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The Obstacles in Women's Pathway to Principalship

Mahshid Pirouznia

Ph.D. (Human Services)

Edith Cowan University

Dr. Margaret Sims

February 2006

USE OF THESIS

The Use of Thesis statement is not included in this version of the thesis.

ABSTRACT

The research problem is to investigate the obstacles of women seeking the principalship in public education; and also to explore major changes of different obstacles to women's principalship because women's roles have changed over time. Different obstacles in women's pathway to principalship are: low self-image; lack of encouragement; myths about women's work; sex stereotyping; lack of aspiration; role conflict; low self-esteem; family responsibilities; lack of mobility; and hiring and promoting practices. The research questions are: 1. what are the barriers for women who did not obtain a principalship or assistant principalship. 2. what are the barriers for women who obtained principalship or assistant principalship. 3. What are the other barriers for women who did or did not obtain principalship.

Two methodologies, qualitative and quantitative, are used in this research study. The quantitative method includes a questionnaire measuring obstacles to principalship. The qualitative method includes interviews with women (a sample of 9) who answered the questionnaire to obtain a more in depth understanding of the barriers women faced.

The subjects are women who are certified as principals in Franklin County, Ohio. After all completed questionnaires were received, the data were analyzed using One-way analysis of variance. The One-way analysis of variance compared the three categories of women responding to the research questionnaire: women who have sought and achieved an assistant principalship, women who have sought and achieved a principalship, women who have sought and have not achieved a principalship or assistant principalship. A 2-way analysis of variance was done to check the overall effects of the levels of each factor, and whether the factors had a unique effect on the variables.

In quantitative part of the study, the women who obtained and did not obtain assistant principalship or principalship registered obstacles that deal primarily with gender stereotyping/ patriarchy followed by family responsibilities. In the

qualitative part of the study, more women who obtained assistant principalship or principalship did not believe in barriers of gender stereotyping or family responsibilities. Also, in qualitative part of the study, more women who did not obtain an assistant principalship or principalship noted the barrier of gender stereotyping, but did not see family responsibilities as a barrier. Moreover, women in quantitative and qualitative studies did not identify any other barrier that was not mentioned in the questionnaire or interviews.

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not, to the best of my knowledge and belief:

(i)   incorporate without acknowledgment any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any institution of higher education;

(ii)   contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text; or

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I also grant permission for the Library at Edith Cowan University to make duplicate copies of my thesis as required.

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INTRODUCTION

1.1   The background to the study

The exclusion of women from the workforce dates to the beginning of the industrial era in the early nineteenth century. For the last 150 years, women were openly discriminated against by employers who either refused to hire them under any circumstances or who rejected them if they were married or had children.

Until 1964, Congress failed to act to eliminate sex discrimination from the workplace. State legislatures, however, were more active. Even among state legislatures that were more active, noticeably absent was any reference to discrimination by reason of gender. For example, in 1945, New York enacted the first fair-employment law that covered private employment, creating a state agency to eliminate and prevent further discrimination in employment "because of race, creed, color, or national origin" (New York Executive Law, 1945).

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on April 2, 1964, to take effect one year later. Title VII of the act barred discrimination in employment, and its principal goal was to achieve true equality in workplace opportunities for women and racial, religious, and national minorities (Gregory, 2003).

Title VII has had an enormous impact in securing employment opportunities for women. Sex stereotyping that once went unquestioned is no longer legally tolerated. But Title VII, even after more than thirty-five years, has not succeeded in eliminating all discrimination against women in the workplace (Blumrosen, 2000).

Historically, employers have tended to categorize women as capable only of "women's work," positions that exist in relatively few occupations and ranked them among those with the lowest status and compensation (Gregory, 2003). The assignment of women to such positions results in the segregation and

stratification of women in the workplace. The consignment of women to occupations disproportionately female tends to extend their segregated and stratified roles.

Until recently, 95 percent of all secretaries, stenographers, and typists were women. Although a significant reduction in job segregation has occurred in professional positions, it continues in many other job categories (McCarthy Snyder, 1994). The Census Bureau's 2000 Statistical Abstract of the United States reveals the break-down shown in the following table:

Table 1

Percentage of Women in Nonprofessional Positions

Occupation	1983	1999
Bookkeepers	91.0	91.4
Payroll and Time Keeping Clerks	82.2	88.2
Billing Clerks	88.4	92.0
Telephone Operators	90.4	83.7
General Office Clerks	80.6	81.7
Bank Tellers	91.0	87.7
Child Care Workers	96.9	97.4
Cleaners and Servants	95.8	94.4
Kitchen Workers (food preparation)	77.0	70.4
Dental Assistants	98.1	96.1
Nursing Aides and Orderlies	88.7	89.9
Dietitians	90.8	84.0

Although Census Bureau Statistics disclose some improvement in the hiring of women in some other job categories (for example), women are still generally excluded from the male-dominated positions (see the following table).

Table 2

Percentage of Women in Male-Dominated Occupations

Occupation	1983	1999
Airplane Pilots and Navigators	2.1	3.1
Firefighters	1.0	2.8
Mechanics	3.0	4.8
Motor Vehicle Operators	9.2	11.5
Engineers	5.8	10.6
Police and Detectives	9.4	16.9

Although women made up 46.5% of the U.S. workforce in 2000, women held 11.7% of board director positions of Fortune 500 companies, and only 12.5% of the corporate officers of those companies were female. In 1994, women filled 56% of the government's lower-paying positions (grades 1 through 12), while men had nearly 77% of the mid-level positions (grades 13 through 15) and 83% of its senior-level posts (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995). It is clearly evident that women are more likely to be employed in low status and low paid positions (for example child care workers and dental assistants) and less likely to be successful in high status positions such as board directors of large companies.

Social and cultural factors substantially contribute to the existence of a second-class status of working women. Considering social and cultural factors as contributing elements, discrimination against women remains the major barrier to their full equality in the workplace. Discrimination against working women exists at all levels of employment and in nearly all job categories. For example, throughout most of the history of American public education, women have been underrepresented in administration positions in elementary and secondary schools, relative both to participation in the teaching force and their proportion of the general population (Riehl & Byrd, 1997). Although women comprise about 80% of the elementary teaching force and hold about half of the jobs in secondary education, they have been less successful in entering the ranks of school administration. Women's representation in elementary principalship declined from 62% in 1905 to 55% in 1928, reaching a low of about 20% in 1972

(Shakeshaft, 1989). Women were never more than a small minority of secondary school principals. Only about 6% of the secondary school principals in 1905 were women, and by the early 1970s this had dropped to about 1% (Tyack & Hansot, 1982). By the mid-1970s, women represented only 13% of all public school principals in the United States (Jones & Montenegro, 1985).

The prospects for women in school administration have gradually improved in the last two decades. In 1993, women held 34% of the school principalships and 41% of the assistant principalships in the nation's public schools (Montenegro, 1993). Forty-one percent of elementary school principals were women, as were 16% of secondary school principals (Riehl & Byrd, 1997). In 2004, women held 39% of school principalships in the U.S. Forty-nine percent of elementary school principals were women, as were 28% of secondary school principals (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Although women have gained a larger share of school level administrative positions over the past two decades, they have not yet approached parity with men (Montenegro, 1993).

1.2   The significance of the study

We clearly need strategies to help address the inequality of women's employment not just in the education sector but more generally. In order to combat inequality, we need to understand what women themselves perceive as the barriers stopping them or making it harder for them to succeed.

Thus this study helps us understand the barriers. This study analyzes barriers using some feminist theories and helps us to understand a new way of thinking about education. This will then lead to the development of strategies to address these barriers and thus result in better representation of women in administrative positions in education. There is also the possibility that what we learn from education could be useful in other areas of employment.

This study will produce new knowledge about women's changing roles, especially in the past decade. The present study will make a significant contribution both to our understanding of how women's roles are changing over

time, and also how we need to craft legislation, policies and procedures in response to current realities. The results of this study may be used to assist in creating new legislation, and institutional policies in favor of hiring women in administrative positions. Also the results of this study can be used to create new strategies and training programs to prepare women for administrative positions.

In addition, a new approach suggested by the researcher may help reveal the reason for ongoing inequality in workplace. Also, the suggested new approach may help us to understand how we might be able to overcome gender discrimination, and therefore, create more opportunities for women to achieve leadership positions.

1.3   *Purpose of the Study*

In public education, women form the bulk of the work force and men serve as bosses. In school administration, men are most likely to be found in positions with the greatest power, pay, and prestige (Smith-Doerr, 2004; Blackman, 2000; Maskell, 1997; Fauth, 1984; Foxley, 1982; Astin & Snyder 1982; Allain, 1981; Adkinson, 1980-1981). Researchers have attempted to find some explanation for nonparticipation of women in principal positions, usually by focusing on the obstacles women face attempting to obtain a principalship. The research literature reveals several different obstacles for women's lack of success in entering administration. These obstacles can be categorized into two groups: Internal, and External obstacles. Internal obstacles include: sex-role stereotyping, lack of aspiration, role conflict, and low self-steam. External obstacles include: lack of encouragement, family responsibilities, lack of mobility, and hiring and promoting practices (Gilligan, 1985; Marshall, 1985; Yoder, 1985; Maskell, 1997).

The purpose of this study is to explore the possible obstacles in women's pathway to a principalship; also to compare how women's roles have changed over time especially in the past decade. This comparison is possible because Wilkinson explored obstacles to principalship (Wilkinson, 1991).

This provides a unique opportunity to compare the Wilkinson results with the results from this study of women living   years later.

Although the questionnaire used in this study is the same as that used in Wilkinson's study (1991), it is expected that the present study will produce new results because society's perception about women has been changed since Wilkinson's study was conducted. Also, the feminist movement that started in eighteenth century has been more active in the past decade. Another change is other attempts to boost women's self-esteem and social position that have resulted in increasing women's educational levels.

Also other changes, such as family structure and women's desire for executive jobs, are likely to impact on the results of this study in comparis   on with Wilkinson's study (1991), which was conducted years ago. Young people are delaying marriage and children. One third of women ages 25 to 29 have never married, an all-time high. The percentage of childless women has risen from 10% of 40-45-year-olds in 1976 to 17.5% in 1994, another all-time high (Morris, 1997). Hewlett (2002) indicated that for many high-earning, highly educated women across the United States, childlessness is the high price they pay for their ambitious careers. It appears that success in employment is not perceived as possible if women take on family responsibilities. Certainly, the number of families who make this choice to remain childless is increasing (The U.S. Bureau of the Census, 2004). Former Texas governor, Ann Richards believes if women choose not to have children, they will have more freedom to pursue careers (Sellers, 2002). Hilsum (2002) believes some jobs are not compatible with bringing up children. She feels that many women today feel that the social pressure to be a mother is weaker than the fear of not being valued (Hilsum, 2002).

The possibility of obtaining a higher degree and earning education through email and Internet is another change in the last decade (Knouse & Webb, 2001). These teaching and learning methods offer women rearing children increased opportunities to participate in higher education. Clearly changes occurring over

the past decades are significant and may well have impacted greatly on the barriers women now face in attempting to obtain administrative positions in education. Thus, this study is timely in exploring these barriers and attempting to propose further actions that may assist in working towards equity for women.

1.4   The Research Questions

The research questions were designed to explore obstacles that prevent women to obtain principalship.

1.   For those women who do obtain a principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

2.   For those women who actively seek but do not obtain a principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

3.   What is the relationship between race and age of the women and the perceived obstacles?

1.5   Definition of Terms

The basic terms used in the current research are defined in this section:

Obstacles: any perceived problem which results in a certified woman not gaining a principalship.

Principalship: someone who is principal or head administrator of a school.

Public education: includes schools governed by the state and excludes private schools.

Administrative positions: those positions that require leadership such as principal of a school.

Elementary school: includes elementary schools (grades 1 through 5), and middle schools (grade 6-8).

Secondary school: includes high schools (grade 9-12).

Feminism: the policy or advocacy of political, economic and social equality for women.

CHAPTER 2
REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Relevant literature related to the research topic includes information which focuses on representation of women in educational administration, with emphases on internal and external barriers. This chapter seeks to explore different theories of power, gender, and organization; work/life collision; friendly/unfriendly iceberg; and different levels of consciousness as they relate to this thesis. Some theories introduce a wave of feminist thinking in education,

one that considers changes in theorizing about educational administration. It is important to emphasize feminist educational thinking because it shapes the educational landscape.

2.1 Representation of Women in Educational Administration

2.1.1 Women in Education

In this section statistics which present percentage rates of women who hold administrative roles are introduced. Also, three models that analyze women's under-representation in educational administration are presented.

Several research studies confirm the under-representation of women in educational administration (Gregory, 2003; Blackman, 2000; Coldron, 1998; Maskell, 1997; Pollard, 1997; Hudson, 1996; Maskell, 1996;). Female administrators in education are under-represented as a gender given that they make up more than 70% of the whole teaching profession (Gupton & Slick, 1996). Women administrators hold 5% of the superintendent positions, 20.6% of assistant superintendent positions and 30% of the principalships (Hudson, 1996). A survey conducted by The Executive Educator and Xavier University revealed that in the 1990's women held 39.7% of the elementary school principal positions, followed by 20.5% at the junior high/middle school level and, 12% at the high school level (Hudson, 1996). Throughout the United States, in nursery and primary education, one in three men is a head teacher, but the ratio for women is one to 14 (Maskell,1997). In secondary education there is a similar picture: one man in 27 is a head while only one woman in 97 achieves that level (Maskell,1997). In 2004 women held 49% of the elemetary school principalships followed by 28% at secondary school level (National Center for Education Statistics, 2005). Although a greater percentage of women obtained administrative jobs in the past decade, women have not reached complete parity with men. This slowness of the progress is discussed in the Conclusion chapter.

Historically, explanations offered for the under-representation of women in educational administration include women's inadequate preparation coupled with

their lack, as a gender, of natural leadership ability (Gupton & Slick,1996). Increasing numbers of women hold certification and degrees to qualify them for administrative positions (women received 11% of doctoral degrees in educational administration in 1972, 20% in 1980, 39% in 1982, 51% in 1990, and 60% in 1997)(Gupton & Slick, 1996; Logan, 1998). It seems reasonable to assume that most of these women indeed seek administrative positions.

Over the past two decades, several interrelated conceptual models have been adapted from the social sciences and used to explain the under-representation of women in educational leadership positions (Bell & Chase, 1993). The basic tenets of the three models most frequently cited by scholars of gender, and educational administration are discussed in this section. The three models are the individual perspective model, the systemic gender bias model, and the cultural model. Examples from practice are included to illustrate assumptions underlying each model.

The first model has been variously referred to in the literature as the "individual perspective", a set of concepts related to "internal barriers", and "person-centered explanations" (Shakeshaft, 1989). Despite these multiple labels, all seek to explain the persistent and continuing gender segregation in the profession from a psychological orientation. That is, they look to women themselves for "cause": personal qualities, abilities, or characteristics. Individual attitudes such as self-image and confidence, aspirations, and motivation also fall into this domain.

This model assumes that the most competent people are promoted according to their ability. When the focus is on person-centered causation, individuals (in this case,   women) are held responsible for their own problems. The solutions to those problems are then framed in terms of changing the defect or improving the individual. This focus is manifested in belief statements about women such as: they lack self-confidence, they don't want the power, they're just not assertive enough, and they don't aspire to line positions. In this perspective, women's lack of entrance into administrative positions is due to their own lack of knowledge, skill, willingness to work hard, etc.   Equality can thus only come about when women themselves change; when they become better educated, more motivated,

and more skilled. Critical theory indicates that women learn to accept their position as powerless. To aspire to a principalship, women, therefore, have to first address their own self-perceptions and the limits they learned as members of a powerless and oppressed group.

In contrast, the second conceptual model explains men's and women's differential career aspirations as an effect of the limited opportunities for women that accompany systemic gender bias. This model turns our attention away from the individual to the educational system itself, with its policies, and practices. It is the organizational structures that condition women's behaviors and attitudes in the workplace. This argument assumes structural barriers that work against the advancement of all candidates who are not White males (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). In other words if women cannot enter high power positions, it is not because they were socialized as females but because they are locked into low-power jobs. Tallerico and Burstyn (1996) described how the organizational structures and practices of education discriminated against women: "Men advance to higher levels because they are favored in promotional practices and …. Women cannot advance even if they choose"(p. 644). This model helps us not only to identify clear discrimination but to illuminate the tendency of current administrators to informally mentor candidates most like themselves. It can be argued that conditions such as recruitment and selection procedures that are managed largely by men, prevent women from seeking and obtaining administrative positions.

The third conceptual model looks for explanations in society as a whole, but not in individuals, or in educational systems, per se. Tallerico (1996) refers to this as "The women's place model", "the social perspective", and Shakeshaft (1989) as the "social structure of society [as] the root cause of inequities". All these emphasize cultural and social norms that encourage discriminatory practices. The ideology of patriarchy explains why men, and not women, occupy the formal leadership positions in school and society. The different ways that boys and girls are socialized into our culture, and sociocultural stereotypes about "what's ladylike" and "who looks like a leader" explain why there is lack of female role models in leadership positions, Therefore, for understanding

culturally defined roles a balance of career and family can be viewed as part of a much broader sociopolitical framework. Critical theory indicates that, because of male hegemony, women may perceive themselves to have few opportunities, and therefore limit their aspirations.

These three conceptual models that explain the reason for under-representation of women in educational leadership reflect longstanding debate over the causes. An assumption underlying each model is that the continued gender inequality in school administration must be more thoroughly understood to be remedied.

The following list of issues explains the reasons for women's failure to obtain higher educational positions:

1. The limiting impact of gendered expectations. Gendered expectations about male and female roles in society prevent women from fully participating in administrative positions.

2. Stereotypical expectations on the educational opportunities offered to women and their performance in the education system. The critical importance of stereotypical expectations is that women as well as men adopt predominant attitudes, values, and beliefs about appropriate division of sex roles within the education system. Patriarchy has the power to impose a world view on both men and women in which both genders conform to the roles expected of them. Patriarchy, as traditionally defined, has placed the father as the head of his line. The boy child will, himself, be viewed differently from the girl child. Stereotypes formed out of patriarchy thus impose a way of interpreting and behaving in the world. The more power these stereotypes hold the less people of either gender question those roles, and the more they conform.

3. The stress associated with gendered expectations of women's role. Combining both family and public roles simultaneously causes women to experience stress. The traditional sex roles are transformed within the household and family, and women's working place. Women who want to advance in their careers are more likely to experience stress because they are challenging the patriarchal hegemonic view.

4. The employment sector. Women in the teaching profession face obstacles in terms of recruitment and promotion. These obstacles arise out of patriarchy. Since there are no criteria for hiring administrative positions in education, more often hiring committees choose males over females (Gupton & Slick, 1996). This means that systemic patriarchal practices have not been changed over time, and gender discrimination still predominates in hiring and promoting practices.

5. The gendered nature of the leadership roles associated with the perception that the masculine leadership style is the only appropriate way to lead. The administrative role is usually perceived by both men and women as fundamentally a male role, and women administrators are unlikely to be seen meeting the role requirements (International Labor Organization, 1997).

Therefore, the leadership roles are perceived only as male roles and this perception is believed to have arisen from patriarchal hegemonic views. The aim of more thorough understanding led the researcher to conduct the present study. The discussion chapter, describes how the data from this study confirm and illuminate selected aspects of both the structural and cultural models. These models help us relate my specific inquiry into why some women face the broader problem of the under-representation in educational leadership roles. In following I situate the discussion within stereotyping roles, which is an integrated part of the cultural model.

Women learn from childhood the stereotyped role that emphasizes certain ways of thinking and behaving and the goals to which they ought to aspire (Blount, 1999). Family members, schools, communities, peers, media (in fact the entire culture) reinforce these stereotypical roles. Women are taught they should not aspire to senior leadership positions as they do not have the skills and abilities to be successful. They are also taught not to want to aspire to these roles, as successful women are defined as those who fulfil their wifely and child-rearing roles not those who follow a career path.

This stereotyping contributes to a glass ceiling in educational administration. This glass ceiling functions to block women's progression to the highest level of administrative roles (Wasserman, 2003; Roemer, 2003; Fieldren & et al, 2001; Hall, 1996). This glass ceiling in educational administration is often identified as

arising out of different perceptions of leadership style. Generally the adult male style is defined as authoritative (Grogan, 1996). Emotionalism and passivity are traits used to define the female style. Women are encouraged to play out a less aggressive and more dependent role than men, while male values and behaviors are still dominant in most organizations (Hall, 1996). These roles clearly identify the aggressive, achievement-oriented male as being the more preferable leader than the emotional and passive female. One example which indicates women's lack of promotion to leadership might be due to gender bias is revealed here.

Home (1998) searched for answers as to why so many women in Texas obtain their mid-management certification but remain unemployed in administrative positions. It was demonstrated that women faced numerous barriers, both internal and external, which they did not overcome. They may not have had enough passion and zeal to become administrators, or they may have had the goal when they were in graduate school in administration, but were discouraged when the support they needed failed to appear. The study concluded that it is possible that these women became aware at some point that one-on-one interaction in the classroom makes a better contribution to America's children. It can be speculated this rejection has its roots in gendered bias in a society. Another example which indicates that gender bias is rooted in society is reviewed here.

Wentling (1996) interviewed a sample of 30 women in middle management positions in 15 Fortune 500 companies and asked why getting women into corporations is not the same as moving them up. The study revealed that although women managers possessed self-confidence, high motivation, educational credentials, and high-quality work and interpersonal / people skills, they did not advance to senior management positions because they did not have the support of corporate leaders who could remove barriers that blocked their continued advancement. One of the barriers that hindered women's carreer development was gender discrimination.

The expectations for promotion to higher level positions are the reflection of a gendered view in a society. A gendered view about male and female roles in a society creates barriers for women seeking administrative roles. The barriers can be divided into: Internal and external barriers (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996).

Internal barriers are those that relate to how women perceive themselves, so the assumption is that women can exercise some measure of control over them. Internal barriers include sex role stereotyping; lack of aspiration; role conflict; and low self image. External barriers, on the other hand, are those over which women have little or no control. External barriers include: lack of encouragement; family responsibilities; lack of mobility; hiring and promoting practices; and race. Researchers acknowledge that some of the external and internal barriers relate to the "discrimination" and "social perspective" models that describe important barriers for women who seek principalship (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1989). Some of the internal and external barriers which relate to the two models are sex role stereotyping, family responsibilities, and hiring and promoting practices.

This study investigates the roles of internal and external barriers in women's pathway to principalship and indicates which barriers pose more problems when women seek administrative roles. This study also suggests a theory to overcome gender inequality which is the most important barrier in women's pathway to principalship.

2.2 Internal Barriers

2.2.1 *Sex Role Stereotyping*

Sex role stereotyping acts as an internal barrier when it is internalized by women and used as a standard to guide their behavior (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). It acts as an external barrier when others use their expectations of women, formed through their stereotypes, to shape their perceptions of women. This section will discuss and analyze the content of sex role stereotypes and demonstrate how these characteristics shape women's perceptions of themselves as inappropriately prepared for senior leadership roles. Also, different research studies that explore sex role stereotyping are discussed. Sex role stereotyping differentiates between masculinity and femininity and feminist theories are concerned with this differentiation. Therefore, different feminist theories are

analyzed to gain an understanding of sex role stereotyping. These theories will be critically reviewed and evaluated.

Children begin to learn the behaviors appropriate for their sex in infancy; therefore, the nuclear family provides the model for children's future relationships (Tonnsen, 1998; Grogan, 1996; Blount, 1993; Carter,1993). Children learn at a very early age that certain jobs are identified with either men or women (Koneck & Kitch, 1994). Because of sex role stereotyping, both men and women are conditioned to believe that women are not as capable of holding leadership positions as men (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). This is the cultural force of sex-role stereotyping that could result in the double-bind for women in management positions in schools. When only a minority of women hold senior management positions, then women are not evaluated in terms of their leadership abilities, but rather in terms of their identities as *women* headteachers. Furthermore, because of sex-role stereotyping people attribute occupational segregation [which stress most women into subordinate and caring/helping positions] to personality differences. Thus people assume that the submissive nurturing behavior of females results from female's personality characteristics, not the role requirements imposed by the work situation. These gender stereotypes constitute normative beliefs to which people tend to conform or are induced to conform. As children grow up to be adults they continue to conform to gendered expectations which are imposed on them from outside, and from their surroundings and [which shape] their own internal models of the world.

The baseline for cultural distinctions between men and women is the images of others and self that are formed by gender stereotypes. Men are generally thought of as independent, competitive, objective, and self-confident, while women are seen as dependent, not competitive, and lacking self-confidence (Coltrane and Adams, 1997).

Several studies (Dickenson, 2000; McDowell,1997) explain that sex role stereotyping can result in discriminatory practices and exclusion of women who seek administrative positions. Blount's study (1999) reported that to be selected for administrative positions, candidates needed to demonstrate higher standards of masculinity. The man selected could be a former collegiate athletic hero. As

Brunner (2002) indicated the most successful administrator is male, middle-aged, Republican, Anglo-Saxon, intelligent, and a good student.

Many employers assume that women are better suited to jobs that call for "domestic" skills like caring and they exclude women from some jobs based on their supposed vulnerability (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). Women far outnumber men in jobs that provide direct care to children, and they perform about 70% of the unpaid labor that includes child care, cooking, and cleaning (Coltrane, 1997). On the other hand most theories of masculine identity indicate that how men like to define their manhood in opposition to women and femininity, in the workplace (Coltrane, 1996; Connell, 1995).

Feminists are aware of the battle between masculinity and femininity and suggest that women's conditions should be changed and their self-determination should increase. In what follows I will describe feminist' theory that explains concerns for women's autonomy.

Feminism emphasizes the discontents of women and believes in a self-conscious female identity. Lerner (1993) indicates that the understanding of female identity is born out of "feminist consciousness". The feminist consciousness is composed of (1) the awareness that women belong to a subordinate group; (2) the awareness that women have suffered long as a group; (3) the awareness that the subordination of women is societally determined; (4) women's definition of goals and strategies for changing their condition; and (5) the creation of a different vision of societal organization in which women as well as men will enjoy self-determination and autonomy.

The images of women who appear to be transforming the face of organizational life, suggest that the feminist revolution has worked (Grant, 1997). Yet despite dramatic change in cultural understandings of men and women, gender still appears to be a major issue within organizational life.

To understand the gender issue and gender relations in organizations, both feminist theory and organization theory is discussed in the following section. To reveal the depth of this complex issue, this section aims to elaborate on the range of ways gender is enacted and generated across the practices and structures of organizational life. Existing research offers several ways of thinking about the

relationship(s) between gender and organization. There are three main alternative perspectives: liberal, structural and poststructuralist (Wajcman, 1998).

Liberal feminism argues that the equality for women can be achieved through legal means and social reform, and that men as a group need not be challenged. Liberal feminism asks to reform present "liberal" practices, rather than advocating for a wholesale revolutionary change.

Liberal definition of gender confronts the underlying sameness of women and men. The goal for liberal feminism has been to reveal this sameness by explaining how sex role stereotyping is promoting discrimination in organizations. Liberal feminists indicate that women and men possess the same capacities, particularly the same capacity for rationality. Liberal feminists argue that if rationality is often *seen* principally as a male trait, in contrast with feminine emotionality, that says nothing about what men, and women are really like. Rather, this assumption, indicates a long history of stereotyping that has privileged men and discriminated against women, causing them to have less authority, and less control over their lives. If (some) women have come to portray these stereotypes, this is the power of sex role conditioning or socialization, and should not be taken as proof of their reality (Grant, 1997). Liberal conception also reveals that organization is one of the arenas in which outmoded beliefs continue to operate. Since these beliefs are held by some men (and some women), and they are in key positions and make decisions about appointments or promotions, women are unable to fulfil their full potential and they are held back at work. Liberal understanding on gender and organization rely on two interconnected understandings of power. The first is concerned with the level of interactions between individuals. The second is focused on the question of power in relation to the organizational level. The liberal perspectives on gender and organization in understanding power hold that individuals may be able to exert their prejudices over other individuals to their disadvantage. For example, an employer may deny a woman promotion on the assumption of her poor commitment to the workplace and supposed emotionality. This explanation fits fairly with broader liberal understanding of power in instances where individuals are able to realize their will against the wishes of others (Clegg,

1989). There is no system of power relations which privileges a particular social group. Therefore, patterns of disadvantage are interpreted as a reflection of multiple individual exercises of power, rather than a coordinated conspiracy. The Liberal understanding on gender, power and organization denies the possibility of a ruling power elite. Certainly, the liberal perspective does not recognize absolute domination of power by men, nor do they see an absolutely open system of power relations.

In keeping with the liberal conception, Bachrach and Baratz (1963) indicate that power can only exist where there is conflict. Therefore, if women do not express any opposition to organizational practices, we can assume that power has not been exercised. Within this understanding therefore, individuals' interests are restricted through the operation of power, unless they recognize this. If they do not, we must assume the way they act is based on free choice.

The structural perspectives define power and gender in organization in the way that dominant social groups (white males, the ruling class) are able to control economic and social relations. Therefore, they do this to secure their own privilege, at the expense of oppressed others, which includes women. Structural perspectives on power emphasize two points, differentiating themselves from the liberal perspective outlined above. First, they believe that systematic power relations underlie all social relations. Power is exerted by the dominant social group, particularly white males. Second, power relations exist even where there is no observable instance of conflict.

The first point is simple enough. Power is not in the hands of individuals but of social groups who use their power to ensure their interests in social relations. Therefore, the focus is not on individual interactions but on the way society works as a system of power relations. The second point also differs with the liberal interpretation of power, which claims that power does not exist unless we see an agency prevailing over the opposition of another agency. By contrast, structural interpretation of power claims that individuals might be subject to the power of dominant groups, even though they believe that they are freely choosing to behave in certain ways (Foucault, 1986).

Structuralists argue that the liberal failure to see deeper social structures reinforces the system of discrimination and inequality. Therefore, gender differences are defined as a fundamental social division, rather than the actions of a few individuals, in which women serve the interests of those powerful social groups, particularly white males. (Franzway, 2001).

Poststructuralists deny any possibility of defining "woman" at all. Any attempt at definition is impossible without, reinvoking the mechanism of oppressive power. Poststructuralist interpretations of gender and organization are based on quite different understandings of power. There are three core principles here. First, they believe power circulates between *all* social actors, rather than being restricted in the hands of a dominant few. Second, power is defined as operating through the construction of 'truth' by language. Third, the way power operates through discourses indicates how people perceive themselves, others, and the world around them. First, poststructuralists criticize functionalist views that power is understood as a possession, and exercised by some who use it to limit the freedom of the powerless. This amounts to a critique that assumes power is intentional action that one actor or agency bends to another actor or agency' s will. Foucault (1986) acknowledged the general understanding of power as decentralized. Foucault (1986) argued that power does not belong to individuals or to one group or class over others. Instead, the *practice* of power is decentralised and everyone is part of its application.

The psotstructuralists believe that power and language are integrally connected. Therefore, they attempt to change the meaning(s) of what is true through language. They define language as to how we understand the world and ourselves. Thus, people interact through the possibilities offered to them through language. Power limits these possibilities which themselves (re) produce power.

Poststructuralism believes that rules and laws are structured through a system called language (Halford & Leonard, 2001). Language is then a social rather an individual phenomenon; we are not able to make up the rules, only we apply a pre-existing system. People are able to communicate with each other using codes of the language system and common rules (Hall, 1997). Poststructuralists argue

that there is always meaning in process, it is always being constructed and is never fixed and finite. Poststructuralists emphasize that what we call meaning is a momentary stop in a continuing flow of interpretations of interpretations (Halford & Leonard, 2001). Poststructuralists believe meaning is always deferred. This idea relates to the notion of how we understand the individual self. In liberal theorization, the self is seen as a free agent, who has a highly individual inner core or essence. However, poststructuralists replace this idea with the notion of the 'subject'. They believe individuals are a product of the specific cultural and historical locale. In other words, humans live a social rather than an individual project. Poststructuralist conceptions of gender stress the historical and geographical differences that exist between women and men. Poststructuralists argue that this kind of use of gendered categories can reinforce the fact that the differences between women and men are given and fixed (Foucault, 1986).

Each of these perspectives offers insights into the relations between gender and organization and power. The liberal perspective offers suggestions towards the politics of organizational change. On the other hand, the liberal perspective is criticized for not recognizing the broader picture of disadvantage. For example, most women still earn between 50 and 80 percent of men's wages (Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, 1995). In many organizations career opportunities are still substantially poorer for women than men (EOC, 1997). The process of stereotyping is an explanation for the existing patterns of inequality and recurring discrimination.

The structuralist perspectives define why and how gender discrimination is linked to deeper underlying system of inequality. However, these perspectives fail to see the full picture (Halford & Leonard, 2001). For example, individual experiences, which may differ from the grand scheme, are ignored. A change can be explained as a part of the larger conspiracy to keep minority groups in the subject position.

One of the strengths of poststructuralist accounts is that they do accommodate the diversity. However, there is no explanation of repeated patterns of discrimination among women and minorities (Halford & Leonard, 2001). The

similarities of people' s experiences are not acknowledged, nor are the advantages that accrue to many white males.

Various authors have also discussed their views regarding power. For example, Franzway (2001, p. 288) proposes that power 'induces pleasure, forms knowledge, and produces discourse'. She defines power as a productive network, which reaches into every part of the social relations. In contrast to the "modernist", conception of power is located in central and hierarchical structures. The understandings of power in feminism produce a binary formulation, 'us, the women' in opposition to the dominance of 'them, the men'.

As discussed above the choices at the smaller and local level are influenced by a larger system of power that structures action. This larger system is bound up with ideas about gender difference which mean that an individuals' power combines to reflect cultural conception of gender, and therefore sustain men's interests. However, these cultural understandings of gender are constantly redefined and challenged. In work organizations performances are bound up with individual identities, and changing gender identities may offer models of resistance and change (Blackmore, 1999).

The contradictory discussion of relations between gender, power and organization that is outlined in this section has to be considered seriously. In fact these multiple aspects have to be taken into account, in order to discover the relationships between gender, power, and organization. These multiple views are explored in this research study (Conceptual Framework section).

2.2.2   *Lack of Aspiration*

In this section, examples and reasons for women's lack of aspiration for administrative positions are explored. Lack of aspiration could relate to low self-esteem in women. Therefore, one analytical theory concerning how women can raise their self-esteem is discussed in this section.

Some research suggests that low aspirations are directly affected by women's internalization of their inferiority as ascribed by society through sex role stereotyping (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Wilkinson, 1991). Liu (2000) argued that

the higher demands on the professional role of women teachers make the conflict between self-respect and feelings of inferiority even more acute. Modern society demands professional career women should have self-respect, self-confidence, and make self-improvements. Because of traditional cultural images, some women teachers might feel inferior and lack confidence. Therefore, when women are challenged in work, they doubt their ability, and often stop advancing (Liu, 2000).

One theory by Stone and Cooper (2002) indicated that despite the discrepant beliefs and behaviors in a society women must increase their self-respect. Stone and Cooper (2002) proposed the arousal of self-esteem and cognitions about the self influence. Women must bring to mind more positive thoughts than negative self-attributes following a discrepant act. Positive cognitions about the self cause women to be *less* vulnerable to a discrepant behavior.

Some women are less oriented toward school administration than men (Riehl & Byrd, 1997; Gupton & Slick, 1996). Riehl, & Byrd (1997) presented profiles of female and male teachers' aspirations for school administration. They evaluated the data from the National Center for Education Statistics' 1987-1988 Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS). The study utilized national data to examine the status of trends over the past 20 years. The survey followed the careers of teachers over a two-year period; thus, the data set includes a random sub-sample of teachers who moved from teaching into school administration within this time frame. Of the 4,812 public school teachers who responded to both the base and follow-up surveys, 99 had become school administrators including 60 men and 39 women. Women were not as likely as men to want to leave teaching. Women teachers had degree credentials in educational administration at rates consistent with men's, indicating that they were interested in administrative work. But they were less likely to leave teaching, and less likely to apply for administrative positions. Therefore, based upon these measures, women teachers appear to be less oriented toward school administration than men. However, women were not assured of obtaining administrative positions even if they had the same qualifications and aspirations as men. It can concluded that one of the reasons for women to be less oriented toward school administration could be based on a

perception that teaching in a classroom is less demanding than administrative positions.

The stress associated with administrative positions may be a contributing factor for fewer women being interested in becoming administrators (Home, 1998). In Home' s study one woman found satisfaction in her teaching, saying, "For the last several years, being a resource teacher has been a joy and less stressful for me than when (I was) a regular self-contained elementary teacher (p. 3). I must be honest, I've not gone out of my way to search for an administrative position. I've not joined organizations or found a mentor to help me" (Home, 1998, p.3).

The current study aims at examining women's aspirations for administrative roles and exploring to see how important this factor is as women seek principalship.

2.2.3   *Role Conflict*

In this section, role is defined from a social psychological perspective. Also, role theories are discussed and analyzed. Both family and professional roles cause pressure for women who seek principalship. Therefore, different research as it relates to administrative roles and role conflicts for women is explored. Patriarchy is mentioned as a root cause of role conflicts.

Social psychologists define role as an individual's position, and status in the system of social relationships (Archer & Lloyd, 2002). Role theorists point to two distinct dimensions of role strain among women:

(a) role conflict from incompatible and simultaneous demands (Liu, 2000). One example is a mother who has responsibilities at work and has to take time off work to care for sick children). (b) role overload (insufficient time to meet all demands and the feeling of being "spread too thin" or "always playing catch-up")(Home, 1998).   An example is the single parent who is caring for her children and elderly mother and is unable to squeeze in study time between classes and a part-time job. Gendered expectations require women to perform the 'motherly' and 'wifely' roles in addition to their role outside the home while men

are not expected to take on these different roles. Single mothers of younger children can experience higher overload and work-family demand (Voydanoff, 1993).

Modern women have to juggle different life components such as school, family and social and personal areas. This multiplicity will cause role conflicts because of different demands of the roles. Society's primary expectation of women teachers is their professional role as educator. On the other hand, the woman teacher also has to fulfill her gender role in family relations. A woman is the center of the family and has to spend a great deal of time on household labor. As a mother, she has to be concerned with the daily life and development of her children (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). Wajcman (1998) examined 324 managers in high-technology multinational companies concerning their domestic arrangements. The resulting average weekly hours of housework (defined as cooking, cleaning, laundry, shopping and child care) for the women in the survey was 19 hours, whereas the average weekly total for men was 10 hours. Therefore, women do almost twice the amount of housework as the men, while they perform the same number of hours of paid work as the men.

In today's modern nuclear family, women do not have practical support from other members of the extended family and this places extensive pressure on women teachers (Home, 1998). Because of social progress and higher demands on the professional and family roles of women teachers, the conflicts between these multiple roles become even more acute (Liu, 2000). These conflicts together with perceptions of female weaknesses formed through thousands of years of history, cause contemporary teachers to have mental pressures and stress. Consequently, this could lead to conflict in their self-concept.

Conflict in women's self-concept because of different role expectations is reinforced by patriarchal views. One of the goals of this thesis is to analyze patriarchal hegemonic views and suggest ways to diminish family roles for some women so that they will be able to advance to administrative positions.

2.2.4   *Low self-image*

In this section a cycle theory that demonstrates how low expectation can become internalized and can consequently cause women's low achievement and low self-image is presented. Culture and society as the contributing factors to women's low self-image are also discussed.

A theory that explains how culture can create low self-image in women is discussed here (Quinn, 2004). The culture in a society conditions women to believe that they are not as capable as men for administrative roles. Women believe that they cannot succeed in leadership and consequently do not actively try to achieve leadership. Evidently, they demonstrate low achievement and low expectations. As these low expectations are internalized, they produce a low self-image in women. The following figure presents this theory.

Low expectation

Adult low
expectations are
 reinforced

Child recognizes that
people think s/he can not
succeed

Child demonstrates
low achievement

Child believes s/he can not succeed

Child either does not try or
child actively avoids learning
(because s/he 'knows' success
can not be achieved)
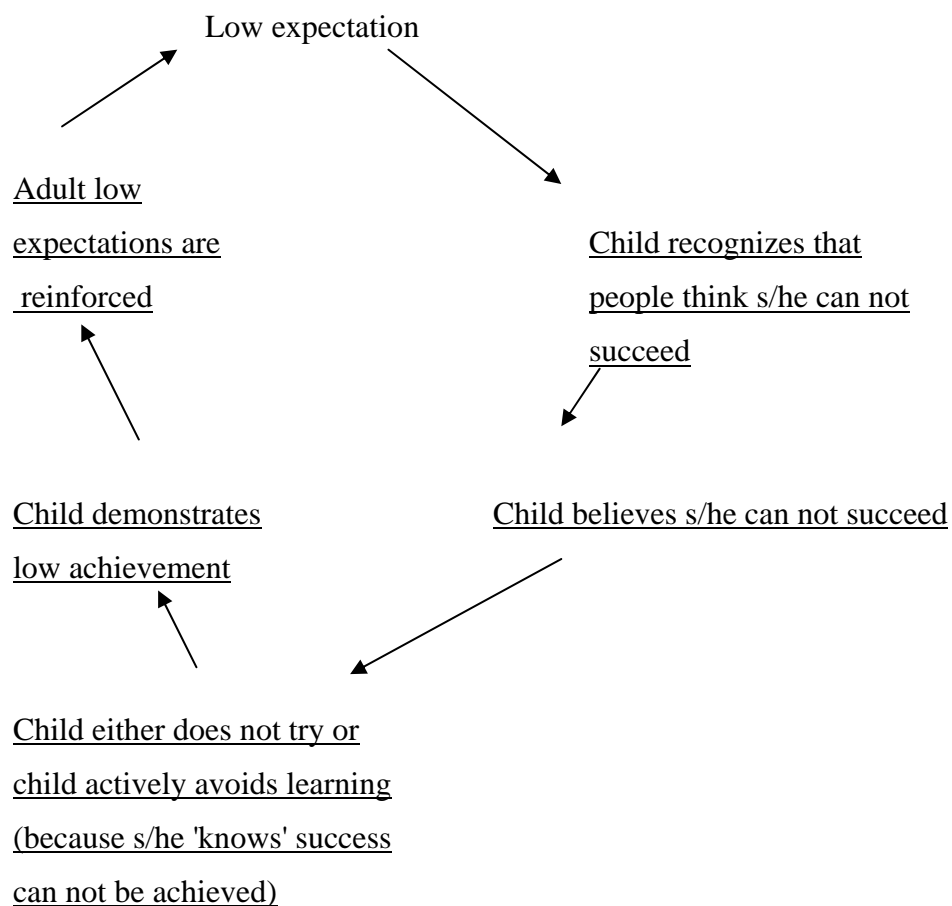
Figure. 1. Cycle Theory (Quinn, 2004)

Research indicate that women often admit they are reluctant to seek administrative positions (Aifeng, 2000). In the field of education, female principals are less likely than men to seek positions beyond the principalship (Liu, 2000). Society has conditioned both men and women to believe that women are not as capable of holding leadership positions as men. This belief leads to lack of confidence in women teachers. The impact of traditional ideas and values causes lack of confidence and feelings of inferiority in modern women teachers (Archer & Lloyd, 2002).

Some modern career women are relatively independent financially and have a stronger sense of self-reliance. Despite this fact, the traditional female mindset and her multiple roles in present-day life cause many women teachers to be unable to shake off the mentality of dependence on men. Since patriarchy has conditioned women to see themselves as inferior, it is unreasonable to expect women to achieve independence on their own. Some talented women teachers still wish to find husbands upon whom they can be dependent. Some women teachers would willingly give up their own career for the sake of their husband's (Liu, 2000).

This thesis examines women's self-image in seeking administrative roles through a questionnaire and interviews to explore whether this factor could be a barrier for groups of women who participated in the current study. Therefore, the results from this thesis will add to the existing literature about the role of women's low-self image in the field of education.

