

SCHOOL ADMINISTRATION IN A DIFFERENT VOICE:
THE CAREERS OF WOMEN ADMINISTRATORS
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA

by

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The Careers of Women Administrators in British Columbia

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ABSTRACT

School Administration in a Different Voice:
The Careers of Women Administrators in B.C.

The purpose of this study was to determine if and how the experiences of recent women appointees to the principalship differ from those of earlier appointees. Given the rather recent increase in the number of women assuming administrative posts in British Columbia, in a field where men have traditionally dominated, it is possible that conditions for women may have changed.

A review of the literature revealed little specific documentation on the careers of women administrators. Research and analysis on women in administration have focussed, first, on whether men were better at administration than women and, secondly, why there were so few. The most current research (in the U.S.) now allows women themselves to explain their experiences and present their own viewpoint.

Interviews with nine new and eight experienced women principals revealed some differences between the two groups in their careers and experiences. Although recent women principals must still prove themselves on the job and continue to face sex-role stereotyping, they are now accepted and supported by their male peers. In addition, recent women principals

demonstrate greater career initiative and orientation than their former counterparts and have a greater range of experience in both teaching and administrative areas.

The careers of recent and women appointees are, significantly, also similar. All principals are well-educated, well-experienced and have much expertise as teachers. They focus on growth and learning for themselves as well as for children who are their priority as principals. They work to develop positive, collegial relationships with teachers and positive, caring relationships with children. They are task-oriented as well, acting as responsible, goal-setting instructional leaders within their schools. They are career-directed women with similar work histories whether mothers and wives or not. Finally, and most importantly, they merge in their perceptions of themselves as women principals who, logically, could not work as male principals and do not attempt to do so. In following their individual paths they discovered their voices as women. They outline a leadership that is characterized by their gender and accentuated by their feminine qualities. They are redefining the world of educational administration to include their "different voice."

DEDICATION

For my parents, Madeleine and Ted Tabin,
and for my daughter, Hayley, with love.

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CHAPTER 1

RATIONALE AND BACKGROUND

In Canada in 1987 fifty-seven percent of all elementary and secondary school teachers were women and forty-three percent men. However, over four-fifths of all the principalships in elementary and secondary schools in that same year were occupied by men and less than one-fifth by women. In total fifteen percent of all men in elementary and secondary schools were principals yet only three percent of all the women in elementary and secondary were principals (Statistics Canada, 1988). These statistics indicate a still very recent imbalance in the representation of women in educational administration given the strength of their numbers in the classroom, an imbalance that is noticeable within the school districts of British Columbia as well (See Public Schools in British Columbia 1989-90: A Complete Listing of Schools and Principals as at September 1989).

As a graduate student in educational administration over the past three years I have been keenly interested in the principalship and especially curious about the experiences of women in that role. Considering the imbalance in representation outlined above led me to investigate why there were and still are so very few female principals when educational administrators are recruited from the professional ranks within which women are the

majority. It is interesting to note in this regard that the history of women in educational administration in twentieth century North America is actually a story of decline rather than absence (Shakeshaft, 1987). With the development of the feminist movement, the right to vote, the organization of women teachers, and the economic advantage of hiring women instead of men, came an increase in the number of women elementary school principals between 1900 and 1930. Unfortunately these gains were not maintained as other factors--policies barring women, male dominance and negative attitudes towards women, equal pay laws and the economic depression--conspired to reverse the advances made by women into administration after 1930. The numbers of women administrators increased only temporarily during World War II when male educators were serving in the armed forces, but quickly declined once again when men returned to post-war work. During the 1950s men were encouraged to become teachers and administrators while women were encouraged to stay at home. Prejudices against women continued to keep from them from educational administration in the 1960s and 1970s and only in the 1980s have women begun to return to administration in greater numbers.

Consistent with Shakeshaft's (1987) analysis of trends within the U.S., the number of women assuming administrative posts in schools in British Columbia over the past ten years has also increased, especially most recently within the past two or three

years. This consequently led me to surmise that perhaps conditions encountered within the administrative world and individual experiences for women appointees have changed during this time. Choosing to pursue this interest in my thesis I therefore formulated the following research question: How do the experiences of recent women appointees to educational administration differ from those of earlier appointees? To answer this question I decided to speak to a group of women principals, half former and half recent women appointees to the principalship, about their experiences in that role and as aspirants to it.

In "Women in Educational Administration: A Descriptive Analysis of Dissertation Research and a Paradigm for Future Research" Shakeshaft (1981) categorizes the research direction of the dissertations she examined into six different areas. One of these categories is "Profiles," into which she might easily have subsumed my research project. Profiles, she explains, look at the personal histories of women in educational administration and include demographic, personality, and professional information as well as the career paths of the woman administrator, including her feelings of satisfaction with her job. Shakeshaft then proceeds to explain that, "studies which profile the woman administrator are of passing interest, but they do not help build theory or lend insights into the ways women can be integrated into the management of schools" (p. 27). And yet she adds, when discussing another category of research, that "the women administrator is still a

mystery. Very little is known about how she deals with everyday situations" (p. 29). She hopes, last, that using a new paradigm for research on women in educational administration "will bring about new ways of looking at all questions as the researcher moves into the realm of women's experience" (p. 30).

Inasmuch as my research into the careers of women principals is, in fact, profile research--and I believe it is much more than that defined by Shakeshaft and should not be so easily dismissed--I feel that it is necessary to expand the literature on women in educational administration in Canada as a whole and, specifically, in British Columbia. Although, as Shakeshaft indicates, knowledge and understanding of the role of women administrators may have increased dramatically over the past twenty years in the United States, the experience of women in educational administration has not been as fully explored and documented in Canada. The experience of women in British Columbia, furthermore, might be dissimilar as well as similar to the experience of women in the U.S. And as Adkison (1981) states overall:

Studies of new generations of women moving into administration can provide evidence of changed attitudes toward women and raised aspirations among women. Much of our knowledge about women in school and business administration is based on the study of women whose careers began before World War II

(Gross & Trask, 1976; Hennig & Jardim, 1977). The careers of women who have entered the market more recently may reveal different patterns (p. 339).

Further to Shakeshaft's arguments and once again unlike her, I believe that my research will provide insights into the current state of integration of women into the management of schools in British Columbia. New theory and new insights cannot be built without prior knowledge of conditions and experience, which, in the case of women principals in British Columbia, has been little sought to date. If, for Shakeshaft, the woman administrator is still a mystery, then in the locale of my study she is especially so. Speaking to her will reveal much, I believe, about her activities, thought and experience. Although traditionally research and analysis on women in educational administration has not included the experience of women, it must move into the realm of women's experience. An understanding of the roles and situations of female principals from their perspective is not only valuable to current and aspiring women and men administrators personally. Without this insight we cannot develop a greater understanding and knowledge of the role and nature of the principalship overall, one that is, most importantly, all-inclusive. Adding the contribution of women to our conception of educational administration may, in fact, force its reconceptualization. Reconceptualization or not, all-inclusiveness cannot but widen and improve our concept of educational administration. And efforts towards improvement in

educational administration on the practical front can only begin from this point.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Although a history of research on women in educational administration exists, a comprehensive and historical literature regarding the careers of women principals does not. Previous to the specific documentation of the careers of women administrators which has only recently begun, knowledge about the careers and the nature of the careers of these women has been contained within and, of necessity, must be intuited and drawn from all other research concerning women in educational administration. And research on women in educational administration has undergone, overall, a number of conceptual shifts which, importantly and quite naturally, have shaped and directed research and analysis in that area. Only with the most recent conceptual shift, as noted above, have research and analytical efforts been directed specifically towards study of the careers of women principals themselves. And this current focus can be best understood within the larger historical and methodological perspective as well.

WOMEN PRINCIPALS: ARE THEY AS GOOD AS MEN?

Traditionally men have dominated the field of educational administration primarily because of the perception that they were more suited to the job and made better principals. Shakeshaft

(1987) explains that the functions of administrator and teacher became distinct as growth led to increasing complexity and bureaucratization in schools (See also Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). "Scientific management and specifically bureaucratization," she states, "helped keep women out of administrative roles because of the belief in male dominance" (p. 31). Thus, early research into the leadership of female and male principals throughout the 1950s and 1960s was based on the implicit assumption that men were better at administration than women. It sought initially to determine whether women were as effective principals as men and how, specifically, men and women differed in their leadership and management. Although my study is not comparative of men and women, this research is relevant here as it represented the initial investigative approach toward women in administration, proved their competence as principals and provided data about their administrative styles.

One of the first important studies, the Florida Leadership Project (cited in Fishel and Pottker, 1973; and Meskin, 1974), began in 1952 and involved both high school and elementary school principals. A "Principal Behavior Checklist" was administered to eighty subjects requiring them to respond hypothetically to eighty-six situations which they might encounter in their daily routines. Responses were then classified according to three administrative style: democratic, authoritarian and laissez-faire. Women were found to use democratic practices

eighteen percent more often than men. All of the women in the study were elementary school principals.

