade who are nominated by teachers or principals because their grades and standardized test scores indicate academic

promise. Like the ASU program, UTEP's aims to stimulate enthusiasm among Hispanic mothers and their daughters about the possibility of the girls going to college. Special attention is given to providing the girls with the necessary skills to enter college life and the professional world and to helping mothers become supporting role models.

Specific objectives are to:

- encourage Hispanic girls to complete their high school education and to raise their expectations of attending college;
- orient 150 Hispanic mother-daughter teams each year to higher education and professional careers;
- prepare Hispanic girls for higher education by providing academic and life skills training;
- increase Hispanic parental commitment to higher education by involving mothers in the educational process; and
- assist mothers in becoming more effective role models.

To meet these goals, monthly sessions center around academic, career, community and personal development. The sessions are held locally, in schools and at the university, with transportation provided. Other activities include university tours for the girls and their mothers; a career day featuring Hispanic professional women the girls and their mothers can meet; workshops on computers, study skills, note-taking and time management; various cultural events; luncheons and banquets; and a campus summer camp.

In addition, the UTEP program matches the girls with a "Big Sister," a female UTEP student who serves as a role model. To make these matches, the university admissions office identifies young Hispanic women with the potential to positively influence the lives of the younger participants. Tinajero said although Big Sisters needn't necessarily be Hispanic, it is not difficult at UTEP, whose enrollment is 60% Hispanic, to find the girls role models who share their ethnicity. Each Big Sister works with approximately 10 girls, establishing a rapport with them and their mothers and encouraging them to attend program activities.

The program's successes. The UTEP Mother-Daughter Program is only beginning to see measurable successes, Tinajero said, because the first and second groups have just reached college age. One measure, though, is that 32 of the 33 girls from the program's very first class have graduated from high school, and 26 have gone on to college, where they are freshmen and sophomores. Most attend UTEP, but one earned a full scholarship to Columbia University. Tinajero said when the program's original group was compared with a control group—girls who would have been enrolled had the program had room—the original group had higher grade-point averages, took more honors classes and had lower pregnancy rates. Furthermore, Tinajero said she sees her program's completers involved in many school and public service activities.

The program has been successful for mothers as well. Tinajero said originally the program's only goal for mothers was to teach them how to be good parents and role models. But Tinajero said she began to see mothers developing their own interests in education: "The mothers were hungry for information for themselves." Now the program has a segment called Mothers' Initiative, whose goal is "helping the mothers to explore their own aspirations instead of just, 'How do I help my daughter?'" Today, four mothers from the program have bachelor's degrees, and one is pursuing a master's degree.

New Mexico State University's Generaciones

Generaciones, the mother-daughter program at NMSU in Las Cruces, began in 1990 with 20 teams of mothers and daughters, according to Dr. Louis Sarabia, the program's director. Sarabia called Generaciones, which enrolled 60 mother-daughter teams in the spring of 1994, a "shoestring operation" that gets by on \$4,000 a year from the budget of his office,

Chicano Programs. The money pays for transportation and meals, as well as for informational and inspirational materials such as brochures, leaflets, stickers and magazines for the girls and their mothers when they visit the university. "Every time they come on campus, we give them something," Sarabia said.

Sarabia and two other Chicano Programs staff members organize the program, but much of the Generaciones work comes from volunteer time put in by Big Sisters. Sarabia said he uses announcements on campus bulletin boards and in student publications to recruit the female volunteers, university students who act as role models to the girls. Sarabia said although it is important for Hispanic girls to have Hispanic role models, women of any ethnicity are encouraged to become Big Sisters. Several Hispanic student organizations chartered at the university also volunteer time to Generaciones as part of their community service activities.

According to the program's literature, Generaciones' overriding goal is "to reverse Hispanic dropout rates and increase the number of Hispanic women attending college." To do this, the program targets girls who fit at least three of the United States Department of Education's at-risk criteria, specifically:

- those who come from single-parent families;
- those whose family income is less than \$15,000 annually;
- those who are home alone for three or more hours a day;
- those whose parent or parents have no high school diploma;
- those with a sibling who has dropped out of school; and
- those characterized as limited-English-proficient.

Sarabia said public school officials are asked to identify fifth-grade girls meeting these criteria. Once students are identified, Generaciones staff and Big Sisters meet with the girls and their mothers at their schools, where they discuss the importance of education and of a parent's role in it.

The Generaciones literature lists some expected outcomes of the program. For the girls, the program hopes to:

- increase their awareness of the need for higher education;
- develop their academic skills;
- acquaint them with successful role models;
- increase their awareness of identity, self-esteem and pride in their Hispanic heritage; and
- develop their self-motivation.

For the mothers, the program expects to:

- increase their awareness of careers for their daughters;
- increase their awareness of the need for their daughters to be college-educated;
- acquaint them with successful young women who can serve as role models to their daughters;
- develop their self-esteem, confidence and assertiveness to allow them to be effective guides and role models to their daughters, and;
- increase their knowledge of self-improvement resources.

One important Generaciones activity is bringing the girls to the university for tours, lunches and demonstrations. Big Sisters and other volunteers, some of whom are engineering students, have in past tours shown the girls the power of computers to do impressive tasks in just seconds. Sarabia said the girls expressed awe during one computer demonstration when the volunteer student explained that she had written the computer program herself.

On the lighter side, Generaciones also has sponsored a trip to a local beauty college, where the girls learned about skin and hair care and ways to build self-esteem through appearance. And Big Sisters often spend some of their free time with the girls, taking them to the mall or the movies or out for lunch. Sarabia said one Big Sister organized a birthday cookout for her young friend.

The program's successes. Sarabia said because the program at NMSU is so new, impact is difficult to gauge. He measures success, however, from the largely anecdotal information he hears. Parents sometimes contact him, grateful that their girls have become more interested in school. He said he occasionally sees girls with their Big Sisters around town. And five mothers since the program began have themselves returned to school to earn a General Education Diploma.

The future

The mother-daughter programs at ASU, UTEP and NMSU could serve as models to others searching for solutions to the educational difficulties of Hispanic girls, particularly in places along the U.S. border with Mexico. Certainly, as border commerce is heightened as a result of the North American Free Trade Agreement, it will become increasingly important for all residents of border communities to be academically prepared to go to work as leaders in the new industries, instead of being replaced by people "imported" from elsewhere.

But the usefulness of mother-daughter programs certainly is not restricted to the border region. These programs can make all the difference in any community in which Hispanics are predominant yet for whatever reasons do not succeed academically and move into positions of leadership.

Moreover, it is reasonable to suggest that teaming up parents with their children to promote academic success will yield positive outcomes for members of any ethnic group, not just Hispanics. One university in Chicago has already embraced this idea, recently instituting a father-son program for black youths.

These mother-daughter programs have offered a viable solution to the academic difficulties of one group. It is programs like these that bolster hope that Hispanics and other minorities will eventually adequately represent their numbers in positions of leadership; indeed, "this is the moment when we most need the contribution of all members of society to maintain our competitive edge against other nations. We can not afford to squander the talents and creativity of large segments of the population."¹¹ The successes of these mother-daughter programs illuminate a potential for similar programs to reach other youth facing educational barriers, affording them the ideas that let them imagine and the tools that let them succeed.

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In a conference with her [the principal's] superiors she was directed to change her decision regarding curriculum because "you're going against my manhood if you don't."

Mexican–American Women in the Principalship

Trudy A. Campbell

Shakeshaft's¹ ground breaking work on women in administration parallels Tetreault's² work on the evolution of thinking about women and how including women shifts or alters beliefs about what is legitimate knowledge in a discipline. Both researchers provide a framework of several stages by which educators can evaluate the level of representation of women in school administration curriculum at all levels.

In the first stage of the literature on women in educational administration, an absence of women is documented. Stage two identifies the "women firsts". In the third stage women are discussed as victims, disadvantaged or subordinate. It is not until the fourth stage that women are studied as an entity in and of themselves. The fifth and sixth stages pose a challenge to include women's experiences actually leading to a transformation of the theory.

Knowledge of this research of the progression of women was expected to result in a drastic change in educational administration such that an increased participation of women in school administration roles would be achieved. Early studies by the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP) and the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NAASSP) showed certain patterns of principals' characteristics.³ One of those patterns indicated only approximately 18 percent of the elementary principals were women in 1978. Subsequent work by the American Association of School Administrators (AASA) documented an increase in female elementary principals to 25 percent while only 8.3 percent of the middle/secondary principals were women.⁴

Similarly, knowledge of the progression of women was expected to lead to academic content more inclusive of the contribution of both genders. The research on educational administration to date, however, predominantly reflects the experiences of white male administrators. Further, in the scant body of research about women administrators, the experiences of women of color is rarely addressed. Another observation of this literature speaks to a rather limited scope and range of studies addressing the advanced stages of Shakeshaft's framework. For instance, the professional literature deals primarily with characteristics of the selection, hiring, and skill development of female and minority school administrators. While these are

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important considerations there is a tendency for researchers to clump all women together, all minority groups together. "In the literature on school administrators, "minority" is virtually synonymous with "black."⁵ In addition, the professional literature often examines these characteristics of gender and ethnicity separately. The motivation for this practice of treating all women or all minority groups as synonymous is often found in the desire for the development of normative and or standardized criteria by which to improve and make more efficient selections of administrators. What is lost, however, is an understanding of within group diversity. According to projected demographics, in less than fifteen years, there will be thirteen states plus the District of Columbia with more than 40% of their students from minority backgrounds.⁶ Certainly, a range of variables affect whether minorities will achieve in schools and look to education as a means to attaining a successful life. However, researchers have evidence that teacher expectations, minority role models, and minority principals with a commitment to the communities where they work show great promise for increasing the success of minority children.⁷ Yet, in an era where multiple perspectives are needed to improve schools to better meet the needs of an increasingly diverse student population, Hispanics represent only 3.9% of the principalships.⁸

It is for these reasons that an exploratory study of Mexican–American women's perceptions of the elementary principalship was undertaken. The purpose of this study was to make a contribution to an understudied area: the relationship of gender **and** ethnicity (focusing on the Mexican–American) to the practice of the principalship.