2.3 External Barriers

2.3.1 Lack of Encouragement

In this section, the importance of support and encouragement in women's pathway to principalship is discussed. The research pertaining to this issue is

explored and analyzed. The reason that women need more support than men to reach leadership positions and the reason that some women have resentment for female principals because of their patriarchal view are also analyzed.

Women principals claimed that encouragement was an important motivator more often than men (Gupton & Slick, 1996). However, women reported that they received less of the needed encouragement than did men (Home, 1998). Without having support and encouragement, it is very difficult for women to 'shake off' the gendered role they have learned throughout their lives.

One study indicated that women need to have a stronger support system among themselves (Gupton & Slick,1996). Women who aspire to, or assume an administrative position are often not even supported by other women in the profession. Frequently, some female administrators report that their female staff members are reluctant to accept them as leaders (Dickenson,2000; Gupton & Slick, 1996). The problem is that when some women break the tradition and assume positions usually occupied by males, which creates resentment in some traditionally oriented women.

Home (1998) reported the lack of support from colleagues, mentors, or administrators as one of major external obstacles for women who seek administrative positions. A woman in Home's study (1998) stated that women needed somebody to say, " You can do it."   One participant said, " Administrators get no support from the main office. Men still get those positions before women" (p.5). Another reported, "Our previous superintendent told me that school administrators should only be male" (Home, 1998, p.4). When asked if they had received support for moving into administration from their college or university, one woman said that a college professor had actively discouraged her from obtaining her doctorate, "I was told (a) because you are a woman you won't be able to get a job, (b) you will end up getting a divorce because you will be more educated than your husband" (Home, 1998, p.4). The lack of support reported by these women is significant, particularly in light of a study of successful female superintendents in Texas by Schroth, Pankake and Funk (1999) in which support and encouragement was found to be one key to women's

success. Early in their careers, women usually had a superintendent or principal, who encouraged them to move into administration from the classroom.

Women need more support as they enter administrative jobs. While both sexes are involved in presenting themselves to maintain an image of an authoritative manager, women have to work harder to be seen as competent because they are perceived as sexual objects. Therefore, women have more work to do than men simply to legitimatize their presence in management. As a result female managers are subject to a greater number of work-related pressures compared to their male counterparts (Gupton & Slick, 1996). This means that because of the additional stress of taking on a non-traditional role, women need more support as they enter a male-dominated world.

However, there are indications that the traditional, male-oriented management role is changing. Different studies indicated that other ways of being (McDowell, 1997, p. 204-212) may now be more highly valued in organizations (Brown & Scase, 1994). Having empathy, feelings and team work rather than having competitive attitudes are the new buzz words of management science (McDowell,1997). Bredesen (1998) believes that school principal roles are being reshaped and reconceived today. Literature on women in positions of power supports the notion that women administrators bring many characteristics necessary for school reform. If characteristics of an effective school administrator are redefined, this could erase gender stereotypes and focus on desirable characteristics that applicants (men or women) bring to the position. The impact of this on women's ability to obtain and keep management positions has yet to be analyzed, and this study will provide information about the experiences of women seeking to enter this new managerial environment.

2.3.2   *Family Responsibilities*

In the role conflict section, I touched on the issue of family responsibilities very briefly. In this section, I will elaborate and analyze how family responsibilities hinder women in their progress to administrative roles. Women

and men's situations regarding family responsibilities and the stress associated with family responsibilities for women are analyzed.

Home and family responsibilities are barriers for women in administrative positions (Home, 1998). Faced by both social and household options, as well as career and family, the great majority of women try to make the best of both worlds. Women are trying to balance a successful career and home and at the same time are attempting to establish acceptable social selves.

Statistics show that it is easier for men than for women to have both a family and a career (International Labor Organization, 1997). A survey of managers aged 35 to 64 in the United Kingdom found that 88 percent of male managers were married, compared to 69 percent of their female colleagues (Charlesworth, 1997). An important feature of managerial work is the long hours that both men and women have to spend at work in order to gain recognition and eventual promotion. Part-time managerial work is rare. Women who attempt part-time work early in careers may find less success in their advancement, and even if they return to full-time employment, their male counterparts may have invested heavily in career building during the same period (Wajcman,1998). Research indicates that women manage to do almost twice the amount of housework as the men and in addition they do the same number of hours of paid work as their male partners (Arber & Ginn, 1995; Wajcman, 1998). Women who desire both a family and a career often juggle heavy responsibilities in both domains. It can be practically impossible to reconcile the long hours of management work with the amount of time needed to care for a home and children. In this context, time is very much a gender issue.

Many women within educational administration are in the process of mothering and homemaking. These three gendered discourses require a large investment of time. A woman aspiring to be principal can find the contradictions inherent in the different discourses to be unworkable. Stress levels and time demands are the main issues (Eveline & Hayden, 2000). Women indicated that the tension they felt included (1) fear that they might fail as a mother, (2) pressure of maintaining relationships and , (3) maintaining household labor (Sharratt & Derrington, 1993) (see the discussion on Role conflict).

Home (1998) indicated that the barrier of family issues took priority over personal desires for women who have administration positions. Some women administrators' primary responsibility is to take care of the needs of their family. One of the women who had previously been an administrator but had moved back to the classroom said, " I really enjoyed being an administrator and hope to be one again in the future. I had to look at my career and my family and make a decision. I chose my family. So many of the women administrators I attend meetings with were divorced. I didn't want that to happen to me. When my children are older, I will pursue administration again" (Home, 1998, p.3).

Once women obtain administrative positions, often they will not stay in those jobs. More than one-third of women (443 women with jobs and families) in Home' s study (1998) had once been administrators but most often they returned to the classroom because of family constraints.

Many working mothers claim that the stress of child rearing do not seem to be as strong for men. As the director of the UK's Confederation of Business and Industry explains:

> I do feel guilty leaving them. Extremely guilty, especially when they are ill.
> When I get home in the evenings, they are usually too tired to read to
> me … Women have different life preferences than men. Men with families
> hang around at the end of the day, doing very little. Women, by and large,
> go home (Barker in Thomas, 1997, p. 6).

Although most researchers argued that the stress of child rearing is a barrier for women administrators, one researcher stated that today the stress of child rearing is diminished for women who are employed. Pocock (2002) believed that women's activities at home such as cooking and care of small children, are increasingly provided by the market. She discussed changes in Australia that some forms of market work are now being done at home, or in new ways. However, she believes workplaces, and the other institutions that frame them such as the law, the labor market, schools, preschools and institutions of care, have changed all too little. She represented a model of the work/ life collision (Appendix A) which is the Australian "Work/Care" regime that discusses change in work patterns and in family structures, with regard to unchanging labor market institutions, culture and practice.

The Collision: A model (Appendix A) presents the changing household pattern in Australia. This model indicates the collision between work and care and its consequences for life in Australia. Wajcman (1998) believes that rising consumption and changing behavior such as two income families with dependents cause a collision with unchanging behavior such as cultural expectations of motherhood and fatherhood. She indicated that care in childhood, and our efforts to live well are the casualties of the collision between the changing and unchanging spheres.

A quarter of Australian's households are now single person, and this has steadily risen over the last decade (Halford & Leonard, 2001). All this change is not mirrored in changes in cultures that shape behaviors at work, and at home. Australian households reveal that the work of women (domestic and care work) and models of motherhood and fatherhood are unchanged while workplaces have 'ideal-worker' at their center who is free from caregiving responsibilities (Pocock, 2002). Pressure is not new to Australian households and this pattern is repeated in many western/industrialized countries around the world (Glass & Estes, 1996).

In the U.S. the work-time squeeze is not new. Households with dependents, where single parents or both adults work, have always existed and always been time pressured. The presence of more women in part-time work is an indication of the failure of the workplace to keep up with the changing care loads of workers (Wajcman, 1998). The phenomena of women's double shift work and 'overwork' have been documented (Schor, 2003; Hochschild, 2003). In many workplaces part-time work has poor job security and lower rate of benefits relative to full-time work (Franzway, 2001). Those who voluntarily work part-time seek paid jobs that sit more comfortably with their lives. However, many find themselves paying a big price for their adaptation. Therefore, feminism seeks the redistribution of work and care.

Feminism's claims about the work / care collision emphasizes changes in paid work and redistribution of work and care at home (Schmuck, 1996). Franzway (2001) believes the private sphere of family, which includes domestic labor and caring work and self-care as well as intimate relationships, is the inescapable

'greedy institution' for women. The family, according to Coser (1974) is the greedy institution which dominates women's lives.

The 'family friendly' measures focus on changing the workplace through special - or increasingly 'Work / Life balance' initiatives (Appendix B)(Pocock, 2002). These include sick leave to care for sick children, flexible start and finishing times, and job sharing (Wajcman, 1998; Brannen et al, 1994). The Family Friendly/Unfriendly Iceberg model is presented in Appendix B- the visible tip of the iceberg - (promoted 'family friendly' measures) outweighed by significant changes in the lower bulk of the iceberg (care and community along with nature of work itself). The lower bulk of this iceberg indicates family unfriendly changes at work: hours and insecurity. If the lower bulk of this iceberg remains invisible, many workplaces, families and individuals will founder upon it. Women must make the invisible obvious and clearer for the purpose of changing the women's workplace.

The key to understanding this model is the role of organizations in our lives. The contribution of the present study is to reveal women's experiences with the education organization and to analyze the power of this organization. Glass and Estes (1996) speculate that if mothers do not, for example, have access to paid leave when they have a baby, or there is little support for extended periods of parental leave, the households and perhaps our birth rate will reflect the consequences. The fall of birth rates is the focus of public concern because it can create social and economic problems in industrialized countries (Lisle, 1996). If the population base - and its tax payers -shrink who will pay to care for the sick and aged. It is clear that 'work/care' regimes affect fertility outcomes though the extent of this effect is not obvious. The key question is, however, what regimes of work and care result in a steady birth rate and a good life?

This thesis examines both women's role in their family and career and suggests ways to reduce stress for some women by reducing family responsibilities.

2.3.3   *Lack of Mobility*

In this section research that reports mobility as an obstacle for women's leadership is analyzed. Also, the reason for women refusing to be relocated for for promotion is analyzed.

A long-term commitment and mobility were the main requirements for a management career in many workplaces. In fact mobility is a critical feature of employment. Some work organizations have reported increases in numbers of female managers who refuse to relocate even for promotions. Some women who are successful in promotion and career terms are perhaps a particular group of women, who rejected or limited the demands of family life on their careers.

Even though there are no guarantees, mobility does help women to get good jobs in educational administration. One study suggested both married and single women are less interested in relocation than men, with 83 percent of the men, but 52 percent of the women willing to relocate for a new job (Home, 1998). Family issues can be a barrier for a relocation (Home, 1998). One woman whose husband was also administrator said, "It is difficult for spouses to both hold administrative positions, especially in rural areas….when we relocate, it is difficult to always find an administrative position for me-- thus, it is less complicated, career-wise, to be a classroom teacher" (Home, 1998, p.3).

One study indicated that mobility remained a major obstacle for women who had succeeded in entering the managerial position, and even when they chose to relocate because of their husbands they had to begin again at the junior supervisory level (Lam,1993).

Another study explained women who were single or younger were interested in relocation but rejected relocation later in their life because they did not want to interrupt family life (Wajcman, 1998). However, this trend is changing because some women, both single and married, are giving higher priority to their careers (McDowell, 1997).

Women have been denied promotion because they were not willing to relocate for the sake of their families. Men have been over-represented in the senior management positions, but have been denied responsibilities of full partnership and parenthood. In most organizations men's career patterns (of continuous service and regular promotion progress) become the accepted career model. But

when women's careers are 'interrupted' and display fewer achievements, then women's careers are considered 'imperfect'. It is part of the career identity of many women to take a break from their paid work in order to care for their children. Thus by postponing new responsibilities, women might decline training opportunities and delay career decisions.

The solution to these issues is not easy and has not been forthcoming. Legislation and social policy are limited in producing attitudinal and social change. One solution could be reconciling the experiences of unpaid and paid work aspects of careers to the benefit of women.

In analyzing these issues one of the aims of the present study is to highlight the difficulties which the concept of career itself presents for women. With the present study, a wider interpretation and a clearer understanding of gender differences in careers will be achieved, and this research would promote increased flexibility for individual career builders as well as heightening awareness, responsibility and responsiveness in work organizations, and professions such as principalship.

2.3.4   *Hiring and promoting practices*

In this section research concerning hiring practices and sex discrimination for women who seek principalship is explored. Also, the reason for continuing sex discrimination in hiring practices is analyzed.

Since there are no criteria for hiring administrative positions in education, more often hiring committees choose males over females (Morris, 1999; Gupton, & Slick, 1996). It is documented that people tend to hire those like themselves; therefore, it is possible that white males hire only white males. Women in teaching profession face obstacles similar to those in other sectors, in terms of recruitment and promotion. An exceeding number of women suffer from acts of sex discrimination (Gregory, 2003).

Home (1998) reported sexual discrimination as one of the external barrier for women who seek principalship. One woman in Home' s study (1998, p.4) said, "Women who reach principal must be very career-minded and very obedient.

People who ask pointed questions or behave in non-traditional ways do not get promoted." Another respondent said, "I feel Anglo female administrative applicants have definite disadvantages. The educational field of administration is difficult for Anglo women because the administrative positions were mainly filled by Anglo males for so many years that with new minority requirements by the courts, Anglos are the lowest group hired and Anglo females are extremely low on the list" (p.4). Another respondent said, "They wanted a man; I didn't have experience; the school wanted someone from outside the district; the interview was only for show. The school board had already asked someone to be principal" (p.4).

The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, stipulated that women must not be treated less favorably than men in education, training or employment (Wajcman, 1998). Although, the law claims that women have the right to apply for positions, this does not ensure women equality in gaining the positions. Equal opportunity does not result in equal participation. Many feminists have pointed out that equal opportunity policies take an over-simplistic view of the problem of inequality (Blackmore, 1999). Some feminists indicate that equality can be achieved by treating women the same as men (Blackmore, 1999). They believe the legislation and associated policies are offering only formal equality. Even the anti-discrimination law acknowledges women's difference in some circumstances (Wajcman, 1998). Shakeshaft (1989) indicated the response in policy and practice was to allow women to enter in the educational organizations with understanding that the women who gained admittance would conform to the male "scripts" which dominated organizational relations.

Researchers agreed that over the past 25 years, legislation on gender equality have not much influenced the employment practices of educational institutions (Sharp, Melone, & Water, 2000). There has been a significant increase in the number of women who are preparing for careers in educational administration, and while gender equity legislation and affirmative action policies have been enacted, women continue to be underrepresented in administrative positions in schools. Although women constitute more than half of the doctoral students in

educational administration, they only occupy about one-fourth of the administrative positions in the field (Gupton & Slick, 1996).

Some researchers believe that in order to counter inequitable gender representation in organizations, we need to raise administrators' consciousness around the issues of gender. They suggested as a result of raising consciousness, policy changes about gender inequality might occur. Wallace (1998) suggested a conceptual framework (Appendix C), that indicated in order to raise conciousness, we should become aware of three levels of consciousness and employ the level of consciouness that helps for understanding "Others" in relation to "I". She identifies three levels of consciousness, which discuss possibilities for transforming theory, policy, and practice around different roles in workplace. The three levels of consciousness are: Normative, Prescriptive, and Historically Operative Consciousness. Normative Consciousness discusses "Other" are an object in one's field of experience for achieving one' goals. "Other" is understood in terms of universal concepts. Prescriptive Consciousness reveals "I" knows "Others", not in relatedness to the universal, but rather in its particularity. "I" objectifies "Other's" history, destroys its real claim to meaningfulness. "I" is really claiming to be master. Historically, Operative Consciousness indicates "I" knows "Other" through authentic openness, wills to hear rather than to master, and accepts modification by "Other".

Three discursive patterns emerge from these levels of consciousness: Conservation, Conciliation, and Conversation. Conservation pattern emerges from Normative Consciousness explains "I" seeks to use power to contain "Other's" resistance. Conciliation pattern emerges from Prescriptive Consciousness reveals although "I's" intent is more benign toward "Other", "I" still act as a gatekeeper to access to social privilege. Conversation pattern emerges from Historically Operative Consciousness indicates "I's" prejudgments are open to change. Three level of responses emerge from these three patterns: 1. Coercive response from Conservation pattern which indicates difference from the normative "I" is perceived as dysfunction; 2. Remediation response from Conciliation pattern which believes "other's" perceived deficit and dysfunction; 3. Transformative response from Conversation pattern which indicates that policy

and practice assume both "I" and "Other" have equal rights in society. Wallace (1998) belives if administrators in organizations know the different levels of consciousness and choose transformative responses which indicate that "I" and "Other" have equal rights in society we can counter gender inequality in organizations.

Othe researchers (Gadamer, 1997; Worrall, 1995) also believe in raising consciousness as a way of countering gender inequality in workplace. Gadamer (1997) believes consciousness emerges from within a dialectical awareness of "I/Thou" which is formed by life experience and the individual will. The framework reveals that the lived experience produces understanding between "I/Thou" and indicates that "understanding is not an act *of* man [sic] but an event *in* man" (p. 13), and these understandings shape policies and practices. The validity for her conceptual framework is based on her belief "Consciousness is the highest form of morality" (p. 13). Between consciousness and response are discursive spaces which are characterized as conservation, conciliation, and conversation (Corson, 1993). In this conceptual framework, gendered values are contested within this discursive spaces. Worrall (1995) believes because resistance to changing levels of consciousness remains a dilemma, theory about raising consciousness around issues of gender is essential in order to counter gender inequality in organizations.

It can be concluded that (1) equal opportunity policies and procedures (hiring and promotion policies) are not effective because they do not change people's underlying attitudes and practice (2) change comes through reflection of self observation so people can realize the attitudes influencing their practice (3) change at societal level might only occur when most individuals have undertaken this reflection and change their own attitudes and practices.

Certainly much of the opposing changes to the gendered status reflect the notion of maintaining society' traditional roles and values. One of the main intentions for conserving gendered norms, whether conscious or unconscious, was "keeping" women silent in the social interchange (Gadamer, 1997). In fact, the story of feminist literature is to emerge from silence and to speak our own experience. As Dunlap and Schmuck (1995) write:

The twentieth-century struggle for women has been to find our individual

and collective voice in order to proclaim our individual and collective significance

….Women's voices have been silenced, or not heard, because of the presumption

that women's lives and work consist of the mundane and the ordinary, thus their

stories are inconsequential. Too often, women, too, believe they have nothing

important to say, so they become silent". (p.2)

Gendered values have served to silence women's voices, but if women's experiences are named then their voices may be heard (Shakeshaft, 1998). The aim of this thesis is to name and give voice to the experiences of women educators.

Also, the aim of this thesis is to suggest tactics to overcome the issue of gender inequality because clearly none of the strategies have succeeded in countering gender discrimination and gender inequality. Therefore, this study provides specific suggestions that can be used to develop effective strategies in trying to achieve equality between men and women (see Discussion Chapter).

2.3.5   Lack of Networking

In this section the disadvantages of women's lack of networking for career development is explored. Also, the reasons for women's lack of networking in organizations and the shortcomings of some women's networks are analyzed.

Networks are a form of organization considered to have general application. They emphasize reciprocal and non-hierarchical relationships, which are considered particularly appropriate to the needs and preferences of women's organizations.

White males have known for a long time that networks are important for career success. Variously termed the "Old Boy Network" or "Good Old Boys" network, these networks developed through school ties, or social organizations, such as country clubs. These networks serve an instrumental function in providing career related information as well as sharing good fortune (Ibarra, 1993). In essence, networks provide resources, such as information, feedback, and social support, to the individual. For women, who have lack of access to

information and social support in the workplace, effective networking is crucial for career success (More and Webb, 1998).

Women who seek administrative positions often find that informal networks of administrators control the recruitment and selection process (Linehan, 2001). Women usually do not have access to the kinds of informal contacts that usually ensure advancement in a career. Most women feel left out because the "old boy network," a male communications network among school administrators, exchanges professional and personal information that often deals with job advancement and placement opportunities (Fagenson, 1994).

One study suggests women networking can provide a support group of people who have had similar experiences (Knouse and Webb, 2001). However, Linehan (2001) argued that women are capable of forming networks, but their networks are less efficient because they are not integrated in organizations. The study also suggested that, although it is beneficial for women to be involved in these networks, there are still more benefits to be gained from networking in the established male-dominated groups, because power is still predominantly held by men in organizations.

Linehan (2001) indicated that, throughout Europe, the "old boy network" is still strong in most organizations. Research conducted in Denmark by Albertsen and Chistensen (1993) indicated many established networks in Denmark in which women are not allowed to participate. In the U.S., extant research indicates that women are excluded from informal networks (Smith & Hutchinson, 1995). Women are excluded from "old boy" networks which have been composed of males who had power in the organization (Linehan, 2000).

The exclusion of females from male networks perpetuated the more male customs and negative attitudes towards female administrators. The detrimental effects of exclusion from male networks could be blocked promotion, discrimination, and lower salaries.

The benefits of networking include: exchange of information regarding host organizations, career and personal development, career planning, and professional support and encouragement (Linehan, 2001).

Women who have not had the benefit of mentors in their careers would benefit from networking. According to Burke and McKeen (1994), studies on both networking and mentoring suggest some similarities. Both peer relationships and mentors can facilitate personal and career development. Mentors are particularly important at the early stages of career development while networking can be useful at all stages in career development. Through networks, peer relationships are developed which are different from mentoring relationships in that they are not hierarchical, and involve a two-way communication.

This study examines the role played by organizational networks in women's advancement to administrative roles and highlights the benefits of being part of organizational network for the career development of female teachers.

2.3.6   Race

In this section different research studies concerning race are explored and analyzed. Tallerico (2000) wrote that studies of corporate managers and higher education administrators do not identify the presence of black women. In 1988, the Office of Women in Higher Education (OWHE) reported of the 296 women administrators in higher education, 38 (12.8%) were women of color, 20 or 6.5% were African Americans, 13 were Latinos, four were Native Americans, and one was Asian American (Ramey, 1995). In 1992, the OWHE reported of the 348 women administrators in higher education, 50 (14%) were women of color, 26 or 7.4% were African Americans, 17 were Latinos, five were Native Americans, and 2 were Asian Americans (Ramey, 1995). At Black Women's Colleges, black female college presidents are extraordinarily rare, which is an indication of the persistent male control of Black institutions generally (Gooden, 2002).

Brunner and Peyton-Caire (2000) believe the traditional educational administration curriculum and programs continues to be dominated by white males. The common explanation, that white male dominate educational administration positions has the negative side effect of limiting the number of people of color in the ranks of administration.

Ramey (1995) questioned a sample of African American women administrators about their difficulties in achieving their positions. It was not surprising that the most cited barrier for her respondents was racism. Some respondents believed if they competed for a job with a European American, male or female, racism would exclude them from the position. For example, one woman believed that racism prevented her from getting promoted at a comparable rate as one of her European American male colleagues even though they had received their advanced degrees at about the same time. The respondents indicated that some European American women present barriers to the professional advancement of African American women. This barrier is sometimes referred to as the "Queen Bee Syndrome"; which implies as in a hives of bees, there can only be one queen. Comments from respondents who referred to this situation included:

> "I had a white woman boss who was racist".
>
> "Often institutional policies work against you. Coalitions are built
> to prove your incompetence. Interestingly, women - particularly
> white women - build coalitions with white men. They see me as vulnerable
> and not one of them. Therefore, they are quite willing to hurt me".

Black feminist writers argue that the experience of black woman and men can not be described or understood through white concepts and that 'gender' and 'class' have been conceptualized in essentially white terms. Therefore, any analysis of gender and organization that does not take into account black/white difference will also fail to account for black women's (and men's) experience of organizational life.

Many black feminist writers believe whites as a social group have dominated and subordinated blacks, as a social group (Mirza, 1998). Some black feminists explain this history of white dominance within established structural theories. Angela Davis, for example, explains racism as part of the dynamics of class oppression (Halford & Leaonard, 2001). Also, racism is understood as a set of structural relations, not derived from any other 'non-race' social dynamics.

Throughout the literature the experiences of black women who must hurdle double barriers of gender and race are infrequently addressed. Minority women have a double hurdle to overcome: both race and gender (Montenegro, 1993).

Some women in Ramey' study (1995) expressed confusion and difficulty when asked to determine whether they had experienced racism or sexism. In illustration of this, one respondent claimed "Impediments exist because of my race and gender and it is hard to separate the two. I'm seen first as Black then as a woman. It is assumed that if I did something well, someone helped me. It couldn't be just me" (p. 116). Information about informal political reality concerning other women has not been addressed effeciently compared to white middle class women. One young working class teacher of Italian background indicated,

> there is gender *and* class *and* ethnicity. My parents are immigrants. But it is not
> that they brought me up as passive or submissive. As one of two daughters I was
> able to do what I liked. But basically our perceptions of ourselves as women are
> not as great leaders due to the culture we came from. I was very shy and we were
> brought up as good girls who were seen and not heard in the 1950s … and this
> makes us doubly disadvantaged. It haunts us. We were never expected to be
> leaders, or to beat the boys. And in class I was better than the boys but I had to
> shut up …. I never promoted my intelligence in high school because it always got
> me thumps over the head by other kids - girls and boys. Even smart boys copped
> it in this school. I can feel all this creep up on me in interviews for promotion
> now … it is ingrained into me, like a stain that will not go away no matter how
> hard you try to scrub or bleach it out. Women of that time, particularly of migrant
> parents, have that disadvantage built in (Blackmore, 1999, p. 198).

This immigrant felt her background and 'poorer' English skills, were additional disadvantages of being a woman.

> I don't really see why that is the case. It should be what you have achieved and
> how others, the principal, have perceived this and not someone who can talk
> about it only …. and the thought that I will probably do badly on interviews
> anyway, and that I would be deluding myself that I could get a promotion has
> meant I have put off working on my c.v. (Blackmore, 1999, p.198).

In England, race discrimination legislation provided precedents for men and women of color but there was no central enforcement agency. Race discrimination relied upon the local 'partnerships' between local education authorities, the Department of Education and Science, and teachers (largely through unions) to embrace race discrimination legislation. However, education was exempt from the law in many instances. The assumption was that with

increased knowledge of the issues, race discrimination would resolve. In England, by the mid-1980s, it was lack of political will and not lack of information that led to non-action, and by 1987 there was no explicit policy statement and no inquiry into race.

One of the aims of this study is to explore the possibility of race discrimination that operates within organizations acting to block minority women's promotion and advancement to leadership.

2.3.7   *Age*

In this section the barrier of age and its role in women's advancement to administrative positions is explored. The section discusses and analyzes the effect of the barrier of age discrimination on women's careers. Among industrialized countries, the United States has the best-established legislation (Taqi, 2002). Age discrimination laws "have been adopted at the federal level and by most states. The principal federal legislation is the Age Discrimination in Employment Act, adopted in 1967"(Taqi, 2002, p. 116). Specifically aimed at protecting workers over 40 years of age, this Act prohibits discrimination in recruitment, termination and most other aspects of employment. Other countries that have age discrimination laws "are Australia at the state and territorial level (federal legislation has been proposed but not yet adopted; however, the majority of workers come under jurisdictions which do have such laws), Canada (with some variations in legal provisions among jurisdictions), Finland, Ireland and New Zealand"(Taqi, 2002, p.116).

Age discrimination is not unlawful in the U.K. Currently, in the U.K. only sex, race and disability discrimination are prohibited by law, "although there is now a Code of Practice on Age Diversity (Age Diversity in Employment, 1999) issued in June 1999 after a consultation process and the publication of a draft code in 1998 (after which, further consultation was undertaken)" (Benny, 2000, p.270). Since the Code is not backed by legislation, its impact is likely to be minimal. A survey (Employer awareness of the Code of practice on age diversity, 1999) in the U.K. indicated about one-third of employers surveyed said

that they did not know about the Code and almost 70% of employers revealed that they would not change their employment practices to combat ageism at work (Benny, 2000).

In connection with the employment of older workers, the use of stereotypes is common throughout the workplace. Negative employer perception of aging are expressed in these commonly held stereotypes (Taqi, 2002):

* Older workers are resistant to change, and less likely to
  accept new technology.
* Older workers are less active than younger workers.
* The employee benefits costs for older workers are higher than those for
  younger workers.

Stereotypical thinking is especially common in employment decisions and affects the careers of older workers, and negatively impacts female workers. The literature review on age reveals only small amount of research about age in administration positions (Ramey, 1995). The results from a survey done on African American women from the 129 California four year institutions of higher education showed approximately 63% of the women administrators were between the ages of 40-60 years olds, with the majority of them in their fifties (Ramey, 1995). The study yielded a profile of a group of young women in their late 30s to late 40s, most of whom were educated at historically white colleges and universities. One reason that a majority of women were in their fifties when they were in administrative roles could be to the fact that women might postpone their career promotion for the sake of their family. This means that they might be older at the time employment for administrative positions. However, for men family is less of a barrier for advancement and promotion in career (Home, 1998).

This fact is supported by one study that looked at men's age and employment. The study indicated that age was not a significant barrier for employment particularly when education and academic degree were achieved. Stenberg & Wikstrom (2004) analyzed age data on Swedish male employment and education. Employment and education with at least one academic degree were measured.

The result from Stenberg & Wikstorm' study showed a significant effect of education on employment for all age groups.

The present study analyzes the age of a group of women (those who answered the questionnaire and participated in interviews) in this study, and determines whether women experienced age discrimination in their pathway to administrative positions.

2.4   Summary

The literature review indicates that women are under-represented in educational administrative positions. Obstacles in women's pathway to principalship have been reviewed. These obstacles are divided in two groups: internal barriers; and external barriers. Internal barriers are: sex role stereotyping; lack of aspiration; role conflict; and low self-image. This perspective basically blames the victim for her lack of achievement in school leadership (Shakeshaft, 1989). External barriers include: lack of encouragement; family responsibilities; lack of mobility; lack of networking; age and race; and hiring and promoting practices. This perspective suggests women are locked into low-power jobs by society (Collard, 2001).

This research mainly deals with presence of barriers. Only one study indicated how presence of different barriers are perceived by women who aspire to the principalship (Wilkinson, 1991). The present study provides new knowledge about changes in barriers to women's principalship in the past decade in comparison to Wilkinson's study. This study provides new data about barriers encountered by women who seek principalship. It is of interest to determine the barriers encountered by women holding senior level administrative positions, and women who did not succeed for these positions in education by asking them the following questions: did they experience any difficulties in achieving their positions; are they experiencing any difficulties now in holding these positions or in advancing beyond them; and did they have any special support systems that helped them; what was the reason for women who were qualified but did not obtain administrative positions. What are the difficulties experienced in

obtaining administrative positions for women with different ethnic backgrounds. There are other very important questions. How did women administrators achieve their success in these predominately male institutions? Did they have a mentor or a role model? This study presents answers to these questions obtained from women who are administrators and women who have not become administrators. The answers from these women help other women in education as they ascend to leadership positions. Their answers may also assist other minority administrators in fostering a nurturing and supportive environment for the advancement of women in education.

This study provides answers to how gender stereotypes operate in organizations by exploring the relationship between gender, power, and organization. In reviewing the literature different feminist theories about power and its influence on gender equality were identified. Therefore, this thesis will analyze these theories in connection with results that have been obtained from this research (Discussion Chapter). This thesis will add to the literature by presenting a new approach to the slow progression of gender equality and by providing an answer as to why women still experience gender discrimination.

This study will analyze theories such as work/life collision and the family friendly/unfriendly iceberg by Pocock (2002) (Discussion Chapter) to gain an understanding of the barrier of family responsibilities and its relation to gender equality in the light of results. These theories were convincing as to how barriers such as family and paid and unpaid work can operate as a major barrier in women's careers. The Theory of different levels of consciousness by Wallace (1998) indicated that there might be a hope for solution to gender equality. Therefore, this theory will be analyzed as one way to overcome the gender inequality.

The issue of women's under-representation in educational administration is complex; therefore the solution will be complex. This study will help determine where the problem is located (eg in the individual or in society) and that will help determine what solutions are likely to be more effective in addressing these barriers. Locating the problem within the women themselves leads to strategies focusing on skill training for the women to address the problem. Locating the

problem within society and social structures such as racism and gender discrimination [ie the macrosystem (Brofenbrenner, 1979)] leads to strategies focusing on changing societal attitudes and practices (eg public education campaigns, anti-discrimination policies and procedures etc). These approaches have also been attempted in various ways over the past decade, and although there have been some changes, there is still work remaining to be done. Clearly the issue will not be resolved by either of these approaches alone. This study aims to investigate further what the women themselves perceive as barriers so that we can propose strategies for addressing the problem that might better reflect the complexities in their lives.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

This chapter presents the theoretical framework for the research and the methodological approach for both Part 1 and Part 2.

The theoretical framework explores different theories for the purpose of understanding barriers that hinder women' s advancement. Different theories are explored also for the purpose of creating a conceptual framework for this study. The methodological approach for Part 1 includes sampling, research questions, instrument (questionnaire), procedure, analysis, and presentation of data analysis. The validity and reliability and the ethical considerations are also presented. The methodological approach for Part 2 includes research questions for interviews, sample, procedure, and analysis.   Justification for the preferred method is provided.

3.1   *Theoretical Framework*

3.1.1   *Background:*

Throughout most of the history of American public education, women have been under-represented in administrative positions in elementary and secondary schools, relative both to their participation in the teaching force and to their proportion of the general population. The lack of gender balance raises the question of whether women are treated inequitably with regard to administrative hiring. In this study, barriers to the development of administrative careers for women in education are explored.

The theories of gatekeeping (Lewin, 1947), career mobility (Riehl and Byrd, 1997), and ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) were chosen to understand the barriers that hinder women in their pathway to principalship. The goal was to explore how these women perceived these barriers as they sought principalship.

It was crucial to discover what supports these women had experienced and the effect for them when they attempted to gain a principalship. It was helpful to investigate if women had the support in their pathway to principalship, and how this support impacted their ability to overcome barriers, and also how this support might have impacted their perception of the barriers. Women's perceptions of the barriers and the strategies used to overcome the barriers contributed to a more comprehensive understanding of women's experiences. The purpose was to know how they explained barriers that they battled with. I wanted to know how to assist other women with similar experiences. In order to answer this question it is important that I have a deep appreciation of the meaning of the experiences and barriers for these women. To understand the meaning of these women's experiences and their barriers the theories of gatekeeping, career mobility, and ecological systems are explored and evaluated.

3.1.2   *Discussion of theories:*

Several interrelated concepts are applicable to this study, including gatekeeping, career mobility, and ecological systems. In the next three sections, the relevance of each model is explained.

3.1.2.1   *Gate keeping*

Gatekeeping theory was developed by Lewin (1947) and amplified by Shoemaker (1991). Lewin's (1947) "theory of channels and gate keepers" views superintendent selection as a flow process involving the passage of applicants through a variety of "channels", most of which are composed of multiple subdivisions or "sections" (p. 146). Although this model was developed within the context of new recruits to superintendency, it holds explanatory potential in understanding schoolteachers' attaining building-level administrative positions.

For example, Lewin (1947) identifies that channels have different starting points, and these channels converge to an endpoint where only one candidate emerges successfully through the final selection. In the case of the principalship,

for example, some channels begin with applicant self-nomination, others with recruitment by school board and a superintendent.

Important keys to Lewin's (1951) gatekeeping theory are that each section of channels in a process has "in" or "out" decision points (that is, gates). These gates are controlled either by "a set of impartial rules" or by persons with differing degrees of power who are variably constrained or facilitated by multiple forces (p. 186). The forces may be different in different sections of the channel.

To illustrate, in the context of principal selection, the impartial rules may be a set of academic or certification standards used as minimum requirements to screen all applicants. A superintendent may control early interviewing gates, whereas farther down the flow channel, school board members may exercise increased control over decisions among semifinalists for the position.

Shoemaker (1991) extends Lewin's metaphor arguing that many more complexities are involved in gatekeeping processes besides impartial sets of rules and individual gatekeepers' decision making. She underscores the influence of a profession's routines and organizational norms. For example, gatekeeping processes focus exclusively on particular gatekeepers' characteristics such as their attitudes, biases, and thought processes.

Thus, Shoemaker (1991) distinguishes between gatekeepers acting as individual decision makers and their personal reflecting and reinforcing their profession or institution. She emphasizes that "organizations hire the gatekeepers and make the rules" (p. 53). Tallerico (2000) indicates the connection between the individual and institutional levels. She argues one era's patterns of individual gatekeeping decisions can become the subsequent era's selection norms.

Shoemaker's (1991) analytic model integrates cultural forces (e.g., ideologies, societal interests) that determine which information or individuals advance beyond particular gates in any social system. According to Shoemaker, "Of the many forces that surround the gates, some of the most important operate at the social system level of analysis, forming the basis for other levels of influence" (p. 68). This suggests that individuals' decisions are influenced by culture and context, and this impacts on their practice. Their practice then creates a community of practice where such actions are deemed 'normal' and eventually

become part of rules of operation. People follow the rules of operation without considering their origin, or how they intensify existing inequities, because they are rules, and accepted as 'normal'.

To summarize, accessing the principalship is influenced by (a) decisions based on decision makers' personal criteria, (b) criteria embedded in the educational administration profession, and (c) the influence of ideologies and sociocultural values of American Society. Shoemaker's (1991) interpretation of gatekeeping theory underscores that each of the above three levels of influence is interactive, affecting the dynamics of the other levels to determine how and when gates are closed or opened.

3.1.2.2   Career mobility

Career mobility is a socially based process marked by the individual within the context of organizational opportunities (Figure 3, Conceptual framework from Riehl & Byrd, 1997). Riehl and Byrd (1997) identify structures of opportunity, advocacy by superordinates, the presence or absence of role models in the profession, and institutionalized screening procedures as additional gendered influences that affect career mobility. At the broader sociocultural level, this model indicates factors such as occupational and sex-role stereotypes and the social and ethical climate.

Like Lewin's (1947, 1951) and Shoemaker's (1991) gatekeeping theories, Riehl and Byrd's (1997) model of administrative career mobility emphasizes the dynamic interaction among each of these levels. In the career mobility model, there are three broad sources of influence on individual action. The first includes personal values, abilities, and concurrent responsibilities that might either facilitate or interfere with career mobility. The second relates to the organizational context in which a person works, including factors such as the presence of role models, organizational vacancies, and supportive recruitment policies. The third source is the social context, especially labor market patterns, sex role stereotypes and socialization processes, occupational stereotypes, and legal provisions.

Consistent with the model of career mobility, three gendered classes of theoretical explanation have been cited in the literature. In the first class of theoretical explanations, women's lower participation in educational administration is the result of differential sex-role and occupational socialization. This framework highlights the importance of women's self-perceptions and actions and argues that women have not been socialized to aspire or to prepare for administrative positions (Riehl & Byrd, 1997). Critical theory indicates that women learn to accept their position as powerless and to behave in ways compatible with that position (Konek & Kitch, 1994). To aspire to a principalship, women, therefore, have to first address their own self perceptions and the limits they have learned as members of a powerless and oppressed group.

In the second class of explanations, women are suppressed because like most other formal organizations, school systems are structured in ways that tend to exclude women from higher-level jobs. The recruitment and selection procedures that are managed largely by men prevent women from seeking and obtaining administrative positions, even if they aspire to such roles (Shakeshaft, 1989).

In the third class of explanations, the root cause of women's lower participation in school leadership is located in male dominance in society overall, which causes a form of sex discrimination and limits women to subordinate positions in work both outside and inside the home (Stockard & Johnson, 1981). Because of this hegemony, women may perceive themselves as having few opportunities and therefore limit their aspirations (Riehl & Byrd, 1997). The women in this study are influenced by the cultural model of career mobility theory.

3.1.2.3   Ecological System Theory

Ecological systems theory provides a tool to combine the theories discussed above into a coherent framework for this research. Bronfenbrenner's (1979) theory claims that the individual is influenced by different ecological systems.

This influence by ecological system takes place at a number of different levels-1- micro, 2- meso, 3- exo-, and 4- macro-systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). 1- **The Microsystem -** Surrounding the individual are a number of relationships such as families, peer groups, school and other community groups. There is interaction between the individual and these specific parts of the microsystem. 2- **The Mesosystem** - Different parts of the microsystem interact with one another separate from their interaction with the individual. The examples are interaction between friends and school, or families and peer groups. The mesosystem affects the individual and is affected by the individual, but not necessarily through contact with the individual (Kulisa, 2000). 3- **The Exosystem** - The exosystem operates to affect the situation of the individual. Government policies or decisions made by the government have an impact on individuals (Kulisa, 2000). 4- **The Macrosystem** - The macrosystem affects individual through influences of culture and ideology. The women in this study are influenced by the macrosystem of Bronfenbrenner's theory. The macrosystem counterinfluences other systems of micro, meso, and exo, while women seek educational leadership.

Macrosystem ideologies view women as powerless and less competent than men. Macrosystem ideologies in relation to gender have resulted in appropriate behaviors and aspirations for women. Women internalize values and beliefs from childhood, and this early learning creates limits within the women themselves and prevents them from aspiring to principalship. This learning of appropriate female roles is shared by both women and men in a society. Those who are operating in gatekeeper positions (mostly men) continue to see women as less powerful. This disadvantages women when they aim for administrative positions. Therefore, the macrosystem influences how men and women react in microsystem.

People operating at microsystem level (school hiring boards), who share the same values and beliefs as the rest of the society, develop rules and procedures based on their understanding of what is usual and normal. This creates the exosystem which encapsulates the beliefs and values of the macrosystem, reinforcing gender disadvantage. If large numbers of people challenge these

values and beliefs in a macrosystem, a change of values and beliefs may happen. However, when women are prevented from achieving principalships, there are few opportunities for people to reflect on issues of power and gender because their existing perceptions are not challenged. As a result, although women have gained leadership to some degree in the Western world over the past decades, many women still experience oppression.

3.1.3   *Conceptual Framework*

The cultural model of Career mobility theory (Riehl & Byrd, 1997) and Ecological systems (Bronfenbrenner, 1979) provide the principal conceptual framework for this study (Figure 2, A schematic model of conceptual framework).   The cultural model of career mobility theory and Ecological systems has been chosen over Lewin's (1947- 1951) and Shoemaker's (1991) models as a conceptual framework for this study because unlike Lewin and Shoemaker 's frameworks, Riehl and Byrd and Bronfenbrenner illustrate how society influences an individual. Bronfennbrenner's (1979) theory of ecological systems like cultural model of Riehl and Byrd's (1997) career mobility theory confirms that society affects women while seeking administrative positions. The other two models of career mobility (individual model and structural model) are not chosen because they do not emphasize the role of society and culture on women's advancement to leadership. In other words, these two models do not assure women equity with men. For example, the positive effects of personal and socialization factors such as aspirations, qualifications, and experience do not assure women equity with men in administrative career development, given the powerful gender-stereotyped beliefs, and social forces that neutralize individual action for advancement.