In 1959 Alice Barter examined the attitudes towards women elementary principals in a Michigan study (cited in Fishel and Pottker, 1973; and Meskin, 1974). Barter discovered that although men and women teachers held different views towards women principals they both rated male and female administrators as equal in abilities and personal qualities. Most of the women teachers had favourable attitudes toward teaching under women principals whereas only nineteen percent of the men did. However, men who had experience working under women principals had more positive attitudes than those who had not.

A study on Administrative Performance and Personality published by Hemphill, Griffiths and Fredrickson in 1962 (cited in Fishel and Pottker, 1973; and Meskin, 1974) required one hundred thirty-seven male and ninety-five female principals to respond to a variety of "in-basket" items (simulated memos, letters, etc.) dealing with routine crises and situations occurring in elementary schools. Tests of ability, interests and personality were also given to the subjects and opinions regarding performance and ability were solicited from teachers and superiors. Both teachers and superiors rated the performance of women principals more positively than that of men. Women were shown to be more concerned with the objectives of education, the participation of pupils and the evaluation of learning. Superiors rated women as

better than men in evaluating the performance of new teachers and superior to men in providing instructional leadership for the school.

The most detailed study comparing the performance of men and women principals was completed in 1964 by Gross and Trask as part of a larger National Principalship Study conducted by Harvard University and later published as a book entitled The Sex Factor and the Management of Schools (1976). Gross and Trask surveyed ninety-one female and ninety-eight male elementary principals in order to determine, among several objectives, whether the performance of men and women principals varied and if schools administered by each of these groups differed in their functioning and educational productivity. Gross and Trask hypothesized that women principals would elicit a more professional performance from the teachers in their schools than men would. This hypothesis was upheld. They also hypothesized that in schools where teachers performed more professionally students would do better academically, thereby predicting that in schools administered by women students would learn better and be more capable. This hypothesis was also upheld. In general, the study found that women were more concerned than men with the individual differences among students and with their social and emotional development. When evaluating teachers women placed more emphasis on their teachers' technical skills and responsibilities to the school organization. No sex differences were apparent in the importance

principals placed on pupils' academic performance or the ability of the school to maintain pupil discipline. As Joan Meskin (1974) summarizes in her review of the literature on women administrators, "the direct measures of performance (in the Gross and Trask study) show that women elementary school administrators seem to do a better job relative to men" (p. 3).

The research cited above was based on the trait theory of leadership, which in this case implied that biological sex determines differences in leadership. Rather than verify the superiority of men in administrative roles, as might initially have been expected, these studies concluded that women make better principals than men. There were, however, a variety of difficulties with these and other similar studies (See Meskin, 1974, 1979; Fishel and Pottker, 1973, 1979; and Frasher & Frasher, 1979 for comprehensive reviews of the studies on women in administration) that challenged their reliability and suggested the need for caution in generalizing too widely about the performance of male and female principals. Often the samples of principals surveyed were very small and included an even smaller sample of women. In addition, studies were not always representative and often concentrated on elementary school principals, making application of results to secondary school principals unwise. Criticizing these early research efforts, Charters and Jovick (1981) contend that not only is the number of studies comparing men and women principals and the sex differences

revealed very small, but also that the methods of research are "of doubtful quality" (p. 307). Their reevaluation of the Gross and Trask study, for example, concludes that the primitive statistical procedures employed cast doubts on the conclusions about sex differences (p. 309). Despite the shortcomings of this initial research, it did bury doubts about the competence of women administrators. In summarizing the performance of women principals, Fishel and Pottker (1979) assert:

In terms of ability to supervise and administer a school and to maintain good relations with students and parents, the few women who have been able to obtain administrative positions have performed as capably as, if not more capably than, their male counterparts (p. 27).

Finally women were determined to be able educational administrators. In commenting on the studies, Frasher and Frasher (1979) conclude: "the women who have served as public school administrators have provided ample proof of their effectiveness. Surely the credibility of women as administrators should have been established long ago" (pp. 1-2).

WHY SO FEW?

Since the capability of women was no longer in question, research and literature on women in educational administration then took a different turn. If women were equally if not more capable than men as school principals, why were there so few of

them? Research on women in administration, which had formerly been comparative in that it measured women against male standards and norms (Shakeshaft, 1987), began to focus on the lack of women in administration, on their absence as opposed to their presence as school administrators.

The first argument presented to explain the small numbers of women principals was that there were simply not enough female candidates with adequate academic qualifications. Like the argument that men's administrative performance is superior to women's, this explanation was also quickly discounted. In the 1970s, as research efforts moved away from the focus on capabilities, surveys revealed that women's participation in graduate programs of education had increased dramatically. In the U.S. women earned twenty-one percent of the master's degrees in educational administration in 1971-1972 and twenty-nine percent of those granted in 1975-1976. During that same period the percent of doctorates in educational administration awarded to women rose from six to twenty (Frasher & Frasher, 1979). Doctoral programs in educational administration in the U.S. are now reporting that over fifty percent of their students are women (Shakeshaft, 1987). In the 1980s academic qualifications were not a problem (Stockard, 1980).

Because women are competent and qualified yet still only minimally represented in administration, lack of aspiration was then suggested to explain their absence. Like the argument for

lack of qualifications, this, too, was discounted. The greater numbers of women qualifying indicated the reverse, that women do aspire to leadership (Adkison, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987; Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986). Logically, advanced academic credentials signify a desire for eventual career advancement. In addition, the actual presence of women in educational administration, albeit traditionally small, also defeated the "lack of aspiration" argument. Although not all women aspire to administration, many do. Lack of aspiration did not apply to all women and cannot be used as a blanket explanation for the low levels of women in educational administration (Edson, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986).

As far as the above arguments are concerned, the careers of contemporary women administrators can only logically disprove these claims regarding competency, qualification and aspirations as well. But the fact that the careers of these women disprove the above claims made to explain the absence of women in administration does not necessarily signify that these factors have had no bearing on their careers, for competency, qualification and aspirations must all be facets of the experience of women principals. In this sense the literature outlined above, although not originally intended to portray or contribute to the portrayal of the careers of women principals, is actually quite relevant to that topic.

Because of the inadequacy of the arguments mounted heretofore to explain the lack of women in administration, research efforts and analysis on women in administration were once again redirected. If capability, qualifications and aspiration--all internal variables determined by the individual woman candidate--could not satisfactorily explain the absence of women in administration then perhaps external factors such as social or career phenomena. At this point in the research and literature on women in educational administration analysis began to yield data that is especially pertinent and revealing about the nature of the careers of women administrators themselves. And, finally, exploration in the above areas began to yield more satisfactory and plausible answers as to why there were and are so few women in school administration.

✓ Sex-role stereotyping and socialization were proposed, first, as barriers that inhibited the advancement of women to leadership roles. This argument, based on social phenomena, suggests that people are socialized to accept sex-role and occupational stereotypes and that the acceptance of these stereotypes explains discrimination in hiring women to management positions (Adkison, 1981, p. 312). ✓ The woman whose behaviour conforms to sex-role stereotypes is passive, conformist and submissive. However, management is stereotyped as a masculine area (Adkison, 1981) where competitive, self-assertive and independent behaviour is required. Women, then, were socialized not to aspire to careers

that are stereotyped as masculine. Fishel and Pottker (1977) claim that schools themselves are particularly powerful socialization agents and that by "cooling out the female" ensure that most girls will not aspire to unfeminine careers. In the case of education, the theory argues that socialization and sex-role stereotyping conspire to convince women that administration is not their place and discourage them from preparing for an administrative career. ✓ As far as discrimination due to sex-role stereotyping and socialization is concerned, surveys of administrators and school board members have shown that they tend to hold attitudes more favourable to men than women in administration (Adkison, 1981; Stockard, 1980; Taylor, 1977).

✓ Despite equal opportunity legislation in the U.S. which aims to eliminate discrimination, unfavourable attitudes do continue to affect the appointment of women to administrative positions (Porat, 1985; Shakeshaft, 1986), particularly for advanced "line" positions such as assistant superintendent and secondary school principalships (Fishel & Pottker, 1979; Schmuck & Wyant, 1981; Stockard, 1980). And, sex-role stereotyping and socialization do affect the receptiveness of the organization towards women in general (Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986).

✓ In an indirect manner sex-role socialization--that is, the sex-role of women in general--also helps to explain the limited participation of women in administration. This idea is one that is acknowledged in the literature, but not extensively explored.

✓ Although men are now assuming a much greater role in childcare, the decision to parent at home, for whatever length of time, is one that continues to affect primarily the careers of women. ✓ The higher average age of women principals and their longer pre-administrative teaching careers (Paddock, 1981) reflect the choice of many women to devote some time to child-rearing before obtaining administrative posts. This reality, a decidedly unfeminist acceptance and reflection of the current inequity of family responsibilities in our society, may also cause some women to decide against administrative careers in general. ✓ Having children does not preclude administration for women, but the combined responsibilities and demands of a very young family and administrative duties do provide a heavy load.