Research Design

To better understand the experiences of Mexican–American female elementary principals, a research project emphasizing a qualitative approach was used. Seven principals (from the same Southwestern urban school district) were interviewed in their respective buildings using a set of open ended questions. There were five broadly framed questions in the interview guide:

- (1) How would you describe your leadership style?
- (2) How would you describe your role with respect to your students? your parents? your teachers?
- (3) What do you see as one of the biggest challenges of this job (and how do you handle that challenge)?
- (4) How do you believe your gender and ethnicity affects your performance in the principalship role?
- (5) What suggestions do you have for mentoring new or prospective administrators?

The principals ranged in age (34–50+), in years of teaching experience (5–23), and in years of administrative experience (4–6). They all held masters degrees, considered themselves bilingual, and worked in buildings with at least a 74% minority student population. The characteristics of these individuals are provided as information for the interpretation of the findings but do not presume to be a representative sample. (See Table 1.)

Interviews were transcribed and coded for the purpose of analyzing and integrating gender and ethnicity content to reveal emergent themes associated with the Mexican–American female principals' perspectives. Analyses and interpretations were inductive and driven by the substantive coding and clustering of content categories.⁹ Additional data sources used in the analysis included demographics about the principals and their schools, district documents, informal interviews with district personnel, and field notes.

Although the analysis reminded the researcher of the danger of trying to generalize the experiences of a group (e.g., Principal #7 did not perceive gender or ethnicity to affect her job while the other six provided numerous examples), certain themes or understandings were generally shared by members

Table 1 Mexican-American Female Elementary Principals' Characteristics

Code	Age	No. Years		Educ. Status*	Marital Eng. &	Bilingual	% Hispanic students	No. students
		Teacher	Prin.					
P1	43	5	4	M.S.	D	Spanish	>12 % 88 % black	191
P2	50+	23	6	M.S.	S	Spanish	99	550
P3	38	10	5	M.S.	M	Spanish	74	500
P4	37	8	6	M.S.	M	Spanish, some French	99	650
P5	34	10	5	M.A.+	M	Spanish, French	98	600
P6	42	15	5	M.S.	M	Spanish, oral skills	99	768
P7	43	19	4	M.S.	M	Spanish, oral skills	92	475

*Marital status code: M=married, S=single, D=divorced

of this particular group. Three common understandings will be reported along with a discussion of their relationship to existing literature. Implications to the field are found in the final section.

Report of the Findings

The first common understanding emerging from the transcripts was that these Mexican-American women defined leadership as being characterized by educational, symbolic, and cultural leadership components rather than the traditional two-dimensional paradigm (task v. human dimensions) reported frequently by earlier researchers.¹⁰ Emphasis on the old two-dimensional paradigm tends to produce competent schools (well-organized, well-run, but not highly educationally effective). These women strived for excellence through exhibiting educational leadership (diagnosing and solving pedagogical and curricular problems), symbolic leadership (communicating purpose, values, and consensus as to a vision), and cultural leadership (developing a strong organizational culture influencing how people think, feel, and behave).

Rather than focusing on well run schools that were not necessarily effective, these women cited examples of their focus on instruction, problem-solving, and commitment to a vision in order to better serve children. Principal #1 voiced this clearly:

Principal #1: What I do and what I try to teach the teacher and the kids is walk the walk and talk the talk, and do it by example. Academic achievement is non-negotiable. You know we have to excel at all costs. That means you put in extra time, that means revamping curriculum. If it means additional training, if it means doing things differently, not asking kids to do things differently, but us doing things differently, then we do them. Because it is what's right for the kids. And really building the school climate. My campus improvement team, they really are the decision makers on the campus. And we're philosophically in tune. We think alike and have the same goals in mind for our kids.

The second understanding held by these women was that gender and ethnicity significantly affected their work in both positive and negative ways. Many felt teachers held differing expectations for female principals. Female teachers expected more patience, more tolerance, and fewer consequences for less than satisfactory performance.

Principal #1: You don't understand, you should understand. You're a woman. You should understand. I say . . . you've done something that is unacceptable and you're being told you will not do it again. But the choice is yours, you do it again and these are the consequences.

Male teachers (especially Hispanic) did not want to receive directions from a female.

Principal #1: Then I have young men that don't like to be told what to do by a woman. You're a female and women are always telling me what to do. I tell them, well you have a choice. Go to school where there's a male and he's still going to tell you what to do.

Expectations of parents were also a factor. Fathers preferred working with men. Principal #2 stated, "too often, especially with the Hispanic male, you end up having somebody not wanting to deal with you because you're a female. In our culture, Hispanic women are supposed to be meek, very docile, very you know, you give in to the male." Principal #4 stated, "If I'm walking in the neighborhood with a colleague who's male, he's much more likely to get the respect. So sometimes I will experience the negative screaming, the cussing parent . . . because you're not the authority because you're female. It's very macho to be macho."

According to the feminist literature, the principles underlying bureaucratic structures give priority to values traditionally considered male. Female scholars such as Gilligan and Miller argue that women experience life differently than men and the sense of relationship and the interconnectedness of people drive their actions.¹¹ Women use conversation to expand and understand relationships; see people as mutually dependent; emphasize caring; and consider actions within a context and linked, one to another. Men, on the other hand, use talk to convey solutions (leading to the end of conversations); view people as self-reliant; value freedom; and, regard events as isolated and discrete. These differing values affect how women approach ethical dilemmas (they are more concerned with compromises to maintain social contracts than the abstract rights and wrongs). Confronted with a society which does not appear to value intimacy, and caring women learn as girls to "silence" their unique voices . . . they become more hesitant in offering opinions and lack confidence in speaking out. While these women did not convey a "silencing" of their voices, they clearly experienced conflict over differing role expectations and related behaviors.

These principals also reported a perception of superiority to their male colleagues in some areas of administration.

Principal #2: Well, I've yet to have worked with a male that possesses the structure that females possess. They [men] were mostly inflexible. If the agenda was set, right or wrong, it's going to go that way. We're quicker at making that decision, restructuring, and realizing what the consequences are going to be. Those of us that have made it

into the principalship or any administrative position, have had to work twice as hard as the males and have had to have shown a lot more strength in every area.

Principal #3: I'm more organized than most men I know. I think that I'm more compassionate, and the teachers know that. My family's young, I know what it's like to be up all night with a baby. In that aspect, I think I have more empathy for my faculty. I don't know too many men that have put their spouse through medical school and still come out of it smiling.

Principal #6: We do have intuition and we are more sensitive to the needs of the kids. We are so much stronger in curriculum and instruction because we didn't rise through the good old boy network. We are much better at taking a risk.

Educational administrative studies have indicated how women perform in relation to their male colleagues. Shakeshaft's examination of over 200 dissertations and 600 research articles provided three conclusions about female leadership styles: (1) relationships with others are central to all actions for women administrators; (2) teaching and learning are the major foci of women administrators; and, (3) building community is an essential part of a woman administrator's style.¹² Others have concluded that while women are underrepresented in schools, they are overrepresented in schools considered highly effective.¹³ Furthermore, women exhibit consistent patterns of behavior: they exert more positive efforts on instructional supervision; produce more positive interactions with community and staff; tend to have more democratic, inclusive, and conflict-reducing leadership styles; observe teachers more frequently (at the elementary level); and, spend more time in the classroom and in discussions with teachers about instruction and the academic content of the school.¹⁴

Discrimination was also part of the reality of the women interviewed. In addition to establishing the absence of women and minorities in educational administration, research has determined issues they must confront to enter or remain in the profession. According to Shakeshaft, there are literally hundreds of studies which document sex discrimination in hiring and promotion.¹⁵ Women and minorities face "filtering methods" (e.g., recruiting filters include strategies such as limiting job announcements to the district when the district has few if any qualified minority or female candidates; application filters include downgrading an applicant for a top administrative position by suggesting that she apply for a lesser administrative or teaching position; selection criteria filters include applying dual selection criteria by allowing men to skip one or more rungs on the career ladder while requiring women to climb each step; interview filters include use of questions such as "aren't you concerned about returning home alone late at night?")¹⁶

Minority women face a double bind discrimination: "once for being female and once for being racially or ethnically different."¹⁷ Although minority principals are well-educated, hold the necessary professional credentials, and have considerable classroom teaching experience, they acquire their administrative positions more slowly than their white counterparts.¹⁸ Furthermore, there are factors which contribute to the development and maintenance of inferior status. These factors (first presented by Young) include: the visibility of members (e.g., placement in less prestigious, predominantly Mexican-American schools to serve as role models for their students), the attributed competitive threat (e.g., very few Mexican-Americans are in the teaching pool from which administrators are selected), and the extra situation derivative denigrating beliefs (e.g., placement in positions not fully accepted by the majority culture or hiring a Hispanic physical education teacher to teach Spanish or bilingual education classes).¹⁹

Principal #2 sued (they settled out of court) the school district for unfair promotion practices based both on gender and ethnicity. She then experienced what she believed to be an attempt to "make it hard for her." She was placed in "a school that had a lot of problems. She will quit or she will make so many mistakes she will fail." In a conference with her superiors she was directed to change her decision regarding curriculum because "you're going against my manhood if you don't." More subtle kinds of discrimination included perceptions of automatic acceptance of males as the leader.

Principal #1: Female subordinates or teachers or whatever, are going to tolerate almost everything a man puts out. Male, automatically, they see it's leadership. And a female always has to work extra hard.

Interaction styles are also affected. Principal #3 noted her superiors "don't joke with me the way they joke with other people. Physical contact, it's always very formal." The ability to speak Spanish (the native language of most parents) was seen as an asset regardless of the ethnicity of the principal. Principal #6 and Principal #7 specifically mentioned PTA meetings are conducted in Spanish and English and parent conferences are more effective with bilingual capabilities.