Society Cultural expectations   Organizational   Policies and Laws

Stereotypes

Sex role stereotypes

Preference for   Possible lack of

male power in   observance of

organizations   Affirmative Action

Males are expected

to be leaders

Individual   Low self-image   Lack of interest   Less possibility

Action   to aspire for   for employment

leadership positions
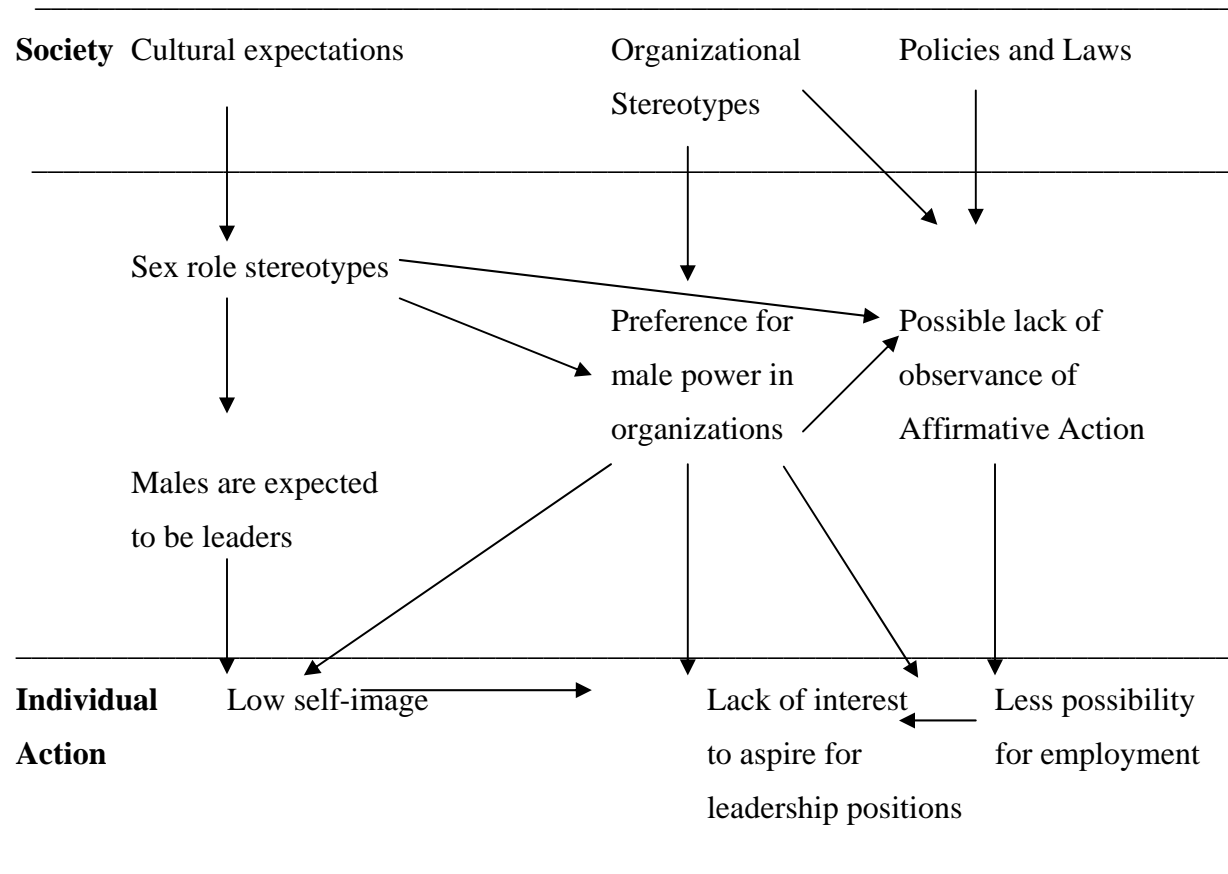
Figure 2. A schematic model of conceptual framework

3.1.4.   Assumptions within this framework

The cultural model of career mobility (Figure 3) and the ecological system assume that social culture is the basis for women facing barriers to principalship. The conceptual framework which forms the basis for this study assumes that women learn how to interpret the success from their experiences; they are influenced by experiences impacted by culture and society.   Society is constructed according to the needs of men.   Therefore, women are oppresses on the basis of gender.

To understand social culture and its influence on women in educational leadership, a structural perspective is explored .   The structural perspective conceptualizes culture as a tool by which men may dominate women and organizations (Halford & Leonard, 2001).   Men's experiences and attitudes determine the dominant belief systems that operate within organizations and consequently shape gender relations (Halford & Leonard, 2001).   The result is that women are subordinated not only at the structural level but also at the ideological level through images and behavior.   From this perspective, therefore, organizational culture is influenced by patriarchy.

Patriarchy causes men to exercise power over women in organizations. Patriarchal male power has shaped the construct of leadership, its culture, discourse, imaging and practice for centuries.   As a result, male domination is evident in educational leadership. Alternative conceptions of leadership must attempt to legitimate themselves against the pervasive influence of these established models (Grace, 1995: 187).   As Grace pointed out, female administrators are operating in a context of male hegemony.   The history of leadership to which Grace refers has resulted in the continuation of traditional male qualities with those of leadership.   As a result, the administrative role is commonly conceptualized as 'masculine', concerned with 'male' qualities of rationality and instrumentality (Weiner, 1995).

Theobald (1996) in *Knowing women* argues that educational administration, as a technology of patriarchy, produced its own discourses and practices.   This

discourse of patriarchy was institutionalized during the late nineteenth century. Patriarchy is the structure of unequal power relations supported through the ideology of men's domination over women (Theobald, 1996).

The understanding which forms this study maintains that women's experiences and barriers to principalship are primarily formed by male domination. Male power is the key to understanding women's experiences as they seek administrative roles.

The structurallist understanding of power sees structures as merely the tools of men: it is men who hold power, not structures. In other words, men are the primary agents of power. They use organizational structures to mobilize their power over women (Halford & Leonard, 2001). A structural relationship therefore exists between male power and organizational hierarchies, rules and procedures.

However, in the liberal perspective, power is seen to be centralized and exerted in the form of democratic laws or procedures. Kanter (1977) sees that it is not just a neutral authority that exists in organizations, but an authority which, through historical events, has become associated with men. It is not their gender that determines their possession of power, but their managerial status. Organizational structures are thus understood as not necessarily gendered: they are so at present because of accidental historical circumstances, rather than any conscious gender design. Kanter does not believe that the outcome of social structural power held by men is in order to dominate women. Rather, she sees power as a productive capacity in organizations. She describes power as the ability to get things done and as autonomy and freedom of action. Kanter believes that people who are at senior hierachial positions can maintain and increase their power because: (a) they are given the authority, and (b) those who have power are in a position to attract more power. However, those who do not have power are continually denied such an opportunity. She believes that, since men have always had more power than women, they are understood to be the more powerful sex. Similarly, if women are in a powerful position they are seen as mean or bossy because people are less accustomed to seeing women in hierarchical power, and it clashes with people's preconceptions. If we redesign

our organizational structures based on equality for women and men, power then will be distributed between the sexes according to people' s ability and not to their gender.

Ferguson (1984) offered another view of power. She believed that bureaucratic organizational structures are male oriented, and they support male power with male ways of doing things. She believed power is not only an exercise of rules to maintain gender hierarchies, but it is also the sense of an unquestioned way of doing and thinking. Thus, bureaucratic structures are a performance of a belief system, or knowledge, which is also male power.

Male power that arises from patriarchy leads to other barriers, such as gender stereotypes and legal provision, when women seek administrative positions. Gender stereotypes and legal provisions are part of the cultural model of career mobility. Since the cultural model of career mobility is accepted as a conceptual framework for this study these two components are explored here. Gender stereotypes refer to the beliefs people hold about members of the categories man or woman. The hegemonic gender stereotype defines women mainly by reproductive capacity and place in the family. Therefore, women are denied the right to the self-representation of their being (Cornell, 1998).

Beliefs about what is appropriate for men and women formed in the earlier years could be the basis for later occupational decisions (Archer, & Lloyd, 2002). For example, aggression is seen as typical of men rather than women, and is moreover seen as desirable for a man but not for a woman. The former British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher's remark 'When a woman is strong, she is strident, but if a man is strong, gosh he's a good guy' (November 1990) denotes the fact that some personality attributes are evaluated differently when possessed by a man or a woman.

Archer and Lloyd (2002, p. 24) explained gender stereotypic traits as follows:

> Gender roles and stereotypes held in a society at any one point in time are rooted, not primarily in the society's cultural tradition, but more importantly in the society's contemporaneous division of labor between the sexes. Women are viewed as suited for the specific social roles that women typically occupy, and men are viewed as suited for the specific social roles that men typically occupy.

This view of gender stereotypic traits is known as social role theory because it links the traits to the societal roles of men and women. Lueptow, Carovich and Lueptow (1995) identified large changes in the social roles of men and women over the last 20-25 years in the USA, in the form of new opportunities for women in the workplace. They have been paralleled by changes in attitudes towards the roles of women (Twenge, 1997). Although some significant changes of attitudes towards the roles of women have been acknowledged, discourses of educational leadership continue to reinforce the images of male hegemony. Cejka and Eagly (1999) have noted that most predominantly female occupations are similar to the earlier domestic role, and that there is still considerable occupational segregation according to sex. In addition, the domestic role has not changed substantially over this time period and women still do most of the housework and child care (Cejka & Eagly, 1999).

Various researchers have suggested a pattern in which stereotypical images of what a socially acceptable leader looks like and does worked against many women, creating obstacles to credibility and acceptance (Tallerico & Burstyn 1996; Riehl & Byrd, 1997). This pattern characterizes the respondents in this study as a whole.

Another important barrier for women in advancement to administrative positions is the legal provisions in hiring practices. This factor is illustrated in the cultural model of career mobility theory. Symbolically, the government had legitimated women's claims for equal treatment. This means redefining dominant and socially acceptable norms and recognizing the state as a guarantor of women's equality. However, the enactment of laws fails to get to the root of organizational gender inequalities. This is linked to liberal conceptions of gender and the state-where equality between individuals is thought to be secured through the banning of discrimination, without questioning the discourses surrounding 'gender' and 'equality' or the fundamental social structures. Certainly, state institutions have more potential power to achieve change than is expressed in these legislative developments. The fact that this hasn't been utilized could be interpreted as "an expression of masculine dominance inside the state, and linked to the claim that, in a patriarchal society, the state will inevitably serve the long-

term interests of men" (Halford & Leonard, 2001, p.121). Although, it seems that those changes that have taken place have been denied by this view, for now we simply can rely on a functionalist view that believes state institutions are a tool in the hands of men. In other words, women's inequality can be changed if women take serious legal and political action to secure better opportunities for themselves. This study asks whether women are discriminated against in their advancement to principalship based on their minority status at an organizational level. The present study offers an update on women's career mobility by examining a sequence of questions about gender differences and experiences of discrimination as they sought principalship. This study also will consider how to raise women' s consciousness so women themselves can promote better legislative and recruitment policies to counter gender inequality (see Hiring and Promoting Practices, Literature Review).

Social context Labor market   Sex role   social and   Occupational   Legal provision
Conditions   stereotypes   ethical climate   stereotypes

occupational Organizational   Structure of   Mentorship   Organizational Screening
and size, type, location   opportunity   Role   (active   vacancies and   procedures
organizational   (in current   model(s)   encouragement   recruitment   and policies;
context   organization)   and advocacy by   policies   final
                                            others   (including   selection
                                            in the organization)   affirmative   process
                                                      action)

Individual action Develop aspirations   Become qualified   Search for   Receive   Accept
(formulate general   (obtain relevant   new position   job offer   new
career goals)   education and   (network with   position
                       experience;   influential
                       earn positive   others; submit
                       performance   job applications;
                       appraisals)   interview for
                                            positions)

Personal context Values   Ability   Concurrent   Conducive
                                      Responsibilities   personal
                                      (e.g. unpaid work   situation (family
                                      at home)   obligations,
                                                      geographic
                                                      mobility concerns, etc.)

Social context   Sex role stereotypes and socialization processes

Figure 3. Conceptual Framework (career mobility theory) from Riehl and Byrd, 1997, p. 4

3.2 Methodology

3.2.1.   Introduction to both Part 1 & 2

This research consisted of two parts: Part1, and Part 2. Both Part 1 and Part 2 represented two different approaches to answer the research questions.

This research began with a questionnaire mailed to women who are registered as suitably qualified to apply for an administrative position in Franklin County, Ohio. The purpose of the questionnaire was to determine the frequency with which women perceived specific barriers had impacted on their ability to advance into administrative positions. A small number of women who responded to the questionnaire were interviewed in order to explore in more depth some of the issues arising out of their experiences.

The questionnaire was mailed to 299 women. Ninety two women returned the questionnaire. The race and average age were obtained for these 92 women. Since the sample of 92 out of 299 is a large sample (Jones & Jones, 2002), it can be concluded that age and race of 92 women is representative of the population 299 women (see section 3.2.2.9.2 selection of sample).

The disadvantage of questionnaires is that they focus on barriers already identified in the literature. However, the purpose of this component of the research was to find out if these barriers have changed over time, especially in the last decade. The second study enabled further exploration of existing barriers and the ability to identify new ideas in more depth. In addition, part of the problem with any questionnaire is limitations in collection of feelings, opinions, or actions (Cox, 1996, p.36). Although the questionnaire used in this study asks individuals for responses their replies will be accurate only if they are honest (Cox,1996, p.21). Part 2 provides an opportunity to explore feelings, opinions and actions in more depth and to gain a more extensive understanding of women's experiences and their understanding of those experiences. The focus of Part 2 will be to gain a deeper understanding of the issues identified in the questionnaire.   The two studies combined provide rich information about

women's experiences, and their understandings of their experiences. The questionnaire yielded quantitative data including:

1. Number and percentage of cases who have experienced each barrier

2. Number and percentages of each way of overcoming barrier

3. Comparison of 1 and 2 between the 3 groups (women who have been successful in obtaining a principalship, an assistant principalship and women who have not been successful in obtaining either position despite being qualified).

3.2.2 PART 1:

3.2.2.1 Research Questions

The research questions are:

1. For those women who do obtain a principalship/assistant principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

2. For those women who actively seek but do not obtain a principalship/assistant principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

3. What is the relationship between race and age of the women and the perceived obstacles?

4. What is the relationship between the perceived barriers and the 3 groups of women?

3.2.2.2 Sample

The target population in this study includes all women who are certified as principal in Franklin County, Ohio between September 1996 and September 2000. The requirement for certification for the principalship are :

1. 3 years teaching experience,

2. Masters degree,

3 . supervised field experience

4. a national teacher exam.

All of the women on the list who received the questionnaire were certified in Franklin County as eligible to be principals in the state of Ohio and were currently employed in educational positions in Franklin County. The number of men and women certified in elementary, middle, and secondary administration in Franklin County from September 1998 to March 2002, are 227 men and 299 women.

3.2.2.3   *Analysis of Sample*

3.2.2.3.1   *Sampling Frame*

Franklin County, Ohio is an appropriate area for a study because it is considered a representative location and is regularly used in market research testing (Wilkinson, 1991). Franklin County has a large city school system within its boundaries, which includes an extensive and varied set of educational administrative challenges. The eighteen school districts in Franklin County include the following: Bexley City, Canal Winchester local, Columbus City, Dublin City, Eastland Joint Vocational, Franklin County, Gahanna-Jefferson City, Grandview Heights City, Groveport Madison local, Hamilton local, Hilliard City, Plain local, Reynoldsburg City, South-Western City, Upper Arlington City, Westerville City, Whitehall City, and Worthington City. These eighteen districts include the largest system, the Columbus City School District, as well as surrounding districts which include growing suburbs, both large and small, suburban districts which are not changing greatly, and districts with a wide range of wealth. As an example, Columbus City School District which is one the largest systems has a wide range of socioeconomic status level (Columbus Public Schools, 2003).

3.2.2.4   *Method of Sampling*

A computer printout from the State of Ohio, Department of Education, Columbus, Ohio was obtained. The list included the names of all those persons in Franklin County, Ohio who had been certified for the principalship from September 1996 to September 2000. Franklin County, Ohio has 18 school districts within its boundaries, with different ranges of wealth.

A quantitative method is used to explore the barriers for principalship. Quantitative research is objective (Creswell, 2003) and produces numerical data suitable for statistical analysis (Rumrill & Cook, 2001). Quantitative research allows the researcher to describe how, in everyday life, we actually go about defining, counting and analyzing (Creswell, 2003).

3.2.2.5 Method (Questionnaire)

Wilkinson (1991) developed a 30- item questionnaire which measured women's barriers to principalship. The questionnaire for this present study (Appendix E) is adopted from Wilkinson's study and contains questions concerning possible situations which are perceived as obstacles to women as they seek principalship in educational administration. The 30- item questionnaire in this study was identical to the 30- item questionnaire in Wilkinson's study (1991) except two questions as follows:

1. One question asked if the participant faced barriers other than barriers mentioned in the questionnaire.

2. Another question asked if participants are willing to be interviewed to explore more possible barriers for principalship. Results will indicate the extent to which changes in society over the past decade have impacted on women's experiences in educational administration and management.

Questions 1 through 7 are short answer questions which collect biographical information. Questions 8-29 use a Likert type scale with five possible choices as answers: always, often, sometimes, seldom, and never. Question 30 allows for additional responses of a more subjective nature. In Question 31 participants are asked to share strategies for succeeding in educational administration. Question

32 provides an opportunity for participants to request follow-up interviews (as part of Part 2).

3.2.2.6   Reliability, , Internal Consistency, and Validity

The 30-item questionnaire was piloted by Wilkinson in two, Summer quarter, 1989 educational administration classes at The Ohio State University (Wilkinson, 1991). A total of 25 women completed the questionnaire.

In establishing the reliability of the instrument, Cronbach's Coefficient alpha is used to review the inter-correlations of each of the 22 items with all the other 21 items (Wilkinson, 1991). Test-makers strive for internal consistency (Patten, 2001), and the correlation coefficient is useful in determining the extent to which a test item measures much of the same thing as other items on a particular test (Patten, 2001). Test reliability also concerns the extent to which test results are repeatable (Patten, 2001). Internal consistency estimates are employed whenever a researcher wishes to assess the degree to which the items in a measure are homogeneous indices of a common construct (Patten, 2001).   This was appropriate for usage with the test given in that the multiple-item questionnaire included items which were purportedly measures of a single dimension (Wilkinson, 1991). It is absolutely necessary to have relatively high reliability, and validity reflects the degree to which a measure actually measures the specific trait it is supposed to measure (Patten, 2001).

The statistical results of the test indicated that the coefficient alpha on the twenty-two items ranged from a low of .9191 to a high of .9321 alpha if that particular item were deleted from the test (Wilkinson, 1991). The overall alpha was .9270 (Wilkinson, 1991). This is both a high and a stable reliability for the piloted test and shows good internal consistency (Wilkinson, 1991).

The results of the pilot test confirmed its reliability and its ease of administration (Wilkinson, 1991). Cronbach's coefficient alpha was used to review the inter-correlations of each of the 22 items with all the other 21 items (Wilkinson, 1991). The internal consistency of the pilot test was good, and had

both a high and a stable reliability (Wilkinson, 1991). The pilot population differed from the study population in that the women who completed the pilot were in the process of studying for certification, while the women who completed the research questionnaire had already obtained their certification (Wilkinson, 1991). However, both groups shared a common aspiration to become principals. After validating the questionnaire, Wilkinson used this questionnaire in her research (Wilkinson, 1991).

3.2.2.7   Procedure

Using the information obtained from the computer printout, a questionnaire was posted to all women whose names appeared on the list as being certified for the principalship, either at the elementary or secondary level.

The questionnaire is designed to identify barriers for women's principalship. In designing a questionnaire for interviews, priorities on the important barriers are set then the questions are formulated.

Interviews were set up for a sample of women who completed the questionnaire to look at obstacles in depth. Participants indicated interest in further participation in interviews at the end of the questionnaire and provided contact details at this point. Interview procedures are described in more details in Part 2.

3.2.2.8   Analysis

The statistical package "Minitab" was used to undertake the analyses outlined below. A One-Way analysis of variance was used to compare the 3 categories of women responding to the research questionnaire: those who have sought and achieved an assistant principalship, those who have sought and achieved a principalship, those who have sought and have not achieved a principalship. A One-Way analysis of variance, a statistical procedure used to compare groups in terms of mean scores, can be used to compare three or more groups (Black, 2004,

p. 411). This analytic procedure is used to compare responses among the several sub-groups.   A Principal Component Analysis was done on the twenty-two questions of the questionnaire in order to determine the major themes of the questionnaire.   This procedure is employed to reduce the data in order to determine whether there were significant differences among the sub-groups.

A 2-way analysis of variance is completed in order to check the overall effects of the levels of each factor, and to ascertain whether the factors combined in such a way as to have a unique effect on the variable.

The factors such as age, and race are entered into a MANCOVA to control the influence of age and race and conclude the differences between the three groups in the factor scores. The independent variables in this study are age and race.

3.2.2.9 *Response Rate*

In the beginning of January of 2003 the questionnaire, explanatory letter, and stamped return envelope were sent to 299 women listed on computer printout. Six of the questionnaires were returned to me because of incorrect addresses. Twenty-two women volunteered to be interviewed and mentioned their contact numbers. A total of 92 responses were returned, providing a 31% return rate. Although there is not a single response rate value that is accepted as the standard (Lynn & Martin, 1996), a typical response rate is less than 20% (Lynn & Martin, 1996). The return rate in this study (31%) is higher than the typical rate.

The law of large numbers indicates that as n, the sample size, increases the mean of the sample get closer to the mean of the population (Jones & Jones, 2002). A sample of 92 out of 299 women is fairly large sample (Jones & Jones, 2002), and therefore it can be concluded that the sample in this study is representative of 299 women, the population.   The general formula for the sample size n (Black, 2004, p.277) necessary to ensure an error E is given by:

$$n = \frac{z_{\alpha/2}^2 \sigma^2}{E^2} \,.$$

In this formula $z_{\alpha/2}$ is found from a statistical table based on expected level of significance, for example for a 90% level of confidence $z_{\alpha/2}$ = 1.645, and σ is the population variance. Population variance is estimated by σ = (1/4) * population range. For example the population range for age can be estimated as 65-25=40. Therefore σ= (1/4) * 40 is equal to 10, and E (the estimated error between the sample mean and population mean) can be evaluated from $92 = \dfrac{1.645^2 * 10^2}{E^2}$.

The calculated E is equal to 1.75. When population variance is 10, with n equal to 92, we are 90% confident that the average age obtained from the sample is at most 1.75 years away from the average age of the population. The mean of age for 92 respondents was 46 years (see section 3.2.2.11.2 Age of Sample). This means that we are 90% confident that the mean age of the population (299 women) is 46 ± 1.75, which is 44.25 and 47.75.

The sample in this study was selected from the 299 women (population) who were eligible to become a principal. The criteria for selection was women' eligibility for principalship. All the 299 women (population) were certified for principalship; therefore, the 92 women (sample) who were also certified for principalship (that were from the 299 women) represent the population.

Description of Obtained Sample

3.2.2.10.1   Gender

Total number of women and men certified as elementary, middle, and secondary principal

526

Total number of women certified as elementary, middle, and secondary principal 299

Elementary	Middle	Secondary
194	11	94

Total number of men certified as elementary, middle, and secondary principal 227

Elementary	Middle	Secondary
101	10	116

Figure 4.   Summary of number of men and women certified as principal

At secondary level, there are more men certified principals than women certified principals.

At elementary level, there are more women certified principals than men certified principals.

At middle level, the number of certified men and women principals are roughly similar.

The statistical analysis indicates that reference chi-squared distribution has a mean of $df = 2$ and a standard deviation of 2 and a chi-square value of 22.232. The statistics have a corresponding p-value of 0.00. Therefore the chi-square test suggests that principalship and gender are associated.

A cell-by-cell comparison of observed (n) and estimated frequencies, such as the adjusted residual analysis, helps us understand the nature of the evidence.

Principal Certification

Gender	Elementary	Middle	Secondary	Total
Female	194	11	94	299

	(4.67)	(-0.42)	(-4.56)	
Male	101	10	116	227
	(-4.67)	(0.42)	(4.56)	
Total	295	21	210	526

Figure 5. A cell-by-cell comparison of (n) and estimated frequencies (adjusted residual analysis)

As a rule of thumb an adjusted residual that exceeds about 2 or 3 in absolute value indicates that there is a significant difference between gender and principalship. From above table, it shows large positive residuals for female elementary principals (its adjusted residual is 4.67, greater than 2 even 3) and male secondary principals (its adjusted residual is 4.56, greater than 2 even 3), and large negative residuals for male elementary principals (although its adjusted residual is -4.67, whose absolute value is greater than 2 even 3) and female secondary principals (its adjusted residual is -4.56, whose absolute value is greater than 2 even 3).   In conclusion, there are significantly more female elementary principals and male secondary principals and fewer male elementary principals and female secondary principals.

3.2.2.10.2   *Age of Sample*

From the 92 questionnaires which were returned, 21 women were 39 and younger, 36 women were 40-49, and 35 women were 50 or older.

The mean score for age for 92 respondents is 46 years, and Standard Deviation is 8.467. According to "Sample Size when Estimating the Population Average" Equation (Black, 2004, p.277), when mean age is 46 years, a sample size of 92 gives us 95% confidence that average age of the sample is representative of the average age of the population with an error of at most 2.15

years. The sample of 92 in this study is equal to the number which was obtained from above equation. Therefore, it can be concluded that the sample of 92 is representative of the entire population.

From the 92 questionnaires which were returned, 21 women were 39 and younger, 36 women were 40-49, and 35 women were 50 or older (from this last group, 2 women were over 60).

Age group	Number	Percent
39 & younger	21	23
40-49	36	39
50+	35	38
Total	92	100

Figure 6. Age of Respondents

3.2.2.10.3   *Ethnicity of Sample*

Position	Number	White	Black	Other
Serving as Assistant Principal	23	16	6	1
Serving as Principal	46	36	10	0
Sought, never obtained a principalship	23	18	4	1

Figure 7. Ethnicity of Sample

Among all the 92 respondents, the majority are White (79%), and the second largest group is Black (22%).

The ethnicity of sample of 92 is representative of ethnicity of population of 299 women, because the sample is fairly large. According to the law of large numbers as n, the sample size, increases the mean of the sample get closer to the mean of the population (Jones & Jones, 2000).

3.2.2.10.4 Number of respondents employed in different districts

District	Assistant Principal		Principal		No Principal		All	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Rural	0	0	0	0	2	8.70	2	2.17
Suburban	12	52.17	22	47.83	10	43.48	44	47.83
Urban	11	47.83	24	52.17	11	47.83	46	50.00

Figure 8. Number and percentage of respondents employed in different districts

Among the respondents employed in different districts the number of principals employed in Suburban and Urban districts is higher compared to the number of assistant principals employed in those areas.

3.2.2.11 Limitations

One limitation to Part 1 is that the questionnaires were sent only to the women whose names appear on the lists on the days of printing; the list is constantly changing because of additions and changes in positions. Men were not included in the population, even though they, too, would perceive barriers, because this study focused on barriers perceived by women who aspire to the principalship. The questionnaire presents a "frozen" slice of reality at that particular time, and cannot trace how things became as they are now, or how they might be in the future. A second limitation is that no inferences may be drawn in order to

compare or contrast whether or not the men whose names appear on the list may have encountered barriers in seeking the principalship under similar circumstances. A third limitation is that the listing used for mailing the 299 questionnaires included only those women certified since 1998 and does not include all women certified in Franklin County. A fourth limitation is that there may be women who were certified for the principalship in Franklin County, who may or may not now live in Franklin County, but because they were not employed by one of the eighteen school districts in Franklin County during September 2002, their names were not on the list. The study does not purport to be generalizeable beyond the original population. The study is useful in that it provides insights as to how barriers are perceived by the three sub-groups of women, all of whom are certified to be principals. A related limitation is that the study is based on perceptions of the frequency of encountered barriers. Thus, the intensity, importance and other descriptors of the barriers are not described or analyzed.

3.3   PART 2

3.3.1   Research questions relevant to this study:

Participant were asked different questions depending on:
1. The issues they identify in their questionnaire
2. The issues they indicate they wish to explore further
3. Their own perceptions of their experiences

The research questions for interviews assume a grand tour question (Schram, 2003), followed by sub-questions (Schram, 2003). The grand tour question is a statement of the question being examined in the study in its most general form

(Creswell, 2003). For this study the grand tour question is: *What are the barriers encountered for women who seek principalship?* Followed by subquestions:

1. What was the major barrier for women who have not obtained a principalship or assistant principalship?

2. What was the major barrier for women who obtained principalship or assistant principalship?

3. What were the other barriers for women who either obtained principalships or did not obtain principalship?

3.3.2   Sample

The qualitative research in this study employs purposive, and not random sampling methods. The aim of purposive sampling was to seek out groups, settings and individuals where the processes being studied were most likely to occur (Denzin & Lincoln,1994). The purposive sampling allows us to choose a case because it illustrates some feature or process in which we are interested (Silverman, 2000).

The purposive selection included a sample of nine women who answered the questionnaire. Women were selected from a wide range of experiences, women who have overcome barriers, women who have not overcome barriers, and women who have indicated they have experienced barriers other than provided for the questionnaires.

In the beginning of June, 2003 the researcher chose six women for interview. These six women consisted of three women who did not obtain principalship, and three women who obtained assistant principalship or principalship. Two out three women who did not obtain principalship were women who sought secondary principalship. The reason for this selection was based on the statistics that less women were presented at secondary principalship. The assumption was these women might have faced more barriers compared to women who sought elementary principalship. Interviews were scheduled at a time and place acceptable to each participant.

The selection method was based on

1. Permission given in questionnaire for further involvement.

2. Purposive selection of women from a wide range of experiences.

Questionnaires were examined to identify the following participants: a woman who has been very successful and does not report experiencing any or many barriers, a woman who has been very successful and does report overcoming many barriers, a woman who has not been successful and reports many barriers, and any woman who reports the existence of different barriers than provided for in the questionnaire, plus any woman who reports using strategies different from those of the majority.

One year and a half after the first interview, the researcher chose three women for a second interview. In the second round of interviews three women (one woman who obtained principalship and participated in the first interview; one woman who sought but did not obtain principalship and participated in the first interview; and one woman who obtained principalship and did not participate in the first interview) were interviewed. After the data from the first round of interviews were analyzed, the researcher decided that additional information was needed in certain areas so she chose to conduct a second round of interviews for the purpose of: a) following up information about barriers, and b) identifying if the women's positions toward principalship have been changed over time.

3.3.3   *Method*

Interviews were undertaken with a purposive sample of 6 participants selected from those who answered the questionnaire. There is no fixed number or percentage of subjects that determines the size of an adequate sample (Best & Kahn, 2003). It may depend on the nature of the data to be gathered and analyzed (Best & Kahn, 2003). The sample size in the qualitative part of the study is a good sample size because the data from qualitative study was a continuation of Part 1 and provided clarification and support of quantitative

research. Therefore, Part 2 was not a single study and was not designed to draw the main conclusions of this research.

Women were selected purposively in the following order:

1. First concern was to choose women who sought but did not obtain principalship because they had the highest mean scores on barriers compared to the other two groups. It was assumed this group could provide valuable information on barriers. Therefore 3 women were selected from this group.

2. Second, the other two groups who obtained either assistant principalship or principalship could have talked about how they overcome barriers. Three other women were selected from these two groups (2 assistant principals, and 1 principal).

After each interview, preliminary analysis of each transcript was undertaken to determine if new themes emerged. Interviews continued until saturation point (Edmund, 1999) was reached (i.e., no new data were being added through additional interviews). The qualitative method allows for a model of communicating with the respondents. The qualitative method is subjective and simply analyses the words and images (Flick, 2002; Creswell, 2003). The qualitative method attempts to document the world from the point of the people studied (Gubrium, & Hplstein, 2002, p.83). The qualitative study may suffer from two problems:

1. The assumption of a stable reality or context (e.g. the organization) to which people respond (Silverman, 2000; Creswell, 2003).

2. The gap between beliefs and action and between what people say and what they do (Silverman, 2000). To overcome this, the researcher used some personal judgment and expertise to summarize the words and beliefs (Kelly, 1999).

Interviewing is both a research methodology and a social relationship that must be nurtured, sustained, and then ended gracefully (Denzin, 2003, p.11). It is a reflection of the personalities of the participant and the interviewer and the ways they interact (Gubrium, 2002, p.83). It is important to emphasize for respondents that there are no right or wrong responses during the course of interviewing. Participants should be encouraged to express their own ideas and

opinions without feeling that the interviewer disagrees or is argumentative (Edmunds, 1999. P. 81).

There are some pros and cons of interviewing; however, advantages outweigh the disadvantages. Interviewees are more likely to have greater personal knowledge about the issues to be discussed than interviewers (Edmunds, 1999, p.100). On the other hand, an interviewer may have extensive knowledge regarding the subject matter. However, well intentioned, an interviewer is likely to word questions in a manner that leads the participants to support the interviewer's view regarding the discussion topic (Edmunds, 1999, p.101). In order to overcome this problem the following skills and techniques were used when interviewing for this study:

1. Listen more, talk less. Listening is the most important skill in interviewing. The interviewer is to keep quiet and to listen actively. A good way to gauge listening skills is to transcribe an interview tape.

2. Follow up on what the participant says. When an interviewer talks in an interview, she usually asks questions. The key to asking questions during in-depth interviewing is to let them follow, as much as possible, from what the participant is saying (Gubrium, & Holstein, 2002, p.103). Although the interviewer comes to each interview with a basic question that establishes the purpose and focus of the interview, it is during the response to what the participant says that the interviewer follows up, asks for clarification, seeks concrete details, and requests stories.

3. Ask questions when you do not understand. Sometimes we do not understand the specific referent of what someone is saying. In interviewing such sliding undermines the process. Not having understood something in an early interview, an interviewer might miss the significance of something a participant says later. The interviewer who lets a participant know when he or she does not understand shows the person that the interviewer is listening.

4. Ask to hear more about a subject. Interviewers should question when they feel unsatisfied with what they have heard (Seidman, 1991, p.60).

5. Ask open-ended questions. An open-ended question, establishes the territory to be explored while allowing the participant to take any direction she wants

(Seidman, 1991, p.62). One type of open-ended question is the "grand tour" question (Weinberg, 2002, p.203), in which the interviewer asks the participant to reconstruct a significant segment of an experience. For example, the researcher might ask: take me through an experience you had with an organization when seeking for principalship.

6. Ask participants to tell a story. The researcher asks participants to tell story about what they are discussing. If a participant were talking about, for example, relationships with one organization, the researcher might ask for a story about one particular organization that stands out in her experience. Not everybody is comfortable with being asked directly to tell a story (Kelly,1999, p.65). The request seems to block people who may think they do not tell good stories or that story telling is something only other people do (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). Others, however, suddenly remember a particular incident, become deeply engrossed in reconstructing it, and tell a wonderful story that conveys their experience as concretely as anything could (Kelly, 1999, p.65). In-depth interviewing often surprises participants because they have seldom had the opportunity to talk at length to someone outside their family or friends about their experience (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002).

7. Ask participants to reconstruct, not to remember. Ask participants, in effect, not to remember their experience but rather to reconstruct it (Silverman, 2000). Ask directly "what happened?" or " what was your elementary school experience like?" instead of "Do you remember what your elementary school experience was like?" Reconstruction is based partially on memory and partially on what the participant now senses is important about the past event (Silverman, 2000).

Being interested in others is the key to some of the basic assumptions underlying interviewing technique (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002). The in-depth interview explores issues raised in the questionnaire and allows the women to share their own perceptions. The purpose of in-depth interviewing is not to get answers to questions and not to evaluate as the term is normally used (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003). At the root of in-depth interviewing is an interest in understanding the experience of other people and the meaning they make of that experience (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003).

The most recommended way to retain the interview data is to use an audio-tape recording formatting (Kelly,1999,p.79). One of the least recommended methods to retain the data is to take notes during the interview. This may be distracting and time-consuming, and it may not be thorough enough (Kelly,1999,p.79).

Interviews in this study were tape recorded for documentation and analysis. There are benefits to tape-recording (Edmunds,1999, p.15). The recordings allowed the researcher to include pertinent quotations and to ensure that she correctly and completely heard the information discussed in the interview. The tape allowed the researcher to check her performance and allows her to evaluate each performance before undertaking the next interview in the series. By preserving the words of the participant, researchers have their original data. If something is not clear in a transcript, the researcher can return to the source and check the accuracy (Silverman, 2000). Tape-recording also benefits the participants. They can feel assured that there is an accessable record of what they have said (Silverman, 2000).

3.3.4   *Validity*

Aiken (2000, p.288) suggests interviews can be made more valid, but they must be carefully planned, and the interviewers need to be extensively trained. In this research study the researcher carefully planned the interviews and reviewed and implemented interviewing techniques. The results of an interview are also more valid when the interviewer focuses on specific information and when responses are evaluated question by question (Aiken, 2000, p.288). In this research study, the researcher asked questions related to barriers from each interviewee and the results of different interviews were evaluated question by question. To facilitate this process, the entire interview was electronically recorded for later play-back and evaluation. In this way, the task of interpreting

an interviewee's responses can be separated more effectively from the actual interviewing process.

3.3.5 Credibility

Established techniques are used to ensure the credibility of qualitative research findings. The techniques used in this study include (a) audit trails, and (b) triangulation (Rumrill & Cook, 2001).

Audit Trail: An audit trail consists of (a) raw data, including audiotapes, interview notes, and memos; (b) products of data reduction and analysis, including coding procedures; (c) products of data reconstruction and synthesis; and (d) process notes (Rumrill & Cook, 2001).

The researcher listened to the audiotapes and created notes and memos. Then the notes and memos were evaluated and reduced. Analysis of data, including coding the results, and reconstruction of the data were created. At the end final notes were produced by writing the barriers found in interview and each interviewee's view about each barrier.

Triangulation: Triangulation is defined as the researcher's effort to collect information from a diverse range of individuals in order to construct appropriate explanations of the phenomena being investigated (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994). Triangulation of data can include comparison to the researcher's own experiences and results from literature reviews and use of multiple researchers and multiple sources of data (Rumrill & Cook, 2001). In this study, the researcher used participants' views about barriers and compared their views to the current literature.

The two studies also provided triangulation. The results of the first study were further validated by the in-depth interviews in Part 2 so that the researcher was able to compare the two sets of results.

3.3.6   Limitations

The narratives that are presented are a function of the research interaction with the participants and their words. We have to leave open the possibility that other interviewees would have told a different story (Flick, 2002, p. 145).

So, as illuminating as in-depth interviews can be, as compelling as the stories are that they can tell and the themes they can highlight, we still have to allow considerable tolerance for uncertainty (Flick, 2002, p. 145) in the way we report what we have learned from this research.

3.3.7   Procedure

The researcher continued to interview until the preliminary analyses showed no new information was emerging, and this condition was reached with the sixth interviewee. The saturation point had been reached when the researcher had 6 women for interviews. The results from six interviews answered the research questions completely and there was no unanswered question arising out of the data. This indicates saturation was reached after the sixth interview was completed. Women were divided into two categories. One group (3 women) was women who obtained their principalship and the other groups (3 women) were women who sought but did not obtain principalship.

The researcher contacted the sample women according to the contact information they had provided at the end of their questionnaires. Some of them provided their email address and some mentioned their telephone number. The researcher either made phone calls or contacted the respondents by e-mail. The time and place for interviews were set according to each participant's preferences.

A consent form that the interviews were recorded was signed by the respondents (Appendix F). Also, a statement that provides familiarity with the topic was offered at the beginning of the interview.

3.3.8   *Analysis*

The whole process of study two included: interviews, studying the transcripts, marking them, crafting profiles, and organizing categories of excerpts.   The researcher analyzed each interview to determine if another interview was needed. The researcher evaluated the issues from each interview, including findings and areas that should be explored in the next interview (Edmunds, 1999). In order to assure the validity of the coding the researcher evaluated each participant interview and made sure the themes were an accurate representation of what they said (Miller & Glassner, 1997). After interviews were completed the researcher worked with the material that interviewing generated and made it accessible by organizing it. Since the interviews were tape-recorded, the researcher had to transform those spoken words into a written text to study (Silverman, 2000). Then the researcher studied the written text. In that way the researcher tried to minimize imposing on the generative process of the interviews what the researcher had learned from other participants.   The vast array of words, sentences, paragraphs, and pages had to be reduced to what was of most importance and interest (Miller & Glassner, 1997, p.107). Most important was that reducing the data had to be done inductively rather than deductively. The researcher came to the transcripts with an open attitude, seeking what emerged as important and of interest from the text. The first step in reducing the text was to read it and mark with brackets all key passages (Miller & Glassner, 1997).

The researcher found what was important in this stage of the process which was exercising judgement about what was significant in the transcript (Silverman, 2000). In reducing the material the interviewer began to interpret and make meaning of it. Although some of the characteristics that made the interviewing text meaningful to researcher, there is no model matrix of

interesting categories that one can impose on all texts (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002, p.683). What is of essential interest is embedded in each research topic and will arise from each transcript (Gubrium & Holstein, 2002).

The goal of the researcher in identifying key passages in the interview transcripts was to reduce and then shape the material into a form which could be shared or displayed (Silverman, 2000). The researcher used two basic ways to share interview data. First, the researcher developed profiles of individual participants and grouped them into categories that made sense. Second, the researcher marked individual passages, grouped these into categories, and then studied the categories for thematic connections within and among them (Gubrium & Holstein 2002).

Although there is no right way to share interview data, crafting a profile or vignette of a participant's experience was chosen as an effective way of sharing these interview data (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003). A profile in the words of the participant is the research product most consistent with the process of interviewing (O'Donoghue & Punch, 2003). The researcher interviewed in order to come to know the experience of the participants through their stories. By crafting a profile in the participant's own words, the interviewer allowed those words to reflect the person's consciousness. Profiles were one way to solve the problem of how to share what the interviewer had learned from the interviews.

The reliability of interviews was attained when the researcher searched for connections among the experiences of the participants interviewed, or if there were confirmations of previous instincts, or how interviews were consistent with literature. The researcher then searched for patterns and connections among the excerpts within those categories and for connections between the various categories that might be called themes. In addition to presenting profiles of individuals, the researcher then presented excerpts from the interviews thematically organized. Crafting a profile is an act of interpretation and analysis, as is presenting excerpts arranged in categories (O'Donghue & Punch, 2003).

To include the overall essence of all the interviews in the qualitative project, the researcher used the following techniques (Edmunds, 1999,p.99).

1. Group similar responses by interviewees (for instance, mention by age group, or ethnicity).

2. Identify comments that are frequently mentioned. Also, to ensure accurate evaluation of interviews reports, the following rules were considered (Weinberg, 2002).

a. Provide quotations to support the researcher evaluations.

b. Identify which thoughts were generated through a free-flowing discussion and which were actually aided responses.

3.3.9   Ethical considerations

The subjects in this study were informed about the ethical issues such as maintaining confidentiality of data, preserving the anonymity of informants, and using research for intended purposes (Mauthner & et al, 2002). A statement that provided familiarity with the topic was offered at the beginning of the interview (Appendix E).

The interviewee was informed of tape-recording during interview, as well as advised that their information would be interpreted for this study. Each interviewee was assured confidentiality of tape-recorded information.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1   PART 1

4.1.1   Data Analysis

The information from the questionnaires was entered into the computer and the Minitab program was used to analyze the data set. The data set was analyzed in several ways:

a.   age and position of respondents;

b. principal component analysis to ascertain the main themes of the questions on the questionnaire.

c.   overall means of responses to questions 8-29;

d. mean responses according to position as listed at the time of printout from the state Department of Education.

e. means of responses of each question according to age (39 and younger, 40-49, and 50 and plus).

<u>f.</u> and overall means of self-reported responses in relationship to the 3 categories in question 5 (have obtained an assistant principalship, have obtained a principalship), have sought but not obtained a principalship or an assistant principalship. Data on age and race were also gathered.