✓ Sex-role stereotyping and socialization have without a doubt prevented and may continue to prevent some women from seeking leadership opportunities. And it is also quite likely that these factors have had some impact on women principals as aspirants or incumbents. ✓ However, it is important to point out here that these phenomena are dependent upon individual conformity to social norms and pressures and that many women do not conform to and accept these stereotypes--increasingly so for both men and women--as the qualifications, competency and rising number of women principals indicate.

✓ Most recently career phenomena, that is, factors concerning the nature of the teaching career and the teaching organization,

have been more strongly supported to explain the lack of women in educational administration. Not only have these career phenomena been cited as reasons for the minimal representation of women in administration (that is, holding some women back from becoming principals), they have at the same time been cited as factors that quite logically affect and impact the careers of women administrators and women administrative aspirants. These factors include career socialization, organizational processes and organizational structures.

✓ Career socialization, first, represents the nature of teaching and attitudes and perceptions toward the profession.

✓ Lortie (1975) has characterized teaching as a "careerless" profession; that is, there is not a hierarchy of positions through which most teachers are promoted. ✓ The teaching profession is, further, one that enables women to move in and out easily as their life circumstances change. ✓ This "in and out" movement is not, however, characteristic of the traditional definition of career which includes commitment demonstrated by lack of interruptions (Biklen, 1986). ✓ In addition, it has been suggested that women simply do not define career and success as men do and consequently do not see administration as a logical career step up from the classroom (Biklen, 1986; Carlson & Schmuck, 1981; McLaughlin & Yee, 1988; Stockard, 1980). ✓ That is, leadership roles and extended responsibilities in education are desired by many women, but not as administrators (Shakeshaft, 1986; Stockard, 1980). ✓ But

because of the traditional definition of career, teaching has traditionally provided an entry into administrative careers primarily for men, who have an "up or out" orientation (Adkison, 1981), while women have held the "jobs." Consequently, administrators have assumed that women are not as committed to their careers as men and not as concerned with upward mobility (Biklen, 1986). Thus, the transition from teaching to administration becomes more difficult for women than men (Ortiz, 1982). Career patterns of men and women in the U.S. have distinctly reflected this fact, with women generally occupying more staff positions (coordinators, specialists, supervisors, etc.) while men hold more of the important "line" positions (secondary principals, assistant superintendent, superintendents) (Ortiz, 1982; Schmuck & Wyant, 1981). Most often those women who have proceeded to become principals do so later than men, with a greater number of years experience in the classroom, and after having made the decision to enter administration also much later than men (Ortiz, 1982).

✓ In addition to the nature of the profession, organizational processes also affect the movement of women into administration.

✓ Learning about organizational roles--what Adkison (1981) terms "anticipatory socialization"--and sponsorship are keys to advancement in education. ✓ In anticipatory socialization, Adkison (1981) states, "the individual becomes oriented toward a new status before occupying it" (p. 332). Generally, that individual

learns administrative skills and gains a sponsor. ✓ Ortiz (1982) has found that women are often censured for revealing administrative aspirations and subsequently discouraged. ✓ Women also have difficulty obtaining sponsorship from men (Ortiz, 1982), and sponsorship is particularly important for aspirants to administrative posts (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). ✓ Lack of sponsorship is compounded by the small numbers of female role models for women, from which these sponsors might be drawn (Carlson & Schmuck, 1981; Tibbets, 1979). ✓ Difficulties in these informal processes and consequent uncertainty about leadership expectations prevent many women from formally applying for leadership positions (Adkison, 1981; Tibbets, 1979) and are troublesome for those who do.

✓ The structure of the organization, last, has great impact, as well, on the opportunities for women in administration. ✓ As pointed out earlier, Ortiz (1982) explains that in education women tend to move through positions involving instruction and interaction with children--teachers, curriculum consultants, supervisors, for example--from which vertical movement is rare. These positions do not often provide the opportunities to interact with superiors, allowing women to learn about the organization and develop strong leadership orientation (anticipatory socialization, sponsorship, etc.) prior to assuming leadership roles. ✓ Women in administration are also "tokens" (Ortiz, 1982), a situation that brings with it isolation and increased stress due to uniqueness.

✓ Among the administrative ranks in the U.S. women find, too, a lack of support from their male peers. ✓ Their ability to strengthen their position as a group and become part of the organizational network is limited by their exclusion from the "old-boys" network (Stockard, 1980; Tibbets, 1979) and compounded by the absence of an "old-girls" network. Women have also traditionally suffered from the negative connotations attached to women bosses, although attitudes of teachers and the public toward women administrators have changed (Stockard, 1980) and this has become less of a problem. ✓ For individual principals and administrative aspirants these structures provide further complications and lead to greater difficulty with the organizational processes referred to above.

✓ Unlike the competency, qualifications and aspirations arguments, the influences of career socialization, organizational processes and organizational structures cannot be easily discounted. ✓ They have affected and do affect women on the path toward administration. ✓ The negative impact of these factors poses difficulty for women as they perceive a lack of opportunity which discourages many of them from pursuing administrative careers (Tibbets, 1979). ✓ Discouraged in this way, many women individually do not aspire to administration as they view the difficulties and the struggle overwhelming the possible rewards. ✓ Those who do must simply confront these obstacles and attempt to neutralize them as effectively as they can. Further, the literature reflects nothing

to indicate that women administrative aspirants no longer face these problems once they become principals.

✓ As far as the study of female administrators is concerned, Shakeshaft (1987) maintains that the androcentric bias in educational administration theory and research ensures their exclusion by insisting that their candidacy be measured against male standards (p. 162). In focussing on the absence of women from administrative ranks rather than on their presence, theory and research on women in educational administration has done just that. ✓ Initial research compared women to men on performance. Subsequently, work that attempted to explain the lack of women in administration depended on ideas about sex-role stereotyping and socialization, career socialization, organizational structure and processes which, while relevant, always treated and referred to the experiences of women within the bounds of male experience. Later research (Charters & Jovick, 1981; Gilbertson, 1981; Pitner, 1981) showed a more specific focus than the broad approaches of early studies. However, even though attention to individual aspects of male and female administrative behaviour can enable us to learn from each other and profit from both perspectives, this research is still ultimately comparative, focussing on the impact of gender. Shakeshaft (1987) claims that research on women in educational administration must more effectively explain women's experiences outside the norms of male society. And recently, research on women in educational administration has begun to do

so. Now that the ranks of women administrators have grown this most current phase of research asks not why are there so few, but, rather, what is the nature of their experience?

FROM THEIR OWN EXPERIENCE: WOMEN SPEAK

✓ Edson's study Pushing the Limits: The Female Administrative Aspirant (1988) responds to Shakeshaft's concern. Although explanations for the lack of women in administration have simultaneously revealed important information about the nature of the careers of women in administration, Edson's research is of particular value in the context of my study because ✓ it focusses directly on the administrative aspirant and her career. In addition, ✓ through qualitative methods it explains women's experiences in their own terms rather than through the lens of male experience. Edson is hopeful that an approach that allows the female voice to be heard will help us to better understand all human behaviour and enable us to work from gender-inclusive theories (p. 277). With its conceptual framework and contemporary treatment of the participation of women in educational administration Edson's study is at the vanguard of research in that area. For these reasons, and particularly because of its relevance to my study as well as its size and scope, Edson's study requires a thorough summary here.

✓ Edson began her longitudinal study of women actively pursuing administrative careers to understand more fully their motivations

and to share that information. She studied 142 women across the United States who actively sought at least a principalship in the public school system. Her book represents two phases of research that include the initial data collection in 1979-1980 and a career update in 1984-1985. A follow-up is planned for 1990.

✓ In Part One, Stages, Edson reports that nearly seventy percent of the women she interviewed sought administrative roles because they wanted the professional growth and challenges that the role presents and sixty-six percent believed they would be good administrators once hired. ✓ In addition, a little over half of the women wanted to become administrators because of their concern for children and children's needs. ✓ Academically these women are also very qualified. ✓ Nearly all of the women in Edson's study possessed at least one Master's degree and eighty-one percent had or were earning the necessary administrative credentials for their planned careers. ✓ They were motivated to further their education by the opportunity for professional stimulation, the chance to change the direction of their lives and enhance their future employment possibilities. ✓ As to appointment, these women report on sexism and blatant bias against female candidates during the interview process. ✓ Often their applications were not taken seriously although they indicated overwhelmingly that they were willing to move out of their states in order to further their careers. ✓ Women in the study also report on the lack of role models as a long-standing problem which significantly

shapes the timing of their plans and their entry and advancement in the field. Because of the lack of visibility of female role models these women often formed networks of support and encouragement among themselves. Because of the lack of female role models and because of their isolation these women identify mentors as essential to career advancement and success.