Even though gender and ethnicity define how they performed, the principals perceived other characteristics equally deserving of attention. Age (too young to handle the job) and parent status (those with children understood parents better) were clearly a factor in community acceptance. Socioeconomic status and education put up barriers to communication.

Principal #1: When I worked in the Hispanic community they thought that because I was educated that I thought . . . you know, you think you're better. I've had comments made to me . . . well, you're not like other Mexicans. It's this thing, you're educated, you're more assimilated.

The *third understanding* emerging from the interviews was that a female consistently played an important role in either setting career goals or in mentoring to develop the necessary skills. The most frequently cited female affecting career choice was the principal's mother.

Principal #2: In my own family, my mother was very assertive, very goal oriented. And my mother expected this of every one of her (six) females.

Principal #4: My mom worked. That made us view a woman working as acceptable.

The second person most frequently mentioned as affecting careers was a former (female) principal. They either created awareness of the possibility of an administrative career, or they actively engaged in recruiting, training, and promoting these individuals within the district. Principal #2 experienced a form of a love-hate relationship. "I had a tough principal from the beginning. I hated the woman and I thought she was the meanest woman there is. But now I look back . . . I learned a lot as to what you do to be a successful principal." Principal #1 expressed similar feelings, "That woman is mean! She's everything I ever wanted to be and I thought, if I could be as smart as that woman and as talented, and as articulate, but not as mean. . . She promoted me in and out of the district. I learned from her . . . desire to want to improve, the desire to excel at what you do."

The professional literature suggests other issues affect career choice for women including their own tendency to limit their aspirations. Self-evaluations of abilities and performance expectancies are lower among women than men.²⁰ Role models rarely exist for women (and this is equally true of minorities.) "Students who have never seen women in leadership positions are not likely to develop aspirations or values that move beyond traditional stereotypes."²¹ Pressure to attend to family, child rearing, and childbearing²² and mobility²³

continue to hinder women. There are also commonly held beliefs about women's leadership qualities to challenge. Some qualities such as emotional stability, self-reliance, and aggressiveness, that are approved of in men are considered overbearing in women.²⁴ Leonard and Papa-Lewis summarize factors affecting access into the educational administration hierarchy as either intrinsic or extrinsic.²⁵ In addition to those already discussed, women are affected by low self-image, negative perceptions of advancement opportunities, lack of support for or opposition to sex-equity policy and Title IX mandates, lack of networks, and sex/race discrimination.

Implications

The three shared understandings described and discussed in the previous section do not imply that all female Mexican-American elementary principals (or even those cited in this study) experienced all of the situations related in the examples, nor does it imply the degree to which the identified members perceived the impact. These understandings do, however, establish a framework for discussion and future research linking ethnicity and gender. Each participant in this study, in some manner, voiced concerns or provided examples of: (a) focusing leadership on educational, symbolic, and cultural dimensions; (b) experiencing the impact of gender and ethnicity on their performance; and, (c) recognizing a female role model (either a mother or a former female principal) as critical to their entry and success as a leader.

The implications of these understandings affect both training and future research efforts. Given the experiences these women reported, several approaches to formal training are suggested. First, graduate studies in educational administration will need to include a focus on leadership for excellence (rather than competence) and help candidates develop skills in improving instruction, creating and communicating vision and goals, and establishing a sense of the culture of the school. Second, the impact of gender and ethnicity must not be ignored in formal training. Even if you could agree the nature of the principal's work may be similar for all administrators, the reality is experienced differently. Strategies for dealing with the "realities" of being a woman from a culture with strong views on women's roles need to be described, honored, debated, and developed. Finally, the role of other females in supporting career choices and providing opportunities for success can not be overemphasized. The message these women received from their mothers set the foundation for the future. This was forcefully stated in the findings of Cantor, Bernay, and Stoess' study of²⁶ women in high elective office.²⁶ In their youth, they consistently received five messages: you are loved and special; you can do anything you want; it's okay to take risks; dream of greatness; you can use and enjoy your "creative aggression." A system for formal mentoring needs to be a part of the training model.

With respect to research, it is clear the study of the impact of gender and ethnicity on the work role needs to continue. There is a critical absence of scholarly work on race/ethnic minorities in general, and much of that work is approached through a "problem orientation". We are overlooking the role of minority women within the schools as well as the larger social structures.²⁷

Furthermore, research must be conducted in context, examining variables together. Isolating one characteristic limits the kinds of understandings gained from the interaction of the two. These Mexican-American women found it difficult to separate issues related solely to gender or ethnicity. It was an unnatural framework for describing their realities.

Finally, if we are to ever reach the final stages of in the evolution of thinking about women, we must move toward incorporating this research into the development of the theories which inform practice. Some recent approaches to school lead-

ership characterized by a more participatory, curriculum-centered, consensus-driven style reflect a possible trend toward inclusion of what was once considered "female" behaviors.

Social, political, and demographic conditions make it clear that schools must change. Administrators have an opportunity to affect that change in positive ways. More importantly, now is the time to accept the challenge of incorporating the experiences, values, skills, and insights of those women and minority principals who may hold the key to ensuring successful participation in school for all children.

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None [of these principals] had adopted male behaviors entirely, but all had relaxed the stereotypic restrained and closed female behaviors and speech reported in research of two decades ago. In addition, each of these principals utilized traditional 'female' behaviors in new ways.

HOW FEMALE PRINCIPALS COMMUNICATE: Verbal and Nonverbal Micropolitical Communication Behaviors of Female Anglo and Hispanic School Principals

Carolyn S. Carr

Background

Educational administration is a career field which clearly exemplifies male domination,¹ with women vastly outnumbered in leadership roles at all levels.² In 1992 only 7.6% of the secondary principals, 23% of the middle school principals, and 37% of the elementary principals in the United States were female in spite of the fact that over one-half the students in educational administration preparation programs have been female since the mid-1980's.³ The question of why this discrepancy exists remains to be answered conclusively. Bell and Chase⁴ claim that stereotypes related to female assertiveness and authority are major questions in hiring school administrators, and further, that gender stratification is maintained by differential access to advancement opportunities in schools

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provided by 'gatekeepers' who hold these stereotypic views and who are also predominantly male. Since language is one means by which assertiveness and authority may be expressed, one area for investigation which may hold significant clues for understanding and potential change is the verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication behaviors displayed by female school administrators. As Fairclough⁵ asserts, increased consciousness of the manner in which language contributes to the domination of some persons by others is the first step toward emancipation.

Staley⁶ claimed the communicative potential of female professionals has been overlooked in the focus on general female communicative power. Women have brought knowledge of female as well as male culture to their jobs,⁷ making their potential contributions to the workplace unique. Other studies demonstrated frequent use of informal styles,⁸ need to be of service as opposed to seeking prestige and status,⁹ and satisfaction derived from supervision rather than administrative tasks.¹⁰ Few studies have been conducted explicitly on female political behavior and micropolitics in school settings.¹¹ Gronn's¹² analysis of language use in management contexts in education has been one of the few field studies conducted in a natural setting.

Research on female micropolitical communication is sparse in the literature,¹³ as are attempts at an explanation of this phenomenon of gender imbalance in school administration. Ng and Bradac¹⁴ describe widely held stereotypic opinion regarding how men and women talk, even though objective empirical linguistic differences appear small and inconclusive. Shakeshaft¹⁵ concluded in her research that most studies of women administrators have been conducted by survey, thus presenting a picture of the average, not the individual. More research has been needed on what characterizes in positive terms the women who have engaged in non-traditional, formerly 'male' roles, research requiring a look into the things that bring changes to society rather than a concern for the past or the status quo.¹⁶ The following pages report an ethnographic study which examined five female principals' verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors and analyzed the salience of derived micropolitical strategies in work-related contexts, for acquiring influence or using power as school principals. The intent was to provide empirical data related to the actual communication behaviors of female principals in the micropolitical environment of the school.

Perspectives related to gender and language

Edelman¹⁷ distinguished between "language of dominance and authority" typically employed by males, and that of "helpfulness and reinforcement" used by women, a 'difference' often seen as 'inadequacy' by male standards. Feminists¹⁸ described language as a reflection of a deeply patriarchal society resulting in the relative powerlessness of women. Increasingly, however, researchers have been asserting the variability and similarity between the stereotypic views of male and female cultures¹⁹ rather than the hierarchical views of male superiority described in early anthropological works such as those of Mead.²⁰ The attribution of gender has even been described as 'relational,' rather than as an established 'essence'.²¹ Terborg²² found that when relevant variables such as job type, tenure, and position in the organization are controlled, few differences are found between perceptions of power demonstrated by males and females. Similarly other studies have found that powerful managers, both male and female, use positive strategies of teamwork and esprit de corp to influence followers, whereas those who are less powerful resort to domination through threats and rules, and that this finding is true for both males and females.²³

When examining language and communication, Lakoff²⁴ has given extensive examples of female features of verbal language form, meaning, and syntax. She describes female usage of 'tag questions,' weak expletives, 'fluffy' adjectives, hedges, hesitations, and personalisms as weak language. Female grammar has been described as more correct, polite, and tactful, and with fewer examples of humor than are found than in typical male conversation. Such usage is also described by Lakoff as powerless.

Nonverbal communication has presented clues about ways female language is seen as powerless and docile. Listening, questioning, and opting for small personal boundaries are typical female behaviors indicating less power in relationship.²⁵ Smiling,²⁶ touching,²⁷ and greater eye contact²⁸ are similarly seen as powerless behaviors on the part of females.