4.1.2   Comparison between the groups of perceived barriers

4.1.2.1   Means Of Responses Of Total Group For Questions 8-29

The means of the responses to the twenty-two items on the questionnaire by the entire 92 respondents serve as a foundation for this study. The questions were answered using a Likert scale with the scale of responses reading from left to right. There was a possibility of five choices, beginning with Always, going to Often, to Sometimes, to Seldom, to Never. For the purposes of calculation, Always was given the number value of 5, Often was valued at 4, Sometimes was valued at 3, Seldom was valued at 2, and Never was valued at 1. Thus, if a mean score was 2.5, it registered as perceived obstacle between Seldom and Sometimes, if a score was 1.5, it registered as perceived obstacle between Never and Seldom. The means of the answers for the questions ranged from 1.55 (Never to Seldom) to 2.32 (Seldom to Sometimes). The Standard Deviations ranged from 0.84 to 1.29. Question 26, lack of family support, registered the lowest 1.55 (Never to Seldom), thus indicating it to be the item detailing the least frequency perceived obstacles. Question 8, males are better suited to be principal than females, registered 2.32 (Seldom to Sometimes), indicating this item was perceived as being the most frequently encountered obstacle. Table 1 includes full items from the questionnaire; all subsequent tables will use an abbreviated form for the items

Table 3

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses of Total Group (92) for Questions 8-29

Question	Respondents No	Mean	Standard Deviation

8.   The belief that males are better suited to be principal than females has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

| | 92 | 2.32 | 1.03 |

9. Family responsibilities have impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

| | 92 | 2.26 | 1.57 |

10. I believe that male administrators tend to hire other males and this practice has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

| | 92 | 2.31 | 1.11 |

11.   The belief that many assume females are too emotional to be effective principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

| | 92 | 1.81 | 0.93 |

12. The belief that females cannot take the pressure of being a principal has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.76   0.96

13. The belief that females are not rational or objective enough to be effective principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.66   0.89

14.   The belief that females are not effective disciplinarians has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.81   1.00

15. The belief that females are not considered for principalships because they are believed to be less suited for the unique demands of the job has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.82   1.03

16. The belief that many teachers prefer male principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   2.043   0.960

17. The belief that females are perceived to be less interested in the principalship has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.7065   0.9439

18. The belief that many female principals lack support from their subordinates has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.804   0.964

19.   The belief that many female principals lack support from other administrators has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.902   1.017

20.   The belief that many communities would not have as much confidence in a female principal as they would have in a male principal has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.8587   0.9444

21.   My graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators and this has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   2.207   1.288

22.   The belief that female principals are assumed to hold "token" positions in a district has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.685   0.960

23.   Not having a mentor in educational administration has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.957   1.248

24.   Not having more female role models in educational administration has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.620   0.982

25.   Many people believe female are less motivated on the job because they are providing a second income for the family. This belief has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.5761   0.9286

26.   Lack of family understanding and support has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.5543   0.8434

27.   I believe that female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates and this has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   2.196   1.294

28.   The inability to relocate to another geographic region in the United States if a principalship were offered to me has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   1.783   1.239

29.   My lack of involvement in formal or informal network which might enhance my career opportunities has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

92   2.076   1.888

Seven questions, male suited, male hire, family responsibilities, graduate courses, evaluation on more stringent criteria, lack of involvement in network, and no teacher support, had means from 2.32 to 2.04 (seldom to half way toward sometimes) respectively. These seven questions registered the areas in which the respondents perceived the most frequently encountered obstacles. Ten questions registered means ranging from 1.95 to 1.70 (toward seldom). Thus, for 45% ten of the questions, the means of these responses were edging toward 2, seldom. These ten questions registered the areas in which the respondents perceived moderately encountered barriers.

Five questions had their means range from 1.68 to 1.55 (between never and seldom); these questions dealt with the belief that female principals are assumed to hold "token" positions, that females are not rational, the lack of role models, that people believe females are less motivated on the job because they are providing a second income, and that lack of family support has been an obstacle. These five questions registered the areas in which the respondents perceived the least frequently encountered obstacles.

4.1.3   *Results from Questions 30 to 32*

Question 30 (other perceived barriers), the open ended question which was optional, was answered on 58 or 63% of the returned questionnaires. But 54 out of 58 repeated the same barriers mentioned in the questionnaire (such as gender, and family) as perceived barriers for principalship. Four respondents perceived other barriers for principalship such as, not being married, having no children, physical look, the need to know someone, and central policies and less

availability of positions for principalship. Question 31 (other barriers to be most effective in helping women to succeed in educational administration) was answered on 22 or 24% of the returned questionnaires. For this question, 8 respondents repeated the same barriers that were mentioned in the questionnaire. Fourteen respondents, however, explained some factors to be effective in helping them to achieve principalship. These factors are: strong mind and strong will, demonstrating a true interest in a position, be the best and let people know you are qualified, willingness to take responsibility and understand the importance of the job, strong ethics and commitment, being more pro-active and less reactive than male administrators, work very closely with staff, strong religious faith, positive outlook on life, work hard, being an overachiever, close relationship with other principals-mainly women, communication skills, and ability to stay calm during stressful times. Question 32 (willingness to participate in an interview) was answered on 22 or 24% of the returned questionnaires. Six out of twenty two respondents were chosen for interview.

4.1.4   Responses of Group 1 Obtained an Assistant Principalship

Twenty-three women reported themselves as having obtained an assistant principalship. The means of 22 responses for this group (questions 8-29) ranged from 1.3 (never) to 2.1(seldom). One response scored 1.3 (closer to never) and deals with the belief that females are not rational, while three responses scored 2.1 (seldom) and deals with males better suited, family responsibilities, and graduate courses. The other nineteen responses ranged from 1.4 (never to seldom) to 2.00 (seldom). Two responses scored 1.4 (never to seldom) and address female principals' lack support from their subordinates, and belief that females are less motivated on the job because they are providing a second income for the family. Two responses scored 2.00 (seldom) on the topic of male administrators tend to hire other males, and female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates. One response (family responsibilities) registered closer to seldom (1.9), while four

responses: females are too emotional, females cannot take the pressure, females are less interested in the principalship, and female principals are assumed to hold "token" positions, registered at 1.5 between never and seldom. This group of assistant principals scored lower than the means of the total group on all 21 questions (questions 8-28), and scored higher on one question, which addresses lack of involvement in network. In other words, the women who had succeeded in obtaining an assistant principalship recognized a range of obstacles but did not perceive they had faced significant barriers to their appointment. However, they did indicate that lack of involvement in a network was an important factor in limiting the success of women.

Table 4

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses of Group 1: Assistant Principalship

Question	Group 1			Total Group		
	No	Mean	S.D.	No	Mean	S.D.
8. Males suited	23	2.174	1.193	92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	23	1.957	1.107	92	2.26	1.57
10. Males hire	23	2.043	1.186	92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	23	1.5217	0.6653	92	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	23	1.5217	0.7903	92	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	23	1.3478	0.6473	92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	23	1.6087	0.9409	92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	23	1.7826	1.0426	92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer males	23	1.8696	0.9679	92	2.043	0.960
17. Less interested	23	1.5652	0.7878	92	1.7065	0.9439
18. Teacher support	23	1.4348	0.7278	92	1.804	0.964
19. Admin. Support	23	1.6522	0.8847	92	1.902	1.017
20. Community	23	1.7391	1.0098	92	1.8587	0.9444
21. Grad. Courses	23	1.870	1.058	92	2.207	1.288

22. Token		23	1.5652	0.8958	92	1.685 0.960
23. No mentors	23	1.783	0.951	92	1.957 1.248
24. No roles		23	1.4348	0.6624	92	1.620 0.982
25. Less motivated	23	1.4348	0.7278	92	1.5761 0.9286
26. Family support	23	1.4348	0.7878	92	1.5543 0.8434
27. Evaluations		23	2.087	1.311	92	2.196 1.294
28. Relocation		23	1.609	1.033	92	1.783 1.239
29. Network		23	2.174	0.984	92	2.076 1.888

4.1.5   *Responses of Group 2 (Obtained a Principalship)*

Forty-six women reported themselves as having obtained a principalship. The means of two responses from this group ranged from 1.34 (seldom to never) to 2.23 (sometimes to seldom).   One response, females being less motivated because they are providing second income registered 1.34 (seldom to never), and another response, dealing with family responsibilities registered 2.19 (sometimes to seldom). Four responses scored from 2.02 to 2.19 (closer to seldom), while ten responses scored from 1.36 (between seldom and never but closer to never) to 1.60 (between seldom and never but closer to seldom). Six responses scored from 1.71 to 1.95 (between never to seldom but closer to seldom). Group 2, the principals, scored the lowest (of the 3 groups) on 7 of the responses. This group, having obtained the position, recognized the obstacles but felt them less frequently than those who were still seeking a position in administration. This group of principals scored lower on 20 questions than the means of the total group.   These principals scored higher on two questions, which address family responsibilities, and lack of family understanding, than the means of the total group. Group 2 scored higher than group 1 on eleven responses: males suited, family responsibilities, males hire, emotional, not pressure, not rational, not discipline, prefer males, teacher support, administrative support, and family support. This suggests that these women principals felt stronger on barriers of gender stereotyping and family responsibilities. Also group 2 scored lower than

group 1 on eight questions: not secondary, less interested, graduate courses, token, no roles, less motivated, evaluations, and network, suggesting that these women principals felt these barriers were less important when they were seeking principalship. Both groups 1 and 2 scored the same on three questions: community, no mentors, and relocation.

Table 5

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses of Group 2 Principals

Questions	Group 2			Total Group		
	No	Mean	S.D.	No	Mean	S.D.
8. Males suited	46	2.196	0.910	92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	46	2.239	1.058	92	2.26	1.57
10. Males hire	46	2.152	0.988	92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	46	1.6304	0.7989	92	1.81	0.93
12. Not take pressure	46	1.5652	0.8341	92	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	46	1.4783	0.7814	92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	46	1.6304	0.8783	92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	46	1.4783	0.7814	92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer males	46	1.9565	0.9418	92	2.043	0.960
17. Less interested	46	1.4348	0.8070	92	1.706	0.9439
18. Teacher support	46	1.7174	0.9348	92	1.804	0.964
19. Admin. support	46	1.7391	0.8282	92	1.902	1.017
20. Community	46	1.7391	0.8282	92	1.858	0.9444
21. Grad.courses	46	2.065	1.218	92	2.207	1.288
22. Tokens	46	1.4130	0.7173	92	1.685	0.960
23. No mentors	46	1.783	1.153	92	1.957	1.248
24. No role models	46	1.3696	0.6785	92	1.620	0.982
25. Less motivated	46	1.3478	0.7369	92	1.576	0.9286
26. Family support	46	1.5870	0.8320	92	1.554	0.8434
27. Evaluations	46	2.022	1.145	92	2.196	1.294
28. Relocations	46	1.609	1.164	92	1.783	1.239

29. Network   46   1.783   1.094   92   2.076 1.888

Group 2, the principals did not score the highest (of the 3 groups) on any of the 22 responses. This group, having obtained a principal's position, recognizes the barriers but feels them less frequently than those still seeking a position in administration. Among the three groups, the principals did score the lowest on six questions (less frequently encountered barriers): not secondary, less interested, tokens, no role models, less motivated, and relocations, suggesting that for this group of women these barriers were not strong barriers.

4.1.6   *Responses of Group 3(Those Who Have Sought But Have Not Obtained A Principalship or An Assistant Principalship)*

Twenty-three women reported themselves as having sought but never having obtained a principalship or assistant Principalship.   The means of the 22 responses ranged from 1.60 (closer to seldom) to 2.91 (closer to sometimes). One response, lack of family understanding and support, registered 1.60. Another response, dealing with males hire registered 2.91.   The following responses registered between 2.50 and 2.90 (closer to sometimes) : males hire, family, not secondary, graduate courses, evaluations, and network. These results suggest that these barriers are the strongest barriers for this group of women. Fourteen responses registered between 2.00 to 2.5 (closer to sometimes) : emotional, not take pressure, not rational, not discipline, prefer males, less interested, teacher support, administrative support, community, tokens, no mentors, no role models, less motivated, and relocations. This suggests that these barriers are moderately encountered barriers for women who did not obtained a principalship. The total group scored between 2.04 to 2.32 on 7 responses and group 3 scored between 2.17 to 2.30 on 4 responses. The total group scored between 1.62 to 1.68 on 3 responses, and group 3 scored 1.60 only on one response.

Table 6

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses of Group 3; Have Sought But Not Obtained a Principalship or Assistant Principalship

Question		Group 3			Total Group	
	No	Mean	S.D.	No	Mean	S.D.
8. Males suited	23	2.739	1.054	92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	23	2.609	1.340	92	2.26	1.57
10. Male hire	23	2.913	1.125	92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	23	2.4783	1.2229	92	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	23	2.3913	1.1176	92	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	23	2.3478	0.9821	92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	23	2.3913	1.1176	92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	23	2.5652	1.1211	92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer male	23	2.3913	0.9409	92	2.043	0.960
17. Less interested	23	2.3913	1.0331	92	1.7065	0.9439
18. Teacher support	23	2.3478	1.0273	92	1.804	0.964
19. Admin. Support	23	2.4783	1.1627	92	1.902	1.017
20. Community	23	2.2174	1.0426	92	1.8587	0.9444
21. Grad. Courses	23	2.826	1.466	92	2.207	1.288
22. Token	23	2.3478	1.1524	92	1.685	0.960
23. No mentor	23	2.478	1.563	92	1.957	1.248
24. No role models	23	2.3043	1.3959	92	1.620	0.982
25. Less motivated	23	2.1739	1.1929	92	1.5761	0.9286
26. Family support	23	1.6087	0.9409	92	1.5543	0.8434
27. Evaluations	23	2.652	1.496	92	2.196	1.294
28. Relocation	23	2.304	1.460	92	1.783	1.239
29. Network	23	2.565	1.409	92	2.076	1.888

Group 3, those women who had sought but never obtained a principalship, scored the highest (out of the groups) on all responses. These women, who have sought but not obtained principalship registered more frequently perceived barriers than any of the other groups.

4.1.7. *Comparisons among the three groups and all groups*

Group 3, those women who have sought but not received a principalship scored the highest score of 3 groups and total means in all questions. It was concluded that group 3 registered the most perceived obstacles when compared with the other 2 groups and the means of all the groups. Group 2, those women who obtained a principalship scored higher than group 1 on 11 questions. Group 2 scored lower than group 1 on 8 questions. The 8 questions deal with society 's image about women who seek principalship and lack of network and role models. Group 1 and 2 tied on three questions: community, no mentor and relocation. Therefore group 2 (women who had achieved a principalship) registered more perceived obstacles than group 1 (women who had achieved an assistant principalship) on 11 questions and perceived the same obstacles on 3 questions, and less perceived obstacles on 8 questions. The most frequently barriers on 11 questions were related to gender stereotyping, and family responsibilities. One explanation could be that since women who achieved a principalship had to succeed against huge odds, they remember the barriers as greater than perhaps they were. Also women who had achieved a principalship scored lower on all questions except 1 question, family support, than total means. Therefore, principals perceived fewer obstacles than the total group in 21 questions. Group 1, those women who obtained Assistant Principalship had the lowest group score on 12 questions. The 12 questions about what administrators and people think about women principals, lack of family support, and graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators. Also, women who had achieved assistant principalship scored lower on all questions except 1 question, than the total mean group. It was concluded that those women who obtained an

assistant Principalship perceived less obstacles compared to total group, except 1 question which deals with lack of involvement in network.

4.1.7.1   Mean scores and Standard Deviation for individual groups and combined groups

Table 7

Mean Scores and Standard Deviation for Individual Groups and Combined Groups by Question

Question	Group 1 N=23		Group 2 N=46		Group 3 N=23		All groups N=92	
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.
8. Male suited	2.17	1.19	2.19	0.91	2.73	1.05	2.32	1.03
9. Family	1.95	1.10	2.23	1.05	2.60	1.34	2.26	1.15
10. Male hire	2.04	1.18	2.15	0.98	2.91	1.12	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	1.52	0.66	1.63	0.79	2.47	1.22	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	1.52	0.79	1.56	0.83	2.39	1.11	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	1.34	0.64	1.47	0.78	2.34	0.98	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	1.60	0.94	1.63	0.87	2.39	1.17	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	1.78	1.04	1.47	0.78	2.56	1.12	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer male	1.86	0.96	1.95	0.94	2.39	0.94	2.04	0.96

17.

Less motivated	1.56	0.78	1.43	0.80	2.39	1.03	1.70	0.94

18.

Less interested	1.43	0.72	1.71	0.93	2.34	1.02	1.80	0.96

19.

Teacher support	1.65	0.88	1.73	0.90	2.47	1.16	1.90	1.01

20.

Administration	1.73	1.00	1.73	0.82	2.21	1.04	1.85	0.94

21.

Community	1.87	1.05	2.06	1.21	2.82	1.46	2.20	1.28

22.

Grad. Courses	1.56	0.89	1.41	0.71	2.34	1.15	1.68	0.96

23.

Tokens	1.78	0.95	1.78	1.15	2.47	1.56	1.95	1.24

24.

No mentor	1.43	0.66	1.36	0.67	2.30	1.39	1.62	0.98

25.

No roles	1.43	0.72	1.34	0.73	2.17	1.19	1.57	0.92

26.

Family support	1.43	078	1.58	0.83	1.60	0.94	1.55	0.84

27.

Evaluations	2.08	1.31	2.02	1.14	2.65	1.49	2.19	1.29

28.

Relocation	1.60	1.03	1.60	1.16	2.30	1.46	1.78	1.23

29.

Network	2.17	0.98	1.78	1.09	2.56	1.40	2.07	1.88

4.1.8   Comparison of perceived barriers by age

Responses By Age

The responses of the women were sorted according to the age of each respondent and were divided into three categories, 39 and younger, 40-49, and 50 and older. In explaining the responses, these three groups will be referred to as youngest, middle, and oldest.

In this portion of the study, the means of the responses of the three groups ranged from 1.38 to 2.69, from never, to seldom closer to sometimes. In 6 responses, which include gender stereotyping, the oldest group scored the lowest mean numbers, and therefore registered the least perceived obstacles. The middle group did not score the lowest on any response, and in 1 response, lack of involvement in network tied with the oldest group. However, the middle group scored highest on all responses except two responses, lack of administrators' support, and lack of network. It appears the middle group registered more perceived obstacles. The youngest group scored lowest on 14 responses, family responsibilities and lack of family support, society's image about women principals, graduate courses, no role models and relocation, suggesting that perhaps this group had not had faced the barriers of family responsibilities yet. But on the other hand it might suggest that society's image about women principals is improving, and it might also suggest that there are less problems with graduate courses for the youngest group. Also the youngest group scored highest on one response, lack of network. This group registered less perceived obstacles on 14 responses and most perceived obstacles on one response.

4.1.8.1 Teaching experiences versus group by age

The average years of teaching experiences by Group 1, those women who are 39 years and younger tied (13.17) with Group 2, those between ages 40-49 (13.19). Group 3, age 50 and above, had a mean average of 20.39 years which means they had highest teaching experiences of all the 3 groups. The younger and middle-aged women had about the same average years of experience. This could mean women in the middle group perhaps have had time off for family

reasons, whereas the younger women may not have yet reached that stage in their lives.

Table 8

Means and Standard Deviation of Teaching Experiences Versus Group by Age

Group	N	Mean	S.D.
1 (age 39& younger)	23	13.17	6.75
2 (ages 40-49)	46	13.19	6.15
3 (ages 50+)	23	20.39	9.78

4.1.8.2 *Administrative experience versus group by age*

The average administrative experience by groups (ages 39 and younger, ages 40-49, ages 50 and above) indicated that the group 2 those women ages 40-49 had the highest administrative experience of all 3 groups, followed by group 1 (ages 39 and younger), and ages 50 and above.

Table 9

Mean and Standard Deviations of Administrative Experience Versus Group by Age

Group	N	Mean	S.D.
1	23	7.60	6.37
2	46	9.30	5.14
3	23	2.95	6.13

4.1.8.3 *Responses of Age 39 and Younger*

Twenty one women made up this segment of the population who were aged 39 or younger, the youngest group. This group was the smallest of the 3 groups. The mean scores on the 22 responses ranged from 1.38, responses 17, and 26, to 2.42, response 29, never to seldom to half-way to sometimes.

Table 10

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses by Age: Group 1=39 and Younger

Question		Group 1=39 and Younger				Total Group	
	No	Mean	S.D.		No	Mean	S.D.
8. Male suited	21	2.23	1.09		92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	21	2.048	1.28		92	2.26	1.57
10. Males hire	21	2.14	1.19		92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	21	1.66	0.96		92	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	21	1.61	0.92		92	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	21	1.52	0.67		92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	21	1.66	1.01		92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	21	1.76	0.99		92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer males	21	1.90	0.99		92	2.043	0.960
17. Less motivated	21	1.38	0.58		92	1.706	0.9439
18. Less interested	21	1.52	0.81		92	1.804	0.964
19. Teacher support	21	1.81	0.87		92	1.902	1.017
20. Administration	21	1.71	0.90		92	1.858	0.9444
21. Community	21	1.90	1.13		92	2.207	1.288
22. Grad. Courses	21	1.42	0.81		92	1.685	0.960
23. Tokens	21	1.81	1.20		92	1.957	1.248
24. No mentors	21	1.42	0.81		92	1.620	0.982
25. No roles	21	1.47	0.74		92	1.576	0.9286
26. Family support	21	1.38	0.86		92	1.554	0.8434
27. Evaluations	21	1.90	1.13		92	2.196	1.294
28. Relocation	21	1.47	0.92		92	1.783	1.239
29. Network	21	2.42	1.12		92	2.076	1.888

4.1.8.4   Responses by Ages 40-49

   Thirty-six made up this group, which was the middle and largest of the three groups. The mean scores on the 22 questions ranged from 1.63, response 26, to 2.69, response 10, never to seldom (closer to seldom) to seldom to sometimes (closer to sometimes).

Table 11

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses by Age: Group 2= 40-49

Question		Group 2=40-49				Total Group		
	No	Mean		S.D.	No	Mean	S.D.	
8. Male suited	36	2.52		1.13		92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	36	2.33		1.19		92	2.26	1.57
10. Males hire	36	2.69		1.16		92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	36	2.08		1.05		92	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	36	1.94		1.06	92	1.76	0.96	
13. Not rational	36	1.88		1.08		92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	36	1.97		1.15		92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	36	2.02		1.18		92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer males	36	2.02		0.94		92	2.043	0.960
17. Less motivated	36	1.94		1.19		92	1.706	0.9439
18. Less interested	36	1.97		1.13		92	1.804	0.964
19. Teacher support	36	1.86		1.07		92	1.902	1.017
20. Administration	36	2.00		1.01		92	1.858	0.9444
21. Community	36	2.41		1.36		92	2.207	1.288
22. Grad. Courses	36	1.86		1.01		92	1.685	0.960
23. Tokens	36	2.02		1.27		92	1.957	1.248
24. No mentors	36	1.83		1.18		92	1.620	0.982
25. No roles	36	1.77		1.14		92	1.576	0.9286

26. Family support	36	1.63	0.86	92	1.554	0.8434
27. Evaluations	36	2.38	1.37	92	2.196	1.294
28. Relocation	36	1.94	1.41	92	1.783	1.239
29. Network	36	1.97	1.23	92	2.076	1.888

This group of women, aged 40-49, tied on 2 responses, which include the belief that women are less suited for the demands of the job, and the belief that many teachers prefer male principals.

4.1.8.5 Responses by Age 50+

Thirty-five women made up group 3, aged 50+, the oldest group. The mean scores of the 22 responses ranged from 1.42, response 25, to 2.31, response 9, half way between never and seldom to half way between seldom to sometimes.

Table 12

Means and Standard Deviations of Responses By Age: group 3= age 50+

Question	Group 3=age 50+				Total Group	
	No	Mean	S.D.	No	Mean	S.D.
8. Male suited	35	2.17	0.89	92	2.32	1.03
9. Family	35	2.31	1.05	92	2.26	1.57
10. Males hire	35	2.02	0.92	92	2.31	1.11
11. Emotional	35	1.62	0.73	92	1.81	0.93
12. Not pressure	35	1.65	0.87	92	1.76	0.96
13. Not rational	35	1.51	0.74	92	1.66	0.89
14. Not discipline	35	1.74	0.81	92	1.81	1.00
15. Not secondary	35	1.65	0.87	92	1.82	1.03
16. Prefer males	35	2.14	0.97	92	2.043	0.960
17. Less motivated	35	1.65	0.76	92	1.706	0.943
18. Less interested	35	1.80	0.83	92	1.804	0.964

19. Teacher support	35	2.00	1.05	92	1.902 1.017
20. Administration	35	1.80	0.90	92	1.858 0.944
21. Community	35	2.17	1.29	92	2.207 1.288
22. Grad. Courses	35	1.65	0.96	92	1.685 0.960
23. Tokens	35	1.97	1.27	92	1.957 1.248
24. No mentors	35	1.51	0.81	92	1.620 0.982
25. No roles	35	1.42	0.73	92	1.576 0.928
26. Family support	35	1.57	0.81	92	1.554 0.843
27. Evaluations	35	2.17	1.29	92	2.196 1.294
28. Relocation	35	1.80	1.20	92	1.783 1.239
29. Network	35	1.97	1.17	92	2.076 1.888

This group of women, 50 and older, tied on 4 responses (mean score 1.65). On response 19, which deals with lack of support from other administrators, they scored highest among the 3 groups. Group 2, and group 3 tied on response 29 which deals with lack of involvement in network. This suggests that lack of network is a barrier for women ages 40 and up who seek principalship. Therefore, this barrier was considered a very important barrier for this study because women ages 40 and up contributed to a large number of applicants for principalship in the current study. (see section 4.1.16 for ANCOVA that provides the statistical analysis of the trends covered here).

4.1.9   Summary Part 1

The sample in Part 1 consisted of 92 women who either obtained a principalship or sought but did not obtain a principalship. The means of responses for the total group were highest (2.04 to 2.32) on seven questions, male suited, male hire, family responsibilities, graduate courses, evaluation on more

stringent criteria, lack involvement in network, and no teacher support. Group 1 consisted of 23 women who obtained assistant principalship. Women in group 1 had the highest mean scores (2.1) on three responses: male suited, family responsibilities, and graduate courses. Group 2 consisted of 46 women who obtained a principalship. This group had highest mean scores (2.02 to 2.23) on 5 responses, family, male suited, male hire, graduate courses, and evaluation. Twenty-three women in group 3 who sought but did not obtain principalship had highest mean scores (2.50 to 2.91) on 5 questions, male hire, family, not secondary, graduate courses, evaluations, and network.

Group 1 those women who obtained assistant principalship scored lower on all questions except 1 question, than the total mean group. Group 2 (women who had achieved a principalship) registered more perceived obstacles than group 1 (women who had achieved an assistant principalship) on 11 questions and perceived the same obstacles on 3 questions, and less perceived obstacles on 8 questions. Group 2 scored lower on all but 1 question than total means. Therefore, women who obtained a principalship perceived fewer obstacles than total group in 21 questions. Group 3, those women who have sought but did not obtain principalship, had the highest score of 3 groups and total means in all questions.

The sample of 92 women were divided according to their age group: group 1, age 39 and younger, group 2, ages 40-49, and group 3, age 50+. Twenty one women who were aged 39 or younger had highest mean score on one response 29 (2.42). The highest mean score for total group was (2.32) on response 8. Group 2 ages 40-49 had highest mean score (2.69) on response 10. The highest mean score in group 3 age 50+ was (2.31) on response 9.

4.1.10   Analysis addressing Research Questions

4.1.10.1 Research Question # 1

1. For those women who do obtain an assistant principalship and principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

Most frequently encountered obstacles

The 23 women who self-reported as assistant principals (Group 1) responded to the following 4 questions, 8,10,27, and 29 as frequently encountered obstacles (means in the 2.04 to 2.17 range):

* many people believe males are better suited than females to be principals;

* male administrators tend to hire other males;

* female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates (these three barriers appear to relate to gender role stereotypes/ patriarchy);

* not to have been involved in a formal or an informal network. The 46 women who self-reported as principals (Group 2) responded to the following 4 questions, 9,10,21,27 (means in the 2.02 to 2.39 range) as most frequently encountered obstacles:

* family responsibilities;

* male administrators tend to hire other males;

* graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators;

* female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male. These barriers relate to a combination of gender role stereotypes/ patriarchy and work/family conflicts.

Moderately encountered obstacles

Group 1, women who became assistant principals, responded to the following 13 questions as being moderately encountered obstacles (means in the 1.52 to 1.95). Most of these questions link to:

* female stereotypes (females can't do the job, people prefer males, females less interested, lack support, too emotional, females can not take pressure, females

assumed to hold token positions, people have less confidence in female principals);

* family responsibilities;

* no mentor;

* relocation;

* graduate courses which did not assume the special needs of females.

Group 2, women who became principals responded on 11 questions as being moderately encountered obstacles (means in the 1.56 to 1.95 range). These 11 questions deal with:

* female stereotypes (females are too emotional, females cannot take the pressure, females are not effective disciplinarians; many teachers prefer male principals; many female principals lack support from their subordinates; many female principals lack support from other administrators; many communities would not have as much confidence in a female principal as they would have in a male principal);

* not to have had a mentor in educational administration;

* lack of family understanding and support;

* the inability to relocate to another geographic region;

* lack of involvement in formal or informal networks.

Least frequently encountered obstacles

Group 1, the women who became assistant principals, responded to the following 5 questions as being least frequently encountered obstacles (means in the 1.34 to 1.43 range):

* many people believe that females are not rational or objective;

* many female principals lack support from their subordinates;

* not to have had more female role models in educational administration;

* many people believe that females are less motivated;

* lack of family understanding and support.

Group 2, the women who became principals responded to 6 questions as being least frequently encountered obstacles (means in the 1.34 to 1.47 range) which deal with:

* gender stereotyping / patriarchy.

4.1.10.2 Research Question #2

2. For those women who actively seek but do not obtain a principalship or assistant principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

Most frequently encountered obstacles

Group 3, those women who have sought but have not obtained an assistant principalship or principalship, responded to 7 questions as most frequently encountered obstacles (means in the 2.56 to 2.91) which include:

* gender stereotyping / patriarchy;

* family responsibilities;

* insufficient training in graduate courses;

* lack of networking.

As might be expected, since they sought but did not obtain positions, this group registered the highest number (7) of most frequently encountered obstacles among the three groups. Group 1, the assistant principals, registered 4 of these obstacles which include:

* gender stereotyping

* networking.

Group 2, the principals, registered 4 of these obstacles which include:

* gender stereotyping

* family.

Group 3, those who had sought but had not obtained a position, registered 7 of these obstacles which include:

*   gender stereotyping;

* family;

* network.

The women in Group 3, those women who have sought but not obtained a principalship, registered frequently encountered obstacles over and above Groups 1 and 2.

Moderately encountered obstacles

Group 3, women who have sought but have not obtained a principalship or assistant principalship, responded to the following 14 questions as being moderately encountered obstacles (means in the 2.17 to 2.50 range) which relate to:

* gender stereotyping;

*   inability to relocate.

Least frequently encountered obstacles

Group 3, women who have sought but have not obtained an assistant principalship or principalship, responded to the following 1 question as being low obstacles (mean 1.60):

* not to have had family understanding and support.

4.1.11 Principal Component Analysis

Principal Component Analysis was done on the twenty-two responses (Question#8-29) on the questionnaire in order to ascertain the major themes of this questionnaire. The remaining questions were either asking demographic data or participant's opinions about other barriers, therefore Principal Component Analysis was not done on these questions.   Juan Du, graduate student in the statistical Center at The Ohio State University had run the program for analysis, and Dr. William Notz, Statistics Professor at The Ohio State University assisted as consultant in analyzing these results.

Table 13

Principal Component: Two Factors Will be Retained

Questions	Factors PC1	PC2
8. Males are better suited to be principals	-0.228	0.051
9. Family responsibilities interfere with job responsibility	-0.080	-0.572
10. Male administrators tend to hire other males	-0.218	0.077
11. Females are too emotional to be effective principals	-0.244	0.063
12. Females cannot take the pressure of being a principal	-0.256	0.096
13. Females not rational, objective enough to be principals	-0.256	0.038
14. Females are not effective disciplinarians	-0.234	0.189
15. Females are less suited to be principals	-0.258	0.046
16. Teachers prefer to have male principals	-0.190	0.074
17. Females less motivated, they provide a second income	-0.221	-0.087
18. Females are less interested in the principalship	-0.244	0.033
19. Female principals lack support from their subordinates	-0.23	-0.034
20. Female principals lack support from other administrators	-0.223	0.059
21. Many communities lack confidence in a female principal	-0.202	-0.081
22. Grad. courses did not address special needs of females	-0.238	0.087
23. Female principals to hold "token" positions	-0.180	0.027
24. A barrier not to have had more mentor in administration	-0.238	0.053
25. A barrier not to have had more female role models	-0.237	-0.084
26. A barrier not to have family understanding and support	-0.056	-0.610
27. Female principal candidates evaluated more stringently	-0.218	-0.093
28. A barrier to relocate in another region	-0.075	-0.429
29. A barrier not to have a formal or an informal network	-0.178	-0.064

	PC1	PC2
Eigen value	12.056	1.674
Proportion	0.548	0.076

Principal Component is a number that represents the average responses of all questions (Hair & et al,1998). A Principal Component Analysis is concerned with explaining the variance-covariance structure of the set of variables through a

few linear combinations of these variables (Shaw, & Wheeler, 1997). Principal Component categorizes the data into different groups by finding the dominant Eigen value. Eigen value corresponds to principal component scores and indicates the relative importance of the scores (Hair & et al,1998).

Eigen value of 12.056 put equal weight on all questions except questions #9, 26, and 28. Therefore one major factor which is gender stereotyping / patriarchy (factor 1) accounted for 55% of variation in data. The nineteen questions which relate to factor 1 focus on how the respondent answered how she felt other people thought and reacted concerning women administrators. A second less important factor (factor 2) accounts for an additional 7.6% of the variation and includes questions # 9,26,28 which consider family support and responsibilities, and relocation factor. The nineteen questions which relate to factor one focus on how the respondent answered concerning how she felt other people thought, felt, and reacted concerning women administrators. Questions 9,26, and 28 load heaviest on factor two and include family responsibilities, lack of family understanding, and support, and the inability to relocate to another geographic region. Question 29, the inability to relocate to another geographic region, also relates to family bonding.

For analytic purposes, the two major themes were then named Obstacles (gender role expectations and gender ideology), which included all of the 19 questions (related to issue in the community over which the individual has less control), and Family, questions 9,26, and 28 (family responsibilities interfere with job responsibility, not to have had family understanding and support, and relocation to another geographic region in the United States if a principalship were offered).

4.1.12   Two-Way Analysis Of Covariance

In order to relate the variables in question 5 (R5) which has the three groups, and age continuous and race with the scoring of the perceived obstacles, a Two-Way Analysis of Covariance (ANCOVA) was run using the original data set.

The results of a Two-way ANCOVA allow the researcher to see whether there are overall effects of the levels of each factor, and whether the factors combine in such a way as to have a unique effect on the dependent variable (Devore, 2000; Black, 2004). These types of research questions consider the issues of main effects and interactions (Devore, 2000; Black,2004). A Two-Way analysis of covariance involves 2 factors, each of which contains at least two levels and also a continuous variable or factor (the covariate). A Two-Way Analysis Of Covariance is similar to a Two-way ANOVA in that both involve two factors, each of which contains at least two levels. In each case, the summing tables will contain two main effects (one for each factor) and one interaction (Devore, 2000; Black, 2004). The 3 factors in this Two-way ANCOVA are as follows: R5, age continuous, and race.

The Two-Way ANCOVA was set up containing the following: R5, containing the following 3 categories: 1- have obtained an assistant principalship 2. Have obtained a principalship 3. Have sought but not obtained a principalship or assistant principalship; Race (1. White, 2. Nonwhite), and age as the covariate.

4.1.13 Research question #3

What is the relationship between age and race of the women and the perceived obstacles?

Neither age, or race, or interaction of group and race, were statistically significant.

Table 14

Two-way Analysis of Covariance to Determine Effects of R5, Age Continuous, and Race on Obstacle Scale

Question	P,Age	P,Group	P, race	P,Group & Race
8. Males suited	0.540	0.033*	0.455	0.338
9. Family	0.630	0.358	0.085	0.973

10. Males hire	0.327	0.006*	0.333	0.376
11. Emotional	0.555	0.000*	0.581	0.505
12. Not pressure	0.827	0.001*	0.452	0.409
13. Not rational	0.607	0.000*	0.575	0.640
14. Not discipline	0.765	0.011*	0.330	0.743
15. Not secondary	0.490	0.000*	0.426	0.255
16. Prefer males	0.583	0.060	0.980	0.301
17. Less motivated	0.561	0.000*	0.231	0.363
18. Less interested	0.532	0.015*	0.645	0.946
19. Teacher support	0.763	0.018*	0.760	0.803
20. Administration	0.903	0.209	0.587	0.627
21. Community	0.796	0.017*	0.597	0.454
22. Grad. Courses	0.593	0.001*	0.802	0.625
23. Tokens	0.805	0.012*	0.760	0.118
24. No mentors	0.987	0.000*	0.662	0.337
25. No roles	0.602	0.003*	0.319	0.679
26. Family support	0.789	0.725	0.241	0.435
27. Evaluations	0.463	0.239	0.252	0.783
28. Relocation	0.368	0.057	0.621	0.603
29. Network	0.054	0.008*	0.224	0.152

* Statistically significant finding

_differences are identified as significant if they are less than the 0.05 level.

From this procedure, the main effect of R5 (question # 5) is significant on 16 questions, which consider the issue of gender stereotyping / patriarchy (factor 1). But, for all questions, neither age, race, or group and race is significant. Thus women responded about gender regardless of age and race. It is evident that among 3 groups of women, group 3 who have sought but did not obtain assistant principalship or principalship scored higher on the obstacle of gender, compared to the other 2 groups who obtained assistant principalship or principalship. This

group is different from the other two groups in that groups 1 & 2 have obtained positions; therefore, of the three groups, they are the ones who have not obtained a sought after position. This failure to obtain a position clearly has an effect on their perceived barriers. The experiences of failure in trying to achieve an administrative position after one or more attempts may be vividly remembered, and may have a strong impact upon the responses registered in the questionnaire. Several women commented (open ended question) on how they felt after failing to obtain sought after positions, especially if they felt as well or better qualified than others who did obtain positions. Success in acquiring a principalship may neutralize the negative aspects of the job search. Success in the position may also help diminish prior negative perceptions. The unsuccessful women candidates of group 3 have experienced fewer mitigating circumstances to alleviate their negative perceptions of the process.

4.1.14   Summary of the results of research questions

The purpose of the study was to explore the perceived obstacles women face as they seek positions as principals in the field of educational administration.

A data base was built in October 2002 from a computer list of all those persons certified since September, 1998 as principals in Franklin County, Ohio. A total of 299 women were on the original list as being certified for the principalship in Franklin County; at the completion of mailing, the 32 item questionnaire was returned by 92 of the women.

The women who returned the questionnaire self-selected themselves into one of the following three categories:

1. obtained an assistant principalship.

2. obtained a principalship.

3. have sought but have not obtained an assistant principalship or principalship.

Some of the findings add new interpretations to the current body of knowledge and research, such as the following: women who sought but did not obtain a principalship had highest mean value for barrier than women who

obtained assistant principalship or principalship; the age and race were not significant for all 22 questions which examined different obstacles; variables associated with gender role expectations arising out of patriarchy were perceived as stronger obstacles than variables relating to family factors. The 4 research questions will serve as the guide for the summary of results which are presented.

4.1.14.1 Research question #1

1. For those who obtained an assistant principalship or a principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?

The women who have been appointed an assistant principal or principal registered six frequently encountered obstacles (means in the 2.02 to 2,39 range): many people believe males are better suited to be principals; family responsibilities interfere with their career; male administrators tend to hire other males; graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators; female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates; and lack of network.

The women who have been appointed an assistant principal or a principal registered 13 moderately encountered obstacles (means in the 1.52- 1.95 range), females are too emotional; females cannot take the pressure of being a principal; females are not effective disciplinarians; females are believed to be less suited for the unique demands of the job; many teachers prefer male principals; females are less interested in the principalship; female principals lack support from their subordinates; female principals lack support from other administrators; many communities would not have as much confidence in a female principal; female principals are assumed to hold "token" positions; females have no mentor in educational administration; lack of family understanding and support; and the inability to relocate to another geographic region in the United States.

The women who have appointed an assistant principal or a principal registered 3 least encountered obstacles (means in the 1.34 to 1.47 range): females are not rational or objective enough to be effective principals; not having more female

role models in educational administration; and females are less motivated on the job because they are providing a second income for the family. Three out of six most frequently encountered obstacles and 12 out of 13 of moderately encountered obstacles and 3 of the least frequently encountered obstacles are external barriers, obstacles in society and its institutions. In comparing the three groups, group 3 had the most frequently encountered obstacles. These statistics can be compared to Wilkinson's study (1991) which examined different obstacles for women's principalship and reported seven of the frequently encountered obstacles and four of the least encountered obstacles as external barriers. In Wilkinson's study (1991) group 2, those women who currently serve as principals felt that women preferred men as principals and that relocation would be a problem. In the current study, group 2 felt the same barriers plus other barriers such as family responsibilities and short comings in graduate courses. It can be concluded that preference for male "bosses" is still strong in the society. It is the concept suggested in the research and literature concerning women's socialization to be followers, whereas men are socialized to be leaders (Lobodzinska, 2000). Also women in the current study addressed the short coming of graduate courses in seeking principalship.

It would seem logical that this group of women felt fewer perceived barriers, since they had been successful in obtaining a principalship. The achievement of a principalship may tend to soften the perceptions of the difficulties experienced in the process, and some of these women may have experienced little or no difficulties in obtaining the position.

4.1.14.2 Research question #2

2. For those women who do actively seek but do not obtain a principalship, what are the perceived barriers they have encountered?

Women who have sought but not obtained a principalship responded to the highest number of questions (7) as being frequently encountered barriers (means

in the 2.56 to 2.91 range), as compared to women who obtained assistant principalship (4), and women who obtained principalship (4). Wilkinson (1991) had similar conclusion with women who sought but did not obtain principalship which had the highest number of frequently encountered barriers. Women who sought but did not obtain principalship responded to 14 questions as being moderately encountered barriers (mean 2.17 to 2.56), and to one question as being least frequently encountered barrier (mean 1.60). These women are different from women who have obtained positions, and they are the only ones who have not obtained a sought after position. This failure to obtain a position would have an impact on their perceived barriers. Success in acquiring a principalship may neutralize the negative aspects of the job search. Success in the position may also help diminish prior negative perceptions. The unsuccessful women candidates who did not obtain principalship experienced fewer mitigating circumstances to alleviate their negative perceptions of the process. Women who sought but did not obtain principalship in this study had mean range between 1.60 to 2.91, while in Wilkinson's study (1991) the means of 22 responses ranged from 2.3 to 4.4. Therefore, women in Wilkinson's study experienced more frequency of barrier compared to the current study.

4.1.14.3   Research question #3

3. *What is the relationship between age and race of the women and the perceived barriers?*

There is no significant effect of age and race on perceived barriers. There was no interaction between group and race. It was concluded that both age and race did not affect barriers. These conclusions, do not agree with the research and literature, although there is little in the literature concerning age and race. In Wilkinson's study (1991), both age and race were found to affect barriers. The lowest frequency of perceived barriers existed for the Whites who sought and obtained a principalship, but the Non-Whites who sought and obtained a

principlalship registered a greater frequency of barriers than the Whites who sought and received a principalship. Also, in Wilkinson's study (1991) older women felt they were not considered for positions. Younger women, on the other hand, felt their youthfulness limited them, especially if they were at the child-bearing age or were pregnant.

4.1.14.4 Research question #4

4. What is the relationship between the perceived barriers and the 3 groups of women?

From the Two-Way Analysis Of Covariance, it was found that group had an impact or effect on most barriers. Different groups of women perceived different barriers as being more influential in their ability to obtain a principalship. Group 3, those women who have sought but have not obtained a principalship, registered the highest incidence and the most frequently encountered barriers. This result was expected, since the women of group 3 have sought but not obtained a principalship. The findings from current study were similar to Wilkinson's study which reported group 3, those women who have sought but have not obtained a principalship, reported the most frequently encountered barriers.