Sixty-eight of the women Edson interviewed identified a mentor in their work settings, usually their male principals. Sponsors for these women provided encouragement, feedback on job performance, training in weak areas, and advice. However, some of the older, established educators encountered difficulty gaining support from a sponsor and classroom teachers were especially reluctant to approach potential mentors for fear of jeopardizing their rapport with other teachers.

In Part Two, Reflections, Edson presents, first, data relating to the impact of marriage and families on the careers of these women. Only twenty-seven percent of the respondents consider family responsibilities a barrier to their career plans yet they do continually reflect on the subject. Most married women mention the support of their husbands who in many cases first encouraged them to pursue administrative careers. As far as career pattern is concerned, women in this study generally followed two different paths in their search for leadership positions. One route, the more traditional, was followed by women who began teaching, had children and then later pursued

administration. Older women in the study often followed this pattern. The second or emergent route is that followed by women who identified their administrative aspirations early and then delayed having a family and/or blended career with family responsibilities. For Edson's women the issue was not one of work as eighty percent of those studied were employed full-time and sixteen percent part-time, but rather one of priorities. Family responsibilities which were often referred to in the past as insurmountable barriers for female aspirants are now simply givens. As to the hiring of women specifically, many of these women believe that the time is right for women in administration, but in fact they still remain at a disadvantage among administrative ranks which continue to be predominantly male. These women report on continuing problems on the job both with male colleagues and female peers who are not supportive. Speaking of the performance of men and their support for women, one group of aspirants finds the performance of their male colleagues excellent and holds them in high esteem. A second group disagrees, criticizing the abilities of male administrators. However, because of their negative opinions about male managers these women subsequently find themselves at a disadvantage as they attempt to move up the administrative career ladder.

The special concerns felt by these women that Edson relates in Part Four involve, first, affirmative action. Seventy-four percent of these respondents believed that affirmative action

would prove helpful to other women's careers, but only forty-seven percent felt it would aid their careers. They do not often report having begun to see the benefits of affirmative action policy, particularly with respect to their own careers. Although only thirty-six minority women participated in the study many noted that in the past race had a negative effect on their career aspirations, but that in recent years it appeared to be less of a barrier and that the time is now ripe and leadership opportunities are increasing. However, some believe that discrimination remains a problem. As to discrimination overall, one quarter of the women in the study do not believe that women today face discrimination in securing positions in public schools although, as Edson points out, persistent patterns of discrimination do remain. Only fifty-two percent of the women claim difficulties in their own careers with discrimination. However, these women agree that the problems of bias in the administrative selection process are both systematic and long-term because of persistent stereotyping. Males are favoured in the interview process and unequal treatment of male and female administrative aspirants (often involving salary; see Pounder, 1988) frequently continues when women obtain managerial positions. Edson also relates the cases of several women who have taken their claims about sex discrimination to the courts for litigation and includes comments from many more who have seriously considered doing so.

In Part Four, Looking Ahead, Edson outlines the goals, expectations and advice of these women. All of the respondents desire line positions. Forty percent list principalships as one of their two highest career goals, forty percent seek full or assistant superintendencies and thirty percent mention hopes of reaching positions at the state or national levels at some point. Because school leadership remains predominantly male and because their futures may be affected by their gender these women are hesitant to predict their chances for getting superintendencies and other high-level administrative posts. And there are differences between aspirants with more years of experience and those with less. Women aspirants in their fifties are more likely to cite the elementary principalship as their highest career goal.

These aspirants advise others to be serious about themselves and their goals, and coordinate their educational and work experiences with an eye toward future goals, that is, to plan ahead and prepare oneself. They advise women to seek out contacts who can help them and not to leave sponsorship to chance. Because they have often had difficulty obtaining necessary administrative experience within education they counsel women to obtain it if necessary through other organizations. They also advise women to prepare themselves well overall in order to increase their chances of being interviewed for administrative positions and once appointed to proceed cautiously because they will receive closer scrutiny on the job than men.

It is important to note here that Edson's study focusses on women aspirants to administrative roles and the bulk of the data were collected at the beginning of the study in 1979-1980 when none of these women were principals. Five years later, at the first update in 1984-1985, a third were principals and another third were in positions higher than when first interviewed, though short of principalships. It is possible that data provided by women who have been principals for at least a few years might be different or provide some changed perspectives. At Edson's update women continued to report on many of the same themes that had appeared earlier in the data. Sexism and discrimination, they stated, were still highly evident in educational administration. They reported as well on the continuing lack of support from other women, and the consequent importance of women networking together for support. And, balancing the demands of work and family remained a great concern. Realizing that balancing role demands becomes increasingly more difficult as one moves up the administrative career ladder many have had to reassess their ability to assume a principalship and raise a family. The profiles of successful aspirants from Edson's study reveal that these new principals had an average of six years of teaching experience (ranging from one to seventeen years) and only six of these had no previous administrative experience. A quarter of the new principals hold PhD's.

Over the past ten years since Edson's study was begun a new perspective on educational administration has arisen from thought and analysis on women in that field. Although it did not evolve directly from Edson's study this new perspective did arise partly from early research on women administrators. And even though it is not directly related to the nature of the careers of women administrators because it refers to educational administration in general, it is a reflection on those careers and the work that women are doing in the principalship. This perspective, as proposed by Frasher and Frasher (1979), suggests that good school administration is ultimately characteristic of feminine rather than masculine modes of behaviour. Shakeshaft (1986, 1987) also discusses the similarities between prescriptions for leader behaviour in effective schools and traditional female approaches to schooling. In the professional world of educational administration where women have been praised for being like men, where men are seen as the norm and women as "others" (Pitner, 1981), and where research using male paradigms has traditionally attempted to determine whether women "measure up" (Shakeshaft, 1981, 1987) the perspective offered by Frasher and Frasher is refreshing. However, there is opposition to this claim and viewpoint. Adkison (1981) argues that research data are not strong enough to support a feminine model of administration and that to do so only "continues to reinforce stereotypic expectations" (p. 318), of a female rather than male kind. And Gilbertson (1981, p. 306), too, suggests that rather than simply

replace a masculine mode of behaviour with a feminine one, it would be better to "fuse" male and female behaviour to get the best of both. Despite this opposition, the idea of a feminine administration is one that has also been raised in the literature by women administrators themselves when describing their work and styles as principals. "Feminist administering," states Regan (1990), "symbolized by the double helix with its intertwining strands and connecting bridges, is an inclusive mode of leadership in schools practiced by people who understand the necessity of the both/and as well as the either/or ways of being in their work" (p. 576). "Feminist administrators," she explains, "seek dual perspectives, representing each strand of the helix, leading toward a complex and evolving view of how to realize the mission of a school" (p. 572). And Gabler (1987), although less analytically and philosophically than Regan, also refers to the uniquely feminine aspects of the way in which she administers.

Since research related to women in educational administration was initially undertaken forty years ago, it has undergone several distinct phases. After research efforts concluded positively that women administered as well as men, analysis focussed on why so few women were actually school principals given their evident capability. From there, with a breaking away from the limitations of a uniquely male perspective, attention has since been given to the women themselves, allowing them to explain their experiences and present their own viewpoint. The conceptual focus in

research, thought and analysis in the literature on women in educational administration, has not always been directed explicitly towards the nature of the careers of women administrators. However, much has been revealed about that experience. Whether it speaks to the experience of the women principals of British Columbia in 1990 will be seen.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

Discussing research methodology Matthew Miles and Michael Huberman (1984) state that "It is good for researchers to make their preferences clear" (p. 19). This is important, they explain, so that readers do not have to intuit the author's standpoint (p. 19). It is also essential, I believe, for the author who should likewise be clear about her beliefs, so that she can make explicit her motivation and interest in the study and provide both epistemological and methodological perspectives. What follows, then, is first a review and explanation of my beliefs about research in education. Second is a discussion of research with respect to my chosen problem, women in educational administration. Finally, I outline the methodology for the study.

PART 1 - RESEARCH - MAKING MY PREFERENCES CLEAR

Through both hypothesis-testing and exploration, a distinction which will be defined later, research attempts to discover, to determine what we do not yet know. However, it must also and ultimately be interpretive. In discussing an interpretive perspective to research John Smith (1983) comments on 'verstehen.' "A very basic definition centers on the attempt to achieve a sense of meaning that others give to their own

situations through an interpretive understanding of their language, art, gestures and politics" (p. 85). This process of understanding has two levels, one at the first level of direct understanding (of human activity) and the second at a more complex level which seeks to understand the "why" of the activity. In this sense, research must be a search for meaning. And research must also be practical. The outcomes of the search for meaning should not only contribute to and redefine our learning, but also enhance our practice and point out new directions for future research.

Reality, according to the tenets of realism, is that which exists outside the body and which is verifiable by others. Reality, according to idealists, is that which is shaped by the mind and is mind-dependent. (See Smith, 1983, for a thorough discussion on these two schools of thought.) I agree with Kenneth Howe (1985) who states that "the unobservable and mental are important" (p. 14). Experience, perception, thought, feeling, reasons, motives, intentions are all important. Educational and pedagogical research especially--focussing as it does on human beings--must certainly acknowledge and address this unobservable reality.