Perspectives related to language and politics

Lakoff²⁹ and Corcoran³⁰ asserted the 'synonymous nature of language and politics.' The use of language to achieve influence or power over others is a clear reflection of language as political activity.³¹ Feminist researchers have argued convincingly that language has reflected a deeply patriarchal society, that the 'theft of language' has been part of women's state of relative powerlessness.³²

Lakoff³³ has described the components of language as form, meaning, and structure. 'Form' has included phonology, lexicon, and syntactic rules that specify how words fit together to form grammatical sentences. 'Meaning' has referred to the semantics of language. 'Function' has referred to the intention of language, its pragmatics. Increasingly, however, language has been interpreted as including cultural norms of spoken interaction.³⁴

Nonverbal cues and conversational inference have also been part of the communication act, signaling how semantic content is to be understood, and how each idea relates to what precedes or follows in the conversation. Missed cues have led to misunderstandings and miscommunication.³⁵ Other nonverbal characteristics of women have been demonstrated in research through comparisons with men. Some of these are: preference for closer positioning during conversations and smaller personal space boundaries;³⁶ greater eye contact;³⁷ more frequent smiling,³⁸ and more frequent touching.³⁹ Such patterns of interpersonal relationship have helped establish and maintain power relationships in the micropolitical structure of social life.⁴⁰ Linguistic imbalance has therefore been considered worthy of study as a medium which spotlights real-world inequality. Corcoran has expanded this thought by positing that

... while language shapes and empowers its users, the unhappy consequence is that language reproduces and reinforces exploitation, inequality, and other traditions of power. . . . All language is political because every speech setting, however private and intimate, involves power relations, social roles, privileges and contested meanings.⁴¹

Power has been defined by some as energy, effective interaction, and empowerment, a definition which departs from the view of power as domination and control.⁴² Pfeffer asserted that 'language and symbolism are important in the exercise of power'⁴³ in contrast to control of resources and interdependence which traditionally defined power. The extent of female political activity has largely depended upon the individual's sense of life space control and the salience of the political arena for that individual. The challenge for females has become the transformation of institutions based within the traditional organizational theories of dominance to enable a new vision incorporating verbal and nonverbal behaviors which transform these observed gender asymmetries.⁴⁴

Ball identified such behavior as the interpersonal control style, emphasizing personal relationships and private persuasion as opposed to managerial and hierarchical styles, or politi-

cal and adversarial styles.⁴⁵ For females who achieve such styles, career choices would seem to expand. Pfeffer brings focus to this idea with his suggestion that one aspect of status, or power, which may be ascertained without great difficulty, is one's appearance, verbal skills, or articulateness. "Politics and the wielding of power are, after all, activities which involve argumentation, presentation, and debate."⁴⁶

Micropolitics has been described as behaviors centered on the strategic use of power for the purpose of either influence or protection.⁴⁷ Thorne and Henley described the micropolitical structure of every day details as patterns seen in both physical actions and verbal expression which establish, express, and maintain a power relationship.⁴⁸ If indeed men and women have represented different political realities, then language has become a viable way of approaching understanding. Within organizations, language, symbols, rituals, and ceremonies have become fundamental in the process of establishing meaning for action and events.⁴⁹ Leaders who have utilized language to that end have acquired considerable power or influence. In that context, the following research attempts to describe the language of female school principals with the goal of furthering the understanding of female micropolitical behavior in schools as described. Research questions were:

1. What are the verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors manifested by female school principals in their work related settings?
2. What are the micropolitical strategies employed by female school principals in their verbal and nonverbal communications?
3. What is the nature of micropolitical communication behaviors of female school principals at the elementary and secondary levels?
4. Are there recognizable ethnic differences between the communication behaviors of the Anglo and the Hispanic principals?
5. Are there recognizable ethnic differences in the micropolitical strategies employed by female Anglo and Hispanic school principals in their verbal and nonverbal communications?

Methodology

A qualitative method was chosen for discovering the administrators' communication behaviors and identifying their related micropolitical strategies. Consistent with the guidelines for grounded theory research the relationship of the data to theory unfolds during the course of the study through analysis by the researcher. Theoretical propositions contributing to the study were drawn from Homans' theory of social behavior,⁵⁰ Blau's exchange theory,⁵¹ and the micropolitical perspective related to schools drawn from the work of Ball,⁵² Blase,⁵³ and Hoyle.⁵⁴ Critical discourse analysis applied to the transcripts follows in the tradition of Lakoff,⁵⁵ Gumperz⁵⁶ and Fairclough.⁵⁷ Such analysis combines a description of the text with interpretation of the interaction occurring within a specified social context.⁵⁸

The data sources are five female public school principals, two representing elementary (Celia and Helen), one representing middle school (Jan), and two representing high school level (Maria and Laura). Celia and Maria are Hispanic; Helen, Jan, and Laura are Anglo. With the exception of ethnicity, the five principals are otherwise well matched. All are in their late 40's, all grew up in stable two-parent homes where education and religion were valued, all claim middle class status, all have at least two degrees, and all except Jan are married and have either one or two children. All five have been professional educators since graduating from college, a period of at least twenty years, and have been in their current school districts for at least 5 years. They are all serving their first or second year as principal in their present schools. Laura is the only one who had previously been a principal, having served 5 years in a

middle school in the same district in which she is presently serving. Their willingness to participate in this study grew from a strong commitment to help other aspiring female administrators. In addition, each of these women display a secure sense of self esteem which supported them while being observed as closely as they were during the course of the research.

The methodology employed was a descriptive, qualitative field study. Field observation and elite interviewing techniques focused on verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication behaviors of the principals in several prescribed work related settings selected because they were typical events in the lives of school principals and would allow for comparison of behaviors in similar contexts. The specific events focused upon for were: 1) faculty meetings conducted by the principal, 2) district principals' meetings, 3) teacher conferences, 4) parent-teacher organization meetings, 5) parent conferences, 6) student conferences, 7) departmental meetings, and 8) random informal hallway and office interchanges observed during the course of two working days. Informal interviews were held at the conclusion of each event to verify researcher impressions and check for understanding. An extended, formally structured interview was conducted with each subject at the conclusion of the observation period to gather personal data and philosophical information from the subjects.⁵⁹ Observations were recorded through the use of audio taping, videotaping, and note taking techniques.

Naturalistic equivalents of conventional trustworthiness criteria, namely credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability were employed, as were triangulation of data, peer debriefing and member check techniques. Constant comparative analysis⁶⁰ by the researcher was used to identify patterns, assign codes, and categorize findings derived from written transcriptions of an average of fifteen hours of verbal and nonverbal communications by each principal. Field notes, audio and video recordings, daily logs, and personal journal were correlated for ongoing and summative analysis through an audit trail.⁶¹

Components of verbal communication observed were form, meaning, and function as suggested by Lakoff⁶² and Fairclough.⁶³ Nonverbal communication components noted were such behaviors as posture, facial expression, body movements and positions, expressions such as vocal frequency and intensity, error or pauses, and subtly conveyed feelings.⁶⁴ Micropolitical communication behaviors or tactics noted were those interpreted by the researcher as conveying attempts to express formal or informal power or influence to obtain preferred outcomes. When these individual behaviors, or tactics, became patterns, they were described as strategies.

Table 1. Verbal and Nonverbal Communication Categories and Descriptors

Verbal communication	Nonverbal communication
1. Listening techniques: um umm, right, okay, uh huh, yes, yeah	1. Appearance: conservative, businesslike, stylized
2. Vocabulary: positive motion words, qualifiers, colloquialisms, compliments	2. Power position selected: standing, seated, close proximity
3. Usage: finishes sentences for others, incomplete phrases, fillers, signals, filters negatives, questioning, metaphors	3. Hand position: in motion, clasped, near face, expressive
4. Humor: general, self-directed, facetious, teasing, collegial	4. Facial expression: eye contact, reflects emotion, nodding, smiling, glasses used as a signal of attention
	5. Body: shifting position, legs crossed, touches others, expansive arm position

Findings

Verbal behavior

The verbal communication behaviors of these principals demonstrated many of the same characteristics. Categories of verbal behavior developed through analysis of the transcripts included active listening techniques, vocabulary, usage, and humor. Active listening behaviors of all five subjects included minimal responses such as 'um umm,' 'right,' 'okay,' 'yeah,' and 'uh huh.' These were commonly employed as prompts and seemed to encourage further communication from the speaker, rather than signify simple agreement with the speaker. The following interchange with middle school principal Jan was typical, and demonstrates this verbal behavior. (This and all other transcriptions attempt to replicate actual speech and have not been edited for grammatical correctness.)

- 273 Ada: Okay last year we lost Barbara and we have Carla.
- 274 Jan: Right
 Ada: Okay, so Carla filled Barbara's shoes and Barbara had a regular ED class also, so Carla/
 Jan: /And student Council/
 Ada: uhh, yes.
 Jan: Okay.
 Ada: Yeah, and she did have a student council period last year, I forgot about that. Umm, Okay so Carla just picked up one class there.
 Jan: Right
 Ada: Okay, I've lost one class
 Jan: Okay
 Ada: And then Dane has lost a section. Because she's doing two science when last year she did one.
 Jan: um umm

Use of vocabulary among the principals reflected strongly positive connotations. Words such as 'great,' 'good,' 'wonderful,' 'excellent,' and 'super' dotted their communications liberally, sometimes in extensive strings as in this excerpt from high school principal Laura.

- 226 Laura: /Okay, great, okay, that's something we need to do today too is to kind of brainstorm those kinds of things
 Alice: And so that's kinda just a start and I /
 Laura: /an idea/
 Alice: /and I'm continuing to look at articles and stuff that have been written to see if I can come up with some more ideas.
 Laura: Sounds great, super dooper, okay good.

Traditionally, women have been said to use colloquialisms far less than men in their conversation. This held true among these principals, where only the high school principals used these commonly in their speech. Laura frequently employed such examples as 'squared away,' 'hard core,' and 'down the road', sometimes more than once in the same verbal sequence. Maria used 'bottom line,' 'class act,' and 'go from there' frequently. The other three principals used colloquialisms rarely, if at all.