From the Principal Component Analysis, 19 questions (all related to a gender issue), represent 55% of the variation of responses. Second remaining variation was family scale questions: #9 (family responsibilities), #26 (family support), and # 28 (relocation). These results are similar to Wilkinson's study and indicate that gender is still a significant barrier in society followed by family responsibilities. Therefore two components of gender and family are still main issues concerning barriers for principalship. These results relate very well to the research and literature in that most women perceive gender as a barrier. Also, most studies explain that, even though women may be professionals or in graduate school, they are still carry the major load of family responsibilities.

4.2   PART 2

The interviews were designed to explore further the issues identified in the quantitative part of the research. The purpose of these interviews was to explore in more depth the barriers that might prevent women from achieving administrative roles (Section 4.2.3, Women's Barriers to principalship). The in-depth information arising out of the qualitative study identified two additional barriers "male administrators prefer other male administrators" and "threatened male colleague" not identified in the earlier quantitative research. The term "threatened male colleague" referred to male co-workers who were threatened by the presence of female administrators. Two rounds of interviews were conducted in this part of the research. In the first round of interviews, six women (three women who sought but did not obtain principalship and three women who obtained principalship) were interviewed. In the second round of interviews, three women (one woman who obtained principalship and participated in the first interview; one woman who sought but did not obtain principalship and participated in the first interview; and one woman who obtained principalship and did not participate in the first interview) were interviewed. The second interviews were conducted one year and a half after the first interviews. After the data from the first round of interviews were analyzed, the researcher decided that additional information was needed in certain areas and chose to conduct a second round of interviews for the purpose of: a) following up information about barriers, particularly in relation to issues identified in the Literature Review. Issues were chosen from Literature Review to guide the interviews. These issues included: styles of leadership; different conceptual models that investigate gender differences in educational administration; and Pocock' s (2001) view about motherhood and women's struggle to combine both family and career. b) identifying if the women's position toward principalship have been changed over time. This documentation pulls together the similarities and differences between

the interviews and ties the findings back to the overall research objectives of the study.

4.2.1   Introduction

The women's characteristics involved in the first and second interviews are summarized in Table 1 (next page).

Some changes happened to two interviewees (Donna and Judy) in the year and a half between the two interviews. Donna had retired in that period. She had 36 years of experience of working as a teacher and as an assistant middle school principal and had decided that it was time for retirement. Judy, a librarian confirmed that she had not applied for principalship during the last eighteen months, and she does not intend to apply again because she feels she has little chance of success. She claimed that as a librarian she has more autonomy and more freedom to affect children than as a principal.

Table 15:

Women Participant' s Characteristics

PS: Pseudeonym name   P: Principal   AP: Assistant Principal

R: Race   A: Age   TE: Teaching Experience

AD: Administrative experience   FI: First Interview

SI: Second Interview   C: Caucasian   AF: African American

MS: Middle School   HS: High School   Y: Yes   N: No

PS	P	AP	R	A	TE	AD	FI	SI
Joann	N	N	C	54	32	N	Y	N
Ruth	N	N	AF	50	27	N	Y	N
Judy	N	N	C	50	28	N	Y	Y
Cathy	Y,MS	N	AF	54	15	12,AP,P,MS	Y	N
Sally	N	Y,MS	AF	34	4	4,AP.MS	Y	N
Donna	N	Y	C	56	27	8,AP,MS	Y	Y

Anne   Y,HS N   C   54   25   6,AP,P,HS   N   Y

_____

The names used to identify the women are not their real names. For the sake of confidentiality and anonymity, the names used are pseudonyms adopted for the women for the purpose of this study.

The following description of the women's experiences with barriers uses the information gathered from all interviews.

4.2.2   *Experiences of women*

In this chapter the experiences of the women are told from their perspective, using their own words. According to Weinberg (2002), an important tool in obtaining meaning from people's stories is to use ordinary language. Therefore, the language of these women is used to reveal the meanings they give to their own experience.

In this section the experiences of women who sought but did not obtain principalship are compared with experiences of women who obtained principalship to gain an understanding whether barriers were different for these two groups of women.

4.2.3   Women's Barriers to Principalship.

Gender
Stereotypical
view

Age

Preference for
Male administrators

Race

Gradua/e
courses

The threatened
Male colleague

**Women's
Barriers to
Principalship**

Family respo-
nsibilities

Getting the
job

Lack of

Lack of
Female role
model

Lack of support from
teachers and
administrators
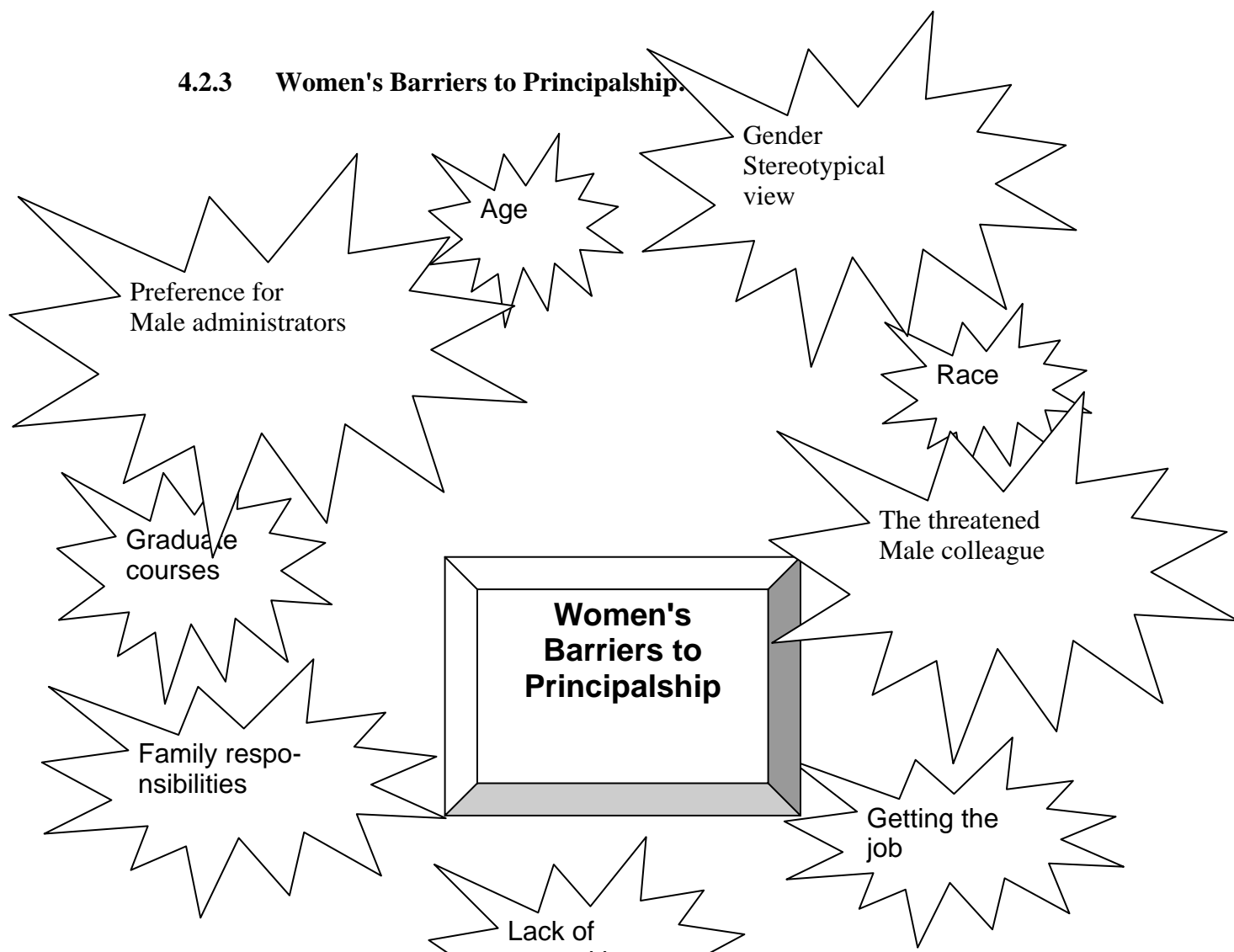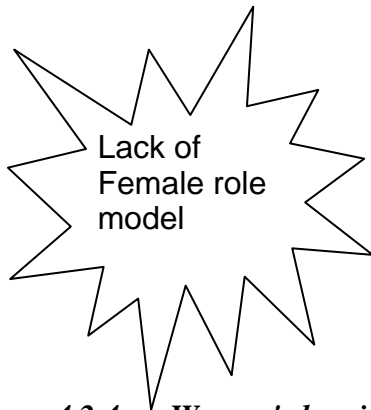
4.2.4   Women's barriers to principalship

This section will highlight the barriers for women's principalship. These will include issues concerned with factors such as: gender stereotypical views, the preference of male administrators for other male administrators, the threatened male colleague, getting the job, lack of networking, lack of female role models, family responsibilities, lack of support from teachers and administrators, graduate courses, race, and age.

4.2.5   Gender stereotypical views

Gender stereotypes are used to judge an individual in preference to specific and relevant information about that individual's performance (Archer & Lloyd, 2002). The impact of stereotypes shows that they are most readily activated under the following conditions: when judgements are being made about another person rather than one's self; when other information about the person is lacking; and when category membership (in this case gender) is viewed as salient. If all you know is that there is a woman applicant for a vacancy in an engineering company, stereotypes are more likely to be activated than if a woman who is personally known by the employer applies for a position as a child-care worker (Archer & Lloyd, 2002).

The administrative role is typically identified as a male role in gender stereotypes; therefore, any individual woman administrator is unlikely to be seen as adequately fitting or meeting the role requirements (Stivers, 1993, p.67). One female middle school principal interviewed highlighted her views associated with people's biased expectations:

> *We still have double standards. The idea that men can make better administrators is strong. We believe that men can do a better job. Recently I asked for help and the administration sent a leadership trainee who is a male. When he came in everybody said he is great. Not that I did not appreciate what he was doing, but me and my vice principal kept everything going. But when he came in everybody said he is great with the kids. I knew what he was doing, he couldn't do it all, because he didn't have the big picture. I think it is the perception some people have that we need male principal (Cathy).*

Cathy, who is working in a principalship role, perceived a strong association between being male and having authority held by the people around her at work. Cathy's dissatisfaction with her surroundings was due to the perception that her staff members favored male authority. As Cathy stated, the male authority association represented by her male trainee was privileged in conservative community discourses. Cathy indicated in her interview that the students in her school had social issues. Since her students had discipline issues, people around her at work might have perceived that only a male authority is able to discipline the students. Therefore, it is possible that people around her at work might have perceived that authority is closely associated with masculinity and student discipline. It is argued that masculinity becomes an issue when associated with student discipline, and then only when connected to overt student violence (Mac An Ghaill, 1994).

Similar to Cathy's view, Blackmore (1999) found in her study that staff members felt that the physical presence of a male vice principal alone was able to quell even the most disruptive male students. She indicated his authority was clearly associated with the 'masculine' attributes of physicality, rationality, lack of emotion and hardness. This female staff member explained her views:

> Well it was the 'old boys' club, you know. And then we had school
> council parent representative who were mums of kids of families
> that have gone through this school for ages. They idolized the vice
> principal and just followed him and did whateve
> he said (Blackmore, 1999, p.178).

According to some theorists (Franzway, 2001; Halford & Leonard, 2001), the masculine type of leadership (authoritative style) is often preferred over feminine type of leadership (caring style). This question was asked in the second round of interviews from three female participants. One female middle school assistant principal indicated:

> *I consider myself pretty authoritative as a female, so I am not sure that*

it

> *has to be either or, in other words there are men who are not very*
> *authoritative at all and women who are, and vice versa (Donna).*

Another female participant who obtained high school principalship believed that her style of leadership is not authoritative but she was very confident in conducting her duties as a principal. She said:

> *I am very collaborative, I am very team oriented. I have definitely*
> *worked with males that are the same, but I definitely come from that*

style

> *of leadership that you look at four frames of leadership and you are*
> *working through everything. So I happen to be a female and I happen*

to

> *not being an autocratic type of leader (Anne).*

Donna claimed that she is authoritative, and did not ascribe the authoritative type of leadership to all men. But Anne who obtained her high school principalship, claims that although her style of leadership is not authoritative, she is comfortable with her style and confident about conducting her job as a principal because the males that she worked with were all the same.

 Anne's style of leadership was based on a team oriented style and is similar to the styles used by women from Hall' s (1996) study. Hall's research included six women head-teachers who explored gender separately from ethnic origin as a factor influencing women's approaches to school leadership.   Hall (1996)

indicated that suspicion of power that came with the position of head-teacher, and the conflict it created with other deeply held values about preferred ways of working, led the women to reformulate leadership in ways they found more acceptable. These included preferring 'power for' rather than 'power over', using power to empower, and sharing power. Women in her study demonstrated a comfort with the role, which they saw as sufficiently flexible not to require compromising their beliefs as education professionals and women. Their style reflected the characteristics of androgynous management, which is conceptualized in the literature as being about possessing a broad integrated repertoire of management skills rather than 'masculine' and 'feminine' characteristics (Wajcman, 1998).

The other female who sought but did not obtain high school principalship and participated in the second interview indicated:

> *I think men reinforce the masculine type of leadership but I don't think*
> *the masculine style of leadership is preferred (Judy).*

Judy, who did not obtain a principalship, believed that men promote the masculine style of leadership, but she indicated this style is not always the preferred style of leadership of others. This apparent conflict is addressed in the work of some authors (for example, Edley & Wetherell,1996; Westwood, 2002) who claim that masculinity is constituted in relation to femininity through structures of gender relations. These authors believe power is incorporated into an analysis of masculinity. Therefore, masculinity is a part of the hegemonic culture, which is responsible for mediating oppression and domination. They indicated that power is differentiated so that a particular style of masculinity becomes ascendant or dominant in certain situations. Masculinity has to operate or be competent at operating some degree of power and authority.

Strategic management is privileging men over women, and maintains as dominant certain forms and practices of masculinity (Kerfoot & Knights, 1993; Pincus, 2003). Central to feminist strategies to redress their disadvantage in education has been the same/difference dilemma. In western conceptual schema, the feminine is usually defined with regard to male norm - different from or similar to men. Feminists use arguments of 'sameness' or 'difference' when

political constraints suggest that these are the only means available to improve women's lives (Blackmore, 1999).

Hegemonic masculinity and male/authority association with principalship becomes more evident when women seek secondary level principalship. The increasing number of males occupying secondary school principalship indicates that males are favored for secondary school administrative roles over women. The expectation is that women are able to manage small children in elementary school, but as children become physically stronger and reach secondary school, a male principal is believed to be more capable of disciplining the students. One female who sought but did not obtain high school principalship indicated:

> *I think women who aspire to go for principalship at high school level, might face biased views. Many feel that women can not do certain things with the students at the high school level. For example if it is a high school and you have to deal with males and females they may feel that a male may be better able to deal with some of the discrepancies, issues and problems that come up in a high school (Ruth).*

Ruth indicated that people believe that males are capable of dealing with problems and physical challenges that might arise in dealing with teens and older students. Ruth's view agrees with some studies that explored the role of women and men in management. Some authors (Wajcman,1998; Jacob & Gerson, 2004) indicated, traditionally, men have been seen as better suited than women to executive positions. The qualities usually associated with being a successful leader are 'masculine' traits such as drive, objectivity and an authoritative manner. Women have been seen as different from men, as lacking the necessary personal characteristics and skills to make good leaders. Leadership traits that correspond with male traits are those such as dominance and aggressiveness.

A female who sought but did not obtain a principalship had the same views about higher number of male high school principals when compared to the number of male principals in elementary schools.

> *I could honestly believe that two people could put in the same resume, one female one male, the female resume would be put to the side. We*

> *definitely support the position that females do better at the elementary level than they do at the secondary level and that is indicated by the number of principals at the elementary level. The majority are women, and middle school and high school the majority are men (Judy).*

She continues:

> *I make decisions that deals with every staff member, every student in this building but yet I would not be considered qualified because I am a female (Judy).*

Judy was certain the reason she did not obtain high school principalship was due to the fact that administrators in her school had gender stereotypical views.

One female who obtained middle school assistant principalship also believed that the higher number of high school principals than elementary school principals is the reflection of gender stereotyping views.

> *I think that historically teachers are supposed to be women. When I was a child in the whole town that I was living, there was no male who taught elementary schools and it was considered a woman's job and I think the secondary position might have appeal to men traditionally. It is like nursing, there are hospitals that want to take male nurses and there aren't many out there. I think it has to do what historically was considered the norm, 100 years, 50 years (Donna).*

Historically, the public and private division of labor produced expressive traits in women, and instrumental traits in men, referred to as the feminisation of love and the masculinisation of work (Cornell, 1995). Thus, the personality traits of men and women, and the stereotypes associated with them, arose from the social structure that divided men's and women's spheres of activity.

All of the above analyses have tended to work with accounts of gender role formation. One female who sought but did not obtain principalship perceived this gender role formation among administrators who hire principals. She indicated:

I think the perception that people have about female is a barrier for women who want to go for principalship. People think that females are so easy, emotional, cold, and not involved (Ruth).

Ruth, who did not obtain a principalship, perceived gender role views from those who were involved in the hiring process while she was seeking principalship. This indicates the dilemmas confronting women in leadership - professional and political. The dilemma is women are facing gender biased views in educational administration

All women's beliefs stated above about female stereotyping agrees with Grace's (1995) study that explored the role of gender expectation in society. Grace believes patriarchal and male power has shaped the construct of leadership, its culture, discourse, imaging and practice for centuries. Grace (1995) pointed out that female managers are operating in a context of male hegemony. Leadership constructed by patriarchy is tied to male dominance, and is the current theme in Western, or for that matter, Eastern civilization. It is a theme that remains unquestioned, taken-for-granted and accepted. Radical feminists claim that men, as a social group, dominate women, and use the term 'patriarchy' to describe this system of domination and subordination. Women's oppression by men is understood to be the most fundamental form of human oppression visible across all societies throughout history. According to Blackmore:

> Historical critique is that knowledge practice that historically situates the possibility of what exists under patriarchal relations of difference - particularly the division of labor - and points to what is suppressed by the empirically existing: not just what *is,* but what could be ….. The role of critique …. is exactly this: the production of historical knowledges that marks the transformability of existing social arrangements and the possibility of a different social organization - an organization free from exploitation (1999, p.39).

In contradiction to the views stated above, one female principal believed all female managers do not necessarily live in a context of male hegemony. A middle school principal in an upper-class community believed that stereotyping

might exist in other communities, but she said in her community the expectations are different:

> *I think there is a perception in a community but not this community that a high school principal is a woman, like the perception is that superintendent should be a man. If a woman is superintendent is a big surprise. If they are in the news, if it is a woman I notice it; if it is a man it doesn't surprise me (Donna).*

She continues:

> *Our superintendent has worked very hard to infuse more women into the administration since he has been here. I was hired, the principal at the other middle school was hired who was a female. I don't think to a sense of a point of Affirmative Action, but trying to encourage women (Donna).*

Donna is a middle school principal in an upper-class community, and her views did not agree with most females in this study. One study has shown that education level is a factor that affect people's knowledge about stereotyping (Grogan, 2000). The upper-class community where Donna lived was comprised of wealthy, educated people. Therefore, it is logical to speculate that people in her community were well aware of women's issues and were sympathetic to working with women in the school. When the researcher asked this participant if she thinks higher education in her community has influenced the way they interact with women, she replied:

> *Absolutely, I think it would be much easier to be a female administrator here than in small town where I grew up that was industrial and agricultural where women didn't do that kind of thing (Donna).*

Donna was successful in obtaining her principalship, and did not think she experienced any gender biased views in her pathway to principalship. Donna did not experience disadvantage at all. The reason that Donna did not perceive gender bias could be due to the fact that she had her supervisor's support.

Women in this current study, who did not obtain a principalship perceived more gender bias than women who achieved principalship. It is possible that for women who obtained their principalship, their success outweighed any negative

perceptions that they might have experienced when they were seeking principalship.

In conclusion the main strength of this section is in its attention to gendered cultural processes, such as the way people talk to each other, how they interact informally, and their taken-for-granted assumptions, values and ideas. It is important to comprehend fully the complexity of power at the center of an analysis of masculinity within institutional cultures. Although there are diverse historical and contemporary expressions of masculinity and femininity, the culture of organizations is predominantly male. This culture, in its symbolic and material aspects, is so ingrained that it is seen as ungendered.

Since most studies and most women in the current study indicated that, in their experience, gender biased views exist in educational administration, it can be suggested that people in general need to be educated about gender stereotyping. In fact public awareness about female stereotyping has to be addressed for the purpose of removing this barrier for women who seek management positions (see Discussion Chapter).

4.2.6 *Male administrators prefer other male administrators*

Numerous studies show that one major factor reported by women in administration acting as deterrent to career development involves discrimination and prejudice (Chase, 1995; Stivers, 1993). Men, who are most likely to hold prejudiced views about women as administrators, are those members of the 'old school', who hold traditionalist views about women (Chase, 1995). Male managers - still primarily responsible for most hiring and other workplace decisions - are more likely to attribute to other men than women the qualities and characteristics they deem necessary for a position. This attribution is based on what Rutgers University professor Alfred W. Blumrosen describes as

> a deep-rooted assumption that those whose backgrounds are similar to their
> own or familiar to them are likely to do a better job than those whose
> background and experience are different. This tendency to identify with
> persons "like ourselves" and to project upon them characteristics and

> attributes which we believe we have, is an important element in the
> necessarily subjective judgments which predicts future performance. The
> higher the job level, the more visible will be the performance of the person
> selected, and the greater the pressures on the selecting personnel will be to
> demonstrate their acumen. This pressure increases the likelihood that a
> "bias toward the familiar" will occur in the selection process (Blackmore, 1999, p. 18).

These same male managers, consciously or unconsciously, may accept as true any number of false assumptions pertaining to the traits, characteristics, and work habits of female workers.

One view that indicates males prefer other males for principalship came from a librarian and former teacher who sought but did not obtain principalship:

> *I think it is a good 'old boy' system. Males would prefer to work with other males because they feel more comfortable, since males and females react differently to situations (Judy).*

Judy a former teacher and now a librarian indicated:

> *I think I was evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates in my interview. I think they assume the male can cover all aspects of the high school (Judy).*

Judy felt that she was evaluated strictly because she was a female. She believed because of male's power in her selection committee, she was evaluated differently. Many women who would like to get into administration and climb the administrative hierarchy often find it exceedingly difficult to overcome the initial interview barriers (Stivers, 1993; Sunderland, 2004).

Judy was highly competent, and both confident and assertive. However, the prejudice she experienced from other males at work resulted in her feeling totally stressed. She continued:

> *There were 3 positions available recently and I did not apply for several reasons: I believed that 'old boy network' was not going to give me that opportunity. Certain people, certain males, were asked specifically to apply even though the head principal knew that I had my principal certification as well as my assistant superintendent certification. I was not asked nor any other female in the building. (Judy).*

Judy also revealed:

> *For 3 available positions, only one female applied, and she is an excellent administrator. I seriously doubt that she will get the job in this building. Having worked with her before her qualities is top notch, but I will guarantee that she will not be in top 10 choices for any of the positions, because she is a female (Judy).*

The problem is that generally male are more used to a controlling leadership style and may unconsciously seek to perpetuate it (Blount, 1999). Some research indicated that the male style of leadership is changing now to a more feminine style of leadership. Formal, hierarchical and controlling styles are less relevant in a rapidly changing world requiring flexibility. Leadership that empowers, communicates and listens is more positive, and more women display this style (Maskell, 2001). This style of leadership could be threatening to some males. Therefore, males try to hire males because they are comfortable with male style of leadership.

Judy was dissatisfied with hiring committees in the selection of school principals and believed that in hiring practices males are preferred over females.

Another female explained her experience when applying for principalship:

> *I applied for principalship. I completed the paperwork and never heard a word. When I called on it they already hired someone that was a male with no experience. I was a female with no experience approximately the same age. I know who this person was. Having looked at his list of activities versus mine, I felt he was hired because he was a male (Ruth).*

Both Judy and Ruth believed that being a female was a disadvantage when they were evaluated through different stages of the hiring process.

The findings from the current study about Ruth and Judy are similar to the results from Konek and Kitch's (1994) study. In their study they chose a sample of White-collar women in Wichita, Kansas. Respondents who had experienced discrimination were asked to indicate the context or contexts of discrimination experiences. Sex discrimination was a pattern among the women in their study. Almost 66% of the total sample had experienced one or more episodes and had discussed sex discrimination with their employers, and only 7% had held discussions with a government agency or representative regarding their

discrimination experiences. Another study (Cantu-Weber, 1999) agrees with Ruth and Judy's view in the current study. Cantu-Weber (1999) looked at gender discrimination in the university through the window of The Chronicle of Higher Education. She searched through a full year (1997) of Chronicle issues and pulled out every article that entailed litigation or complaints involving higher education, omitting opinion pieces, letters to the editors, stories dealing with crime on campuses, and stories on litigation that did not occur on college campuses. Out of all these topics, the most frequently occurring types of complaints and litigation concerned discrimination and harassment. The 76 articles on discrimination and harassment broke down into six areas. The highest percentage (43%) of the cases were related to one area which was sex and gender (33 articles). Given the high percentage of personal discrimination experiences, as well as the general discussion of discrimination as an issue, it is clear that sex discrimination is a pattern among the women in Cantu-Weber' study.

Gender discrimination can play a role in creating or maintaining the 'glass ceiling' found by many women workers. The Sex Discrimination Act of 1975 made it unlawful for anyone to discriminate against an individual on the grounds of gender or in the employment field. Nevertheless, many women feel that they are discriminated against (directly or indirectly) during the interview stage (Stivers, 1993).

Another female who obtained principalship believed that if females were more involved in the hiring process, women would have more chances to be hired.

The female who obtained principalship explained:

> *My district is a female district. At my first interview we had 4 in a panel, there were two males, second interview one male, they were more female second time. Our superintendent, deputy superintendent, and chief legal counselor are female. In hearing office is male communication, and is headed by a male. Now customer relation is headed by a female. It might be about half and half, there is a lot more females in key position today than 20 years ago (Cathy).*

Cathy indicated that since there were equal proportions of males and females, she did not consider the power of men as a barrier in selection of a principal in her district. In comparison with Judy and Ruth, Cathy did not believe that gender bias was dominant in obtaining her principalship. Judy was surrounded by male supervisors and felt male's influence on principal selection. This indicates that the more males in the selection process, the more chances that women could be discriminated against. However, one study contradicted the notion that women could be discriminated against by men. Women in Witchia, Kansas were asked to indicate the context of discrimination experiences (Loudermilk, 1987). In contrast to findings in other studies, only 17% of participants in Loudermilk's study indicated that early selection processes leading to hiring had entailed discriminatory episodes. Cathy in the current study who did not experience discrimination in her hiring process is similar to the participants in Loudermilk's (1987) study. However, the experience of Judy and Ruth who did not obtain principalship is similar to most studies that reported experiences of discrimination in the early stages of the hiring process (Chase, 1995; Blackmore, 1998; Dubno, 1985). Pincus (2003) reported that males had little experience with discrimination, relative to the experiences of women. In his study Pincus questioned a sample of 28.000 subjects for possible discrimination. In self-report, only 2% to 13% of white males said that they had experienced discrimination. The number of women who said they had experienced discrimination was substantially larger. Women were six times more likely than men to file sex discrimination complaints.

Different approaches are suggested in the literature to cope with gender discrimination at the workplace. For example, one study by Loudermilk (1987) reported some respondents in her study avoided sex discrimination through displays of competence. The respondents were advised to pick up hints through the selection and hiring processes, to examine the organizational climate, to seek support and solidarity with other women in the work setting, and to familiarize themselves with legal recourse. Both Ruth and Judy could not avoid sex discrimination because they did not receive this type of support. Another coping mechanism found by other researchers is the decision by women to "play by the

rules" and ignore or live with discrimination (Williams, 1998). Loudermilk (1987) found that her research participants, when asked to give advice to female college students preparing to enter the work force, advised them to "expect it" and/or to "ignore it (you can't fight it)". The overall message was to face the reality of discrimination, but not always to fight it (Loudermilk, 1987). Although in the current study, Judy who did not obtain principalship revealed that she was not going to continue to seek principalship, the rest of the participants were assertive in attempting to obtain their principalship, and one reason that they participated in the current survey was an indication that they intended to express their opinion about discrimination. Therefore, these female participants would have not accepted advice given by Loudermilk to "expect" or "ignore" gender discrimination.

One participant in this study who was middle school assistant principal in an upper-class community did not believe in gender discrimination as a barrier to principalship. She said:

> *I think you identify with what you grow up with, although it is changing*
> *some now. I think more men working with younger kids than we used to*
> *have, but not a lot more (Donna).*

Donna who obtained middle school principalship continued:

My administrators when I was teaching were both men and they were supportive of any teacher who wanted to grow. I didn't even think for administrative position until these administrators pushed me for these tasks of leadership (Donna).

A mentor's advocacy can be an asset for administrative mobility and opportunity. Women in senior administrative positions, such as chief academic officer, report that university presidents serve as sponsors, advocates, and provide job skill coaching for subsequent positions (Lively, 2000). Others, such as Alberta Arthur, former president of Chatham College, attributed her ascent from Director of Admissions at Harvard University to a College President to her mentor, being in a meeting where he advocated for her to fill the post at Chatham (Danowitz Sagaria & Rychener, 2004).

One study (Dunlap, 1994) focused on a group of fourteen women administrators and asked each of them to describe their career development in administration. One of the 'opportunities' frequently described by these women as part of their success was identification of one or more mentors in their administrative progression. Typically, the first mentor was a male administrator who told them they could be effective administrators and subsequently helped them with local politics, specific management skills or strategic maneuvering. One woman in her study indicated:

> I wouldn't have made it through the first six months if I hadn't had 'friends in high places'. That sounds cliché, I know, but I needed help behind the scenes and [they] provided it for me (p.183).

Mentors played a critical informal role for most women in her study. This role included advice and instruction on how to negotiate the 'unwritten rules' of power in order to progress in the administrative career. Dunlap (1994) believes there are significant ways in which career tracks differ for men and women in administration, especially where multiple life events were considered. Men were much more likely to have access to temporary administrative responsibilities than women, regardless of institutional type or discipline. This access is often through nomination from a senior administrator. Since administrative appointment is

often with unclear guidelines and processes, many women were not familiar with possible options for administrative appointment. Therefore, many women continue experiencing problems in entrance and promotion to administrative positions.

In conclusion women in the current study who did not obtain a principalship reported gender discrimination as a barrier to administrative positions. It is largely through cultural representations and meanings that people build their understandings of the gendered structure of work and opportunity within organizations that creates gender discrimination. In order to remove the barrier of gender discrimination so women can reach equality with men in hiring practices, men have to become aware of women's capabilities- that women are as capable as men in leadership positions.

4.2.7   The threatened male colleague

Some men feel particularly threatened because they see their organizations increasingly promoting a few women to take various positions and levels in the hierarchy (Stivers, 1993).

According to a female middle school assistant principal:

> *Women can be whatever they want to be, and that is intimidating for some males because now women are becoming bread winners. Women are head of households now, and are taking leadership roles, and that is intimidating to some people primarily men because males do not see that inner strength that women have. Women supposedly are weak nurturing and are expected to be mothers, which they are, but we also have women Astronauts, and Mayors (Sally).*

Sally's view is similar to Blackmore's (1999) view about women in the workplace. Blackmore (1999) believes to be a woman in a masculinist culture is to be a source of mystery and unmeasurability for men. Feminist object relations theory explains male fear of the feminine and their psychology for success in a competitive capitalist world, as a consequence of having to separate from the

mother and to reject all that is feminine, as 'not masculine', soft or weak, in order to acquire their masculine autonomous self as aggressive and independent (Chodorow. 1978; Tamboukou, 2003). Therefore, some men who work in a masculinist culture might be threatened with increasing numbers of women employed in administrative roles.

Also, Sally believed that sometimes other women would feel threatened by another female who achieves an administrative position. She said:

> *Sometimes women don't want some certain people to move to the top. I am one of these people who can go and tell people you can do it. Some people don't realize that other people have a potential (Sally).*

One reason for some women who reject other women on the top positions could be due to the fact that they believe only men are capable of leadership positions. These women feel threatened when confronted with women in a position of power. Most men and some women carry the existing gender perception about leadership in education. In particular, strong women are difficult and dangerous because they trouble dominant masculinities and modes of management by being different. Feminists link women who carry the existing gender perception about leadership to critical theory where the oppressed take on the world-view imposed by the oppressors (Westwood, 2002). Feminists define men's power as repressive and illegitimate. Men's power is used to control the oppressed. Women are cast as subordinates, oppressed by patriarchal power. The reasons for male domination are discussed in a number of ways, from biological oppression through the child-bearing role to the subordination of women in the workplace.

It is documented that some men have a different attitude toward women's leadership. Sunderland (2004) indicated most men are not 'outwardly' bothered by losing in the administrative stakes to a 'competent women', but are very distressed about a 'less competent', woman achieving success over them. Stivers (1993) suggests that it may be that the more ambitious or achievement-orientated male executives are the ones who will feel, and are feeling, the most threatened by women who they perceive may have the promotional edge, due to affirmative

action (as in the USA) or equal opportunity legislation and company policy. One female who sought but did not obtain principalship indicated that sometimes women are hired intentionally due to enforcement of affirmative action. She said:

> *Recently, we had a position open for high school principalship and they specifically said that they are going to hire a minority. Then, they hired an African American woman (Judy).*

Affirmative Action has had an impact in the ranks of management in education (Shrubsall, 1994). Although the number of women of color in senior executive positions has increased, the proportion of men in these positions is still far greater than that for women (Shrubsall, 1994). However, for some women the impact of Affirmative Action and selection of women of color for leadership positions could be threatening. For Judy, in the current study, the threat of Affirmative Action was evident because of selection of one African American as a principal in her school. According to some female participants in the current study it can be concluded that women taking leadership roles threaten some men. Some men's masculine autonomous self images as aggressive and independent are threatened by women who take roles in a masculinist culture.

4.2.8   *Getting the job*

Many women who would like to get into administration and climb the administrational hierarchy often find it exceedingly difficult to get through the initial interview barrier-despite the fact that they are likely to be better educated than their male counterparts (Grogan, 2000). However, the majority of organizations still rely on the subjective interview method of selection, despite all the evidence which shows it to be unreliable and more likely to facilitate bias against minority candidates (Blount, 1999).

According to some research (Reihl & Byrd, 1997; Shakeshaft, 1989), males who control leadership styles are held responsible for lack of women's promotion

to leadership. However, some other researchers believe that women or society are responsible for women's lack of success to principalship (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1998). These issues were discussed in the Literature Review Chapter as different conceptual frameworks. One question asked of three female interviewees in the second round of interviews was in regard to these conceptual frameworks. The question asked was whether interviewees thought that women, organizations, or society were responsible for their lack of success in obtaining administrative positions. One female high school principal held women responsible for their success and indicated that if women have self-esteem they can be successful. She indicated:

> *I definitely have colleagues and friends that have felt that there has been*
> *this glass ceiling and they have been discriminated against and they*
> *withdrew and they became bitter because they felt they were*
discriminated
> *against, that administration was 'man's or 'good old boy's club' world.*
> *It has not been my own personal experience at all, I mean I had this job*
> *so obviously they had many other males that could have been selected*
for thisposition. I worked with females that are very competent but
they also
> *have a good sense of self-esteem (Anne).*

Another female who sought but did not obtain principalship believed:

> *I agree that women have some part in this by not stepping forward, so*
> *they do have some fault in that (Judy).*

Judy believed that the organizations and society are also the causes of lack of women's promotion to principalship (Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1989; Shakeshaft, 1998). She said:

> *I also consider others, organizations and society for women's lack of*
> *promotion as well (Judy).*

On the other hand, one female assistant principal had a different view. She indicated:

> *I did not encounter the kinds of obstacles that are probably out there in*

> *other kinds of settings. In fact our district was more determined to put*
> *more women in leadership positions so from a personal perspective it is*
> *hard for me to say this happened because I am a woman or this didn't*
> *happen because I am a woman (Donna).*

Judy's and Anne's views about lack of women's promotion to administrative jobs agree with different research that held women, organization, and society responsible for women's success. But Donna's view did not agree with the research and the three conceptual models of gender inequality. It can be speculated that since Donna was surrounded by females in her school district, she did not experience discrimination from male authority. In conclusion, most females in this study indicated women themselves, or different organizations or the society as a whole are responsible for women's lack of success in obtaining principalship. In particular, women who did not obtain principalship in this study indicated that organizations and male's power in principal selection are responsible for their lack of promotion to principalship.

4.2.9   Networking

Men are much more likely to have access to temporary administrative responsibilities than women. This access was often through nomination from a senior administrator. The informal relationships with more senior managers are seen to be the key to career success. Women are often excluded from the chance to form important work relationships, such as with mentors and sponsors, or to develop networks. The patterns of communication and socialization are often almost exclusively male. Women in administration often find it difficult to break into male-dominated 'old boy networks' and therefore are denied the contacts, opportunities and policy information these provides (Wentling, 1996; Royal Tropical Institute, 1999). A female with 32 years of experience who sought but did not obtain elementary principalship said:

> *I think the fact is who you know than anything else. You have to have another administrator who is out there fighting for you to get in. If you don't have somebody doing that then your chances aren't very good (Joann).*

Another female teacher with 27 years of teaching experience who sought but did not obtain secondary principalship described:

> *I think networking does work. We call it kind of backyard barbecue. They invite you to their homes. When they get together, they talk about this person who is ready for principalship. This is done all the time with men particularly white males. They sit around and they say you have taught seven years, now it is time for you to move into the principalship. I know that kind of thing goes around in my district (Ruth).*

Both Joann and Ruth were not involved in networking. Their lack of involvement in networking put them at a disadvantage for advancement to administrative positions. A female middle school principal revealed:

> *Some of the hiring process has to do with who you know. It is political. Sometimes when you look around and you see people who are hired you wonder was it based on merit or something else (Cathy).*

Although Cathy obtained her principalship she believed in the role of networking in hiring process.

When one participant who sought but did not obtain principalship was asked if networking is a barrier for women's advancement in their career, she replied:

> *In Columbus, Ohio it makes a difference. Once a principal (he) told me when somebody applies they call former administrators and ask whether we should hire that person over the phone, all done verbally, and if he says no, you don't get it (Joann)*

Politics and networking are bound up with 'power' and unfortunately the power is still held predominately by men. One female assistant principal indicated that networking and connection is important in order to reach principalship:

I think we need to expose teachers to things that they don't know. Now that I am an assistant principal it shows power of women and power of women with connection as well (Sally).

Sally indicated the power of networking in obtaining her principalship. There is a growing movement, originating in the USA but now also developing in the UK, advocating networking for women in professions. More and more women professional bodies and women within organizations are setting up their own network system with a female bias.   These female network groups are particularly beneficial for women managers who are often faced with the task of trying to break into male-dominated 'clubs' and are consequently denied social support, contacts, opportunities, and policy information (Stivers, 1993; Knoek & Kitch, 1994). This female networking was unknown to participants in the current study. For example, one female participant was asked whether women have their own networking and replied:

I don't think they do it as much (Ruth).

Popular career literature abounds with advice to women concerning the importance of networking in their career advancement (Koneck & Kitch, 1994). Literature since 1980 has shifted emphasis from explanations for under-representation of women in educational administration to a need for better support systems (Logan, 1998). This attention to networking for women is one plausible explanation for the greater numbers of women preparing for those positions. Women need connectedness in the workplace (Konck & Kitch, 1994). However, it is up to organizational policy-makers to take active steps to break down 'male organizational cultures' which perpetuate 'the old boy network' syndrome (Sunderland, 2004).

In conclusion women who either obtained or did not obtain principalship indicated the importance of networking for women who seek administrative jobs. It is often assumed while reaching a more friendly approach, the horizontal or circular structures provided by networks defy the vertical exercise of power and redistribute it. Therefore, networking creates team support which could result in obtaining leadership positions.

4.2.10   Lack of female role models

Numerous studies have shown that female role models in higher administrative positions act as an important influence in terms of career aspirations for other women (Gupton & Slick, 1996). One African American female who sought but did not obtain principalship said:

> *I think lack of role models is a barrier for principalship, because there aren't any role models that look like you.   If you are lucky enough to find a role model as of different culture you are fortunate, but very few incidents of that occurred (Ruth).*

Clearly, Ruth who sought but did not obtain principalship did suffer from not having had female role models. But the experience of having role models for women who obtained principalship could be very positive. One example is one African American female who obtained principalship:

> *I had my grandmother as my first role model. She always pushed me into educating myself.   My second role model was my father's sister, and she is still teaching over 40 years.   Also, my 8th and 7th grade teachers who then became principals were my role models.   There were a lot of role models for me, a lot of professionals and teachers lived in the same community where I lived.   There were three elementary women principals that were strong and I was always looking at them and saying they are awesome at what they do (Cathy).*

 Cathy had the influence of role models in her community to help her to succeed for principalship. The role of social environment in development of individuals' mental processes is documented. Social cognitive theory (Bussy & Badura, 1999) is concerned with how the social environment influences the cognitive structures that regulate gender development.   Processes such as imitation, tuition, and feedback from one's own behavior, all guide the self-regulatory mental process. So for Cathy the social environment (her community) influenced her cognitive structure that regulated her gender development. Also,

the feedback she received from her grandmother guided her mental process to aspire to higher education.

When the researcher asked if she thinks she is a role model now, she replied:

> *Today is different.   Now 50% of African American kids have grandparents raising them or foster parents, and when you ask them do you want to go to college, do you want finish school? And they go what? I think today more NFL athletes are their role models. Back in my time it was different, Doctors, lawyers and teachers were living in the same community, and they were role models (Cathy).*

Cathy's statement about young African Americans idealizing athletes as their role models is documented. Statistics have indicated that more African American households today are headed by women (Department for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, 1995). Also more African American youth today are opting for atheleticship. So Cathy's view about African American role models indicates that today smaller number of African Americans aspire for leadership positions.

One female participant who sought but did not obtain principalship explained:

> *I had role models, but it was a female in two dozen males (Judy).*

Female participants in the current study expressed their opinion about the importance of having role models in their pathway to principalship. One study agrees with these female participants' opinion. Wajcman (1998) chose different companies that have explicit and highly visible policies to increase the number of women at all levels of their organizations, although in fact the main focus is on the progress of women in management. She conducted a survey to address the theme of career progression. One of the career barriers identified by women was lack of role models. This points to the crucial significance of role models in determining career progress. In answer to a survey question about where respondents got most positive support in their careers, many more women (22%) than men (8%) mentioned a female boss or role model. For female participants in the current research, having had a role model, and then acting themselves in that modeling role were some of the most effective ways of encouraging women to develop in administration (Gupton & Slick, 1995).

In conclusion, most women in the current study who either obtained or did not obtain their principalship claimed that they had role models when seeking principalship. Extended families, teachers, and other colleagues may influence individuals. Women leaders are a particularly important source of ideas for women teachers.

4.2.11   Family responsibilities

A workplace structured on the ideal-leader concept is based on the assumption first that the ideal leader is a man, and second, that, if the ideal leader is married, he can depend on his wife to fulfill all, or nearly all, child-care responsibilities, thus freeing him to work extended days and maintain inflexible work schedules (Pincus, 2003). Because employers perceive women leaders as confronting a conflict of loyalty between home and work, they assume that these women, regardless of their circumstances, lack the commitment required of the "ideal leader", and thus they exclude women as candidates for positions structured for such leaders.

International Labor Organization (1997) indicated that 47% of the married women administrators surveyed maintained that being married had proved a disadvantage to them in terms of their career development and advancement.