With respect to reality in research, one must also consider the fact-value question. Here, two perspectives require attention: facts and values with respect to the inquiry and facts and values with respect to the inquirer. Smith (1983) states that

"In quantitative research facts act to constrain our beliefs; while in interpretive research beliefs determine what should count as facts. In the former, facts and values are separate; in the latter, facts and values are inextricably intertwined" (pp. 10-11). It is, I believe, impossible to separate fact from value even ultimately in quantitative research. Where values and the inquirer are concerned, Howe (1985) also assures us that "value judgments may not be excluded from the arena of rational criticism in general or from the conduct of research in particular. No researcher, whatever the field, can avoid value commitments (whether or not such commitments are acknowledged)" (p. 12). Like Howe, I believe that researchers of any persuasion--qualitative or quantitative--cannot avoid value judgments. Howe (1985) summarizes the discussion quite succinctly: "value issues cannot be bracketed or ignored in the name of the fact-value dogma; value issues are ubiquitous" (p. 17).

The difficulty of separating values from research does not mean that there is no place for objectivity in social science research in general, or in qualitative research specifically. In discussing interpretive inquiry Soltis (1984) says of qualitative researchers that "they still seek objectivity and value-free inquiry into the human realm of intersubjective meaning by using the evidence of everyday social life" (p. 6). These qualitative researchers doing interpretive inquiry, he continues, "are opposed to the logical empiricists, not with regard for the need for

objectivity or empirical evidence, but because they believe that the empiricist has too narrow a view of the concepts of objectivity and evidence and therefore fails to investigate what is distinctively human in our publicly shared social world" (p. 6). Thus, research that is not purely quantitative and that acknowledges intersubjective meaning and examines the social world can still be objective. It can be based on empirical evidence, it can be true to its data, it can be honestly representative of that which it investigated which simply happens to be subjective reality. Commenting also on an idealistic-interpretive approach to research, Smith (1983, p.10) defines objectivity as social agreement, in that common beliefs determine what should count as facts. "What is objectively so," he outlines, "is what we agree is objectively so" (p. 10). If there is no one known reality and if our views of the world and our knowledge are determined by our interests and values then objectivity is simply social agreement. Rather than attempting to artificially distance and separate the researcher from the problem, objectivity can acknowledge the researcher and his or her values.

A discussion of research that requires one to confront the issues of reality, facts and values, and objectivity ultimately leads to the question of truth. If reality is shaped, or at least partly shaped by the mind and is inclusive of values then whose reality, whose facts, are true? Individual realities do vary. Soltis (1984, p. 6) points out the importance of an awareness of

the social-historical context of research. Smith (1983), too, states that from an idealist perspective, "what is to count as knowledge or to be considered true is a matter of agreement within a socially and historically bounded context" (p. 8), much like objectivity. Human experience is context-bound. Consequently, research, and explanation of findings, cannot be separated from the time and conditions in which the phenomenon under investigation took place. In this way research can then reflect truth as determined within that socio-historical context.

What I have outlined above clearly reveals a personal tendency towards idealism and an interpretive approach to research. Although my views are fairly well-grounded in idealism and supportive of interpretation, I, like Miles and Huberman (1984), must also acknowledge "the other reality." I cannot deny reality that is also observable and verifiable, but do not feel uneasy about this as I also argue that one can claim it is verifiable because individuals agree upon it, thereby once again reflecting a definition of reality as social agreement. These complexities aside, Miles and Huberman (1984), in acknowledging to their readers a reality that is partly constructed by the mind, label themselves "soft-nosed logical positivists" (p. 19). Following their lead I might then call myself a "hard-nosed idealist," preferring to qualify my idealism rather than my positivism. In sum, I am drawn to and supportive of qualitative approaches--making meaning with words--which can more easily and

honestly reflect and incorporate my epistemological stance and research views.

As far as research in education specifically is concerned Soltis (1984) argues appealingly for a view of research that is multi-faceted and characterized by several dimensions. Soltis claims that "good social and political theory must at one and the same time be empirical (i.e., objective), interpretive (i.e. deal with human intersubjective and subjective meaning), and normative-critical (i.e., bring operative ideologies to conscious awareness and make action-value decisions)" (p. 5).

What is most powerful about Soltis' suggestions is the possibility for educational and pedagogical research to be empirical, interpretive and normative all at once. Qualitative research is ultimately appealing and meaningful to me because it can, I suggest, inherently address all of these dimensions. It can be empirical, that is, objective in the sense I described earlier; it must certainly be interpretive and it should, in conclusion, be normative, referring to the ethical, historical, social and ideological dimensions of the problem. These are goals towards which qualitative researchers can and should strive.

PART II - RESEARCH AND WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Research in the area of educational administration has too often eliminated or ignored the female experience and point of

view. Both Shakeshaft (1987) in her book, Women in Educational Administration, and Shakeshaft and Hanson (1986) discuss the fact that much literature on the principalship has completely ignored the participation of women in the field. Shakeshaft (1987) accounts for this by explaining that:

Science and science-making tend to reinforce and perpetuate dominant social values and conceptions of reality. The funding of research, the objects of study, the use of research have to date been dominated by white males. Not unexpectedly, they have forged forms of thought within an all-male world (p. 150).

Ultimately, as she indicates, this has led to the creation of a conception of the principalship that is essentially male. In much of the theory about organizational behavior and administration, including education, continues Shakeshaft (1987), "females are viewed as "other" or rendered invisible in this male-defined perspective...the end result is the same in the majority of the work examined: Women are not included" (p. 152). Thus, the principalship has become equated with male behaviour which does not and cannot accurately reflect human behaviour in that role. (See also Biklen et al, 1983, for a discussion on the imprecise and inaccurate reflection of the account of human behaviour in many paradigms in the social and behavioural sciences because of assumptions that equate male activities with human activities.)

In addition, research and theory on the principalship that has reflected male point of view has too often been applied to all principals, thereby generalizing improperly and unfairly to women. And, consequently, research then directed specifically at women in administration has, for the most part, measured women against male standards. Shakeshaft (1981) summarizes this problem: "the research on leadership and effectiveness originates from a paradigm that is male and that attempts to determine whether women "measure up" (p 24).

It is obvious, first of all, that research in educational administration that claims to focus on the principalship in general and that does not include women when administrative ranks are not 100% male is simply not appropriate. Neither is research on male administrators that generalizes to women, nor research on women principals that attempts to measure them against male definitions and standards. And, ultimately, a male-based conception of the principalship does not necessarily reflect what women do as administrators.

In order to redress these inequities at the most basic and practical level research in educational administration that addresses the principalship or any aspect of it overall must include both men and women. It must be balanced. It must only generalize fairly and logically and be careful about measuring one group (females or males) against the other. Most importantly, however, research and theory on the principalship must begin to

incorporate female thought and experience. It is time to study female behaviour in the principalship and add the contribution of women to our conception of educational administration, reconceptualizing the field of study if necessary.

Ortiz and Marshall (1988) state that "fruitful analysis of women's participation [in administration] requires not only posing strategic questions but also employing new perspectives" (p. 137). Shakeshaft (1981, p. 25) suggests that if research on the woman administrator has come primarily from the male model, the next step is to move in the direction of a female-defined research paradigm. She suggests a need for research to grow out of the personal experiences, feelings, and needs of the researcher. In addition, she feels that a feminist perspective is important as well as the use of the research as an instrument for social change. Most importantly, however, Shakeshaft (1981, p. 26) advocates the expansion of the use of qualitative methods because they are built on direct experience and produce data that is descriptive of events, people, places, and conversations. Because I believe that accessing women's experience and thought can only be accomplished by allowing women to speak for themselves, which can be effectively facilitated by the use of a qualitative approach, I agree with Shakeshaft in her call for expansion in the use of these methods. Qualitative methods that give women a voice--since male voice cannot reflect female experience--are

unquestionably essential for examining the participation of women in educational administration.

My decision to study women in educational administration stems from a basic desire to expand the literature to include the female experience and participation within administration. However, I feel that this is not simply an exercise in studying women for the sake of studying women because I believe strongly that an understanding of the roles and situations of female principals from their perspective is not only valuable to current and aspiring women administrators. It is necessary to help develop a greater understanding and knowledge of the role and nature of the principalship overall within education, and a view that is, as well, all-inclusive. In discussing women in education Biklen et al (1983) summarize, with confidence and hope, that "Intellectually, we are taking leaps in the sociology of knowledge beyond a view of the world where 'man is the measure.' We are therefore confronted with the task of putting together a way of looking at the world, of reconceptualizing knowledge, so that all lives count" (p. 14).