Qualifiers such as 'kind of,' 'just,' 'well,' and 'I guess' were distinguishing features of these principals' speech, but they occurred with varying frequencies. The usage patterns of the principals varied to a greater degree than their vocabularies. High school principals Laura and Maria demonstrated a tendency to interrupt and finish others' sentences and to use incomplete phrases frequently as in the interchange immediately above and in this interchange between Maria and a secretary:

- 24 Sec: He can come as early as next week but I didn't think it could pass that fast, so
 Maria: ok

Sec: So I'm gonna pick a/
 Maria: /a date?
 Sec: A date a little bit further/
 Maria: /for both schools?
 Sec: For both schools.

These interruptions became supportive overlap showing high involvement in the conversation.⁶⁵

Questioning techniques were used frequently by all the principals for the purpose of eliciting information, and as in this case, to settle disputes. The following excerpt from a discipline session between Maria and two students who had just been in a fight outside Maria's office demonstrates her ability to perceive student problems.

41 Maria: And you threw the bracelet at her?
 Jesse: I didn't call her anything mam!
 Maria: Why would she slap you?
 Jesse: huh?
 Maria: Why would she slap you?
 Jesse: Because I was talking back to her.
 Maria: You were telling her stuff?
 Jesse: No, not like bad stuff. I just said that I was (UNCLEAR) because I wanted to and stuff, that's about it.
 Maria: Is this the way you want to be treated? Have people throw things at you?
 Jesse: No mam.
 Maria: Were you all friends before this or what?
 Jesse: Yes
 Maria: And were you boyfriend and girlfriend or what?
 Jesse: Matter of fact I do like her right now.

Humor characterized the speech of all the principals. In the transcripts of her conversations, Laura demonstrated over fifty instances of humor in a variety of situations, such as this one with a slightly irritated mother who had been unable to locate her son.

238 Parent: I think so, the Lord willing I did it correctly, I asked Karl to meet me here, and of course he didn't show. He's in the hall somewhere, and I'm sure wherever that, she is, that's where he is.
 Laura: You'll find him. Do you want us to go out and make an all call, (BOTH LAUGH)? He'd never speak to you or to us! (LAUGHS AS USHERS MOM OUT) Bye, see you tomorrow, (BACK TO DESK) Well okay, arightly.

With elementary principal Helen a similar use of humor occurred in her faculty meeting as she poetically lamented the shortage of duplicating paper supplies.

80 Helen: Okay. (EYES DOWN, GRINNING AS SHE READS, RIGHT HAND UP WITH PENCIL) Number 3: Roses are red, violets are blue, paper is dwindling, what to do, what to do? (LAUGHS)
 Librarian: And you thought we didn't have anything for the Pegasus contest! (LAUGHTER OF GROUP PRECEDED LENGTHY GROUP DISCUSSION AND FINAL CONSENSUS ON PAPER ALLOTMENT)

The following example of laughing at herself illustrated an embarrassing mistake regarding the misunderstanding of a title of a requested addition to the school's reading list. Middle school principal Jan handled the incident with gracious good humor and considerable blushing at her own error. In deference to her power position as leader the teachers did not point out the principal's error until she herself realized it. The outcome was an opportunity for increased trust and collegiality, foundations for increased micropolitical influence.

327 Faye: A Quail Robert.
 Jan: No, I didn't put that one on there.
 Faye: That one I think is hard to get.

Jan: Well, you know why I didn't put that one on there? I thought it wasn't of lasting value. I thought it was more, not that Robert Quayle is not of lasting value, but that umm, there'll be a time that he won't be such an interesting figure. Right? Maybe?
 Faye: I don't know. I haven't read the book.
 Jan: Have you read the book?
 Glenda: uh huh. (PAUSE)
 Jan: Robert! Not Dan!
 328 Faye: Not Dan! (SLIGHT LAUGH)
 Jan: OH! Wonderful, it just occurred to me! Well put it back on. Oh, I'm just so . . . Ohh! . . .
 Faye: It's Okay.
 Jan: (HIDES FACE IN HANDS, BLUSHES AND LAUGHS) I thought it was a book about the Vice President.
 Faye: No, no.
 Jan: I thought, oh, you know, that's going to be hard to justify. . .
 Faye: Oh, that's cute! I love that! (ALL LAUGH)
 Jan: It's gonna be hard to justify, and I didn't want to do anything political.
 Glenda: No this is not political.
 Jan: Alright!
 Glenda: This is quite appropriate 6th grade material.
 Jan: Gooood!
 Jan: Well I am not embarrassed, much!
 Faye: Good, I'm so, it's so wonderful to know she's human!
 ALL LAUGH AGAIN.
 Jan: And you all were just being so nice about it!

Nonverbal behavior

Nonverbally, all five principals demonstrated concern for their personal appearance as well as their environment. The secondary principals tended to dress in conservative business dresses or suits. The elementary principals tended to wear colorful and less conservative attire. Helen wore brightly color-coordinated outfits with matching jewelry and shoes. On one occasion Celia wore walking shorts and a sweater to a faculty meeting. The ease of access for visitors to the principals' offices because of consistently open office doors, and warm furnishings chosen (such as student art work, green plants or flowers, school symbols, and pictures of family) promoted an inviting atmosphere.⁶⁶ Helen and Celia had numerous children's drawings, books and toys in evidence in their offices. The secondary principals had school symbols on display. They all utilized physical positioning effectively as a conscious power tool. Their desks faced the doors of their offices. Each deliberately chose when to sit behind her desk and when to sit beside a visitor at a round table or in arm chairs. At staff meetings each sat at the head of the conference table.

Each principal employed body motions in communication. For example, each maintained consistent eye contact, reflected group moods through facial expression, and utilized expansive hand motions for emphasis and personal expression. Body position of the middle and high school principals demonstrated use of physical space in an open and expansive manner. They casually placed an arm over the backs of their chairs and shifted their seating positions frequently. The elementary principals demonstrated the more traditionally stereotypical female closed body position, with arms and legs close to the body. All five typically leaned toward or away from others as the topic met their approval or as their involvement in the conversation grew. Behaviors such as nodding, minimal responses (um mmm, uh huh), and smiling seemed to represent encouragement rather than submissive behaviors. Jan and Helen wore reading glasses which they invariably removed

when someone else had the floor, and put back on when they resumed control of the conversation. Even interruptions of the speech of others, seen in the literature as powerful and dominating behavior,⁶⁷ served these principals in a manner which appeared to encourage further conversation from companions rather than blocking it.⁶⁹

Strategies and Behaviors

Overall micropolitical strategies employed by all these principals were similar and included personal skills in organization, interpersonal influence, and advocacy of favored causes. Table 2 presents a display matrix of these observed categories of strategies and tactics. Laura and Maria consciously utilized strong negotiation skills including confrontation to obtain their goals. In the following telephone interchange Maria politely made herself very clear to an irate patron without losing control of herself until after she hung up the phone.

79 Maria: Ok . . . Mr . . . Mr. Trevino, do not use that tone of voice with me sir . . . I'm trying to, please change your tone of voice with me . . . yes sir, but you can . . . I didn't have anything to do with that so please treat me cordially. Change your tone of voice with me. . . Ok. . . We will work with you in as much as we will keep Smiley here today and Monday morning you can get his shot for him . . . He only has 30 days to get it done . . . ok, I understand. . . Thank you, goodbye. (HANGS UP.) OOOOOH!

All five principals focused on framing an environment reflective of their personal values of caring for and supporting others. Celia exemplified this as she walked from classroom to classroom visiting students and giving several in each room a personal encouraging note:

18 Celia: I am carrying notes around to give the kids. Last week they imitated me doing the 'Principal's Walk' with the clipboard like this.(CHUCKLING WITH OBVIOUS PLEASURE)

Micropolitical behaviors or tactics employed by the principals in implementation of their strategies were also similar. The organizational strategy was implemented by each principal through tactical behaviors such as planning, note taking, and time management. Each prepared for and controlled meetings by having a printed agenda, but each also included on that agenda a time for each participant to speak concerns. In each department chair meeting the principals went around the group specifically offering the floor to each in attendance.

The principals' strategy of interpersonal influence was carried out through utilization of a team approach to management

Table 2. Micropolitical Strategies and Behaviors to Obtain Preferred Outcomes

Micropolitical strategies	Micropolitical behaviors
1. Organization	1. Planning, note taking, time management, staff preparation
2. Interpersonal influence	2. Team approach, personal involvement, positive approach, self awareness, networking
3. Negotiation	3. Change agency, mediation, trust building
4. Environmental framing	4. Symbolism, caring, gift-giving
5. Advocacy	5. Gender awareness, children, mentoring

and personal involvement with teachers through ready accessibility and frequent offers to assist teachers in a variety of ways. The avoidance of any semblance of negativism in front of the group was apparent in the behaviors of all five principals. Compliments and praise typified their comments to both staff and students.

64 Maria: She is worth her weight in gold, my registrar. She is a paraprofessional, but sh...ooooh! I know that when I, when we do valedictorian and salutatorian, those GPA's are absolutely correct, everything is clean. she . . . thank you James, I got your note, next Tuesday, is it? . . . that's fine, no problem. Good, ok? . . . Doing ok? . . . Good. One of our great English teachers. Works so hard with the kids.

Each principal exhibited a strong sense of self awareness, including self confidence, dedication to her profession, and commitment to hard work. Each was gracious, poised, calm, and skilled in interpersonal relations. Networking within the community was a common tactic. In her final interview each espoused value for the uniqueness of her contribution to the principalship in words not unlike the following:

61 Maria: I could never see myself as principal of a high school . . . and look look where I am! (LAUGHS) It's just one of those things that you say that I'm never gonna do, but, once you get in there and you know, I'm glad I did. I love the job, I love what I do. I have a lot of fun with it. And uhh, I enjoy it. Tremendously! (LAUGHS) and I think it's made me a better person. I think I've grown. Ummm and I think I've helped a lot of people in their . . . search for whatever, you know . . . in life and as professionals, as teachers, as students . . . I feel like I have impacted positively upon a lot of people. And that makes me feel good. Because that's what we're about.