According to Pocock' study (2001)(Literature Review Chapter) rising consumtion and changing behavior such as two income families with dependents, cause collisions with unchanging behavior, such as cultural expectations of motherhood and fatherhood. Pocock (2001) indicated models of motherhood remain unchanged and workplaces have at their center an 'ideal worker' who is free of caregiving responsibilities. The need to reconcile these work and family responsibilities has led to part-time employment becoming more popular with women. This view was examined in the second interview by the researcher. One female who did not obtain principalship indicated:

> *I think women are willing to work full-time and they will be willing to*

> *share the child caring duties with their spouse. But I think they will*

make

> *sacrifice because of both family life and professional life (Judy).*

She continues:

> *Most females who wish to become administrators are able to divide*
> *family responsibilities with their spouse or family members or work that*
> *out (Judy).*

Donna, in the second round of interviews, simply agreed with the statement that because of unchanged motherhood model and existence of one image of 'ideal worker' as one who is free of caregiving responsibilities, women are forced to accept part-time jobs.

One interviewee who obtained high school principalship had a different view and emphasized the role of women in establishing the sharing of duties with their husbands. She indicated:

> *If I am a female and I haven't established those responsibilities within*

my

> *family unit, or if I don't have cooperation at home and I want to move*

out

> *and try some of these leadership positions I have created my own*

barrier

> *from moving ahead. Part-time jobs are unlikely in leadership roles and*
> *that commitment of 12-14 hours a day is nearly impossible if they are*
> *raising a family (Anne).*

Anne was able to divide her family duties with her husband and believed that women with families who were in administrative roles need to establish their roles within their family unit. Contrary to Anne's view, most women in the current study believed having a career and running family life puts them at a disadvantage for promotion to administrative jobs. The disadvantages that women themselves isolated included role conflict between running a home / raising children and a career, and not having enough time undertake these multiple roles. One female middle school assistant principal who now has children in college said:

> *The amount of time that this job demands is enormous, I did not even consider going to principalship until after my children were in college. If you did the job right not in elementary but in secondary and middle school, it is no less than 12 hours a day. If you have young children, they are asleep when you leave and they are asleep when you get home (Donna).*

Donna who obtained her principalship, admitted that raising her children for a certain period of time was a barrier in her pathway to principalship. According to Donna and Anne, a principal has to spend long hours at school (around 12-14 hours a day). Therefore, women with family are assumed to be less likely to be committed to their job. Traditionally, men working in a masculine culture tend to emphasize the differences between the gender-role expectations of men and those of women as they relate to child-rearing responsibilities. Men can conclude that a woman's family obligations conflict with her work responsibilities, thus requiring the assignment of women to less-demanding positions.

One female who obtained her principalship believed family responsibilities are not only for women but also for men as well. She said:

> *I think family responsibility is for everyone. It is just as different for a man to be gone. It is tough for men not to see their families day after day when they have young children (Donna).*

There are signs that a 'new breed' of husbands married to professional women are causing a shift in the distribution of home responsibilities towards more sharing (Grogan, 1996). It is sometimes suggested that behind every successful high-powered woman, there is a 'new man', who supports his wife in her career by performing an equal share of housework and childcare (Stivers, 1993). But are families really changing? Does the new man really exist? Research suggests that he does, but that he remains a fairly rare breed (Stivers, 1993). One study indicated by 1998, mothers spent nearly 70 percent of their time with children and fathers spent 63 percent of such time engaged in other activities (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Another study indicated many men are reluctant to participate in the daily care of their children (Knonck & Kitch, 1994).

In spite of some research that suggests family responsibilities block women's advancement to administrative roles, some women do not perceive family responsibilities as a barrier to principalship. One female participant who did not obtain principalship did not believe that family responsibility was a barrier for her. She said:

> *When I moved to this area, I moved from South Carolina, and I followed my ex husband who was a physician. Also I found myself divorcing a year and half later. So I became a single mum. Because I was able to pay for a good child care while they were small (1 1/2 & 3) was not so much an issue. I also had other people helping me, I had the support of friends and church. I took courses and did an additional Masters of Administration and my district paid for it (Ruth).*

Ruth's view about family responsibilities agrees with a group of women administrators in Dunlap' s (1994) study. Dunlap (1994) focused on a group of fourteen women administrators and asked each of them to describe their career development in administration. There appeared to be no pattern, whether single or married, or whether they had children or other dependent responsibilities. Whatever their family or financial circumstances, they successfully negotiated the early career stages. They often used words like 'lucky' to describe their own negotiation of a difficult stage in their career and family. Once they had made a conscious commitment to administration, many of them did talk about conscious planning for balance between work and non-work needs. One example included timing of a promotion to coincide with last child leaving home. The difference between the experiences of the women in Dunlap' s study compared to Ruth in the current study is that women in Dunlap' s study were successful in planning to achieve administrative positions while Ruth, in this study, was not. Therefore, other reasons beyond family responsibilities could be responsible for her lack of success in achieving principalship.

Another example that indicates family responsibility is not a barrier for women who seek principalship is from a female who had grown children and lives by herself. Joann, who did not obtain principalship, indicated that the fact

that she did not have family responsibilities did not help her to achieve administrative position. She said:

> *When I did my last interview one thing I said being older I have all the time to give to this job. That doesn't seem to make a difference for them (Joann).*

Women with child responsibilities seem to be considered a bad risk by employers. However, contrary to this, Joann mentioned in her interview that she did not have family responsibilities, and still did not obtain her principalship. This suggests other factors are operating as barriers for her in the hiring process. Joann was 54 years old, and started to apply for principalship when she was 40. Therefore, it is possible that she might have experienced family responsibility as a barrier in the past 10 years, but at the time of interviewing she believed since she did not have family responsibility and felt this ought to have helped to a principalship.

Despite the fact that Ruth and Joann did not consider family responsibility as an important barrier for principalship, other women in the current study confirmed family responsibility as a barrier for principalship. The fact that family responsibility is a barrier perceived by most women in managerial positions is documented by other researchers (Home, 1995; Coltrane & Adams, 1997). According to the literature, women continue to be socialized to be the primary parent (Konek & Kitch, 1994). Although it is true that most men want to be fathers, the demands of the parental role for most mothers continue to be significantly heavier than they are for most fathers. Data are very clear that women, both those who are employed and those who are not, spend much greater portions of their time than men do on homemaking and child-rearing responsibilities (Shelton, 1992).

In conclusion some women who did not obtain principalship did not consider family responsibilities as a barrier when they were seeking principalship. However, some women who obtained their principalship indicated family responsibilities prevented them from applying for principalship earlier especially when they had small children. The combination of ideas about family

responsibility and male dominance of the institutional framework make career paths uncertain and even treacherous for women. 'Family friendly' policies are initiated to meet the needs of employees with family commitments. Flexible working practices which achieve a balance between the needs of the employer and those of employees have been successfully introduced in some cases (see Discussion Chapter).

4.2.12 Lack of support from teachers and administrators

Three women (two women who have principalship, and one woman who sought but did not obtain principalship) out of six women who participated in the current study believed that they generally received encouragement from teachers and superiors, and relationships were generally good. However, three other women (one woman who obtained principalship, two women sought but did not obtain principalship) reported lack of support from other teachers and superiors. One woman who sought but did not obtain principalship revealed:

> *I never had anybody approach me and say you should go for administration. I did not have people in the system that were encouraging to me, so that could have hindered me (Joann).*

'Encouragement' was the role considered most important by the largest percentage of administrators (Wentling, 1996). Many of the female administrators referred to their lack of confidence, and their invisibility which had been resolved to a great extent by the help and support given them by their superiors (Wentling, 1996). One female who sought but did not obtain secondary principalship and works as a librarian believed lack of support from male administrators was a barrier on her way to principalship. She said:

> *I had lack of support from male administrators. I run a multimillion dollar facility and I make decisions that deal with every staff member, and every student in my school, but yet I do not have support from male administrators to be considered for principalship (Judy).*

Women who obtain administrative positions often admit that support from administrators has helped them to achieve administrative roles (Wajcman, 1998). Judy admitted that lack of support from administrators was a barrier for her advancement to principalship.

One female participant who did not obtain principalship indicated that she had the support of other teachers, but the reason for her lack of success was due to lack of support by the county school board office. She said:

> *My colleagues did say to apply. I had other teachers and my friends in various departments even wrote letters because they felt that I was more of an administrator than I was a teacher. They felt that I could do it, but the administration or the main office we call it the board office where the superintendent is, didn't see it (Ruth).*

Ruth had the support of her colleagues and teachers but believed the superintendent of her district was not supportive of her as she sought for principalship. Ruth' s experience was similar to one study that indicated support from supervisors had the strongest positive effect on job searching (Konek & Kitch, 1994). One female middle school principal said that she had some support from her colleagues, but was not satisfied with some other school members in her school. She said:

> *I do get some respect. I am going to 3 years principal. Before that I was assistant principal for 4 years. The vice principal and me are struggling and our kids have a whole lot of issues. I kept asking for help. Finally they gave me help. Now we have a leadership trainee which is a male and when he came in, everyone said: oh he is great (Cathy).*

One study indicated that work-based sources of support appeared to be more helpful for women compared to men (Konek & Kitch, 1994). Some women allude to the importance of support from co-workers. Women are more likely than men to want emotional support from a colleague (Wajcman, 1998). For Cathy in the current study work-based sources of support are important for her to remain satisfied in her job performance.

On the other hand, one female assistant principal indicated that support from her teachers helped in her pathway to principalship. A Masters degree is required as part of the eligibility criteria for principalship in Ohio. This female assistant principal completed her degree with the support of a few teachers. She said:

> *I was fortunate. I am from Leipsic and I received a university scholarship to go to graduate school in University of Akron. I received my Masters in Sociology and Education and I had two professors that helped me and believed that I can mix these together. Then I started student teaching in high school. After 3 years they wanted me to be assistant principal. The principal of the high school where I did my student teaching is now superintendent of the district (Sally).*

Sally's experience of support from teachers and administrators helped her in achieving her principalship. This result agrees with one study that questioned 439 men and women managers and addressed the theme of career progression (Wajcman, 1998). In answer to a survey question about where respondents got the most positive support in their careers, women mentioned partners (58%), a male boss (62%), and colleagues (43%), whereas men mentioned partners (72%), a male boss (61%), and colleagues (47%). Therefore, support from colleagues and administrators is one of the most important factors in helping women to achieve administrative positions.

In conclusion some women who did not obtain principalship reported lack of support from other teachers and superiors. On the other hand, women who were successful in obtaining their principalship often indicated support from supervisors had the strongest positive effect on job searching.

4.2.13   Graduate courses

A Masters degree is required as part of the eligibility criteria for principalship in Ohio. Wentling (1996) explored the importance of educational credentials

and indicated 15 out of 30 women believe a Masters degree is necessary in administration if a woman is to be more competitive and to have a greater opportunity for advancement. One female assistant principal indicated that she became eligible to apply for principalship because one school allowed her to renew the required courses for her graduate degree. This female assistant principal had to renew her courses because she delayed applying for principalship while her children were at home. When her children were grown in order to be eligible for principalship she had to renew her graduate courses. This female who obtained middle school assistant principalship believed transferring graduate courses was a barrier for seeking principalship:

> When I considered applying for principalship I had to renew my courses. One particular university told me to pass 60 credit hours, while two other universities that I later applied needed 48 credit hours. So if it wasn't for the university that allowed me less credit hours, I wouldn't have tried for principalship (Donna).

Other participants in the current study, who completed their graduate degree and did not obtain principalship, confirmed that during their graduate work, they did not have enough training to prepare them for administrative roles.

Dissatisfaction with inadequate training during graduate work has been shown in a number of women interviewed for this study. A female who sought but did not obtain secondary principalship believed:

> It was just strictly courses and passing exams, and they never mentioned the male or female role. They addressed that there were openings out there for principal, but in no way shape or form support females in the group to continue their studies and make sure that they are applying. Some of my professors were male and some of them were female, and even the female ones did not stress that (Judy).

A female who also sought but did not obtain secondary principalship said:

> In graduate courses we are looking at the theoretical point of view. They don't really have addressed what you have to do politically for when you had a principal position. Maybe they should create a women's studies, not only for females, but for males as well. We have so

> *many 'isms' and 'perceptions', and wouldn't be normal for a requirement for them to listen to some of the barriers that minorities and females face when they are trying to obtain principalship (Ruth).*

Both Judy and Ruth believed that graduate courses did not address the need for women to move into traditionally male occupations. Halford and Leonard (2001) argued that training is a policy to enhance women's career opportunities, including women-only assertiveness training to enable women to move into traditionally male occupations. One female participant, who obtained middle school principalship, revealed that she had most of her training when she was a principal. Although she believed graduate courses addressed her need for administrative role, she claimed that she gained most of her administrative experience since obtaining her principalship.

> *I think graduate courses address the need for females if you get into a good program. But what really trained me was 8 years in principalship. I had wonderful mentors who told me sit back and observe, and wanted me to feel comfortable, and I really observed a lot (Cathy).*

Stivers (1993) suggested that, if women are going to become successful administrators, their training must take place in the real world, alongside men, so that the skills they learn from being with men on courses mirror the world outside. They suggested that if women are to learn how to work with men as their superiors, colleagues or subordinates, the best way they can do this is to experience working with them on management courses. The view from Stiver's (1993) study confirms the view from Cathy in the current study that training in the workplace creates successful administrators.

Although most women in the current study confirmed the lack of training in graduate work, one participant claimed that some districts are offering training programs, but they restrict the program only to teachers from their own districts. One female assistant principal indicated that some districts have their own training programs for leadership. She revealed:

> *A lot of districts are training their own people to become leaders, and they have a lot of programs in which they have their own people, and I*

> *wasn't one of that own people. I attended Akron school. I wasn't from*
> *Columbus, but on the flip side they mentored me (Sally).*

It is evident that some districts are aware that training programs are necessary to make better leaders in the community. But the negative aspect is that some do not allow outsiders into their training programs. This female assistant principal was from another district and therefore was not able to access the training program.

Timpson (1994) argued that training programs improve the skills of female employees. Timpson (1994) looked at female labor force participation rates in Canada. She indicated although the federal government did not manage to restructure its promotion criteria in a way that would enhance women's career opportunities within the public service, it did recognize that equal opportunity measures would fail if there was an inadequate supply of skilled female labor to fuel the hiring process. Training programs were therefore introduced to improve the skills of potential female employees in the belief that if retraining was coupled with equal opportunity initiatives, there would be no reason for women to fail to gain access to employment within the public sector. As a result of training programs, women's career opportunities were enhanced.

Most women interviewed in the current study indicated training programs as a tool either to upgrade their work (those who had their principalship) or to improve their chances of building hierarchical careers (those who did not obtain principalship). Therefore, it can speculated that if training programs become mandatory in educational administration programs, they may enhance the long-term career opportunities of women who enter leadership in education.

4.2.14 Race

Women and men of color are still under-presented in this nation's schools (Montenegro, 1993). Some black feminists explain that the experience of being black establishes a distinctive consciousness. Three African American women (two of whom obtained assistant principalship, and one who sought but did not

obtain principalship) participated in current study. One African American female who obtained an assistant principalship indicated that she experienced racism during her graduate work.

This female participant explained her experience during school years:

> *I had an experience once in graduate school in my sociology class. I was the only African American in class. I had a professor who was giving me C and D, and I usually had A and B. He told me that I was not ready for graduate school. It almost discouraged me from continuing my education (Sally).*

Sally's experience agrees with one study that explored some African American administrators' experience in administration positions. In one survey (Ramey, 1995) 129 African American administrators were questioned about the difficulties in achieving administrative positions. Fifty-three percent of the women from the predominately white institutions listed racism as an obstacle.

Another African American female who sought but did not obtain principalship had the same views:

> *I think race is a double barrier for African American women, and women of other origins.   I saw it with my graduate program with my professor. I had a friend who was from another country and she could not be understood clearly by the professor because the professor didn't want to, and didn't want to take time to listen. He gave that student a bad grade. People are always pointing out the differences and never see the similarities, while our similarities are so much more vast than our differences (Ruth).*

The same female also revealed another experience:

> *Once I worked for a Native American male, and he was the only one in Cleveland public schools, and he always talked about the difficulties he had being Native American (Ruth).*

The view from both Ruth and Sally indicates similarities with most research about women of color. Discrimination against women of color arises, at least in part, from the values, beliefs, and expectations of business and professional leaders, a great majority of whom are white males. Unless a woman of color can

somehow fit herself into a mold firmly established in and created by a culture of white males, she is likely to be treated as an alien in the workplace (Gregory, 2003). One African American female who did not obtain high school principalship said:

> *I think race is very settled in this area. This is not my home but I think it is very settled in Columbus. It plays a big role, and I have seen not only in my district but I have seen it in Gahana the suburb here, so it is very settled racism (Ruth).*

Ruth revealed that the school where she teaches English has 1700 students with only 72 African American students and confirmed that she was treated differently from Whites. She indicated that if a problem arises from an African American student, the principal of the school asks her to resolve the issue with the student.

An African American woman may be denied for leadership because her employer is biased against African American women, but not against African American men or white women. When African American women strive to climb higher on the corporate ladder, they bear two burdens, discrimination by reason of their gender as well as their race. Consequently, they lag behind both white women and African American men in advancing to higher positions (Blau, 2003).

Although, some African American women might perceive race as a barrier to principalship, some Caucasians believe that African American women are privileged in employment because of the enforcement of Affirmative Action (Blau, 2003). Currently, we are seeing an increase in the numbers of African American principals, particularly in urban communities. Pollard (1997) indicated this increase could be viewed partly as a result of increased opportunities for African Americans to move into positions of leadership.

On the other hand, Pollard (1997) argued that African American administrators are usually appointed to schools that have large minority populations and major problems. The expectation, Jones (1983) stated, is that being African American, these principals will be able to solve these problems quickly. One African American female (Cathy) was hired in a school with a predominantly African American student body. This illustrates Jones' (1983)

statement that schools that have large minority populations and major problems hire African Americans. On the contrary, Cathy who is a principal at one of the toughest schools in an African American community said:

> *I don't think race is a barrier in Columbus. Fifteen years ago, you saw more Whites in leadership roles. Now you find more African American. We have 29 middle school principals in those ranks. I think it becomes more challenging as it becomes more diverse (Cathy).*

On the other hand, one Caucasian teacher who teaches in one of these predominantly African American schools indicated that increasing numbers of African American students could increase the likelihood of hiring African American administrators. She indicated:

> *There has been some talk by some people that race is a barrier, that we are predominantly African American student body and that would become more predominantly more African American administration (Joann).*

One Caucasian female who sought but did not obtain principalship believed that minorities have been given opportunities in employment:

> *We do have one female at our high school. She is African American. She was purposely hired as a minority candidate (Judy).*

The statements from Judy and Joann prove the fact that race could not only be a problem for women of color, but also for those who are in the majority.

In conclusion some African American women who participated in this study reported racism as a barrier to principalship. On the other hand, it can also be concluded that some women of color have benefited from employment in communities where most of the student bodies are comprised of minority students.

4.2.15   Age

Women who were in their 50s and participated in the current study found age as a barrier when they sought principalship. A 54 year old female who sought but did not obtain principalship believed:

> *They never tell you if you are too old, because if they tell you, they will be in trouble. So I am guessing that the reason I did not get my principalship was my age. In my last interview, I said being older I have all the time to give to this job. That doesn't seem to make a difference for them (Joann).*

Joann also revealed that her interviewers in the selection committee were all females. According to the literature, female supervisors were found to be more unfavorable in their evaluation of older employees than male supervisors (Knoek & Kitch, 1994). Other studies have shown that female supervisors, as a group, demonstrate less favorable attitudes toward older employees, even though older workers may outperform younger workers and be more reliable in terms of attendance and punctuality. It can be speculated that female supervisors, having overcome obstacles and prejudices to gain their positions, may set higher standards for all of their employees, not just the older ones. Therefore, the reason for lack of success for Joann in the current study in gaining principalship could be due to the female interviewers' high standard for principal selection. A 56 year old female middle school principal when asked if age could have been a barrier to her pathway to principalship indicated:

> *I have been in administration. There was a female 10 years older than me. She was good. She did not get principalship until recently. She got assistant principalship. So I think she thinks it is age. I don't think age was a barrier for me and I had a good reputation in the district. I have been with the district for 30 years (Cathy).*

Cathy believed reputation in workplace and district is a more important criterion than age in principal selection, because she referred to her time spent and reputation in her district as positive points in obtaining her principalship.

A 50 year old female remembered another friend who had not been promoted because of her age:

> *I have a female friend in my district 63 years old ; she doesn't look like*
> *63. She has applied. They do look at age. That is settled. She applied*
> *for principalship but did not get the job. They are looking for younger*
> *ones because when they hire someone younger, they don't have to pay*
> *them as much (Ruth).*

Ruth' s view agrees with the results from one study (Brown & Webb, 1994) which indicated incidents of age discrimination. Brown and Webb (1994) surveyed a sample of 306 women and 235 men mature graduates at the University of Edinburg. The respondents were asked an open-ended question about age discrimination. Almost half, 49.2%, said they had not experienced age discrimination, but 36.5% said that they had been discriminated against on the grounds of age during return to education (35.9% of women and 37.0% of men). Therefore, it is possible that for some participants in the current study, age was a barrier, although according to Brown and Webb' (1994) study, it might pose a lower risk when returning to labor market.

A 56 years old assistant in middle school' view disagrees with the above study. This female indicated:

> *I would think it is tougher to sell yourself as a person who could be a*
> *leader if you are 25 or 30 years old or even younger. When you are*
> *talking about someone who really in most careers would be retiring then*
> *I would say the factor of age exists. I think if they want someone they*
> *want someone to stick around for a while and not just be there for couple*
> *of years and then retire, but if you exclude that possible concern I don't*
> *think age is an issue (Donna)..*

Donna' view agrees with one study that confirmed age was not considered as a barrier for women college administrators. In one survey (Ramey, 1995) 98 African American women college administrators were questioned on variety of questions such as age, family history, educational background and range of authority. The study included a group of women in their late 30s to late 40s. Some of the women indicated that they came up through the ranks, wherever they saw an opportunity, and age was not a barrier in this process. In the current study, women who obtained their principalship did not consider age as a barrier

for principalship but for women who did not obtain a principalship and were in their 50's, age was perceived as a barrier to their advancement to administrative roles.

Because of reported claims about age discrimination in the current study it can be suggested that gender-related attitudes towards middle-aged women are prevalent among some employers in educational administration.

4.2.16   Other obstacles not mentioned in the questionnaire

The researcher asked interview participants whether they felt any obstacle that was not mentioned in the questionnaire. Women who either obtained or did not obtain principalship indicated that they did not know or were not aware of any other obstacle that was not mentioned in the questionnaire.

4.3   Link between results from Part 1 and Part 2

4.3.1   Women who obtained assistant principalship or principalship

In Part 1, the women who obtained assistant principalship or principalship, registered six frequently encountered obstacles. These obstacles deal primarily with factor 1 gender stereotyping / patriarchy followed by factor 2 family responsibilities.   Also, the obstacles of graduate courses and lack of networking were among six frequently encountered obstacles. In Part 2, three women who obtained assistant principalship or principalship had different views about these obstacles: One female principal indicated that many people believe males are better suited to be principals. One female assistant principal believed since many women are advancing in their principalship, the myth that males are better suited to be principal is no longer prevalent.   Another assistant principal, who was surrounded by females and worked with other females as a team, did not believe in the myth that males are better suited to be principals. She lived in a White

middle-upper class community and revealed that people don't take note of the fact that they are female, and the men don't either. She believed that there is an association between higher education in the community and people's social behavior. However, she was influenced by the barrier of family responsibilities, because she was not able to apply for principalship until later in her life when her children were in college. Family responsibility was not an obstacle for the other two women because one was not married and one had help from other family members.

Three women who obtained principalship did not believe that male administrators tend to hire other males. They had a positive view about graduate courses and did not agree that females were evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates. Also, they did not believe networking was a factor in obtaining their principalship.

Other less frequently encountered barriers dealing with society's perception about females in general did not seem to be a barrier, except one principal who complained about co-worker's attitudes that males are better administrators. The other two principals believed that society's perception about females is gradually changing. Lack of mentors and role models were not barriers for these principals and they said that they all had mentors and role models.

The results from Part 2 indicated that most principals had positive views about different obstacles. One reason for these principals to have a positive outlook about female administration is because sometimes success in acquiring a principalship may neutralize the negative aspects of the job search.

The two major themes in Part 1 (gender role expectations and family), were also identified in Part 2 especially among women who sought but did not obtain principalship.

4.3.2 *Women who sought but did not obtain an assistant principalship or principalship*

Women who sought but did not obtain an assistant principalship or principalship from Part 1 responded to 7 questions as being frequently encountered barriers. These barriers deal primarily with factor 1 gender stereotyping / patriarchy followed by factor 2 family responsibilities and lack of networking.

Two out of three women in Part 2 believed that male administrators tend to hire other males. These two women were seeking high school principalship which is believed to be more male dominated than in the primary area. Also, these two women believed that graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators. These two women who seek high school principalship indicated that many people believe that males are better suited to be principal than females.

Two women did not indicate that female candidates for principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidate because they said they do not know how the interview process was conducted for other candidates. But one woman said that she was not treated the same as a male candidate.

Three women in this study did not see family responsibility as a barrier. They either had help from other members of the family or had grown children. But all three women complained about lack of networking. Two women reported lack of role models and mentors as a barrier for principalship. Two women claimed that they had lack of support from other teachers and administrators.

In Part 2, women who sought but did not obtain their principalship reported more encountered barriers compared to women who obtained their principalship. The unsuccessful women candidates had fewer successes to alleviate their negative perceptions of the process.

The results from Part 2 are similar to the results from Part 1 in reporting more encountered barriers from women who did not obtain principalship.

4.4   Age and Race

In Part 1, age and race were not a factor for women who either obtained or did not obtain principalship. In Part 2, age and race were barriers for women who sought but did not obtain principalship. Two women in their 50s believed that age was a barrier, when they were evaluated for principalship. One woman who was African American and was seeking high school principalship indicated that race was a double barrier for her.

4.5   *Summary of results of Part 2*

The qualitative part of the study (Part 2) indicates several barriers in women's pathway to principalship. These barriers include; internal barriers: gender stereotyping, male administrators prefer other male administrators, the threatened male colleague, and external barriers: getting the job, lack of support from teachers and administrators, lack of female role models, family responsibilities, graduate courses, lack of networking, age and race.

The barrier of gender stereotyping along with other barriers such as male administrators prefer other male administrators, threatened male colleague, and getting the job, will fall in the same category, and they all relate to culturally biased views against women. In fact these last three barriers stem from the barrier of gender stereotyping. Therefore, gender stereotyping is considered as one of the most important factors that could block women's progress to principalship. The cultural power of sex-role stereotyping was experienced by women participants in the current study and was the source of the managerial conflicts for some women. The cultural power and force of sex-role stereotyping results in a double-bind for women in management positions in schools. When women are absent from senior management positions or only a minority of women hold such posts, as in the leadership of secondary schools, then women are not characterized in terms of their leadership abilities but rather in terms of their identities as *women*. The masculine style of leadership is preferred over feminine style, perhaps because people are not aware, nor have experienced, alternative forms of leadership. In fact the preference for masculine style of

leadership is an indication of biased views against women. This view favors male's qualities over women's qualities for leadership.

Some women in this study experienced the barrier of family responsibilities. The conflict that occurs when trying to balance work and family roles has been reported. Some women supported the notion of 'family friendly' policies and job sharing for women who carry both family roles and paid workload.

Lack of female role models was confirmed as one barrier for women's principalship in Part 2. Women who are successful leaders can provide role models and coaching for their female colleagues. This means that the women will have to be seen as resources, consulted, and relied upon for their leadership expertise.

Lack of support from teachers and administrators was reported as a barrier among some women who participated in the current study. In particular, lack of support from male supervisors remained as one of the important barriers to women's principalship. Those who were successful in obtaining a principalship had had a supervisor who encouraged them to move from the classroom in to administration.

Lack of training during graduate work was perceived as a disadvantage for obtaining administrative positions among women in Part 2. The belief is that training programs improve the skills of female teachers. Some districts offer training programs, but these programs are restricted to students from their own districts.

Lack of networking was considered as one of the major barriers for principalship among women who did not obtain administrative roles. Women who did not obtain their principalship were handicapped in gaining access to the kinds of informal contacts that usually ensure advancement in a career. Both women who obtained or did not obtained principalship indicated that informal networks of administrators control recruitment and selection.

Women who were in their 50's and did not obtain their principalship, believed that the reason that they were not successful was due to age discrimination. Three African-American women, who participated in Part 2, reported some cases of racism. They indicated that higher education administrators do not identify

the presence of black women. Black women as a group and as individuals must routinely hurdle double barriers of gender and race.

CHAPTER 5
DISCUSSION, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

The purpose of this study was to explore the obstacles women face as they seek positions as principals in the field of educational administration. In the literature there was a gap in information concerning obstacles to women's principalship. In fact, except Wilkinson's (1991) study there was no specific research concerning barriers for women who seek principalship. This study fills the gap of information regarding women's principalship in the last decade since Wilkinson's study. Even though Wilkinson's study evaluated some barriers for women's principalship, her study was limited to a quantitative study and did not look at the causes analytically. In order to fill the gap of information concerning

analytical explanations of causes that prevent women from seeking principalship, the current study concentrates both on quantitative and qualitative studies and analyzes theories that are relevant to the research topic (such as equal opportunity, Pocock's theory regarding women's role in the family, theories which held women, society, and organizations responsible for women's lack of success to principalship, theory of I/Though which explains gender discrimination) and specifically feminist's theories (unequal power in organizations and women's role in family) that analyze the root causes for women's lack of advancement to principalship. The specific findings and methods used to conduct this research, as well as some specific suggestions and recommendations, are new to this study and are not explored in extant literature (see Literature Review chapter and end of Discussion chapter).

This study will add new knowledge to the literature in three different ways: 1) it adds to our understanding of theories by exploring and analyzing theories that are relevant to the research topic. 2) it recognizes short-comings in some theories related to the causes of lack of women's success to principalship (examples are gender inequality and family responsibilities theories. Gender inequality and family responsibilities were found to be significant barriers for women's lack of success to principalship). 3) it adds to our knowledge by discussing why we are still experiencing gender inequality. The discussion of continuing gender inequality, which is suggested by researcher, analyzes the existing gender inequality in a different way and discusses the uncertainties of social issues. 4) it contributes to practice by offering a new solution to overcome gender inequality, and ways for women to find a balance between their work and family lives.

The following is a list of gaps that exist either completely or partially in the literature, and the new findings and suggestions from the current study that contribute to the literature:

i) In an overwhelmingly majority of literature, the analysis of social issues (in particular gender discrimination) is based on certain arguments. The current research introduces the analysis of uncertainty and probability about gender discrimination which is new to the literature. ii) it provides new knowledge about

changes in obstacles to women's principalship in the past decade in comparison to Wilkinson's study. iii) it examines the role played by organizational networks in women's advancement to administrative roles and specifies the advantages of being part of an organizational network. The barrier of networking was not found an important barrier in Wilkinson's study and was discovered as an important barrier in the Qualitative Study (Part 2 of the current study). iv) the current study will add information about the experiences of women seeking to enter a managerial environment. v) it adds a wider interpretation and clearer understanding of gender differences in careers in education. vi) it adds the varying perceptions of the three groups of women (Quantitative Study, Part 1) and women in interviews (Qualitative Study, Part 2). vii) it identifies two new barriers (male administrators prefer other male administrators, and threatened male colleague) uncovered in the Qualitative Study (Part 2). Also, these barriers were not found in Wilkinson's study. viii) it identifies an "at risk group" of women, those with ages over 50. ix) it identifies whether participants are Whites or Non-Whites, and that in 3 groups (Part 1), as well as Non-White women in interviews (Part 2) the Non-Whites perceived more obstacles than Whites. x) it adds the analytical patriarchal hegemonic views (Literature Review). xi) it adds knowledge about the role of women's low-self image in the field of education. xii) it suggests strategies to overcome the issue of gender inequality with the assistance of people in our society (the adopted conceptual framework for this study considers society and people's perceptions as reasons for women's lack of advancement to principalship) in order to counter gender inequality. xiii) it provides answers to how gender stereotypes operate in organizations by exploring the relationship between gender, power, and organization. xiv) it analyzes theories of work-family and its relation to gender equality. xv) it analyzes theory of different levels of consciousness as one way to overcome the gender inequality. xvi) it explores where the problem is located (e.g. in the individual, organizations, or in society). xvii) it suggests that one way to increase the number of women in principalship roles is to increase the number of women in school councils which is responsible for decision making in some districts. xviii) it identifies that the number of women who earned their graduate

degree has increased in the last decade, but women continue to be underrepresented in administrative positions in schools.

The above list will be discussed in detail later in this chapter. Also, this chapter has been organized around the analysis of data used to answer the research questions. The research questions will serve as the guide for the conclusions and implications which are presented. The answer to research questions may assist other minority administrators in fostering a nurturing supporting environment for the advancement of women in education.

For the rest of this section the methodology for conducting this research is discussed.

This study is comprised of two studies (quantitative and qualitative studies). The quantitative study used a 32-item questionnaire to explore the obstacles for women who seek principalship. The questionnaire contained 22 items which were to be answered on a Likert-type scale with five possible choices as to frequency of a given barrier being encountered: always, often, sometimes, seldom, and never - and scored from 1 to 5, respectively. Each question addressed a condition identified in the literature which has been documented as an obstacle to women. Questions 1 through 7 were short answer and sought biographical information concerning date of birth, years of teaching experience, years of administrative experience, and whether or not the women had ever sought or obtained a principalship. Question 30 was open-ended and asked for other obstacles the women may have encountered as they considered and/or sought a principalship. Questions 31 asked what other obstacles women found to be most necessary in helping them to succeed in educational administration. This question was intended for women who obtained a principalship. The purpose for question 31 was to search which obstacles were most necessary for women to overcome when they were seeking principalship. Question 32 asked if women are willing to participate in an interview for a follow up study. The women who returned the questionnaire self-selected themselves into one of the following three categories: 1) obtained an assistant principalship 2) obtained a principalship 3) have sought but have not obtained an assistant principalship or principalship.

A data base for Part 1 (quantitative study) was obtained from the Education Department in Columbus, Ohio from a computer list of those women certified between September 1996 and September 2000 as eligible for positions as principals and assistant principals in Franklin County, Ohio. A total of 299 women were on the list as being certified for the principalship in Franklin County. At the completion of mailings, the 32-item questionnaire was returned by 92 of the women.

The qualitative study consisted of two series of interviews and aimed for two goals: 1) To investigate all possible barriers that might prevent women from achieving administrative positions. 2) To compare the differences between barriers found in both quantitative and qualitative studies. Six women (3 women who obtained principalship and 3 women who did not obtain principalship) participated in the first interviews. Three women (two women who participated previously in the first interview and one woman who answered the questionnaire and did not participate in first interview) were included in the second interview which was conducted one year and half after the first interview. Nine interviews were conducted in total.

5.1   *Discussion of Findings*

Together men and women make up the world, and together men and women have created human civilization. However, human civilization has not given both genders the same fate. If we take a panoramic view of the history of many cultures, we find that a powerful male gender dominates society, that males have been virtually the symbols of social position and power, that women have been more appendages to males, and that women's only destiny has been to stay by the hearth and home (Aifeng, 2000).

Modern versions of gender difference stem from a cultural belief in separate spheres, with women assumed to be naturally predisposed to tend children and care for homes, and men assumed to be ideally suited for jobs and other public pursuits. The separate spheres ideal originated among the English upper-middle

classes during the late-nineteenth century, but quickly spread to the United States as productive labor become separated from the home (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). The emergent ideal of separate spheres drew sharp contrasts between women and men. The ideal middle class woman was supposed to be emotionally sensitive and morally pure, and she was supposed to find total fulfillment in her wifely and motherly duties. The ideal middle-class man, in contrast, was tough and unemotional (Coltrane, 1996).

While continuing to play their roles in the household, modern women have also entered forbidden males zones, and are playing social roles once reserved for males (Blount, 1999). More and more women are entering work organizations, and many women are the primary breadwinners for the family unit. On the other hand, however, some familiar patterns of difference and discrimination persist.

Despite the progress made in the workplace by women, there is still a great disparity in executive suite America: women are greatly under-represented in executive American organizations (Microquest Corporation, 2003; Blackman, 2000; Sharp, et al, 2000; Baldez, 1998; Maskell, 1996; Criswell & Betz,1995).

One of these American organizations is the public school system where more males hold administrative positions than females. The total number of female administrators continues to remain disproportionate to the total number of women in public education (Home, 1998; Criswell & Betz, 1995). Over 66% of all public school teachers are female (Criswell, 1994) but only 20% of administrative positions are held by women (Blackmore, 1999) although the number of females in all administrative positions is increasing (Motenegro, 1993). There are structural and systemic barriers that work against the advancement of all candidates who are not white males (Sharp & et al, 2000; Baldez, 1998). One possible explanation for this continued discrepancy is that women have yet to fully conquer the numerous barriers that block their entrance into administrative levels of education (Home, 1998).

The phenomenon of Glass Ceiling is described as the barriers that help to prohibit the advancement of women into the executive roles (MicroQuest Corporation, 2003). There are ranges of barriers preventing women in

educational administration from breaking through the glass ceiling, and these can be classified into internal and external barriers.

Internal barriers are those that relate to how women perceive themselves, so the assumption is that women can exercise some measure of control over them (Home, 1998). Criswell and Betz (1995) suggest that three of the major internal barriers are lack of aspiration to becoming administrators, failure to receive credentials and apply for those jobs, and personal and family constraints. External barriers, on the other hand, are those over which women have little or no control. Sex-role stereotyping, discriminatory hiring and promotion practices, lack of support systems which include role models, mentors, and networks, and the demands of family and home life fall in this category (Home, 1998). The goal is to include more women in the process of hiring so that qualified women and people from minority groups are not excluded.

The goals of this study were to determine the barriers women perceive in their path to obtain jobs in administration; and to discover whether the barriers women experience have changed in the past decade. For these purposes two studies, one quantitative and one qualitative, were conducted. In the following sections, the findings from both quantitative and qualitative studies are discussed. Also, the similarities and differences between both studies are evaluated. In addition the changes to barriers for women's principalship over the past decade are discussed. The gate keeping and career mobility theories described in the conceptual framework section are used to further illuminate the findings. Theories discussed in the Literature Review Chapter are used to interpret the results. The following two sections discuss the implications of the results from quantitative study.

5.1.1   *Means of responses to the 22-item questionnaire*

Means of responses to the twenty-two items for the total group in the quantitative study indicated the barriers of female stereotyping, family responsibilities, graduate courses, and lack of involvement in networks were the strongest barriers. The results from this study relate to two conceptual models which explain the under-representation of women and female stereotyping in the

educational system. One of these conceptual models looks to the educational system itself (Bell & Chase, 1993) and society as a whole (Shakeshaft, 1989) for reasons of continuing gender segregation in the profession. This equates to the external barriers as identified above. The barriers found in this study concern both of these: the educational system and society. Another conceptual model focuses on person-centered causation (Shakeshaft, 1989), where women are "held responsible for their own problems" (p.643), and explains that women themselves are the cause. Personal traits, characteristics, abilities, or qualities, self-image and confidence, motivation, and aspiration fall into this domain. Women in Part 1 did not relate to the person-centered causation model, and did not present the barriers of self-image and confidence, and aspiration to seek for principalship.

5.1.2 Means of responses for the total group from Part 1 for those who obtained assistant principalship

The total means of the responses for the total group and three different groups indicated those women who obtained their assistant principalship had less frequently encountered barriers compared to women who obtained their principalship and the total group. One would assume that principals were more successful than the assistant principals, and therefore principals might be expected to perceive fewer barriers. One reason that women who obtained their assistant principalship recognized fewer barriers could be due to the fact that principals were facing more barriers because they had to overcome more hurdles in order to obtain a principalship. One speculation could be related to gender image. Usually the role of assistant principalship demands less responsibility than principalship and therefore according to female stereotyping, it is better suited for a woman (Furchtgott-Roth & Stolba, 1999). That may be why assistant principals reported fewer barriers - they did not face the barrier of gender bias as much as principals did.

The next two sections discuss the results relating to the respondents' teaching experience and administrative experience from Part 1.

5.1.3   Average responses concerning teaching experience

The average number of years of teaching experiences by age group were evaluated. Women aged 50 and above had the highest teaching experiences of all the 3 groups. The younger and middle-age women had about the same average years of experience.   This could mean women in the middle group perhaps have had time off for family reasons and the younger women have not yet reached that stage in their lives.

5.1.4   Average responses concerning administrative experience

The average administrative experiences by groups were also evaluated. Those women ages 40-49 had the highest administrative experience of all 3 groups. Women   50   and   above   had less

administrative experience compare d to the other two younger groups.   This indicates they have spent more time working in the stronger gender stereotypical context of the recent past decade and thus perhaps have faced more gender barriers.   Younger women, gaining their employment experience in more recent times, perhaps have faced fewer gender barriers.   The literature agrees with the fact that more women have gained the administrative role in society over the past decade which could mean some women have or are overcoming the barriers (THE U.S. Department of Labor, 1998).

5.1.5   Research questions # 1 & # 2

The answers to research question #1 " For those women who do obtain an assistant principalship and principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?" were evaluated. The 23 assistant principals and 46 principals reported the barriers of gender role stereotyping, and family responsibilities as

the most frequently encountered obstacles. These findings are different from findings in Part 2. In Part 2 the barrier of family responsibilities was a barrier for one assistant principal who intentionally applied for principalship later in her life because she waited until her children were grown. One assistant principal was single and one principal had family supports, and did not report family responsibilities as a barrier. This suggests that for women who are single or have family support the barrier of family responsibilities is less important as they seek principalship. Because of the barrier of family responsibilities some women choose not to have families in order to have a career. Kocourkova (2002) indicated that there have been major changes in reproductive behavior during the 1990s. Younger people are postponing childbearing and fertility is falling. Evaluation of changes in reproductive behavior should be perceived in the context of an acceptance of new lifestyles typical of democratic societies. The tensions between paid work and motherhood seem to have had a negative effect on fertility development (Kocourkova, 2002).

The results from research question #2 " For those women who actively seek but do not obtain a principalship or assistant principalship, what are the perceived obstacles they have encountered?" indicated that gender role stereotyping, family responsibilities, graduate courses that did not address the needs of women, and lack of networks were the most frequently encountered barriers. The reason that women who had an assistant principalship or principalship in Part 1 reported family responsibilities as a major barrier could be due to the fact that realities of getting the job could have had a strong impact on these women's perceptions when they were seeking principalship.

The next section will discuss the results of Two-way Analysis of Covariance about age and race from Part 1 and results about age and race from Part 2.

5.1.6   *Results concerning age and race from Part 1 and Part 2*

Two-way Analysis of Covariance indicated that for all questions (Part 1) neither age, race, nor the interaction of group and race are significant. These findings disagree with the literature defining race as a barrier for women who

seek administrative roles. Most studies that explored reasons for lack of advancement to administrative positions for women, have reported race as one of the major barriers for women who seek administrative positions (Stivers, 2002; Montenegro, 1993). Brunner and Peyton-Caine (2000) proposed that women from different ethnic backgrounds other than whites face the double disadvantage of gender and race when aiming for a superintendency. Minority women in Part 2 indicated that race was a barrier in their pathway to principalship. This suggests that while race does not appear to be a significant factor for the majority, it is extremely salient for some. Women in Part 2 faced the double disadvantage of gender and race when they sought principalship. Women in Part 2 lived in areas that have the lowest percentage of minorities in THE U.S. Women in this study were from Franklin County which is located in central Ohio, one of the Midwestern states. The Midwest has the largest percentage of whites in the United States (Kittler, & Sucher, 2004). There are below average numbers of blacks throughout the Midwest; the exceptions are in Ohio, Michigan, and Illinois, which have slightly above average African American populations (Kittler, & Sucher, 2004). Native Americans, Latinos, and Asian/Pacific Islanders are also underrepresented in the Midwest (Kittler, & Sucher, 2004).