PART III - STUDY METHODOLOGY

A. Research Design

"How do the experiences of recent women appointees to administration differ from those of earlier appointees?" To answer this question, in effect an examination and comparison of the experiences of these two groups of women administrators, required an exploratory research design. Since little descriptive research has been conducted in this area in Canada, prediction and formulation of a list of all possible responses to relevant questions that might be posed to these women would have been impossible. A written survey or questionnaire would therefore have been inappropriate for this investigation. Open-ended interviews were determined to be the most effective and appropriate means of eliciting information from women principals about their careers, that is, their opinions and perceptions of their experiences as aspiring and incumbent administrators.

B. Data Sources

Since the study outlined above is comparative in that information was sought from both earlier and recent appointees to the principalship, a respondent group composed of both new and experienced principals was required. For the purposes of gathering the respondent group "recent" was defined as appointment to the principalship in September of 1987 or later. "Former" was

defined as appointment to the principalship in September of 1982 or earlier. Thus, recent appointees have had a maximum of three years experience in the principalship and former appointees a minimum of eight years as chief building administrators. "Former" and "recent" categories were designated as outlined above because the intent of this study was to compare the experiences of these principals over a period of time in British Columbia which saw a notable increase in the numbers of women administrators. For reasons of comparison the "recent" category represents women principals appointed during the past two or three years, the time of greatest recent increase in the number of female administrators, and the former category as those who have had at least eight years experience and were appointed prior to the above period. Since very few high school principalships in the Lower Mainland of British Columbia are held by women--and longterm appointees would have been extremely few in number--the study was limited to principals at the elementary school level where increase in the number of female incumbents has been more marked.

In order to gather a group of respondents I made contact by telephone in the fall of 1989 with district office personnel (assistant superintendents responsible for principal supervision, personnel directors, etc.) of seven Lower Mainland school districts in order to obtain permission to interview at least one pair of women principals and the names of eligible women administrators who might be willing to take part in the study. In

each school district at least one pair of women administrators was sought, that is, one recent appointee and one former appointee. In three districts I was given a list of eligible women principals and then randomly chose two and contacted them myself. In two cases, the district officer contacted and sought permission from two women principals and then submitted these names to me. Last, in the final two school districts selection was predetermined as there were only one or two female candidates available. Thus, the group of principals obtained is a selective and stratified random sampling.

After having gathered a group of respondents I then contacted each principal in turn by telephone in the fall of 1989 in order to invite her participation and explain the nature of the study. Participation was thus entirely voluntary. Once each respondent was secured a letter was sent to her confirming her participation in the study and thanking her in advance (Appendix A). In total a group of eighteen respondents was formed, evenly divided between recent and former appointees. Eighteen was deemed to be a suitable number of respondents initially to obtain a wide cross-section of personal and professional experience within the female administrative ranks of the Lower Mainland school districts selected. As data collection began the decision was made to commence the study with the group of eighteen respondents and then increase the size of the sample later if necessary, that is, if the data consistently showed few patterns emerging. The size of

the respondent group was not, in the end, expanded. Repetition and patterns in the data began to occur and emerge fairly quickly as the study progressed and so expansion of the sample was not deemed necessary. In fact, one of the former appointees withdrew from participation after the round of interviews began leaving a final respondent group of seventeen in total, eight former appointees and nine recent appointees.

C. Data Collection Techniques

Once the interview format had been established a series of broad, open-ended questions were drawn up. These were formulated in order to elicit information from the women administrators about the following areas:

- 1) elementary, high school and university education
- 2) teaching and administrative experience
- 3) the decision to aspire to teaching and to administration
- 4) the impact of non-professional life on the career
- 5) appointment to the principalship
- 6) the significance of gender on their career
- 7) influence and support from others

- 8) time management--allocation of time between various responsibilities
- 9) the role as principal--individual sense of the job
- 10) frustrations and satisfactions with the principalship
- 11) feelings about their work within the school
- 12) regrets about the career
- 13) advice to prospective women principals
- 14) career goals and aspirations

In addition to the questions formulated around the above areas, each respondent was asked to provide information about her current school--staffing, students, programs--as well as the nature of her assignment there. In order to make the questions appropriate to the respondent's tenure the wording varied slightly depending on whether the respondent was a recent or former appointee. Otherwise, respondents from both groups were posed the same questions. Lists of the interview questions for each group are found in Appendix B.

After having been initially contacted in the fall of 1989 to secure their participation, respondents were then contacted by telephone a second time, in early 1990, in order to establish the time and place of interview. All interviews were conducted

between January and the end of April of 1990. All interviews, except one which was conducted at the respondent's home, took place at the respondents' schools, during the day or following the dismissal of classes for the day. The first two interviews--one recent and one former appointee--were used as test interviews to allow the researcher to develop interview technique and also check the questions for clarity. After the first of these two test interviews--with the recent appointee--some minor changes were made to the initially developed questions. No changes were made after the test interview with the former appointee.

✓ Interviews lasted approximately one to one and a half hours and were tape-recorded. Each respondent was asked every question on the prepared list. Questions were not distributed to the respondents ahead of time in order to prevent them from "editing" their responses or preparing answers that they felt would be pleasing to the interviewer or more socially acceptable. Respondents were, however, asked to clarify and elaborate where necessary. They were given opportunity to recall and recount particular experiences and were also encouraged to give specific examples especially where their answers were minimal. Interviewer interaction and reaction was kept to a minimum to eliminate unconscious influence on or direction of respondents' answers in any way. At each site some notes were recorded on the question sheets about the school and the respondent. Tape-recorded interviews were then transcribed for purposes of analysis.

Letters of thanks for participation were sent to each respondent (Appendix A).

D. Data Analysis

1. Analysis During Data Collection

✓ Once written transcripts of initial interviews were available each one was read carefully and corrected against the audio copy. ✓ Some basic descriptive coding of the interviews was begun at this time using very simple first level codes based on the questions. However, the basic codes I had begun to establish were often inappropriate or inexact for the data emerging from subsequent interviews and therefore coding of a previous interview began to influence the interpretation of the subsequent interview. For these reasons and also because of the fact that interviews were still continuing and I feared that in-depth analysis of previously obtained interview data might influence interview technique and outcomes, this initial coding was stopped. And so, despite Miles and Huberman's (1984) suggestion that the researcher should begin extensive in-depth coding as soon as possible after the commencement of data collection, I did not do so, even though I had begun initial descriptive coding with the intent of coding each interview as intently and thoroughly as possible as it became available. Thorough coding was therefore postponed until completion of all the interviews. However, marginal remarks were made on the written transcripts and some memoing was done as

themes and ideas began to emerge during initial readings of the transcripts.

2. Within-Site Analysis

Miles & Huberman (1984) state that as far as within-site analysis of data is concerned, "form follows function. Formats must always be driven by the research question(s) involved, and their associated codes" (p. 80). Within-site (and cross-site) analysis of the data collected from the seventeen principal interviews was completed with this in mind. In referring to the building of causal networks, Miles and Huberman (1984) discuss both inductive and deductive approaches (p. 134). My approach was inductive rather than deductive. But Miles and Huberman also affirm the fact that "induction and deduction are dialectical, rather than mutually exclusive research procedures" (p. 134). Overall my study is representative of this mixed approach in that it was initially guided by a conceptual framework which directed the formulation of questions and subsequently the direction and content of the interviews. However, the study is exploratory in that I had little idea as to the possible responses that the respondents would offer. Therefore the analysis of data, which began in a deductive manner with the establishment of some basic codes based on the questions, was ultimately completed inductively as analysis responded to the nature of the data.

Since each of the interviews was conducted alike and the questions were carefully written and logically ordered the data from each respondent were somewhat organized and sequential. This did facilitate coding in a fairly straightforward linear fashion to some extent although data appropriate to various codes also appeared in various locations throughout the transcripts, for all respondents. ✓

Once all the interviews were completed in-depth coding of each transcript began. One transcript that was felt to contain the most inclusive and comprehensive interview was chosen as a starting point, with the hope that its analysis would yield, similarly, as comprehensive a list of codes as possible. This interview was then coded using, as a rough guide, the codes previously established from the initial coding attempt. Additions and modifications were made yielding a list of twenty-nine first level codes representing major categories of information from the transcript. ✓ Copies of this transcript were then given to two academic/professional colleagues who also proceeded to do a first level coding. This triangulation ensured and confirmed the validity of the codes. ✓ Subsequent to triangulation minor changes were made in the names of some codes in order to better communicate their meaning and thus reflect that of the data. With this list of twenty-nine codes, confirmed by outside analysis, in-depth coding on the sixteen remaining interviews then proceeded.

The remaining interviews were also organized in terms of their perceived comprehensiveness and inclusiveness, from greatest to least and then coded in this order. In this way the likelihood of new codes being generated early on in the process was greater, therefore leading to the creation of a comprehensive and full list of codes as soon as possible which would facilitate continuing analysis. One new code was added to the list within analysis of the first three of these interviews. No further codes were added after that point. A final list of thirty first level codes was established which were used to complete analysis of the seventeen transcripts. An annotated list of these codes is found in Appendix C.