The interpersonal influence strategy was demonstrated repeatedly by all the principals through the tactics of consultation with teachers and parents, and sharing of information. Shared decision making was the norm. Each principal knew and called by name her entire faculty and many students. Each principal was also actively involved on her campus, participating in activities, walking around throughout the day observing events, and practices, and even participating in 'setting up' or 'cleaning up,' behaviors not usually associated with management level positions, as shown in this interchange between middle school principal Jan with a parent volunteer group.

90 Jan: Well, what I would normally do is find out who is next door and then I would go walk through 8th grade lunch, (GOES TO OUTER OFFICE TO SEE SECRETARY ABOUT GROUP IN THE CONFERENCE ROOM.)

91 Jan: Okay. Thank you. And do you think they need anything?

Secretary: uh They were just happy to know they had the room until 12.

Jan: (LAUGHS—THEN SHE KNOCKS AND ENTERS THE ROOM) A room of workers? (ALL EXCHANGE HI'S ETC.) How are you? . . . Do you all need anything?

Parent: We're doing okay right now. We have our work cut out for us.

Jan: you do!

Parent: We're trying to put people in slots where we think they'd be good and where they would like to be. It's challenging!

Jan: Ooooh, yeah!

Parent: We're making a lot of progress and we have some things we feel real good about and some big unknowns.

Jan: Well, from what I've seen this year, matching is critical, and I think you always make some great matches so I/

Parent: /that's why it takes so long to do it/

Jan: /It's probably worth all the . . . it probably is worth all the time ya'll are putting into it. It's a year's worth of. . .

Parent: Well, um umm, yes

Jan: but you don't need anything?

This interchange shows clearly the typical positive attitude and team approach common among these subjects.

All five subjects adopted a strategy of framing an environmental context reflective of their value systems. Each displayed this strategy through symbolic tactical acts such as gift giving and ceremonies. Jan consistently referred to her personal philosophy of behavior and represented that philosophical approach to life in each of the groups with whom she worked in the school. Her leadership decisions promoted the overall atmosphere she aimed to foster in her school. A clear example of the positive context within which she framed her approach to school administration was the habitual closing of her morning announcements.

28 Jan: . . . And I remind us that we have been given this day for life and learning. Let us rejoice and be glad in it!

Helen gave musical red roses to her department chairpersons on Valentine's Day and personalized 'survival kits' and plastic monogrammed 'hard hats' to the faculty as a building renovation program began. Celia arranged for her entire faculty to go out to lunch during Teacher Appreciation Week. Laura provided brown bag lunches for her faculty meetings held during the lunch hour. Maria gave 'beginning of the year' gifts to her entire faculty and staff, and regularly provided unexpected treats in the faculty lounge or at meetings. All five made a point to write notes of appreciation to faculty and staff regularly.

A fourth strategy common to all the principals was advocacy of favored causes. Laura saw herself as a change agent responding to the community value system. Each was an active and unabashed campaigner for causes of her choosing, as shown in advocacy of children and schools. Laura and Jan demonstrated this strategy in relation to gender issues through their tactic of mentoring aspiring female students in local university administration preparation programs. Laura expressed her view in this way in her final interview with the researcher:

312 Laura: I think my strategies I mean I've had an intern I think four different years. My basic belief is to just have em see and do everything. And very rarely has an intern been excluded from conferences or meetings or anything like that. And I think that's probably the best way to see what actually goes on, to be a part of it.

Why do you do it?

Laura: Why, oh, cause I like Alice (LAUGHS) because I feel like its important to be a mentor. And um and um I guess I had some that were men, but I guess recently they've all been women and I guess I feel like that's real important, cause I think we do things differently.

How?

Laura: I think we, well, at least, some of my initial principals I used to work with were good ole boy coaches, ex coaches and so they had a different style, it was kind of a bull in a china shop approach, and not very participatory, and I guess

in a believer in participation you know in all elements and so uh I think probly women do more consensus building and umm we're not afraid of new ideas perhaps as much.

Discussion of Findings and Conclusions

With regard to the verbal and nonverbal communication behaviors of the these female principals, this study has shown a shift from stereotypical female behaviors among these five professionals. Both verbal and nonverbal communications of these principals reflected more expansive and relaxed vocabularies and usage than found in studies of the past. For example, they did not demonstrate the high inflection 'tag questions' or 'fluffy adjectives' described as typical female usage by Lakoff.⁴⁶ Though the nodding, smiling, questioning, and minimal responses described by the literature were present, as utilized by these principals they seemed to reflect collegial encouragement of others rather than the traditional view of submission to authority. Additionally, in the secondary principals a definite break in the pattern of traditional physical movements associated with 'feminine' and 'masculine' was apparent, though the more expansive positioning did not seem inappropriate as employed by these women.

The interpersonal influence strategy employed by all the principals was reflected in the tactic of strong involvement with coworkers on a personal level in addition to demonstration of professional expertise. As an apparent result, the hierarchical separation of management and worker seemed blurred in all five schools by the principals' accessibility and collegial approach to leadership. The schools' atmospheres were reflective of a team rather than a hierarchy, though the staffs did reflect respect for the positional power of the principals. All five principals participated actively and with apparent effectiveness in disciplinary procedures rather than delegating it entirely to male assistant principals.

None of the principals saw herself as 'powerful,' though in the final interviews all would admit to having personal 'influence.' The aversion to usage of the word 'powerful' was not an unexpected finding in light of the literature related to early socialization of females. The negative connotations attributed to the word were described with the terms 'aggressive' and 'pushy,' though for the secondary principals the latter were behaviors they admitted to having employed when necessary to achieve their organizational goals. For these five women, early socialization patterns made the term 'aggression' aversive when applied to their personal behaviors, but less negative when related to goals of their professional lives.

When asked in the final interviews about their micropolitical relationships with male educators, each principal had a different reaction. Interestingly, these reactions were reflective of various views found commonly in today's society. Laura saw little difference in the current quality of interaction between professional males and females. She felt equally supported and comfortable within each group. She recalled earlier career experiences of ten to fifteen years in the past of being 'left out' of 'male' conversations in staff meetings, however. Helen and Celia described male-female relationships in traditional language, appreciating stereotypic differences and their complimentary nature. Helen remarked that these differences might be more conflictual outside the profession of education, a field in which she saw men and women in a collegial relationship. In stark contrast, Jan described a pronounced gender gap and stressed the importance to women of careful and perceptive assessment of their professional relationships with men in order to avoid situations of micropolitical domination or manipulation. Maria expressed keen awareness of being judged professionally as a woman and as a 'Mexican', and felt compelled to perform well as a representative of both her gender and ethnicity.

Even though Celia and Maria were Hispanic, their communication behaviors and micropolitical strategies were not dissimilar from those of the Anglo principals, with the exception that they benefitted in their work from being bilingual and bicultural and were able to converse skillfully with monolingual Hispanic families. Though neither of their parents had achieved more than a high school education, both sets of parents had stressed education and English proficiency to their daughters. Each of the five principals could point to a mentor who had influenced her professional career. Each of the women described her mother as being a very strong influence on her personal life and professional achievement.

Each principal felt keenly the pervasive and diverse political elements associated with her role in the community and had accepted these as a normal part of her life. All of the principals saw open communication and interpersonal relationships and networking as the keys to their successful leadership styles. None felt she had significant problems communicating with others. In addition, all demonstrated in their actions and expressed openly to others a concern for 'doing the right thing' as opposed to 'doing things right.' Jan even quoted this in her staff meeting as a measure of leadership.

The findings of this research (see Tables 1 and 2) reveal verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication behaviors of female school principals in their work settings which were strong, influential and warmly collegial. The traditional restrained and closed body positions, as well as the submissive verbal and nonverbal behaviors were diminished among these principals to varying degrees, but most obviously among the secondary principals. None had adopted male behaviors entirely, but all had relaxed the stereotypic restrained and closed female behaviors and speech reported in research of two decades ago.⁷⁰

In addition, each of these principals utilized traditional 'female' behaviors in new ways. For example, formerly interpreted as submissive and signs of powerlessness, attentive listening and concurrent behaviors such as nodding, smiling, questioning, and minimal responses seem to have become powerful behaviors enabling the principals to prolong conversation, support others, and elicit further information. Strong interpersonal and nurturing relationships, long described as typical of females and examples of low personal power, were for these principals a highly effective micropolitical strategy⁷¹ enabling exchange and the reciprocity of team work, mutual decision making, and collegiality between the principals and their faculties and communities.⁷²

Ball described such behavior as the "preferred view of professionalism"⁷³ and a tool for reducing confusion, resentment and dissatisfaction. The literature has long reflected the stabilizing effects of such mutual exchange and reciprocity.⁷⁴ Blase described the levels of exchange as both tangible and intangible, with both substantive elements expressed in work, and symbolic elements finding expression in style.⁷⁵ The environmental framing strategy was reflective of this claim. The ceremonial gift giving aspects of meetings were representative of this means of mobilizing support and perhaps quieting current or potential opposition.⁷⁶

These principals also exhibited a proactive strategic approach to leadership through conscious tactics of networking and advocacy of causes reflective of their values. These values did not reflect a personal quest for power, but a motivation based in concern for the welfare of others, especially the children in their charge. This finding was reflective of Marshall's research of atypical leaders, and her resulting claim that with such "values guiding the flow of action, schools could be more human, fair, equitable places."⁷⁷ More philosophically, their approach to micropolitical influence reflected Vaclav Havel's claim that:

... if there is to be any chance at all of success, there is only one way to strive for decency, reason, responsibility, sincerity, civility, and tolerance, and that is decently, reasonably, responsibly, sincerely, civilly, and tolerantly.⁷⁸

Further empirical investigation of the findings of this research related to female principals' micropolitical communication could inform practice and training of both female and male administrators through increased understanding of each other and should be conducted. Conclusions to be drawn from this study are limited due to the size and limitations of the sample, but findings point to the following:

1. Micropolitical influence of female principals is expressed through verbal and nonverbal language differing from traditional stereotypic female or male language represented in the literature.
2. Strong interpersonal relationships rather than interpersonal dominance form the basis of effective micropolitical leadership strategies for female principals where dissensus exists.
3. Female principals utilize environmental framing and ceremony as micropolitical strategies for mobilizing support and quieting opposition.
4. Female principals utilize micropolitical influence to promote the welfare of others rather than to promote their own personal power.
5. Female principals are likely to be involved with others as mentors or as advocates of causes reflective of their own values.
6. Female principals' verbal and nonverbal language reflects predominant goals of persuasion, collaboration, consensus, and affiliation rather than confrontation, coercion, or threat.
7. Interpersonal communication skills and micropolitical strategies of Hispanic and Anglo females of similar training and in similar contexts are similar.
8. Interpersonal communication skills and micropolitical strategies of elementary and secondary principals are similar.