Different studies documented the role of race in preventing minorities from gaining access to leadership positions. In the following paragraphs first several theories about race are discussed, and studies that emphasize the role of race as an obstacle in women's achievement of administrative roles are briefly identified. There are numerous theories and beliefs about race. Some of these theories are discussed to indicate that race has been a problem in the past and still continues to be an issue in the U.S. Critical theory questions the values that cause minorities not to be promoted in their career (Eduardo, 2001). Critical theory starts with the premise that social science, just as the humanities, is rooted in a system of meanings and values. According to critical theorists, we fail to examine meanings and values. That is, we uncritically accept our own identities - our gender, race, class, and citizenship - and privilege these identities in our work without scrutiny or reflection. Sociology has long had a lively critical

tradition that stressed the viciousness of elites and the exercise of class power (Eduardo, 2001). United State sociologists argue that race is a powerful social construction that has far-reaching consequences for inequalities of all kinds (Furchtgott-Roth & Stolba, 1999). In the United States cultural differences are cloaked in a discourse of the advantaged and disadvantaged, of the privileged and the underprivileged, and more recently, of the foreigner or immigrant and the American. The paradigmatic division in the United States, as many authors have stressed, is the one between blacks and whites. Liberalism cannot easily accommodate cultural diversity and group differences (Blau, 2003; Furchtgott-Roth & Stolba, 1999). It is instead a quest for rights for individuals as detached individuals, and does not concern itself with individuals' rights to identify group membership and social roots. Whites who consider themselves liberals repudiate racism - or they do if they are consistent - but nevertheless may believe that blacks, and often Latinos and Native Americans, do not appropriately relate to dominant white institutions (Blau, 2003).

Coleman (1996) contrasted mainstream white culture - with its individualistic achievement and performance orientation - with black culture and its perceived deficiencies. He problematized black culture and assumed that it would disappear as blacks drew more on white models. Although Coleman was criticized at the time for "blaming the victim", social scientists still draw to a certain extent on the same model (Lamont, 2000).

Color-blind liberalism denies the relevance of racial differences and thereby fails to recognize the contradiction that institutions are fashioned along the lines of white culture (Blau, 2003, p.29). It furthers the myth that the U.S. institutions are the consequence of the autonomous efforts of individuals, rather than historically evolving arrangements in which particular interests play the dominant role (Bonilla-Silva, 2001).

Appiah (1990, p.4-5) argued that racialism is the belief "that there are heritable characteristics possessed by members of our species, and that members of these races do not share certain traits with members of other races". Paradoxically, however, from a social science perspective, racialism will be overcome only when we recognize how it is relevant for understanding existing

racial differences in social, cultural, economic, and other outcomes (Blau, 2003, p.4). Therefore, we must acknowledge race, just as we do gender, as an ideologically contested social construction. This is a prime vehicle for progressive social change.

The above views indicates that race has been a subject of discussion for many years in the U.S. In addition, some authors investigated the role of racial beliefs in preventing minority women from achieving leadership positions (Ramey, 1995; Pollard, 1997). Ramey (1995) who examined the progress of a group of African American women to administrative positions indicated that most women complained about race as a barrier for administrative roles. Pollard (1997) interviewed 20 African American men and women principals (12 women and 8 men) about the role of race in their job performance. These principals claimed that they countered and resisted others' constructions of them as African American men and women. The results from the current study (Part 2) are similar to those of the Ramey (1995) and Pollard's (1997) studies and indicate that race can be a disadvantage for minority women either in their pathway to principalship or in their job performance as a principal. Therefore, one reason for non-significant results about race in Part 1 is that there were more White women than Black women in the sample and White women did not report race as an issue.

The responses of the women regarding their age were divided into three categories, 39 and younger, 40-49, and 50 and older. The group between 40-49 registered more perceived barriers than the other two groups. Also, the number of women in group 40-49, was the highest compared to the other two groups. Because more women who sought principalship were between the ages 40-49, the competition to obtain these positions could be tougher due to supply and demand. Women in this group have faced more barriers in comparison to the other two groups.

Age was not a significant barrier in Part 1. Findings from Part 1 on age are consistent with one study (Ramey,1995) which indicated that age was not a barrier for women who became college administrators. It may be that Affirmative Action and Women's Educational Equity Act have both helped

women to a large extent in Franklin County. In Part 2, women who were in their 50's and did not obtain a principalship claimed that their age was a barrier when they sought principalship. The research studies that examined age as a barrier for both men and women in career promotion are contradictory. One study indicated women were able to come up through the ranks, whenever they saw an opportunity (Ramey, 1995). However, another study (Brown & Webb, 1994) indicated that men and women experienced age discrimination when returning to the labor market. Brown and Webb (1994) reported cases of age discrimination for both men and women seeking a conventional career on graduation. Many employers seem to feel that mature people are too old to begin new careers (Brown & Webb, 1994). Employers continue to prefer young employees and to see them as future 'high flyers'. Women are more likely to have spent time out of the work force with children. Therefore, women teachers are more likely to be trying to start applying for principalship late and, it seems employers continue to regard motherhood as a problem, rather than an asset, when selecting new employees. Age is as likely as gender to disadvantage older working women, and in many instances, an older woman faces discriminatory conduct on account of both age and sex (Gregory, 2003). The appearance of middle age in a woman is often looked upon as a disqualification for further advancement. Gray hair may be appropriate for male CEOs and other highly placed male executives, but not for older female workers (Epstein & Martin, 2004).

5.1.7   *Results from Part 1 concerning gender stereotyping*

Eigen value from the analyses corresponding to Principal Component scores indicated that gender role stereotyping associated with patriarchy was a major theme obtained from the results of the questionnaire. This demonstrates that although women are facing different barriers as they seek principalship, they are still faced with the barrier of gender role stereotyping. In the following sections the results from the current study which relate to the most important barriers are analyzed.

5.1.8 Sex-role Stereotyping

By mid-1970, women represented only 13% of all public school principals in the United States (Sharp & et al, 2000). The prospects for women in school administration have gradually improved in the last two decades. Women held 34% of the school principalships and 41% of the assistant principalships in the U.S. public schools in 1993 (Montenegro, 1993). Also, women held 41% of elementary school principalships and 16% of secondary school principalships. This means that the women's Educational Equity Act and Civil Rights Act to include gender have protected women to some extent in bias against women for school administrative positions (Flansburg & Hanson, 1993). Increasing numbers of women hold certification and degrees to qualify them for administrative positions (women received 11% of doctoral degrees in educational administration in 1972, 20% in 1980, 39% in 1982, 51% in 1990, and 60% in 1997)(Gupton & Slick, 1996; Logan, 1998). Women constitute more than half of the doctoral students in educational administration, yet they occupy about one-fourth of the administrative positions in the field (Gupton & Slick, 1995). The literature indicates that although women have gained a larger share of school-level administrative positions over the past two decades, they have not yet approached parity with men (Logan, 1998).

The literature over the past two decades is replete with claims of sex-role stereotyping as the major barrier to women seeking entry to or advancement in educational administration (Riehl & Byrd, 1997; Gupton & Slick, 1996; Moss & Qetter, 1995; Bell, 1988; Oritz, 1982). Sex-role stereotyping was found to be major barrier in both the quantitative and qualitative parts of the current study. Wilkinson's study (1991) also reported female stereotyping as one of the major barriers in women's pathway to principalship. Therefore, it can be concluded that sex-role stereotyping still hinders women who seek principalship.

The findings from the current study are consistent with one study that asked 118 female superintendents a number of questions regarding women's administrative positions (Sharp & et al, 2000). One question was "Do you agree with statements regarding the superintendency as a male field? Is power the

same for men and women?" (p. 12). Fifty-seven percent did agree that society, in general, feels that superintendency is a male's field. Larger school districts tend to be headed by males for reasons that include age-old prejudices- a woman cannot be as good manager as a man, a woman is more emotional than a man, or that a woman is more prone to cry.

The male stereotype focuses on attributes such as independence, competitiveness, focus, control, ambition, activity, and attention to specifics (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). The female stereotype comprises attributes such as interdependence, co-operation, acceptance, receptivity, ethics, and perception of wholes (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). Whereas in an ideal world any set of polarities would be seen as complementary, in the world of management as stated by women in this study, male stereotypes have predominated and have influenced the structures, processes and policies within organizations. Structures and policies within organizations are greatly influenced by cultural expectation in a society.

Most women in Part 2 (7 out of 9) reported that female stereotyping was a barrier either when they were seeking principalship or even after they obtained principalship. Female stereotyping perceived by most women in this study was partly due to society's cultural expectations about women. The adopted conceptual framework for this study, a combination of a cultural model of career mobility (Riehl & Byrd, 1997) and the ecological system of Bronfenbrenner, indicate the role of society's expectations for women who seek principalship (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Both the cultural model of career mobility and the ecological system consider that women are influenced by experiences embedded in culture and society. Our culture dictates expectations and actions which differ according to gender. To choose another course of action, to deviate from the accepted norm, may mean risking social disapproval. Conformity arises out of cultural mechanisms of social control (Howard & Hollander, 1997). Social control remains effective particularly when socialization processes encourage the perpetuation of stereotyped portrayals of the sexes. Critical theorists suggest that socialization is so powerful and all-encompassing that we are like little robots molded by our culture, who succumb to prescribed gender role behaviors

uncritically (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). Stereotypical thinking becomes insidious when individuals are damaged because they are defined in terms of assumed group characteristics. Not only do women take on stereotypical characteristics believing them to be true, but also if we stereotype women as passive, an individual woman may be passed over for a job requiring leadership ability. People fail to see her own individual ability in terms of job leadership due to the stereotype given to her gender as a whole.

As Sunderland (2004) indicated, in our culture gender is an organizing principle in people's everyday experiences and biological sex is still used as a powerful categorization device. This has to be blamed, however, upon the phenomena of 'gender-blindness' and 'think male'/'male as norm', within which women and girls are invisible or at least backgrounded .

A structural perspective conceptualizes culture as a tool by which men may dominate women and organizations (Halford & Leonard, 2001). Men's experiences and attitudes determine the dominant belief systems that operate within organizations and consequently shape gender relations. Even the positive effects of personal factors, such as women's qualifications and experience, do not provide women equity with men in administrative career development, given the powerful influence of gender-stereotyped and social forces.

Liberal feminists (Blackmore, 1999; Schmuck, 1996) argue that the way that women and men are perceived in terms says nothing about what men and women are really like "underneath it all". Rather, this assumption, reflects a long history of stereotyping which has, in effect, privileged men and discriminated against women, according them fewer resources, less status, less authority and less control over their lives. If (some) women have come to portray these stereotypes, or even to identify themselves with prejudiced notions of femininity, this should not be taken as proof of their 'reality' but rather of the power of role conditioning or socialization (Schmuck, 1996). Through the differential treatment of boys and girls, from a very early age, sex roles (what boys and girls do), come to mirror stereotypes. These stereotypes are understood to be oppressive to women. Thus, gender differences and inequalities are seen to reside in prejudice and self-sustaining tradition.

Liberal perspectives (Blackmore, 1999; Schmuck, 1996) offer an account of gender differences across society, revealing examples of discrimination in such diverse arenas as the media, education, politics and social policy, and of course in paid work and organizational life. This pervasiveness is understood as a series of patterns of discrimination caused by a range of ingrained individual and social prejudices, and not as the outcome of orchestrated interests deliberately designed to achieve these patterns. While, indeed, men may be able to achieve their human potential more readily than women and, in this sense, to benefit from gender difference and inequality, liberal feminists do not claim that men as a social group are acting in consort to sustain their privilege. Some men may do so, but any such actions are understood as a matter of individual prejudice rather than a symptom of any more general or systematic relations of oppression. Different feminists, as a common political project, share the understandings that the concept of gender is socially constructed; and that females and their experiences have been excluded from the development of knowledge (Blackmore, 1999).

Some women who sought but did not obtain high school principalship in Part 2 indicated that gender stereotyping was a barrier when they were seeking high school principalship. The stereotypical view against women is that men are more powerful than women and thus better able to deal with teen-age students in high school, especially when a conflict arises. Social stratification is based on differential power which in turn underlies all inequality (Hearn, 1994). Thus, inequality between the sexes persists because the power base women possess is more circumscribed than that of men. It indicates how masculine identity is closely tied up in a network of complex power/authority relationships, and that professional males have been no more progressive in their gender politics than working-class or blue-collar workers (Hearn, 1994). Therefore, the leadership practices in schools must deal with the considerable investment most men and some women have in existing gender relations, as well as the gendered association between cultural and discursive practices.

Some women in Part 2 reported that people in school preferred the masculine style of leadership. Underlying 'gender differences' we can see a view of masculinity and femininity as in 'binary opposition'.

Several authors have argued that dominant professional norms privilege men's culture (Marshall, 1993; Murphy & Zorn, 1996). Thus, many women will likely experience "double binds", or clashing expectations for femininity and professional leadership (Jamieson, 1995). Even those who emulate masculine culture may well risk negative evaluation, since similar behaviors look suspect in the light of gender prescriptions (Powell, 1993).

Some women in Part 2, however, indicated that there are women who do not have a feminine style of leadership as well as men who do not have masculine style of leadership. Some theorists acknowledge that masculine and feminine styles do not fit all males and females (Nelson, 1998; Hearn, 1994).

Some women in Part 2 considered men's power in organizations responsible for women's lack of promotion to leadership. Some theorists believe that the educational system itself works against the advancement of all candidates who are not White males (Cooper, 1996; Lewis, 1996).

Organization theory increasingly acknowledges the link between gender and power in organizations (Wright & Baxter, 1995). Male sexuality underpins the patriarchal culture of professional and organizational life. Sexuality thus becomes a crucial component of gender-power relations within workplace cultures. Feminists (Halford & Leonard, 2001) have written about the way men exercise control over women. The central argument is that theorizing male power in organizations involves seeing organizations as arenas of men's sexual dominance. Ferguson (1984) explained the relationship between power and organizations. She indicated that power is understood to be far more than the exercise of rules or procedures to maintain gender hierarchies; it is understood as so thoroughly embedded in the design of bureaucratic organizations that it is a 'knowledge', in the sense of an unquestioned way of thinking and doing.

Ferguson's (1984) theory explains that bureaucratic organizational structures are male or, rather, they are masculinity. Thus not only do they work to support male power but their every aspect is merely a performance of masculinity, of the

male way of doing things. Bureaucratic structures are thus a performance of a knowledge, a belief system or a discourse, which is also male power. The relations of gender are structured in two primary ways - through power and by emotional attachment which work in confluence and flux across the private and public domain (Tamboukou, 2003). Men exercise their power in a manner which will maintain their power advantage. Halford and Leonard (2001) indicated men are the primary agents of power, and they are so because they are men. They use organizational structures to mobilize their power over women. A structural relationship therefore exists between male power and organizational hierarchies, rules and procedures: all are used as means by which women can be kept at the bottom of organizational structures, with little power or material reward. Wajcman (1998) argues that theorizing male power in organizations involves seeing organizations as arenas of men's dominance. However, it is possible for women to resist bureaucracies and therefore male power. In addition to exposing the tacit masculinity of professional interaction and the attendant dilemmas that challenge women at work, gender difference scholars have sought to raise awareness of feminine modes of discourse and to integrate them into organization theory (Fine, 2000).

According to feminist organization theorist Karesten (1994), interaction is the preferred method of resolving conflict, and messages communicated are more likely to be advice and counsel than orders. In this structure, power is based on expertise and is not concentrated at the top. Feminists try to eliminate position-based power distinctions and refer to leaders as facilitators or coordinators. To them, a leader is at the center of a network, not at the top of a pyramid (Karsten, 1994).

Some women in Part 2 on the other hand held women responsible for their lack of success. Some theorists look to women themselves for "cause": abilities, or qualities (Shakeshaft, 1989; Tallerico & Burstyn, 1996). Individual attitudes such as self-image and confidence, motivation, and aspiration fall into this domain. Two women in Part 2 related to the person-centered causation model and believed that women who are competent and have a good sense of self-esteem are able to achieve principalship. These women did not report gender discrimination

and believed in self-determination regardless of their gender. This lack of concern for sexual difference or gender blindness is shared by some researchers. Tamboukou (2003) argued that gender as a form of representation is constructed by various social technologies, power relations, discourses, as well as everyday practices. She makes propositions for the analysis of gender: first that gender is a representation, second that it is actually constructed through representation, and third that the construction of gender is a historical process that goes on to the present. She further argues that the structure of gender goes through the various technologies of gender (e.g. theory) with power to control the field of social meaning.

5.1.9   *Family responsibilities*

Women have always been responsible for the human reproductive function-to give birth to children as wife and mother (Liu, 2000). On the other hand, society requires that women consider their success in their profession as the value of their existence (Liu, 2000). Many women have high hopes in their careers and hope to reflect their own social worth in the course of this pursuit, build up an independent character, and break away from mediocrity and ignorance (Home, 1998).

Meanwhile, women also have difficulty erasing the marks left on them by thousands of years of feudal society, and they remain constrained by traditional concepts (Aifeng, 2000). Faced by both social and household options, as well as career and family, the great majority of women try to make the best of both worlds. The result of giving equal emphasis to her work and her role in the family inevitably creates an enormous gap between her ability to fulfill her social role and her personal ability, which results in tension and aggravates her conflict with society (Aifeng, 2000).

Therefore, considerable difficulties are faced by employed mothers of young children in the management of job and family responsibilities. Women in Part 1 in the current study reported family responsibilities as the second external barrier to administrative roles. The barrier of family responsibilities existed many years

ago, and today still continues to block women's pathway into administration. For example Wilkinson's study (1991) indicated family responsibility was the second barrier after sex stereotyping which affected women in Ohio in pursuing principalship. The barrier of family responsibilities is well documented in the literature of the past two decades (Coffey & Delmont, 2000, Eller, 2000; Laslett & Thorne, 1997). One factor that is often cited concerning female administrators is that they may not be as mobile as males because of family situations and because of their spouses' jobs (Sharp & et al, 2000). Since women first entered the U.S. workplace, employers have treated women with children differently from other employees (Gregory, 2003). Not only do employers hold false assumptions regarding the role of the female worker, but they also perceive conflicts between the child-rearing responsibilities of working mothers and their job responsibilities (Smith-Doerr, 2004). Because women traditionally have assumed primary familial responsibility for the rearing of their children, men, relieved of such responsibilities, have performed well in jobs requiring a near total commitment to the workplace. Marriage and family augment a male's credentials, yet these very attributes tend to hinder a woman's career (Home, 1998). An employer may structure a job description that demands an uncompromising work commitment, while ignoring the impact of such a commitment upon the (presumed male) worker's family, as the employer may safely assume that the worker's wife will accept all child-rearing responsibilities.

Issues such as parenting are commonly addressed with female candidates during job interviewing, while men are rarely, if ever, questioned about such matters (Sharp, & et al, 2000). The failure of employers to afford workplace equality for working mothers appears under many guises, one of which condemns women who leave the workplace for relatively long periods of time to raise their children. Men who have made their jobs the central priority in their lives often find it difficult to accept, on equal terms, co-workers who have not (Gonyea & Googins, 1996). These men- and occasionnally even some women- are unwilling to accommodate working mothers who, because of their responsibilities to their children, cannot and will not be guided by such priorities

(Gonyea & Googins, 1996). The refusal to accommodate working mothers is an attitude that too often culminates in job-related decisions adverse to them.

Women in Part 2 (6 out of 9) indicated that the barrier of family responsibilities is one of the major barriers for principalship. They argued that the traditional pattern of motherhood remains unchanged and the 'ideal worker' is supposed to be free of family responsibilities, and that is one reason that women are drawn to part-time jobs today (Pocock, 2001). Part-time positions are rarely available for managerial and administrative jobs. One female participant in this study indicated that sometimes job sharing could be considered as an option.

No doubt if the facility of job sharing is made available to women on the basis that to do otherwise would be indirectly discriminatory, it would then also be possible for a male employee who chose to undertake primary care to claim this opportunity on the basis that there would otherwise be direct discrimination (less favorable treatment on the grounds of gender). However, the very fact that it is the need to ensure equal treatment for women that is the primary impetus to change would appear to reinforce cultural assumptions (reflecting usual practice) that such facilities are principally to be made available for use by women. As such it would appear that the very instrument for producing change also risks encouraging the marginalization of policies for reconciliation and fails to address the need to value reconciliation not solely as a concession to demands by women but as fostering opportunities for a healthy work/life balance.

The introduction of 'family - friendly' working practices (Karsten, 1994)(Literature Review chapter) could benefit those with family responsibilities. However, little consensus about the definition of 'family - friendly' currently exists and establishing a working definition is difficult. At their most basic, 'family - friendly' policies must enable people to fulfil family as well as work demands (Pedersen, 1993). In order to enable all employees to do so, policies should be based on the promotion of gender equality and the sharing of family responsibilities between men and women. Employers in some countries throughout the European Union have adopted a range of initiatives. For example, in the Netherlands, one quarter of employees work part-time (Smith-Doerr, 2004), and 65% of women employed 0-19 hours a week. There is

a European-wide growth in short-term contract and casual employment with a corresponding declining level of participating in permanent, full-time work.

Some firms in the U.S. have instituted family-friendly practices (Eaton 1999; Rayman, 2001). One example is the policies of Genentech, which was among the first biotech firms founded and has been ranked in the top 100 companies for working mothers since 1991 by *Working Mother* magazine. The company sponsors "Second Generation", one of the largest on-site child-care facilities in the United States, contributes up to $5.000 and six weeks' paid leave to employees who adopt a child, and maintains rooms for nursing mothers across its campus (Smith-Doerr, 2004).

Many worthwhile proposals to reduce work - family conflict are "work facilitatory" because they help to reduce the barriers to participation in paid work, especially in the context of dual-earning households (Gonyea & Googins, 1996). Community-based and on-site child-care supports, for example, make it easier to combine work and family without necessarily reducing work commitments. Supports of this sort, while relatively undeveloped in the United States, are commonly available in other advanced industrial societies (Commission of the European Communities, 1994).

Some women in Part 2 reported experiencing stress as a result of commitment to their job and conducting long hours of administrator's job. One female middle school principal indicated that her job is highly stressful.

There appears to be a failure by organizations to recognize the difficulties women must overcome to succeed in management. This has repercussions not only for organizations but also for society as whole. If organizations are to take advantage of such benefits, they need to provide women with an environment that aids, rather than hinders, their progression. Although initiatives such as equal opportunities and family-friendly policies are becoming more widespread, organizations need to be proactive in the implementation of such policies if they are to avoid the negative repercussions resulting from the high levels of stress experienced by women managers.

5.1.10   Getting the job

Participants who were seeking principalship believed that being a female was a disadvantage when they were evaluated through different stages of the hiring process. Literature in this field suggests that discrimination based on gender affects women's access to specific types of jobs and work settings, as well as their achievement of subsequent promotions (Konek & Kitch, 1994). Discrimination is defined as less favorable treatment on the grounds of sex (Pascall, 1994). A companion Act, the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, indicated that women do not have to be treated less favorably than men in education training.

Women who did not obtain their principalship in Part 2 indicated that they experienced sex discrimination as they were seeking for principalship. Discriminatory workplace policies and practices adversely affect women at all points of the employment relationship. Although promotion policies mitigate overt sex discrimination (Karsten, 1994), gendered conceptions about women workers as mothers still prevail and make women with children less acceptable at senior levels. Employers discriminate not simply between men and women, but between women on the basis of their actual or potential family commitments. Such discrimination is not necessarily a conscious process but is a taken-for-granted, unexamined practice (Pincus, 2003). While men may express support for equal opportunities, their prejudices are embedded in organizational rules and procedures, and in the very character of the job. The effect for women, as reflected in interviews in the current study, is that they never seem quite right for the job, or seem not quite ready. They are too narrow in experience and they can't take the pressure.

It may be taken as an indication of the success of 'equal opportunity' legislation and policies that now some women are at the top. Yet a marked gender imbalance persists at the apex of organizational career structures. Conventional equality initiatives have had a limited impact on women's position in the workforce (Kinsley, 1995). There is not much room at the top for women,

and we shall see that successful women are not so much representatives of, as exiles from, their sex.

Many feminists have pointed out that equal opportunities policies take an oversimplistic view both of the problem of inequality (seeing it as a managerial failure to treat like as like) and its solution ('equality' can be achieved by treating women the same as men) (Haywood & Mac An Ghaill, 1996). They have designated the legislation and associated policies as offering only 'formal equality'.

The central objective for 'equal opportunities' within organizations is to break down the sexual division of labor (Klinger et al, 2002). It involves dismantling the barriers that block horizontal movement by women into male-dominated areas of work as well as those that prevent their vertical progress to higher levels in organizational hierarchies. It is widely acknowledged that these policies have not achieved the changes they are supposed to achieve (Pincus, 2003).

The dominant approach to gender equality at work is most commonly characterized as 'equal treatment' (Kelly & Dubbin, 1998). Enshrined within the liberal legal tradition, anti-discrimination legislation provides the right, on an individual basis, to be treated the same as a person of the opposite sex in the same circumstances. The way that anti-discrimination legislation has interpreted treating 'like as like' is that people should be judged not by their gender or ethnicity but by their job-related capacities (Smith-Doerr, 2004). In practice this led 'liberal' policies to focus on the development of techniques to ensure that women are assessed in the same way as men. Jewson and Mason (1986) extend this analysis to equal opportunities initiatives more broadly, calling the dominant policy approach 'liberal'. This model, common to North America and Western Europe, regards current inequalities as distortions of the rational, efficient workings of the markets, which can be corrected by increasing bureaucratic controls: formalizing and standardizing recruitment, promotion and training procedures.

5.1.11   Networking

One external barrier explored in both the qualitative and quantitative parts of this study was lack of networking. Wilkinson (1991) did not include lack of networking as an important obstacle for seeking principalship. Therefore in the past decade, the factor of networking was not counted as an important barrier in seeking administrative jobs in schools. But today according to one recent study women have found lack of a professional network as somewhat of a barrier (Sharp & et al, 2000).

Women in Part 2 who either obtained or did not obtain principalship claimed that networking is a crucial factor that can help women to reach principalship. One assistant principal believed that informal social networks and togetherness provided mutual help and promoted social and economic survival. Another female participant in Part 2, who did not obtain a principalship, and was not involved in networking, believed that the contribution of a network and its capacity to support local struggles by linking her with wider issues of regional, or national organizations could have been crucial.

If women are less involved in networking, there are less chances for them to enter the ranks of senior positions (Harvey, 1999). The U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission (1995, p. 1) identified two major areas that cause women to face the Glass Ceiling phenomenon:

1. Networking- Word of Mouth- Many employers will find mid-and upper-level personnel by word of mouth. Candidates who participate in luncheons, dinner and country clubs might receive offers, outside the recruitment process. This diminishes opportunities for the advancement of people from minority groups and women.

2. Networking- Employee Referrals- White males tend to produce referrals from within their own community. This will disadvantage the candidate pool of women and people from minority groups.

The networks provide alternative communication channels and act as a forum of power that challenges stereotyped representations of women as passive and silent.

One advantage of networks is that they help people acquire influence within organizations (Smith, 1991). It is essential for those pursuing upward mobility to gain influence, and active networking allows them to do this in at least three ways. It enhances visibility, speeds up the process of finding a mentor, and yields valuable information. The links among networking, visibility, and mentorship require no further explanation. Information gleaned from a network may provide an understanding of organizational politics, or knowledge of potential new hires, promotions, or job openings. Information about job openings is crucial, since 75% of all jobs are obtained through personal contacts (Karsten, 1994).

Female administrators tend to have a less defined network of colleagues from whom to seek advice and discuss professional issues (Sharp & et al, 2000). Of a sample of 118 female superintendents asked if some areas were serious barriers, somewhat of a barrier, or not a barrier to becoming a superintendent, 55.2% said that lack of a professional network was somewhat of a barrier, with 12.1% saying it was a serious barrier (Sharp & et al, 2000). Also, 50.4% stated that exclusion from the "Good Old Boys" network was somewhat of a barrier, and 17.1% said it was a serious barrier. According to Smith and Hutchins (1995), there is not much research concerning interpersonal organizational networks. Extant research studies, however, indicate the limited access or exclusion of women and racial minorities from informal interaction networks. Women are excluded from "old boy" networks which are composed of men who hold power in the organizations (Linehan, 2000). Burke and McKean (1994) indicated that women are less integrated with organizational networks, and these networks can influence decisions such as promotion and acceptance. Linehan (2001) argued that when males exclude females from joining "old boy" networks, this reinforces existing stereotypes of negative male attitude towards females. White males are aware of the importance of networking for career success. The "old boy network" is developed through school ties, contacts, and social organizations, such as country clubs. Women, however, are less involved in school ties and social organizations. Women need effective networking for success (Moore & Webb, 1998).

Women's networks are important in providing career-related information (Smith, 1991). Although women's networks are important, these networks suffer from a number of problems such as network range and density, and network strength (Ibarra, 1993). There is a smaller percentage of same sex ties in women's networks than men's (Knouse & Webb, 2001). Moreover, men tend to mix both social and work networks while women concentrate on social networks (Knouse & Webb, 2001)

The difference between women's networks and males' networks is related to their network range. Women's network range (which refers to the degree of diversity) tends to be greater; however, women do not benefit from this greater range, because their networks are less dense than those of white males (Friedman, Kane, & Cornfield, 1998). Women's network strength (i.e., the amount of time spent with individual in networks) is weaker than in white male networks (Ibarra, 1993). In summary, women's networks are less dense and weaker in tie strength than white male networks. Therefore, the implication is that women are less able to facilitate employment in higher status managerial positions.

Some organizations created minority networks to help women with technical skills. For example, Xerox and AT & T developed minority networks in the 1970s and 1980s to help to retain women with technical skills. However, some researchers (Knouse & Webb, 2001) revealed that women indicated that although their company network provided career information, these networks did not provide a job performance feedback (Linehan, 2001). In sum, women in education need networks and connectedness at school sites, to support advancement into administrative roles. This study suggests some networks that provide information for women who seek administrative positions (see Networking section further in this chapter).

5.1.12 *Female role models*

One external barrier which was explored in the qualitative part of the current study was lack of role models. This barrier was not reported as a concern for women seeking a principalship in Wilkinson's study (1991), but the findings from the current study agree with most recent studies concerning school leadership in the 90's and beyond. Literature since 1990 has shifted emphasis from explanations for under-representation of women in educational administration to calls for more role models (Logan, 1998; Gupton & Slick, 1996; Johnson, 1991; Coursen, 1989). This attention to role models for women is one probable explanation for increased numbers of women planning for administrative positions.

Women in Part 2 who obtained principalship indicated the reason for their success in obtaining principalship was because they had role models. However, lack of role models was a barrier for women who did not obtain principalship.

One study (Home, 1998) investigated why 92 women who held administrative certificates in the 1996-97 school year did not move into administration. Lack of role models was a major obstacle for these women. Women in Part 2 who did not obtain their principalship were similar to women in Home's (1998) study. However, women in Part 2 who were successful in obtaining their principalship were similar to women superintendents in one study that found role models were a key to women's success (Schroth, Pankake, and Funk,1999). The authors indicated early in their careers, women superintendents in Texas all had had colleagues, usually a superintendent or principal, who inspired them to move from the classroom into administration. Women who are successful leaders can provide role models and coaching for their female colleagues. This means that the women will have to be seen as resources, consulted and relied upon for their special expertise.

Women who are principals and superintendents not only have to do their job well but they have this additional role as being role models. The increased stress placed on women as a result of this additional role among women principals and superintendents has not yet been the subject of much research.

5.1.13 Graduate Courses

One external barrier found in the qualitative part of the current study was graduate courses. The women reported that both obtaining a Masters degree and lack of appropriate training in graduate schools were the problems for them. The literature concerning lack of training in graduate courses is limited, but some studies show that the number of women entering educational administration programs is increasing since the 1970's (Logan, 1998; Grogan, 1996; Cunanan, 1994). Bell and Chase (1993) reported that since the mid-80s, women have made up at least half of educational administration program enrollments. Logan (1998) indicated that 30% of member institutions in the University Council for Educational Administration (UCEA) had more than 60% women students in certification programs.

The findings from this current study disagree with these data. In the qualitative part of the current study, some women reported that entering into a graduate program was a problem. One woman, who had difficulties entering into a graduate program, indicated if it wasn't for the university that allowed her less credit hours, she wouldn't have tried for principalship. Two women who did not obtain a principalship revealed that the content of the graduate program did not address the gender issues women face in administration. One woman who did not obtain a principalship indicated that graduate program was strictly courses and passing exams, and nobody mentioned the male or female role. Another woman who also did not obtain a principalship believed that graduate courses cover the theoretical point of view and do not address what women have to do politically when they have principal positions. Thus despite reports of increasing numbers of women entering into graduate programs, there still remain problems for some women who aspire to principalship. In order to help women to perform more efficiently in principalship positions, gender issues and different ways to handle this problem need to be addressed in graduate courses.

5.1.14   *Lack of support from colleagues and administrators*

One external barrier found in the qualitative part of the study was lack of support from other teachers and females. One female principal who participated in Part 2 indicated that she did not have support from her colleagues. Other teachers' attitudes toward women administrators might have an effect on administrator's job performance. Also, these attitudes may have an adverse effect on women who seek administrative positions. One of the reasons for under-representation of women in school administration is the negative perceptions of women's way of leading. The difference between the way men and women manage has been documented in the literature (Logan, 1998). Men's way of management which is authoritative, and controlling is more respected (Hudson, 1998). Tyree (1995) states that because of a series of myths, women are under-represented in educational administration. These myths include: (a) women don't have what it takes, and (b) women lack support of teachers and the community.

Gupton and Slick (1996) indicated that since 1980 explanations for under-representation of women in educational administration have shifted toward a need for better support systems for women in this field. Women must deal with peers, parents, and employers' negative attitudes of female administrators. Gupton and Slick (1995, p.1) quoted a female elementary principal as saying that "even after women have obtained administrative positions they are not offered the status or the respect given their male colleagues". One female participant in Part 2, who did not obtain her principalship, indicated that lack of support from administrators was one of the major barriers for lack of success. Two other women in Part 2, who also did not obtain their principalship, had the same views. In their personal testimonials, women often relate career success to the encouragement they received from supervisors and administrators (Smith-Doerr, 2004). Some of the companies most committed to the nuturance of diversity in the workplace and to the advancement of women have established training programs to encourage supervisors to pay special attention to the career development of women and minorities and to redefine advancement paths to increase access to the opportunity structure (Karsten, 1994, p. 93). Because of women's reports of lack of support from their supervisors in this study, it can be concluded that there is a need for training programs for supervisors in

educational administration in order to help women to gain access to administrative positions. Women in the current study allude to the importance of women having supervisor's support. The way in which women describe these relationships is consistent with several surveys which suggest that women are more likely than men to want support from a supervisor (Wajcman, 1998).

Three women, who obtained their principalship and participated in Part 2, believed in the importance of support from other administrators in their pathway to principalship. Supports from administrators played a critical informal role for most of these women. This role included advice and instruction on how to negotiate the 'unwritten rules' of power in order to progress in an administrative career. Typically, their first mentor was a male administrator who told them they could be effective administrators and subsequently helped them with local politics or specific management skills.

5.1.15   *Threatened male colleague*

The barrier of threatened male colleague was discovered in Part 2 and was not included in Part 1. Some women in Part 2 found that some men feel threatened facing increasing number of women in the workplace. As women have been taking on new roles, some men find it unpalatable. Some men might feel threatened because they fear losing power.

According to the federal glass ceiling report (The U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995), many middle-and upper-level white male managers feel threatened by increases in minority and female employment in the managerial ranks (Stiver, 2002, p.29). They tend to interpret such changes as a direct challenge to their own chances for advancement (Stiver, 2002, p.29).

Some males feel threatened by women who they perceive may have the promotional edge due to Affirmative Action and Equal Opportunity Act. Many economists have predicted that as women's education and experience come to match those of men, their employment will follow (The U.S. Department of Labor, 1998). But as highly-educated and motivated women enter the workplace, some men reject them saying that they only got the job because they were female

and they were not necessarily the best for the job. This trend often hinders a woman's commitment to a demanding career (Wasserman, 2003).

Blackmore (1998) believes to be a woman in a masculinist culture is to be a source of mystery and unmeasurability for men. The performance of leadership is simultaneously symbolic and physical: symbolic in the sense that they are women in male-dominated jobs; and physical in the sense that the very presence of the body of women in authority challenges gender power relations. Because of dominant masculinities in management and existing gender perceptions about leadership in education, men are distressed about women achieving success over them (Stiver, 1993).

For most men, gender interaction at work tends to be a positive experience, promoting social and personal integration and confirming male identity rather than generating role conflict and status ambiguity. For most women, who are employed in predominantly female sectors of the labor force, feminine identity is also reinforced at work. However, women who assume roles and statuses traditionally filled by men find themselves in conflict with prevailing norms (Gregory, 2003). Their presence makes the gendered content of jobs and workplace relations more visible. This makes some men distressed particularly when women are occupying roles traditionally filled by men (Blackmore, 1998).

5.1.16   *Male administrators prefer other male administrators*

The barrier of male administrators preferring other male administrators was discovered in Part 2 and was not included in Part 1. Women in Part 2, who did not obtain their principalship, indicated that often administrators who hire principals prefer males over females. The traditional male role constantly encourages male preference for leadership jobs. Women, and anything perceived as feminine, are less valued than men and anything perceived as masculine. This concerns the limiting power of a universal notion of patriarchy in public spheres.

With men's historical domination of management, where the vast majority of organizations have been and still are managed by men, the very notion of a 'manager' has a gendered significance. It is associated with manliness. In other words, 'think manager, think male' (Schein, 1994). Of all major professions, leadership contains the smallest proportion of females and projects a heavily masculine image hostile to women. Leadership is a particularly intriguing example of masculine culture because it spans the boundary between physical and intellectual work and yet maintains strong elements of mind/body dualism (Mac An Ghaill, 1994). Women as a gender do not fit the stereotype of management that prevails in most organizations. They are often not even considered when senior jobs are filled. Because visibility, and acceptability are gendered processes, women are particularly disadvantaged in promotion procedures (Shrubsall, 1994). Some women in Part 2 felt that rewards are largely based upon perceptions, and that male colleagues are particularly adept at playing the perception game.

5.2 Suggestions

A convergence of school reform, strategic advancement strategies, supply and demand for administrators, societal changes (which include people, administrators, males attitude change), changing female roles in the family, improvement in networking, and a new approach suggested by the researcher, could all enhance opportunities for more women to become school administrators.

5.2.1 School-site Governance and Accountability

One suggestion is to take into account the school governance and make school-based decisions. For example, in Kentucky, school council members make the final selection for principal employment (Logan, 1998). Also, principals must consult their school council when staffing other positions. Some

school districts in the United States have a school council which is located within a school building and is governed by certified counselors. School council members are hired by the superintendent or principal (normally the school boards hire the principals)(Hudson, 1996). Although school boards hire all employees, the school-based personnel employment resides at the school level. Thus, in some districts that have school councils (school councils are neither elected nor representative of the community), school boards (school boards are not housed in schools and its members are elected by community members) are no longer the predominant gatekeepers for the principalship. School councils share in these decisions (Logan, 1998). Only some school districts in Franklin County have school councils. Perhaps women who seek principalship in Franklin County could benefit if they applied for positions in school districts that have school councils. Research in Kentucky and Kansas show that the majority of school council members are women in these states (Kentucky Department of Education, 1996) and that more women than men participate in council meetings (Furtwengler-Roth & Stolba 1995). Therefore, teachers' empowerment related to school council (women in schools may become counselors, then enter school council) gives women a strong voice in school decisions. But unfortunately women must deal with the negative perceptions of female administrators held by colleagues and peers (Hudson, 1996; Gupton & Slick, 1995). Teacher's attitudes toward women administrators may be a deterrent to women who seek principalship. Also, it may have a direct effect on how well the administrator's job performance will be evaluated.

5.2.2   *Strategic Advancement strategies*

Faculties in educational administration preparation programs can be catalysts for change (Logan, 1998). A challenge to educational administration faculty is to develop new strategic advancement strategies for women and to promote high expectations for all women who enter the profession of school leadership (Logan, 1998). Universities can serve their constituencies through education and support

of local leadership. Communities look to universities for leadership (Brine, 2004). Equal access in hiring processes for qualified school administrator candidates can be advanced through rigorous administrative preparation programs; and through training for school council and school board members (Brine, 2004).

Bateson (1996) emphasized that change is not something that will ever be done once and for all as it represents an ongoing adjustment and adaptation to new contexts. Equality and equity should be regarded in the same manner. A continuous effort is required for advancement in these areas (Logan, 1998).

What happens to women in terms of employment in higher positions is a widespread phenomenon, and it is not unique to the women who are seeking principalship. Roemer (2003) puts equality of opportunity in a precise (almost mathematical) context. He defines five words: Objective, circumstance, type, effort, and policy as follows:

> *   Objective: is the kind of outcome or well being or advantage for
> whose acquisition one wishes to equalize opportunities, in a given
> population.
> *   Circumstances: are the sets of environmental influences,
> beyond the individual's control, that affect his or her
> chances of acquiring the objective.
> *   Type: is a group of individuals in the population with a
> given set of circumstances.
> * Effort: is autonomously chosen action - within the individual control-,
> which, if expended in greater amount, will increase the degree to
> which the individual acquires the objective.
> *   Policy: is a social intervention that is used to influence the degree to
> which individuals acquire the objective.

Roemer (2003) states the equal-opportunity policy is (roughly speaking) the degree to which individuals acquire the objective and is independent of their circumstance, and sensitive to their effort. Although a person's efforts (choices) should be the most important criterion in attaining her objectives, since circumstances are aspects of a person's environment that are beyond her control

and have an effect on her achievement of objectives, negative effects of circumstances provide grounds for compensation. It is significant to have proper intervening policies to allow proper compensation (i.e., training and educating) for the negative effects of circumstances.

Such policies exist in some areas. Some examples are:

1) affirmative action in university admissions in United States (nationally).

2) In three states (Texas, Florida, and California) public universities will now admit a substantial fraction of their students, not on the basis of scores on SAT, but if they are in the top p% of their high-school class, with regard to grades, where the number p varies across these states. In other words, students admitted in this way are compared only with others in their own high schools (i.e., their own type). As high schools remain, for the most part, quite homogeneous with respect to social class in these states, this policy will tend to admit the high-effort students from each social class.

3) The Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) law which passed in the early 1990s, is based upon the Equal Opportunity view. It takes disability as the disadvantaged circumstance and requires employers to make investments to enable employees with disabilities to work productively in their establishments or firms. However, American society seems ready to extend the Equal Opportunity principle to those with biological disabilities, but not to those who are relatively disabled by virtue of social practices (Roemer, 2003).

What happens to women in terms of employment in higher level position is a widespread phenomenon, and it is not limited to the findings of this research. More interestingly it seems to be a universal issue, even among the industrial nations. Since the scope of the current study is limited to the barriers that women face in their pathway to principalship, the researcher only refers to two studies regarding the overwhelming problems that women are facing to obtain higher positions.

Wasserman (2003) believes in spite of success in increasing the number of female science doctorates and in recruiting women to entry-level positions, the scarcity of women at the top and the continued under- representation of women in the physical, mathematical, and engineering sciences at all levels has so far not

been eliminated. To remedy the problems facing women in high research positions she suggests:

> To achieve true equality for women, institutions must adapt their policies to a changed, more diverse workforce. Government and industry have made greater strides in this respect than academia, but because industry and government recruit from academia and look to it for leadership, it is time for academia to adopt family-friendly policies suitable to the demographics of the 21st century. Improved mentoring of young faculty to remain active in research while temporarily reducing or eliminating their teaching or administrative responsibilities, on-site affordable day care, campus resource centers for new parents, financial subsidies, flexible leave and promotion policies, and financial help are among options that should be made available routinely. (Wasserman, 2003, p. 49).