Once first level coding was completed event chronologies were drawn up for each principal to facilitate understanding of the individual's background and experience and clearly place it among that of the other principals. Each chronology included all necessary information about the respondent's initial education and training before teaching as well as her teaching and administrative experience (grade levels, number of years in each position, location, etc.). Added to these chronologies were charts detailing further information on educational background (specialization, post-graduate work, etc.), family background (marriage, children) and work history (time off to care for children, etc.) Pseudonyms were then assigned and a portrait of each principal was drafted outlining the above information. These

portraits, presenting the individual respondents, are found in the section entitled The Sample later in this chapter.

Successive states of data reduction then followed. First, each transcript was organized and reduced according to the thirty codes. That is, data relating to each of the thirty codes were reorganized so that they appeared under the corresponding code heading. And the data was, importantly, reduced. The interviews were not simply reorganized in their entirety since to do so would not have reduced bulk, the greatest impediment to analysis at this stage. Although large chunks of information were often transplanted--and even more regularly direct quotations--stories and anecdotes were also often condensed into a two or three sentence summary. Irrelevant information was not transferred to the new organizational format. For ease of reference back to the original interview a list of the thirty codes was then attached to the first reduction and next to each code all of the pages of the interview transcript on which data might be found relating to that code were indicated. ✓

These first reductions were then reduced again not only for purposes of within-site analysis but also to prepare for and facilitate cross-site analysis. All large chunks of data and quotations that had appeared under individual codes were kept within these coding categories but were shortened to a phrase or a sentence or two maximum. Once again, non-essential information was eliminated thereby highlighting only the most salient point or

theme, leaving what resembles in both appearance and content a point-form outline of each respondent's interview and what represents, in fact, second and third level coding. At this point cross-site analysis commenced.

3. Cross-Site Analysis

Within-site analysis in the context of this study entailed analysis and organization of the data provided by each individual principal, as outlined above. Cross-site analysis involved a compilation and organization of the data provided by all administrators to facilitate comparison and the drawing of conclusions. The first step taken in cross-site analysis involved the event chronologies and background charts. Information on teaching and administrative experience for all respondents prior to assuming the principalship was assembled on a meta-chart. Details about the current administrative assignment were also compiled in this way as was family background and educational history. These charts allowed easy comparison of the education, experience and family background of all principals.

Using the second reductions of the transcripts cross-site analysis then continued. A master list was established for each of the thirty codes upon which all the possible responses or items that had been given by all the principals for that code were compiled. In essence, then, the seventeen separate reduced transcripts were rearranged into thirty separate files based on

the codes. In order to see patterns of group response overall but to differentiate easily among the two groups of principals two columns were kept to the right of the listed responses (or what might be called second level codes) and a number assigned to each principal. When a response appeared for the first time--for example, "good student" under the first level code Academic Orientation--the response was written out and the principal's code number noted in the corresponding column for recent or former appointee. Each time the response appeared in another transcript that principal's code number was simply noted in the appropriate column to the right. Responses that were cited by only one principal were therefore represented by only one number to the right. And clusters of numbers indicated responses that were cited often, easily highlighting trends across the respondent group. Once all the responses for each code on the reduced transcripts had been noted on the master lists these too were then organized. Under each major code similar responses were clustered and reorganized allowing patterns and trends within the coding category to become more apparent. During ongoing data reduction and analysis many themes and patterns did begin to emerge spontaneously. However, because of the extent and complexity of the data very careful scrutiny and analysis was required overall, but particularly at this point, to reveal subtlety of meaning.

In order to summarize and present the findings of the study still further organization was required. The thirty codes

required some grouping themselves. Four major headings that evolved from the codes were established. These headings neatly subsumed the thirty codes and clearly and comprehensively reflected the scope of the data collected about the careers of these women principals. These headings are: Developmental Experiences, Career Development, Administrative Style, and Assessing the Experience. Developmental Experiences refers to experience and background leading up to entry into the teaching profession. Career Development, fairly self-explanatory, covers career growth and development up to and including appointment to the principalship. Administrative Style includes all that relates to an individual's style and sense of self as a principal and Assessing the Experience, last, presents the respondents' reflections on their careers and being a principal. The master transcript itself was then physically sorted and rearranged into these groupings. Some of the thirty coding divisions were also combined and organized into larger subgroupings within the four major headings. From this master transcript, organized according to the four classifications above, a summary of findings was drafted. Since the intent of the study was to compare the experiences and careers of recent and former appointees this division was maintained in the summary and in the actual presentation of findings in the succeeding chapter, for which the summary provided an outline. That is, findings are reported separately for one of the two groups, recent or former appointees,

and then the other. Contrasts and comparisons are made and where particular similarities and differences occur these are noted.

The significance of the findings, like the findings, is also explained using the four major headings as a conceptual guide wherein subcategories based on the codes are treated separately. Separation between former and recent appointees is not maintained as the point of an explanation of the findings is to cross boundaries and draw the experiences of the two groups of women together.

PART IV - THE SAMPLE

These descriptions of the principals and the schools in which they work are impressionistic. They reflect what struck me about each woman and each school during the visit. They are not consistent in content as they represent a personable assessment of which data are important. Although the portraits appear as a whole to be overwhelmingly positive and enthusiastic, the women subjects are, I believe, portrayed fairly and objectively. As I interviewed these women administrators I became aware that that they are an exceptional group of principals, all of them capable, hard-working, and accomplished. To get where they are they had to be unusually good.

A. FORMER APPOINTEES

1. Margaret GAMBLE

South Deer Elementary School

Westbury School District

Margaret Gamble is in her third and final year as principal at South Deer Elementary School before her imminent retirement. South Deer is a rural school of 430 students with two special classes. The surrounding district is rural yet the school population is changing from a uniquely rural one as housing developments encroach upon the agricultural land. Margaret also holds responsibility as principal at a smaller school a few kilometres away that has only four divisions. Both schools also have vice-principals.

Margaret began her career in Westbury School District over thirty years ago and has been a principal there for fifteen years in three different schools respectively. After one year in Senior Matriculation and one year at Normal School she spent three years teaching in Westbury District. Over the next several years she spent time in Europe, taught again in Westbury and went to South America for two years where she also taught. Returning to British Columbia she was married and had her children, substituting when they were small and returning to the work force full-time when her youngest child was four years old. From that point she continued

to teach full-time until she was appointed head teacher. She held that position at a small rural school until she was appointed principal there three years later. She remained there as principal for six years and then moved to her second, larger school where she also stayed for six years. From that school she was transferred to South Deer where she is today. Margaret completed her Bachelor's degree through part-time study, twenty-six years after beginning teaching. She does not have a Master's degree.

Margaret is a tall woman with a calm and subdued manner. Soft-spoken, she exudes control and reserve, yet admits to not always feeling confident. She is self-effacing about her accomplishments, referring to her good fortune in the positions she has held and the support she has received from the many people she has worked with. Although Margaret is a full-time principal, she chooses to teach as well, a priority that she has maintained throughout her career as a principal. She looks forward to retirement, travelling with her husband and being able to do whatever she wants each day.

2. Frances KENT

Morrow Elementary School

Carlisle School District

Frances Kent has been principal at Morrow Elementary School for six years. Morrow is located in an older residential neighbourhood in an urban area. The two-storey school building is also old, with large high-cellinged classrooms, tall, wide windows and wide, spacious hallways. The exterior of the building projects an aura of strength and solidity. Morrow Elementary houses 440 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven, and includes programs for the behaviourally disturbed and learning disabled which are fully integrated.

Frances Kent was raised and educated in Great Britain where she also began her teaching career after a two year training program. She taught for several years there, was married and then moved to the U.S. with her husband for one year where she worked, among other positions, as a teacher aide. Upon her return to Great Britain she continued to teach and then had her children. She taught part-time in learning assistance when they were small and then she and her husband returned to the U.S. for three years where she worked as a research assistant and also completed her Bachelor's degree. From there they moved to Canada in 1971 where Frances immediately began teaching learning assistance full-time

In Carlisle District. After several years in that role she moved to a head teachership with classroom responsibilities, a position she held for five years in two different schools respectively before being appointed principal. She spent four years as principal at her first school and has now been at Morrow for six years. She completed her Master's degree in Administration part-time before becoming a principal.

Frances is a mild-mannered yet confident woman. She speaks quietly but with conviction and projects competence and a serious, almost stern, attitude to education. She is a careful and active listener and sees that as an essential trait for administrators. She is proud of the positive growth and change that has taken place at Morrow and of her role as a catalyst in that change. Frances has always been extremely interested in special education and has recently begun a second Master's degree in that field.

3. Jeanne CHALMERS

Henleyville Elementary School

Foxfield School District

Jeanne Chalmers has been principal at Henleyville Elementary School for the past thirteen years. Henleyville is a small, rural school situated in a farming area. There are 115 students at the school from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. Although the school building is not new and is unassuming from the outside, on the

inside it is bright and spotless. Displays are interesting and topical. Those and the care taken on physical appearance reflect the concern and pride of its occupants.