Implications for Practice

Because schools as organizations are becoming increasingly politicized as a result of demands on scarce resources, and communities reflect a more heterogeneous society,⁷⁹ school administrators have become a key element in implementation of positive change among diverse demands and dissensus.

Where subsystems link with each other, either because of intertwining tasks or common ideologies, we see common language, values, priorities, and potential for political power.⁸⁰

Implications for the education of school administrators are clear. Marshall asserts that

... the field of educational administration maintains—in professional preparation, bureaucratic structures, and selection and socialization—a professional culture that still pretends neutral technical competence and avoids controversy.⁸¹

The uncertainty and conflict inherent in organizations as political entities require that school administrators develop not only traditional management and technical skills, but also micropolitical skills in negotiation and bargaining, problem analysis and problem solving, decision making, and symbolic acts such as those expressed in language. Language is a powerful tool in exercising micropolitical influence since how ideas are expressed in conversation and debate often shapes how the ideas are perceived,⁸² and by implication, how the speaker is

seen as well. Language may differ in meaning when expressed by males or by females and in turn, males and females may listen to the same words, but hear them differently.⁸³ If this is the case, then administrative preparation programs should include training in language perception and delivery. Communication skill is essential in an era of increasing involvement of diverse communities and interests with the schools.

In addition, schools of education and professional development institutions serving practicing administrators and teachers would do well to focus on understanding and developing on-going staff development programs in verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication skills. In their research both Goodlad⁸⁴ and Sizer⁸⁵ have explored ways in which administrators and teachers can potentially share both responsibility and power in public schools. Sharing a common language would go far toward that end if it were employed as the administrators in this study have employed it, in diffusion of micropolitical conflict and building of affiliations and coalitions. Implications for the act of supervision are similarly important when gender difference is part of the relationship.

School districts hiring administrators, and administrators seeking positions would do well to develop an understanding of language with which to examine verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication as an expression of the values and administrative practices each employs. Such a practice would contribute toward matching or coordinating individual styles and aptitudes with emerging organizational styles and requirements for coalitions and collaborative decision making. This could open possibilities for increased success and improved performance both individually and institutionally, and go far toward eliminating an increasingly irrelevant androcentric focus in hiring practices.

Recommendations for Further Research

Because of the limited number of subjects available for this research the study should be replicated among other female school principals until a substantial body of data exists relative to female public school principals. In addition, female principals from other demographic groups should be examined, including those representative of differences in age, race, geographic location, school district size, cultural and educational backgrounds, with the eventual goal of constructing a theory of micropolitical communication behavior. An examination of the variables surrounding the various verbal and nonverbal cues employed by the female principals might further illuminate female micropolitical behavior.

Another potentially fruitful approach to the study of micropolitical communication behaviors of female principals would be to replicate the study from different perspectives. The perspectives of teachers or of parents might potentially reveal a different body of information. The technical addition of increased videotaping would broaden the data base as well. Examination of the principals of schools judged to be effective and less effective might reveal a possible impact of communication skills and micropolitical behaviors on school performance.

The overriding conclusion derived from this research has been that the apparently effective micropolitical communications of these five principals derived from their expressions of genuine caring for both their institutions and the persons within them. As individuals all five of these principals consistently examined her own motivations and goals in light of what was most beneficial to her school and its students. By their example, through verbal and nonverbal micropolitical communication behaviors, they resolved dissensus and built and sustained trust among students, faculty and community.

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Book Reviews

Sexual Harassment in Our Schools: What Parents and Teachers Need to Know to Spot It and Stop It. By Robert J. Shoop and Jack W. Hayhow, Jr. Allyn and Bacon, 1994

How to Stop Sexual Harassment in Our Schools: A Handbook and Curriculum Guide for Administrators and Teachers. By Robert J. Shoop and Debra J. Edwards. Allyn and Bacon, 1994

Acknowledgement of sexual harassment is coming slowly to our society. The beginning is still unclear. In the collective consciousness of the American public it probably came to light with the Confirmation Hearings of Supreme Court Judge Clarence Thomas. It is not new. It has been there beneath the surface and continues to erupt in incidents such as the Tailhook scandal. The issue is sexual harassment of both children and adults, and up until confirmation hearings for Judge Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court went beyond the political spectrum and into the vernacular of the American public. But where does it go from there and what effect will it have? One effect has been an increasing recognition of the issues of sexual harassment in governmental, corporate and educational institutions. The wake-up call was not the hearing in itself but the ramifications of a charge of sexual harassment. The explosion of litigation pertaining to this issue has alerted both the public and private sector to some of the consequences associated with sexual harassment. The intense media exposure of the issue has both informed and warned the public. Education and dissemination of the impact of sexual harassment must follow this awakening.

Robert Shoop has taken upon himself the task of co-authoring two books that bring to light the various issues interlinking sexual harassment and targeting it's association with the educational system. Along with myriad challenges that the educational system confronts, sexual harassment is an increasingly complex concern. Its importance rises with the increased numbers of reported incidents and the monetary and psychological effects that accompany it.

After years of research and practical observation of intervention and prevention of sexual harassment, Shoop and co-authors present us with two books, one for parents and teachers, the second for administration and teachers. Both books provide guidelines to identify, prevent, and ultimately eliminate sexual harassment in the schools. In their discussion of sexual harassment in the schools the authors give more attention to student-to-student occurrences, focusing on female students. The majority of sexual harassment incidents that are teachers-to-teachers, students-to-teachers, group harassment, sexual harassment of gay, lesbian and bisexual students, and harassment by non-employees. The authors offer narrative examples, obtained through their countless training interventions in schools, to illustrate the wide range of behaviors that are and are not considered sexual harassment. Furthermore, the authors demonstrate an awareness of their audiences through their writing style that welcomes each reader further into the issues without relying on an over abundance of legal jargon. The authors delve briefly into the legal background in an effort to add a foundation to further assertions of the causes and consequences of sexual harassment. One helpful detail in these books is the discussion of the evolution of how sexual harassment has been defined in our judicial system, giving the reader a sense of what has been and what is now defined as sexual harassment. Furthermore, the explanations of unfamiliar and conceptual terms dealing with sexual harassment and how each relate to the school, proves to be a helpful way to inform and demonstrate concepts without confusing the reader.

Once again the authors purpose in both books is to educate the reader on how to detect, confront, and prevent sexual harassment. In the discussion of sexual harassment the authors state that it is caused by the behavioral perceptions based on "sexual stereotyping, sex role stereotyping, sexism," and the issue of power and attitudes expressed and accepted in the culture. We believe the authors intention is not to paint a picture of doom and gloom surrounding this issue but to inform and elevate an issue that demands we confront it. Through the development of policies and educational programs in our schools, which will educate our children and prepare the school community, the authors anticipate fewer incidents of sexual harassment in the future. The importance of developing policies and educational programs in elementary and secondary schools stems from the increase in reported incidents of sexual harassment in which the schools have been involved in litigation. As with many other social problems, sensitivity to sexual harassment should be addressed as early as possible in our children's lives. Prevention of sexual harassment must begin with education in how to identify and prevent incidents. Clearly prevention is important because of the need to eliminate the physical and psychological harm that our children suffer as a result of sexual harassment.

Consequences of sexual harassment to children, according to the authors, include a decrease in motivation, low self-esteem, a sense of unworthiness, betrayal and stigmatization causing isolation and withdrawal from others, and in the extreme instances, suicide. We all must understand and insist that because the students have no option but to attend school, it is the role of school officials in association with parents, to provide a safe, non-threatening educational environment.

The collaboration of Robert Shoop and Jack Hayhow Jr. produced *Sexual harassment in our schools: what parents and teachers need to know to spot it and stop it*. The authors offer the reader a more thorough understanding of the issue as not merely an isolated incident but as a flashpoint or culmination of a series of stages. From the initial chapter, the authors take great effort to present sexual harassment as a complex phenomenon that has far-reaching effects beyond those reported by sensationalized televised or print media. Addressed as well within the initial stages of the book are topics that initiate thought beyond the monetary detriments to children and pose theoretical dilemmas that carry forth into adulthood. The issues are addressed in many instances from both a victim and victimizer role which adds both depth and richness to the arguments. The sensitive nature of the topic demands that authors walk gently through issues without getting into a "bashing" mode that we too often see in the daily media. This is not to say that the authors avoid confrontation, but that their approach is one of balance and control. The examples and terms utilized by the authors convey a harsh reality that both alerts and cautions the reader about the severity of sexual harassment.

The intended audience of this initial collaboration is as the title suggests, both parents and teachers. Beyond the informational dialogue created by the authors is a practical and applicable approach to dealing with sexual harassment. Lists of procedures, policies to be developed, steps parents can take, recommendations for developing sexual harassment programs and a host of very usable guides are offered to the intended audience. With the audience selected, the authors have created an informative piece of writing that should have the capacity to educate the audience and provide the impetus to deal with the issues on a daily basis. The authors have avoided the heavy reliance on statistical information which frequently accompanies scholarly writing. The included information is targeted to be directly helpful to the intended audience.