One study from the UK demonstrates the universality and diversity of areas where women are facing unequal treatment. In the UK, 84 percent of workers in the construction industry are male. Women are engaged in clerical, secreterial, and protective services, with 43 percent employed in part-time positions (Equal Opportunities Commission, 1997; Fieldren, Davidson, Gale, & Davey, 2001). The study suggests "It was recognized by all participants that practical initiatives need to be taken in every aspect of education, training, recruitment and retention, if the situation is to change. Focus group participants put forward a number of practical steps, potential motivations and measurement mechanisms that could achieve such change" (Fieldren & et al, 2001, p.300). Some instances of potential motivation and measurement mechanisms that could achieve such changes were: "Making young women aware of opportunities in construction. It was required to encourage young women to gain appropriate qualifications and training - starting from primary schools right through to universities. One of the suggestions was to visit primary schools, and visits should be designed to interest the children in some aspect of the construction industry" (Fieldren & et al, 2001, p. 300).

This indicates the immensity of the problems facing women in progressive countries (one may only imagine the catastrophic situation in the third world

countries). More studies are necessary to shed light and bring these problems to the attention of society, and in particular law makers.

5.2.3   *Principalship Demand and Supply*

Principalship is experiencing high rates of turnover and a diminishing applicant pool (NASSP, 1998; Tingley, 1996).   Turnover rates for school administration have doubled in recent years (NASSP, 1998). More than half of all principals are becoming eligible for retirement (Logan, 1998). Because of increased enrollments with a predicted 10 to 20 percent increase in the need for school administrators through 2005, the demand for school administrators in the U.S. is likely to become greater (NASSP, 1998). What does this shortage of principal applicants mean for women administrative aspirants? Search committees, schools and school councils will be hard pressed to find sufficient qualified applicants. There will be job openings for well-qualified applicants.

5.2.4   *Administrators*

Administrators must demonstrate and argue convincingly for the need to change old beliefs. Unfortunately, these old beliefs have served to obscure the real issues at hand for a long time (Gooden, 2002). School leaders must change their understanding on this issue and truly give equal treatment to the two genders and allow fair competition. They should accurately evaluate women teacher's accomplishments and create equal competitive conditions and work and living environments so as to relieve women teachers' pressures and burdens in work and their minds (Liu, 2000).

All society's leaders must understand the social significance of childbirth as an important link in the progression and development of human society. This is not

the women teacher's private business, even less should anyone slight them because of it (Aifeng, 2000).

School leaders should truly reevaluate how power is exercised over women. Leaders can get more done if they give up trying to discriminate against women who appear to be within the purview of their authority (Aifeng, 2000). The goal should be to educate. For example, many leaders are less successful when they insist on discriminating against women rather than treating them fairly (Pincus, 2003).

Creative programs are needed to educate administrators. Leaders need to participate in seminars and workshops and educate themselves against negative attitudes toward women. They need to become aware of barriers for women who seek administrative jobs and learn how to promote a fair judgement for women in these positions. Seminars and workshops for administrators need to be established in educational administration programs at the university level. Other leaders in the society also could benefit from the same seminars and workshops that could educate them against negative thinking about women.

5.2.5   *People*

People should share the difficulties caused by women teachers' child rearing and help them smoothly pass this period of disruption. They should also put themselves in the woman's place, and, together with different sectors in society, run good nurseries and daycare centers, be solicitous about women teachers' lives, and provide necessary social services to assist in household chores (Liu, 2000). Also, we should expect men to take an equal role in child rearing.

Women administrators might experience stress as a result of working long hours of administrative jobs combined with family workload. If real progress is to be made in increasing the number of women at management levels, especially senior levels, organizations must be more proactive in protecting them from the deleterious effects that working in such positions currently exposes them to.

Individuals can employ coping strategies, such as time management, seeking social support, exercise, and improved diet to help themselves handle stress (Greenglass, 2002). The success of such strategies is not only dependent on the individuals but also on the environment in which they live and work. Individuals only can take small steps; it is up to organizations to take the great strides necessary to effect real change.

Recently there has been a growth of feminist work on child-rearing which has employed a diversity of approaches (Holloway, 1998). An analysis of child-rearing makes it clear that mothers are held responsible for the care of their pre-school aged children; recent feminist work has illuminated how some mothers negotiate their responsibility while they are in paid work (Hewitt, 1993). Some studies investigated the effects of child care costs on female employment. Day care costs usually cause a reduction in female wages and reduce women's opportunity to participate in labor market (Kregenfeld, & Hank, 2000). Day care is publicly subsidized in most industrialized countries, to promote female employment. France is one of the six countries with the most supportive policies for working mothers of children aged between three and school-going age. In France, the 'Family Law' passed by the French parliament in July 1994 introduced important changes in family policy (Fagnani, 1998). Because the number of publicly subsidized child-care centers is still very limited, to encourage families to create employment, the government has chosen to encourage the development of a variety of child-care provisions by increasing the financial incentives payable to parents employing a private nanny or child-minder. The same rationale of reducing unemployment has also promoted the decision to extend the existing child rearing benefit to families having a second child. Surely, other countries such as United States must legitimate a Family Law and put these measures in their political, economic and social context.

There is a need to support women to return to work by providing child care options for parents. These options must be high quality; otherwise children will suffer in the long run (Sims, 2003 a). One study in Australia identified "Costs to parents, even with government funded Child Care Subsidy, can be considerable, and there is concern that families on low income are unable to afford the

difference between the subsidy they can claim and the fees charged" (Sims, 2003 a, p.4). In this case women will remain disadvantaged because some will choose to leave workforce to offer their children what they perceive as a better care. Many families find the price of child care too high, and women who take time off from work to provide care for their children will be penalized (Jacob & Gerson, 2004).

American families face limited access to public care for children below aged 3 (Jacob & Gerson, 2004). The relatively low levels of publicly provided child care in the United States clearly work against women. Since women perform most of caregiving, the insufficiency of child care supports, forces mothers' unemployment. Even those who are forced to return to work (single parents in the USA are required to return to work) have to leave their children in low quality programs and cope with negative outcomes later in their life. High-quality child care for young children is a central concern for many young working families (Heymann, 2000). Therefore, it is crucial to advocate for high quality child care to be available to all, not just those who can afford to pay huge fees (Moss, 1996). The NAEYC (National Association for the Education of Young Children) (www.NAEYC.org) is the nation's largest organization of early childhood educators for children from birth through third grade. NAEYC offers accredited day care information. Early childhood professionals and families can evaluate programs, and compare them with professional standards (NAEYC). The purpose of NAEYC accreditation is to improve the quality of care for young children in the United States. Another organization is Zero to Three whose mission is "to promote the healthy development of the nation's infants and toddlers by supporting and strengthening families, communities, and those who work on their behalf" (Zero to Three, 2004, p.1). Zero to Three works to advance the field that benefits the nation's youngest children with the help of professionals in early childhood development and parents.

The organizations mentioned above benefit women who search for high quality child care. It is crucial to advocate high quality private and public child care for women who are employed and need help to pass the period of child rearing.

5.2.6   *Women teachers*

One solution for some women teachers who seek administrative roles is in improving their sense of self and spiritual quality. By enhancing education in self-reliance and ideals, women are able to overcome their psychological and mental barriers so that they can truly have self-respect, self-confidence, and self-reliance and make good role models (Aifeng, 2000).   Women need to be educated to understand the oppression imposed upon them throughout their lives, and to believe in their own individual power to overcome this oppression.

To change the attitudes of the women themselves (and of course, of the men who oppress them), there is a need to start examining what is done in early childhood and primary schools about gender roles. If children's gendered behavior is ignored, they will continue to behave in gendered ways as they grow up and turn into adults (Knock & Kitch, 1994). Therefore, there is a need to address gender stereotyping with children in the early years of life. Sims (1997) believes that we need to offer programs to very young children that enable them to question gendered behavior before they, themselves, develop a repertoire of gender segregated behaviors. She indicated that children need to be encouraged to question these ways of behaving, to determine if they would like to do things, and be a person, other than what they see as appropriate for their gender. Alloway (1995, p.32) believes in deconstructing gender segregated behavior, which means rejecting the idea of maleness and femaleness as different ends of a dichotomy. We also need to ensure that there is a conscious effort right through the schooling system to address with gendered behaviors and attitudes so that children grow up in an environment where gendered issues are always at the forefront and not forgotten. This includes secondary and tertiary education.

We need to continue to support girls as they are growing up. The best way society can address gender stereotyping is by harmonizing and unifying the roles of men and women (Aifeng, 2000, p.4). First, the male must readjust his value concept of the female. The male must adjust his concept of the value of women,

discard the traditional concept, and change the gender concepts formed over thousands of years. Developing harmony between men and women means advocating the strengthening of the woman's position as a human being, expecting and encouraging her to give full play to her creativity as a human being and as a woman (Aifeng, 2000, p.4). Men should do their best to conform their concepts of women's value to be in harmony and uniformity with women's own concepts of their value. As a useful method of countering the male-dominated culture, women-only courses are also recommended (Fieldren, & et al, 2001). The aim of these courses will be to broaden women' s horizons and will encourage them to seek administrative jobs in the educational system actively. The aim of these courses also will be to provide a psychlogically safe place where women can explore issues of discrimination and plan how to handle them. These courses could be offered in universities, but a more effective solution would be if training classes could be offered at schools especially at elementary level.

5.2.7   *Males*

Reconstructing or redefining masculinity requires social change. It must occur in early childhood, in schools, in the media (especially television), in universities, in organizations, and through government policies and initiatives. Brod and Kaufman (1994) suggest that contemporary men need to be open to women's presence and suppressed knowledge; consider men's lives and experiences as those men and not humans in general; appreciate how men assume the privileges of a patriarchal society; become aware of how the masculine role oppresses women; and understand why it is so difficult for men to change. Theoretical understanding of men's experiences necessarily becomes personal understanding since it is men's lives that are being examined. It is men's responsibility to challenge an oppressive status quo through changes in men's personal lives as well as in ideas, structures, processes and organizations.

How can men change? Men do not need to discard parts of themselves as much as they need to change them. Autonomy and aggressiveness are not negative unless they become extreme. These traits need to be tempered and balanced.

Men who develop the capacity to provide a gender-sensitive empathic form of fathering may benefit in reducing levels of masculine ideology (Burke, 1999). First, they can see the positive effects of their emotional commitment to their children's well-being, raising their children's self-esteem. Second, they can learn from their female partners how to better nurture.

Orton (1993) defines social change as a process of *unlearning* gender and power-based behaviors that have proved harmful and the *relearning* respectful empowering behaviors that have no reference to gender. This process will take considerable time and practice to realize benefits from it. Orton believes that it is the job of men to point out to other men the dysfunctional aspects of traditional masculinity and support and model new behaviors.

Burke (1994) raises the question of how we can change those components of masculinity that limit men's development as healthy and fully responsive people. He identifies three approaches: personal change by them, the creation of political organizations that communicate and lobby for change, and the emergence of broadly based social movements. He further suggests that men are changing, but points out that few do so in response to the downside and limitations of masculinity, but rather from pressures of external forces (e.g., the women's movement).

It is evident that men will not relinquish their vested interests and rights lightly, and that the impediments left on the male mentality by several thousand of years of female culture will be difficult to eliminate (Liu, 2000). Clearly, males must adjust their concept of the value of women, discard the traditional concept that " the man takes charge of things outside the household, while woman is in charge of things within the household", and change the gender concepts formed over thousands of years (Aifeng, 2000, p.4).

The more traditional a man's concept and actions regarding the division of labor, the more the woman will be trapped in the female stereotyping

phenomena. It is therefore evident that one cannot underestimate the male's effect on the relief of female stereotyping. The closer men's perceptions and actions are with regard to changing the traditional division of labor toward modern standards, the greater the possibility that women will find relief from gender bias.

One solution would be workshops offered in the workplace routinely which attempt changing traditional views about women. Alloway (1995, p.102) explained "female ways of experiencing and knowing must be celebrated alongside those qualities currently identified and privileged as male". Education is a highly gendered-segmented occupation centered around children. Therefore, education is a social practice. It is an intellectual matter, but also a moral and emotional matter. The emphasis on female ways of experiencing is on moral dimension of change, developing high levels of trust and openness, and displaying a capacity to make sound ethical judgements, but not from a position of superior moral judgement (Blackmore, 1999).

5.2.8   Cultural Changes

Many employers hold false assumptions about the role of female workers. Employers perceive conflicts between the child-rearing responsibilities of working mothers and their job responsibilities (Karsten, 1994). Popular culture imagery reflects and reproduces work-family segregation and gender inequality (Coltrane & Adams, 1997). To modify cultural and societal expectations, changes and acceptance of different ways of thinking must take place. Norton et al (2003) discuss the vicarious dissonance hypothesis which suggests that change of attitudes might occur if individuals witness members of important groups engage in inconsistent behavior. Vicarious dissonance relies on dissonance reduction. Though there are now several empirically established routes for dissonance reduction, one of the most widely studied has been to change dissonant elements to achieve consonance. In a typical dissonance paradigm (e.g., Festinger & Carlsmith, 1959; Norton, Monin, Cooper, & Hogg, 2003),

participants are induced to engage in behavior at odds with their private attitudes. They commonly respond by changing their attitudes in the direction of that behavior to reconcile their beliefs with their behavior. Several researchers have pointed to the possible impact of social settings on the experience of dissonance (Cooper & Stone, 2000). In an early exploration of dissonance in groups, Festinger, Riecken, and Schachter (1956) demonstrated that seeking social support was an effective means of dissonance reduction after a doomsday group's dire predictions were shown to be invalid. Zanna and Sande (1987) explored whether participants engaged in counter attitudinal behavior on their own or in groups, and obtained results suggesting that dissonance can be experienced in groups.

There are different theories on changing attitudes. Sims (2003 b) presents a model of values education for behavioral change. According to this model, both consciousness raising and feelings of personal efficacy lead into feelings of empowerment. Attitude change arises out of empowerment and may lead to behavioral change. Sims (2003 b) believes that practitioners who work in the community (e.g. schools) have a responsibility to teach students values. She indicated students need to be offered opportunities to reflect on new information, to prepare arguments for and against their attitude positions and to challenge the other positions. She also indicated the commitment to improving learning environments and the desire to create change must be considered. This improving desire to change should start with those who are senior in education.

Some authors believe (Gadamer, 1997; Wallace, 1998) if we raise consciousness of "I/Thou" (Appendix C), we can change behaviors and human practices. Wallace (1998) believes in self-awareness and indicated that an administrator, by self-observation, may find reflections of consciousness at work: that is, the cognitive and effective awareness of one's prejudgments in relation to that which is "Other". She believes consciousness emerges from within a dialectical and contextualized awareness of "I/Thou" which is shaped by life experience, subjective values and beliefs, and the individual will. She reveals that the lived experience of coming to a shared understanding between "I/Thou" indicates that "understanding is no longer…. an act *of* man [sic] but an event *in*

man, and that differing understandings have motivating force which shapes policies and practices" (p.16).

Gadamer (1997) believes if we raise consciousness about "I" and "Other" that have equal rights we can overcome social inequalities. The validity for her theory is based on her belief "Consciousness is the highest form of morality" (p. 13).

The above authors indicated that by raising consciousness we could change policies to overcome gender inequality. The question remains as to why do we still face gender inequality in spite of existing policies. People's resistance to changing biased views has its roots in cultural (people's old beliefs) and economical factors. The researcher believes that people in general are not convinced that changing their biased views could benefit everyone economically and socially. The researcher believes in order for people to change their biased views, raising consciousness is only the first step. After raising consciousness, individuals need to have a reason for implementing changes. If individuals (particularly men) think that improvement in women's status, especially in education, will not only benefit economically those women involved, but rather the families that these women belong to, as well as their societies, this could give them a reason to change their attitudes toward gender bias. Another motivation to change men's biased views toward women would be the creation of better work environment for both men and women. When women are satisfied and advanced in their jobs, this will create a more efficient and friendlier environment at the workplace for everyone.

The researcher believes that Sims's model of behavioral change is an effective model in changing attitudes. Learning starts in early childhood, and it is more likely that what we learn as a child stays with us in adulthood. This does not mean that attitude change in adulthood should be ignored (see above paragraph), but we might have a better outcome if we address the issue of gender equity in the elementary school curriculum.

5.2.9   *Family responsibilities*

The modern woman's role expectation combines social and household roles. The roles of men and women in the family must become harmonious and unified (Aifeng, 2000). Men should do their best to conform their concepts of women's value to be in harmony and uniformity with women's own concepts of their value.

Men must assume greater responsibility in family life and attach importance to playing their role in the family; they should no longer consider that the family role is the "exclusive right" of the female but should eliminate the traditional division of labor between the genders (Liu, 2000). The gender deconstruction approach advocated by Alloway (1995) has potential to assist older preschool children to question their gendered behavior. There is a need to challenge gendered behavior in society and bring harmony between men and women's roles in a family. One approach could be projects for boys and girls at school level pretending as if they were in a family situation, and learn how their roles could be modified and acted differently. Therefore, schools need to incorporate "pretending family situation" projects in their curriculum. The most important is for teachers themselves to ensure that they model appropriate gendered behavior (i.e., that they do not allow gendered scripts to be part of their classroom environment). Alloway (1995) talks about constantly challenging gendered behavior- to leave it unchallenged implies acceptance of it. So it is important to recognize it when it happens and do something about it every time.

One researcher argued that feminist theory of equal opportunities is moving away from an emphasis on sameness to take account of the differences between women and men, whether biologically, historically or culturally determined (Abdela, 1995). It is increasingly recognized that women and men have different needs and bring different attributes to the workplace. For gender equity to occur, it has to be taken for granted that men and women are equally responsible for generating family income and for family care giving (Halford & Leonard, 2001). Within the workplace this requires not just recognition of diverse constraints on people's working lives imposed by family commitments, but also a reevaluation

of organizational practices which render it difficult to achieve work and family goals. The objective of the gender equity case can thus be expressed as to challenge and modify all organizational practices based on an assumed separation between work and family lives so as to empower men and women to make optimum contributions in both spheres.

This implies a need to address not only work structures but also the ways in which gender is socially constructed and reproduced within organizations and families. Women's family roles, especially as mothers, tend to be highly visible in organizations, but they are frequently played out in a context where the dominant social constructions of the ideal mother and the ideal worker are mutually exclusive (Lewis, 1996). Men's parenting and other family roles are much less visible than their provider roles, in the workplace and sometimes even in the family.

The failure of the institutional structure of work to accommodate work-family conflicts has clearly influenced the career development of professional women. Another goal is therefore to make women's and men's family and work roles equally visible, legitimate and valued.

The question of how to bring about change in employing organizations so that people can meet the demands in the interdependent domains of work and family has been widely debated, and growing numbers of employers are developing formal policies designated as 'family-friendly', (Lewis, 1996). Pocock's (2002) theory describes organizations as 'family-friendly' on the basis of the number of formal policies initiated to meet the needs of employees with family commitments.

An allied group of economists, sociologists, and psychologists is demonstrating that family-friendly policies provide a win-win strategy for corporations as well as parents (Jacobs & Gerson, 2004). Moss (1996) has shown that new mothers who work for companies with more supportive policies are more likely to return within one year than those working at other firms.

There has been substantial growth in work-family policies, and some societies (for example, Sweden) and some employers in particular (for example, 'star'

companies in the USA) are renowned for their policies and constitute highly supportive work-family environments (Raabe, 1996).

A national organization advocating alternative work schedules has found job sharing to be a viable option for people with family friendly needs. While many companies have one or two job sharing teams, very few encourage employees to pursue this option. It has been found to be enormously beneficial to employees whose work styles are compatible. Companies also report that they get far more than one full-time job accomplished with this arrangement (Karsten, 1994).

Although some researchers have discussed the benefits of family-friendly policies, these new forms of working are not widespread in organizations such as public schools, especially in the U.S. The researcher believes the reason is that these policies (family-friendly policies) are dependent on economic cycles. In what follows public schools is considered as an example, and also the reason for why family-friendly policies have not been observed effectively (due to the winds of economic cycle) is analyzed.

Republican and Democratic Parties in the U.S. have different approaches to allocating money for the education sector. Democrats budget more to promote and encourage different educational programs, while Republicans encourage privatization and support businesses and corporations. Republicans have been governing the state of Ohio for more than a decade and also won the election in 2004 for another 4 years. During the last 10 years of Republican Party governance in Ohio, the budget for education has been decreased gradually. For example, it is possible that some 200 public libraries will be closed in the State of Ohio in the near future. As far as this relates to public schools and better situation for educators in general, and principals in particular, the researcher suggests that public school budgets should be increased in order to provide more family friendly policies. By increasing public school budgets, it is possible to support short-term contract work, and job sharing especially for principals (according to some principal participants in this study, principals work 12 - 14 hours a day). At this time, because of the governing party, there is less possibility for job sharing for principals (job sharing could reduce working hours to 7 - 8 hours a day). A solution for educators is to convince senators (in the

Republican Party in Ohio) to pay more attention to the current condition of women principals today and reform regulations for principalship positions (to allow more job sharing).

Also, the researcher believes that child-care partnership schemes (see Literature Review) could significantly support women principals who have young children. For women principals who have school-age children, an educational reforms, such as longer school days and well-developed after-school programs are needed for a better support. This is also possible if more money is available for public schools. Therefore, conservatives in Ohio ought to be aware of the needs of women principals for child-care.

5.2.10   Networking

For women, effective networking is crucial for career success (Moore and Webb, 1998). Networking is particularly important for women who do not have direct access to career guidance, and social support necessary for career success. Linehan (2001, p. 828) suggested that "it is up to organizational policy makers to take active steps to break down 'male organizational cultures' which perpetuate the 'old boy ghetto' syndrome". Parker and Fagenson (1994) suggested if women wish to become sufficiently visible to win organizational promotions, they have to penetrate male networks to a greater extent.

One possibility is for organizations to offer formal networks for women. Another solution is creating virtual networking-building and maintaining a network on the Internet (Knouse & Webb, 2001). Virtual networking through web pages and e-mail may provide a solution to this problem by developing network size among women's networks. Some networks for women include (www.wiredwoman.com/index.shtml) Wired Women society or (www.witi.org) Women in Technology. Some women's web pages such as Working Women Networks, and Women's Forum, help women executives and entrepreneurs

(Gilbert, 2000). Electronic networks, such as advancing women, can build a sense of community among women leaders (Logan, 1998). These electronic support systems can help women to contact each other and develop an identity as administrators (Glasscock, 1997).

Some of these resources available to women are:

1.http://www.bluesuitmom.com/career/worktips/onlinenetworking.html (reaching out to an acquaintance or a friend of a friend for help)(Kera, 2000).

2. http://www.advancingwomen.com/networks.html (it is about advancing women networks)(Kera, 2002).

3. http://www.emf.net/-cheetham/gworer-1.htm/ (Royal Tropical Institute, 1999).

4. http://wwww.womenink.org (Royal Tropical Institute, 1999).

Chat rooms provide more direct interactive contact. Women can receive social support from individuals in the chat rooms. For example, women's Connection Online offers interactive career resources (Knouse & Webb, 2001). In time, women's networks may become as strong as traditional white male networks (Knouse & Webb, 2001).

In sum, the Internet has definite advantages for women. Through Internet web pages, women and people from minority groups can seek advice on professional advancement, find mentors, and create a support system for each other (Knouse, Rosenfeld, & Culbertson, 1992).

The relative ease of access to Internet can allow stronger tie strength as well as more extensive (denser) contact. Thus, companies should encourage informal networking and web page development for women and minorities.

5.2.11   New approach suggested by researcher

In this section the researcher will answer the question as to why we are still facing gender discrimination, although there is a body of theories and plenty of suggestions and laws on how to address the problem. The result of the current research, when compared with that of Willkinson (1991), undertaken over 14

years ago, confirms that problems still persist, and essentially there have been no significant changes in gender discrimination issues in the past decade. One of the main questions to answer in this study was why progress in this regard is so slow. The issue discussed here is a new approach, and it has not been brought forward in this manner in the literature (at least not any such approach on a social issue). The researcher's background in science and familiarity with social issues made it possible to put forward the following discussion.

The discussion is based on an understanding of how a complex system works, and showing that a democratic society can also be considered as a complex system. In this discussion the researcher is benefiting (among other things) from her recollections of studying some works of Ilya Prigogine (Chemistry Noble Laureate 1977), in particular his well-known book, "The End of Certainty" (1997).

The main question is why we are facing gender inequality and why the progress against gender discrimination is so slow?

The answer to the main question has two main components: First, the gender issue has not yet reached a point to disturb the consciousness of a majority of people in democratic societies, and as a result we do not have adequate laws to address this issue. Secondly, even for those gender discrimination cases where some regulations exist, in some cases those regulations are overlooked.

Many points should be analyzed in this answer. To analyze the answer, the researcher will explain that a society functions under the same principles as a complex system. A complex system contains the phenomena of probability, adaptation, feedback, nonlinear process, and unpredictability. What is a complex system, and how does it work? What are feedback, probability, chance, and a nonlinear process? The researcher will explain all these issues, and most importantly why a society can be considered as a complex system. In what follows, the researcher will explain what a complex system means, and how change takes place in a complex system.

In this discussion, only democratic society will be considered. The autocratic countries will not be considered because most basic human rights are violated in

those countries, and women's issues are of secondary importance at this point in time.

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5.2.11.1 Complex Systems:

A complex system is "a collection of many simple nonlinear units that operate in parallel and interact locally with each other so as to produce emergent behavior" (Flake, 1998, p. 446).

What is a nonlinear unit? There are two kinds of units, linear and nonlinear. Suppose a unit produces c as an output when the input is a, and produces d when the input is b. Now if a + b is fed to this unit as an input, then the output is c + d, and the unit operates linearly; otherwise it is nonlinear. A unit working nonlinearly means simply that things do not add up as they are supposed to. In a nonlinear system doubling the input will not double the corresponding output (contrary to linear systems). Most systems in nature are nonlinear. A few examples of complex systems are all non-simple living organs, atmosphere, human brain, and human societies.

In what follows the researcher will explain (in general) how a change is accomplished in a complex system.

5.2.11.2 How change takes place in a Complex System:

As long as a complex system is in a state of total equilibrium, no change will occur in the system. If a system goes far from equilibrium, then disorder will increase in the system, and the system will undergo self- (re) organization until the system reaches the decision making point for a change (Prigogine, 1997). The system then can adjust to its environment in several different ways. Several solutions are possible for the same parameter values. Chance alone will decide which one of these solutions will be realized (Natural selection and mutation in biology is a good example to illustrate the processes of probability (chance), when changes are bound to happen in a living organ).

The following simple chart explains this process.

Far from equilibrium→increase in disorder→self- (re) organization→ decision point→probability of different solutions (Prigogine, 1997).

5.2.11.3 Adaptation and Feedback in a Complex System:

Adaptation in a complex system (Flake, 1998) is based on variation, heritage, and also selection (individuals select to adapt). Reprogramming in a complex system is based on feedback processes.

Feedback means that a system listens to itself; in other words there is a flow loop of information. Input enters the system; the system starts functioning on this initial input, and this creates an output. A big portion of this output reenters the system (through a loop of information) as new input, and this process continues until the system makes some kind of adjustment. In a sense, feedback allows for a complex adaptive system to reprogram itself.

5.2.11.4 Predictability:

When probability influences the outcome of a process, prediction becomes difficult. In other words, for complex systems, we can no longer talk about determinism, but rather possibilities. It is true that the main job of science is to relate cause and effect (i.e., to be deterministic), but this is true for part of science but not all. For example we all know that weather prediction is still problematic because weather is extremely complex. It involves dozens of such quantities as temperature, air pressure, humidity, wind speed, and cloud cover, and most importantly, these variables do not interact in a regular and predictable fashion. Weather is not a phenomenon of order. Phenomena like weather, which are

difficult to predict, contain *random elements*. Random elements always make predictability difficult (sometimes even impossible). Gathering more information, creating more sophisticated formulas, does not make them disappear. The example of weather has many of similarities with a human society. In what follows the researcher will argue that a human society satisfies all conditions of a complex system.

5.2.11.5 Society as a Complex System:

If a society is a complex system, then it should satisfy the definition of a complex system. Reviewing the definition given above for a complex system, we realize that a society is "a collection of many simple nonlinear units that operate in parallel and interact locally with each other so as to produce emergent behavior" (Flake, 1998, p.446). The main units (building blocks) of a society are individuals. A human being is the most complex system that a biologist may ever study. As a result simple units of a society are very nonlinear. In fact the human mind is one of the most nonlinear units known (Prigogine, 1997). It is not only true that different people react to different inputs differently, but also one person might react to a certain issue differently at different times, depending on her/his circumstances. Different parts of a society are interconnected, interrelated, and influence one another in order to produce emergent behavior.

5.2.11.6 How change takes place in a Democratic Society:

As stated above a society is a complex system; therefore a change is achieved through the same principles that govern every complex system. The first step is going far from equilibrium. What does it mean by saying a society goes far from equilibrium? The issue should be so significant that it causes an imbalance in the majority's consciousness. We note that a democratic society is a stable

complex system (this is not the case at all for individuals in a society, and this is an important distinction). That is, a democracy is in a state such that the small perturbations acting on it die out in time more or less quickly. People are heard. Any phenomenon that starts to threaten the foundations of the society is dealt with quickly. In other words in a democracy there is not much chance for the whole system to go far beyond equilibrium and cause unpredictable behavior for the society as a whole. When the majority of people in a democratic society ask for a change, sooner or later the change is done. Sometimes replacing the governing party may achieve that purpose. Therefore it is important to realize how an issue gains momentum and why a large majority of people want to see the success of that issue. When an issue is important enough to trigger a change in people's consciousness, a far from equilibrium condition for people's conscious is created. If the issue is an eye catching one, then through the feedback process the issue acts like an attractor for majority of people. Eventually the issue causes an imbalance in the majority's consciousness. People's representatives either in government or legislation understand that people are demanding something and respond favorably to that demand. Accordingly, a law will be crafted and will eventually pass.

5.2.11.7 Adaptation:

In adaptation of a law, a large variety of a population decides to select the change based on their cultural and historical understanding. We should note that all three components of adaptation mentioned above (Variation, heritage, and selection) must be present for the majority of population to adapt a change. The majority comes to the conclusion that it is better for everybody to adapt the corresponding policy. In what follows some difficulties in adaptation of a policy will be discussed.

5.2.11.8   Difficulties in adaptation:

a) Random elements cause unpredictability

In one sense the state of a social system is never precisely known at any point in time. Each person in a society can act as a random element. Most individuals interact with their environment, but at the same time, act independently from all other individuals. There are some individuals who do not take commands from some seen or unseen leader, and they are not aware of a general plan that they should follow. In other words, no matter what, they only mind their own way and do their own things. A human society, in particular a modern and a democratic one, is very diverse. Each person is highly complex and dynamic, and the relations between individuals are complex and dynamic. Consequently simple laws of cause and effect are not applicable. And as in the example of weather predictability is problematic

b) History (heritage) results in diversity:

Each person has his/her own sets of genes and upbringing systems. We have different family histories and cultures. This results in diversity that in itself is something to celebrate, but makes decision making difficult. This brings us to the main issue under consideration - why changes regarding gender discrimination move forward so slowly.

5.2.11.9 Changes in gender discrimination:

The difficulties of adaptation were discussed above. This to some extent explains the difficulties that we are facing in regard to gender issues. However, it sounds reasonable, if one asks why society responds much faster and more efficiently to such matters as race, smoking in public and environment but not to gender discrimination? To this end we need to look at the issues of adaptation and reprogramming in a complex adaptive system.

When we have difficulty in adaptation of an issue, obviously one or more component(s) of adaptation is/are not satisfied yet. First a wide variety of people needs to be convinced that everyone (or at least many people) will benefit if there

is no (or at least less) gender discrimination. This has not been done; to the contrary most issues are presented in a way that normally it threatens 50% of the population, namely men. Secondly, as far as cultural heritage of the society is concerned, it seems that most families (and this includes women) are still comfortable with the way things are. As a result society as a whole does not make a selection for change.

5.2.11.10   *What is the remedy?*

Creating an atmosphere of cooperation instead of competition:

Throughout the history of human kind we realize that our social survival in the final analysis has been based on how cooporative we are. Societies that are more democratic, cooperative, generous, and less selfish survive better (Flake, 1998). Therefore, the researcher suggests when putting forward an issue, we should be able to convince our listeners that we really want to create a win-win situation. In a competitive environment, eventually there is no good winner while in a cooperative environment everyone wins.

Raising consciousness:

We need to learn how to use the feedback property to reiterate our peaceful messages through talks, writings, conversations, seminars, TV shows, research papers, training workshops, etc to raise people's consciousness. We need to find a solution in order to be able to convince our society that ending gender discrimination will benefit the whole society, and not only the women. We need to be able to convince people that giving more opportunities to women will create better families that will result in better societies. We also need to be extremely patient because these kinds of changes will not happen overnight.

5.2.11.11   *Conclusion:*

Despite the policies and regulations that protect women against discrimination, gender discrimination still persists in the workplace. We need to explain the slow progress in women's condition regarding gender discrimination. This study suggests a "new approach" and discusses why gender discrimination exists today and offers ways to improve women's situation in workplace.

The "new approach" considers society as a complex system. To understand the slow progress in women's condition regarding gender discrimination, one needs to understand how a complex system works. In a complex system, the output is not simply the result of the input. In a complex system, the simple laws of cause and effect are not applicable in all situations (i.e., regulations by themselves are not able to root out gender discrimination).

The reason that women still experience gender discrimination is that the majority of people are unaware of the extent to which gender discrimination affects women's lives. In order for a change to happen in a society, the underlying issue should serve as an attractor to capture the majority's attention. To capture the majority's attention, we should raise people consciousness. It is possible to make people aware of women's situation (in employment) through talks, writings, seminars, TV shows, courses at university level, and training workshops. The courses at university level should make males and females aware of gender discrimination in employment. The writings, seminars, etc. should convince the majority of people that ending gender discrimination would benefit everyone in society. This will create a favorable atmosphere for new policies. Adaptation of new policies has its own set of rules (variation, heritage, and selection). Each person in a society can act as random element and can act differently from all other individuals. Each individual is highly complex and dynamic. We have different family histories and cultures. The "new approach" explains that in a complex and dynamic system (e.g. society), there are some degrees of uncertainty about the outcome of our efforts. Therefore, we cannot be sure about the precise outcome of our efforts. However, if the majority of people are convinced to make changes, there is a hope that more effective laws will be implemented to help women to achieve principalship.

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Appendix A

The Collision: A model (Pocock, 2002)

Changing behavior

* work
(intensification,
working hours),
* households (more
two-income with
dependent)
* rising consumption
marketisation
* rising participation
of women in labour
market, seeking
$s, career, social
contact
* thinner community
* deteriorating
access to leave

**The
collision**

**Unchanging values
and institutions**
* 'Ideal worker'
norms (full-time,
'care-less')
* gendered
distribution of
domestic work a
care, women doin
most
* cultural
constructions of
motherhood,
fatherhood and
carers
*inadequate leave
regimes
* the precarious
nature of part-time
work & 'mummy
track'
*legal framework
of work

The fallout

* Declining quality of life, for individuals, women, men, households and children
*Loss of community. Shift of community from street to workplce
* Rising levels of guilt, especially for mothers and carers
* erosion of relationships and intimacy
* pressure on those carers still at home, and on grandparents. Resentment.
* Marketisation of care and love as market goods and services replace relationships, care and time

Appendix B

The Family Friendly / Unfriendly Iceberg (Pocock, 2002)

The visible, highly
Promoted 'faculty
Friendly' discussion

The invisible, family
Unfriendly changes
At work: hours,
Intensification,
Insecurity, absence
of 'family friendly'
special measures in
most workplaces.
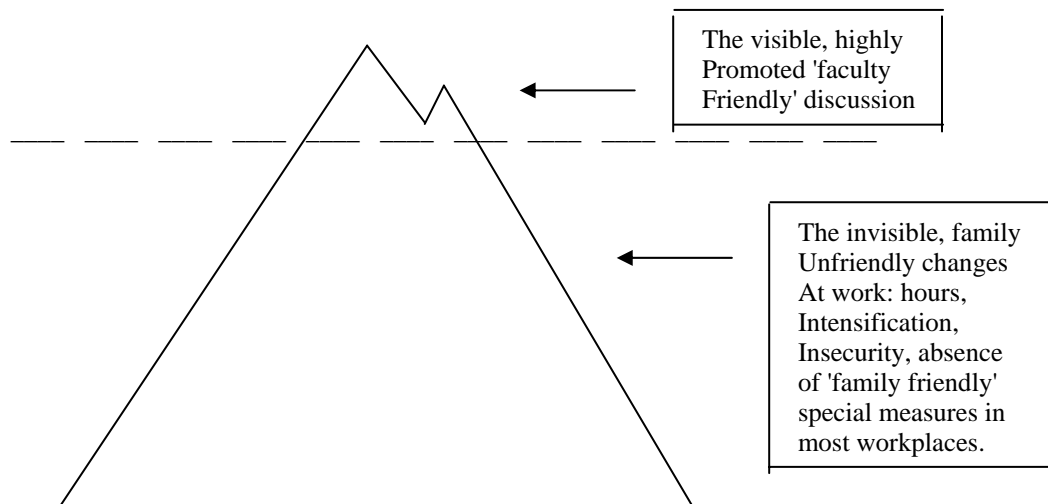
Appendix C

Conceptual framework (Wallace, 1998, p. 15).

Level of Consciousness	Discursive Space	Policy/Practice Response
Normative Consciousness "Other" is seen as a means of achieving one 'goals', an	*Conservation* "I" seeks to use access power to conserve the	*Coercive Response* Difference from the normative "I" is perceived
object in one's field of experience. "Other" is understood in terms of universals. Understanding is thought to be achieved through "methods' and "objectivity". Subjective historical experience is seen as separate from and unaffected by "I".	status quo by containing "Other's" resistance and limiting action to individual cases.	as dysfunction and "I/Thou" occupy largely separate social and material spheres. Policy and programs are initiated with the intent to encourage conformity with dominant norms and values by removing perceived deficits and dysfunction in "Other" through the application of administrative power.
Prescriptive Consciousnes "I" knows "Other's" otherness and pastness only through reflection, not in relatedness to the universal, but rather in its particularly. "I"	*Conciliation* Although "I's" intent is more benign toward "Other", "I" still retains normative status and continues to act as a gatekeeper to access to	*Remediation Response* "Other's" perceived deficit and dysfunction are seen as the consequence of difference from a dominant norm. policy and practice

objectifies "Other's" history, sees it as "out there" and, therefore, destroys its real claim to meaningfulness. "I" is really claiming to be master.

social privilege. "Other's" resistance often emerges as collective action shaped by particularistic affiliation (e.g., race, gender).

attempt to provide remediation to enhance "Other's" self-esteem and ability to operate effectively within the status quo. There is an attempt to eliminate stereotypes of "Other" in the popular media and their effects in organisational practices.

Historically operative Consciousness
"I" knows "Other" through authentic openness which "lets something be said", wills to hear rather than to master, and is willing to be modified by "Other".

Conversation
The discursive pattern at this level is "dialectical ethics" in which "I's" prejudgment are open to transformation.

Transformative Response
It is at this stage that policy and practice assume both "I" and "Other" have equal rights in society. Government support is often required for "Other" to achieve social justice.

Appendix D

Copy of the consent for use of information

Consent for use of information

I hereby grant to The Edith Cowan University and the researcher the right of the following:

1. Information that I have provided to them for use in research analysis, publication, or any other university purposes.

Name (please print) _____

Signature _____ Date _____

Permanent address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____ Email _____

Appendix E

Copy of the Questionnaire as given to women who are certified for principalship in Franklin County, Ohio

Thank you for completing this questionnaire which is a study for a Ph.D. dissertation. The study concerns women who may seek or are already in

administrative positions in educational administration, especially the principalship. Female administrators are under-represented as a gender given they make up more than 70% of the whole profession. This study concerns the possible reasons for that continued underrepresentation. Your time and attention to this questionnaire are greatly appreciated. Please answer all questions from the point of view of how you feel at this time. You may choose to complete the questionnaire and return or not as you wish.

Questionnaire

1. Date of birth:

Month   Day   Year

2. Ethnicity (Please <u>CIRCLE</u> one of the following):

Caucasian   Black   Hispanic   Asian
  Other

3. Please list number of years of <u>TEACHING EXPERIENCE: _____</u>
Position   Date

4. Please list number of years of <u>ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE and position held:</u> _____
Position   Date

5. Please CHECK ONE of the following statements which applies to you:
_____ I have obtained an assistant principalship.
_____ I have obtained a principalship.
_____ I have sought but have not obtained a principalship or an
              assistant principalship.

6. If you have obtained a principalship, please indicate the level.

_____ Elementary
_____ Middle/Junior High
_____ Secondary

7. Please indicate the type of district in which you are now employed.

_____ Rural
_____ suburban
_____ Urban

For each item in this section, circle the answer below the question which indicates how you perceive what is described, using the following scale:
Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

8. The belief that males are better suited to be principal than females has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

―――――――――――――――――――――――――――――

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

9. Family responsibilities have impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

―――――――――――――――――――――――――――――

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

10. I believe that male administrators tend to hire other males and this practice has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

―――――――――――――――――――――――――――――

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

11. The belief that many assume females are too emotional to be effective principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

12. The belief that females cannot take the pressure of being a principal has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

13. The belief that females are not rational or objective enough to be effective principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

14.   The belief that females are not effective disciplinarians has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

15. The belief that females are not considered for principalships because they are believed to be less suited for the unique demands of the job has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

16. The belief that many teachers prefer male principals has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

17. The belief that females are perceived to be less interested in the principalship has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

18. The belief that many female principals lack support from their subordinates has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

19.   The belief that many female principals lack support from other administrators has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

20. The belief that many communities would not have as much confidence in a female principal as they would have in a male principal has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

21.   My graduate courses did not address the special needs of female administrators and this has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

_____

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

22.   The belief that female principals are assumed to hold "token" positions in a district has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

_____

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

23.   Not having a mentor in educational administration has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

_____

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

24.   Not having more female role models in educational administration has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

_____

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

25.   Many people believe females are less motivated on the job because they are providing a second income for the family. This belief has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

_____

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

26. Lack of family understanding and support has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

27. I believe that female candidates for the principalship are evaluated on more stringent criteria than male candidates and this has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

28. The inability to relocate to another geographic region in the United States if a principalship were offered to me has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always Often   Sometimes   Seldom   Never

29. My lack of involvement in formal or informal networks which might enhance my career opportunities has impacted negatively on my career in educational administration.

Always   Often   Sometimes   Seldom Never

30. What other barriers have you encountered as you have sought a principalship?

31. What other barriers have you found to be most necessary strategies in helping you succeed in educational administration?

32.   Are you willing to participate in an interview for a follow up study?

The interview would take approximately an hour of your time and would be at a time and suitable to you. Your identity would remain confidential. If you are willing to be interviewed, please complete the following:

Name:

Address:

Contact phone number:

Contact email (if available):

Best time and method to make contact with you:

Please sign below if you agree the researcher to contact you to set up a time and place for interview.

Signature

Appendix F

Copy of the consent for conducting interviews

Consent for use of information

I hereby grant to The Edith Cowan University and the researcher the right to use and publish all of the following:
1. Stories and/or information about me that I have provided to them for use in publications and research analysis.
2. Information that is tape recorded about me for use in research analysis, publication, or any other university purposes.

Name (please print)

_____

Signature

_____

Permanent address

_____

City / State / Zip

_____

Phone _____ Email

_____