As the title suggests, the second book co-authored by Robert Shoop and Debra Edwards, *How to stop sexual harassment in our schools: A handbook and curriculum guide for*

administrators and teachers, deals with direct issues of concern to administrators and teachers. This book is designed to assist administrators and teachers in developing educational programs on how to confront and eliminate sexual harassment. As the authors point out, misconceptions, fear of reprisals, ignorance of procedural guidelines, and a lack of understanding of legal repercussions, are all present in our schools. Each of these factors serve to create a climate of inactivity, where school administrators prefer to avoid dealing with the issue. The perception of school administrators is often that by ignoring the issue of sexual harassment, it will go away. It is because of this inactivity that the authors in this book chose to focus more on providing examples, and step-by-step guides on what administrators and teachers must and should do to stop sexual harassment. The authors understand that the educational system is a complex and bureaucratic one. The recommendations in this book go far beyond the generic solutions proposed by other authors. The recommendations by Shoop and Edwards (1994), are targeted specifically to school administrators and teachers. But more importantly, it provides examples that administrators and teachers confront on a day-to-day basis. These examples offer the readers with an understanding of the issues without confusing them with situations unfamiliar to them.

In this book the authors make clear the importance for school administrators to develop written policies on the issues of sexual harassment. As stated before, the creation of preventive programs is important and the authors offer school administrators and teachers several recommendations to deal with this issue in the bureaucratic nature of schools. The authors really give a wide range of recommendations. The book dedicates a whole section to curriculum guides or activities as

ideas to be used by teachers to deal with and educate on the issue of sexual harassment in the classroom. It is clear that the authors understand the problematic nature and complexities of sexual harassment. They provide their intended audience with a series of usable job aids. The book lacks probing discussion on the legal milieu of sexual harassment, but again this is not the authors intention. This book is sound in the generation of ideas and the creation of awareness of the issue and how to deal with it. If school administrators and teachers require more expertise on the subject of sexual harassment, beyond that which is offered in this book, the authors recommend a consultation with the appropriate legal counsel.

Having read both books co-authored by Robert Shoop, we believe the books target specific audiences and address the issues that are important to each. While both books offer a common point of reference, the ultimate goal of each book is realized through a realistic and informative approach to the issue of sexual harassment. Either book can be used as a starting point in the education of sexual harassment, due in part to the abundance of overlapping information within each book. For those who intend to utilize the book as a guide, we believe the consumer should examine their situation and select accordingly.

Reviewed by Janette Flores–Diaz and D. Mark Tuckett¹

1. The reviewers are doctoral candidates in the Department of Educational Leadership at Western Michigan University. Ms. Flores–Diaz is specializing in International Human Resource Development. Mr. Tuckett's expertise is Program Evaluation in Education and Business.

The current climate of opinion demands that the American public school system be reformed. To that end we read of Goals 2000, school choice, various curricular reform movements, and other suggestions for revamping the schools. In his book *School's Out* (Avon Books, 368 pages, \$12), Lewis Perelman suggests that reform plans are wrongheaded because technological advances will soon render both public and private schools irrelevant to America's economic future. Claiming that he really is not concerned with education itself, and armed with state of the art technology and contemporary science; Perelman argues that economic realities dictate the abolition of schools, both public and private.

Essentially, Perelman suggests that hyperlearning, a new wave of technologies that both possess and enhance intelligence will streamline and democratize learning in America, making our overcrowded, bureaucratic schools obsolete. The countries that most quickly phase out their costly, inefficient school systems will be the economic leaders of the future as hyperlearning renders school educators as irrelevant to the dissemination of knowledge as the Gutenberg Bible made the Catholic priesthood irrelevant to the dissemination of holy scripture. This educational reformation will soon shake the foundations of American schools just as the Protestant Reformation shook the foundations of post-Medieval Christianity.

Perelman predicts that credentialing will become a thing of the past as technology trains people for the jobs they want without irrelevant academic mediation. Experts will become obsolete in business and industry as information retrieval and application replace human encyclopedias. The technological revolution is progressively blurring the boundaries separating entertainment, instruction, work, and general learning. We are soon to live in a comprehensive learning environment in which technology links "hordes of data bits into patterns or structures the human mind can grasp. . . . The job of hypermedia alone is to inform; its job as part of the fabric of hyperlearning is to empower."

There are two reasons why everyone concerned with education and schooling will find this book fascinating and challenging. It is challenging because Perelman's devastating critique of American schooling is largely accurate. The cumbersome school bureaucracy is not cost effective, it does not foster higher order reasoning skills, and it does perpetuate a largely artificial credentialing scheme producing large numbers of the over-schooled and unemployed.

The book is fascinating because of Perelman's jaw-dropping descriptions of contemporary learning technology and its potential application. With such tools at hand, the author believes that the real outrage is not that our students are failing to learn, but that our students are learning to fail. The proper application of technology, he believes, will change all that.

In the face of technological challenge, Perelman predicts that schools will fight for survival by repeating "myths" that social and natural science have demonstrated false. But in a pivotal chapter called "Science Lessons: Beyond the 'Effective School' Myths," Perelman is on shaky ground as he attempts to explode the following "myths."

Myth #1—"People Learn Best in School." Perelman is, of course, right in branding this a myth. But here he makes the grave error of making learning and education synonymous. Learning is a large umbrella concept, underneath which lie "education," "training," etc. All of these words are not synonymous. Learning does take place everywhere, and it probably takes place easier outside of schools. But if education is a special kind of learning consisting of intellectual, moral, and possibly even spiritual activity, then Perelman's perspective is narrow to the point of irrelevancy.

School is a Preparation for Working in the Real World." Again, Perelman is both right and wrong. School is not a good preparation for working in the real world. His error, however, is in assuming that schools ought to be primarily concerned with preparing people for narrow vocations. As Robert Hutchins wisely reminds us:

We hear a great deal today about the dangers that will come upon us through the frustration of educated people who have got educated in the expectation that education will get them a better job, and who then fail to get it. But surely this depends on the representations that are made to the young about what education is. If we allow them to believe that education will get them better jobs and encourage them to get educated with this end in view, they are entitled to a sense of frustration if, when they have got the education, they do not get the job. But, if we say that they should be educated in order to be men, and that everybody, whether he is a ditch-digger or a bank president should have this education because he is a man, then the ditch-digger may still feel frustrated, but not because of his education.

Myth #3—"The Teacher is the Fountain; the Learner is the Bowl." While Perelman is correct that quality education cannot consist of active teachers pouring knowledge into the heads of passive students, he is merely criticizing traditional educational methodologies at their worst: Classrooms need not be guided by dullards who destroy active learning with memorization, repetition, and nothing more. Of course, much of that does go on in schools, as does much equally non-productive, though creative, "student centered" miseducation.

Myth #4—"More or Less Academic Achievement Means More or Less Learning." Anyone should know that degrees, certificates, and years of schooling are not necessarily indicative of real educational attainment, especially today. The solution, however, does not lie in abolishing schools, but in raising standards to the point that more or less academic achievement does mean more or less learning.

Myth #5—"You Have to Learn to Walk Before You Can Learn to Run." Again, Perelman criticizes certain assumptions underlying conservative teaching methodology at its worst, nothing more. He again attacks a straw man.

Myth #6—"Education is Different from Training." Interestingly, to dispel the myth, Perelman never shows that education and training are the same thing. Since he has already incorrectly pronounced learning and education synonymous, he simply identifies training as a form of learning and logically, but incorrectly, concludes that it too is education. He goes on to praise the apprenticeship model as though the only meaningful learning is that undertaken for job skills.

Myth #7—"Some People Are Smarter Than Others." No, says Perelman. No one is any smarter than anyone else. Defying the self-evident fact that some people actually are smarter than others, Perelman enlists Howard Gardner's research to criticize schools for measuring only the types of intelligence useful for "academic work." Perelman challenges the conclusions of standardized tests showing large portions of the American population to be illiterate, ignorant, and incompetent. Ironically, while relying on science to dispel all of the "effective school" myths, Perelman suddenly dismisses the standardized test, which is certainly as scientific a measure as those Perelman cites throughout the book in defense of his own case.

Myth #8—"Facts are more important than skills." Showing himself for the philosophical Pragmatist, that he is, Perelman, with no convincing scientific evidence, downplays the importance of a knowledge base. He crucifies E. D. Hirsch, author of *Cultural Literacy*, for suggesting that there is a canon of facts that every American should know. Only process is important, says Perelman. Unfortunately, the author seems unaware of Hirsch's contention that cultural literacy enhances process, that

cultural literacy enhances general literacy. Perelman is right and technology soon makes literacy obsolete, who cares!

Myth #9—"Learning is Solitaire." Here again, Perelman again simply criticizes the effects of certain traditional teaching methodologies. Schools, however, need not rely heavily on those methodologies (though they often do).

Myth #10—"Schooling is Good for Socialization." Perelman is right to a point. It is a myth to say that schooling socializes everyone in a positive manner. Socialization is hit and miss. But socialization is hit and miss everywhere. Who is to say that clusters of young people, freed from schools, will experience only positive socialization while playing on their computers or congregating on the street corners of America?

The problem with *School's Out* is that the author's cheery de-schooling prediction may not result in the digital paradise he envisions. Indeed, his cure may easily prove deadlier than the disease. Of course we must reform the schools, but what might we lose if Perelman's predictions come to pass? Certainly we

lose any sense of a common culture, and possibly a sense of anything worthy of the name culture at all. If human life at its best consists of nothing more than animal survival and problem solving, if education is a synonym for employability, and if information retrieval is a synonym for wisdom, then maybe we should welcome Perelman's brave new world. But if we envision a society peopled by more than highly skilled barbarians, then we should reconsider such classics as Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy* and fight to preserve distinctions between the superior and inferior, the fine and the vulgar, the worthwhile and the merely popular. Perelman also fails to preserve distinctions as he confounds Aristotle's definitions of labor, play, and leisure. Without such distinctions, all the technology in the world will fail to improve us in ways that really matter.

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