Jeanne Chalmers began teaching in Foxfield School District forty-one years ago after completing Senior Matriculation and then spending one year at Normal School. She taught the lower grades for three years at her first school--a three room school when she began--and then became principal there (in the early 1950s) after her third year teaching. She remained at that school as principal until her move to Henleyville in 1977. Jeanne has been a principal in Foxfield School District for thirty-eight years. After completing Normal School she spent two summers at university, but she did not complete her Bachelor's degree and does not have a Master's degree. Jeanne is not married and has no children, but her non-professional responsibilities have always formed a large part of her life as she maintains her 50 head dairy farm in the hours away from school.

Jeanne speaks with fondness of the old days in education, but is firmly rooted in the present both as a principal and a teacher. She has always combined her administrative duties with teaching in the classroom (with a .6 assignment in the classroom this past year) and has never wanted to go on to a larger schools in the city centre. Jeanne is an independent-minded woman who is not afraid to speak her mind. Her spirit and enthusiasm infuse the

school. She mentions that she is eligible to retire anytime, but is not sure whether she'll go yet as she still enjoys the job.

4. Judith CUTHBERT

John Walsh Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Judith Cuthbert has been principal at John Walsh Elementary School for the past three years. The school is located in the middle of a quiet residential area of a suburban community. It houses 500 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. The school, a fairly new building, has recently been enlarged to accommodate its growing numbers. It is spacious and open. Judith shares her administrative duties with a vice-principal who also has a teaching assignment.

Judith began teaching in the mid-1960s after three years full-time at university. She taught for one year at high school before returning to university for two years full-time to complete her degree. After that she returned to teaching at the elementary level for six years (four years at the primary grades) in other districts before coming to Broadwood. In Broadwood District she taught Grade One for six years before being appointed a principal. She spent three years as principal at her first small, primary school where much of her assignment was teaching and then moved to her second, larger school where her duties were divided between

administration and the library. After four years at that school she moved to John Walsh where she is today. Before becoming a principal Judith completed a Master's degree part-time in Reading and then after her appointment as a principal a second Master's degree, in Administration. She is divorced and does not have children.

Judith is a calm person with a commanding presence. She is confident and sure of herself. She projects an aura of capability. On the afternoon I arrive to speak with her snow is accumulating quickly on the ground, but she seems not to worry, taking everything in stride. Judith characterizes herself as a "reasonably outspoken person but in a fairly quiet, calm kind of way." She speaks with conviction about what she is doing and hopes for the school, and expresses pride in what has been accomplished.

5. Ellen DAVIES

Thompson Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Ellen Davies is principal of Thompson Elementary School. Thompson is a new school in its first year of operation. It is located in a suburban community in the midst of new housing developments. The school houses 280 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven, but its enrollment is projected to rise 300 students

for its second year of operation and then into the mid 300's. It has, however, been planned to remain a mid-size school.

Ellen Davies began teaching in the mid-1960's after two full-time years at university. She taught for three years in the primary grades, both in another district in British Columbia and out of province as well, before taking time off to have her first child. She spent two years at home with her daughter before returning to teaching full-time, in Broadwood School District where she has now been for over twenty years. Her first four years in Broadwood District were spent at the primary level at which point she took a year off to have her second daughter. Upon her return she taught Grade One for five years before being appointed principal to her first small, primary school where she remained for ten years. From that school she came to Thompson a year ago. During her years teaching she completed her Bachelor's degree part-time. She did a Master's degree in Administration, also part-time, while in her years as principal at her first school.

Thompson school is bright, shiny and modern. The offices are expansive and Ellen's office is light and airy. Ellen is a quiet, soft-spoken and unassuming woman, almost shy. Her subdued demeanor, however, belies the strength of her beliefs and her experience. She is quick to laugh at herself and expresses delight in her new position, at the confidence she feels the district displayed in her in giving her a new school to "put

together." She is enthusiastic about the new challenges that Thompson Elementary is presenting.

6. Anne LAURENCE

Charles Drew Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Anne Laurence is currently principal of Charles Drew Elementary which is located in the downtown core of a suburban community. This "inner-city" school is large, at 600 students, and is dual track, offering French Immersion in addition to its regular English programme. With the expansion of the French programme and rapid growth in new housing construction, the school has grown quickly within the past few years. The school building is filled to capacity and a large cluster of portable classrooms dominate the playground.

Anne Laurence is in her first year as principal at Charles Drew, but has been a principal for fifteen years in another district from where she just arrived this past year. She began teaching in the mid-1960's after two years training at university and then taught Grade One for four years before taking two years off to have her two daughters. She returned to teaching when her second daughter was one year old and spent four years teaching Kindergarten part-time. She then taught Grade One full-time for a year and the following year assumed the district helping teacher

position for reading/language arts. She held this position for one year before being appointed principal. As principal she spent two years at her first, small school, and then seven years at her second school. She remained in her third assignment as principal--in a large dual track school--for five years before coming to Broadwood this past year. Anne completed her Bachelor's degree part-time over her teaching years and than a Master's degree in Curriculum and Instruction, also part-time, while she was a principal.

Charles Drew is a busy place on the day I arrive to speak with Anne Laurence. Secretaries, aides and vice-principal bustle about the office, teachers rush in and out, phones ring. Anne is, however, pleased to meet with me and ushers me welcomingly into her office. She is happy to speak about her career experiences. She is a thoughtful and analytical woman and her comments reflect much insight gained from many years experience. She speaks pragmatically and realistically about her new school. She knows where she wants to go and appears to be proceeding towards her goals strongly but calmly, one step at a time.

7. Elizabeth HAMMOND

A.B. Johnson Elementary School

Seaview School District

Elizabeth Hammond is principal of A.B. Johnson Elementary School, a large urban school of 475 students. The school houses two special classes as well as a Late French Immersion program. The school building itself is over 70 years old, a large, monolithic structure, and is located within an older residential area. It serves a mixed population of students, however, who come not only from the older neighbouring areas, but also from adjoining subdivisions of fairly costly new houses.

Elizabeth began teaching in the mid-1960s after two years full-time training at university. She obtained her first position in Seaview School District where she continues to work today. She taught Grades Four and Five for four years when she first began and spent one year working with student teachers in a university teacher training program. After that she spent another year teaching before taking a year off to complete a fifth year at university. She had, previous to that, completed her Bachelor's degree part-time. Upon her return to teaching she taught in learning assistance for four years before moving to a vice-principalship. After one year as a vice-principal she was appointed a principal, in 1977. She spent five years at her first school, before taking a year off to complete her Master's degree

which she had begun earlier through part-time studies. She then returned to the same school for four years before coming to A.B. Johnson, where she has now been for three years. She is married and has one daughter, but has always worked full-time.

The office, on the day I arrive at the school, is busy with people coming and going. Elizabeth arrives from an appointment and strides in confidently. She introduces herself and begins to talk immediately about the school. Elizabeth has an imposing and energizing presence. Her personality reveals itself strongly. She characterizes herself as a divergent and non-linear thinker who is hard to follow, yet she presents her views and beliefs forthrightly, and unequivocally. She speaks openly about the problems she has had to deal with at the school so far and expresses some discouragement regarding them. She is directed by her goals, however, and continues to work towards her agenda for the school.

8. Mary ASHER

Fir Grove Elementary School

Lakewood School District

Mary Asher is principal of Fir Grove Elementary School which currently enrolls 280 students in Kindergarten to Grade Five. Fir Grove is located in a suburban community, comfortably positioned in the middle of a quiet residential area. Responding to the

needs of its growing community, the school--which originally housed Kindergarten to Grade Four--has recently expanded to include Grade Five and will add both Grades Six and Seven over the next two years. Mary's duties include teaching learning assistance twenty percent of her time.

Mary was raised and educated in Great Britain. She spent four years at university full-time and one year in early childhood education specialization before teaching in Great Britain for four years in the early and mid-1960s. She came to Canada in 1966 and taught for four years in three school districts before returning to Great Britain where she was immediately appointed a principal. She spent three years as a principal there before returning to Canada to teach once again, in Lakewood School District. After teaching for three years in Lakewood she was appointed a principal. She spent three years at her first school as a principal in British Columbia and then moved to Fir Grove where she has been for the last twelve years. She does not have a Master's degree.

On the day I arrive at Fir Grove to speak with Mary, the hallways are quiet, but there is a buzz of activity in the rooms along the corridor. Although not new, the school is bright and attractive on the inside. Mary greets me and ushers me into her office, requesting of the secretary that she take messages and intercept interruptions. Mary speaks confidently and shares her thoughts and experiences openly. She is not hesitant to offer her

opinions and beliefs, which reflect serious consideration and strong conviction. Mary exudes efficiency. Her interest in all that takes place in education and within her school is immediately and strongly apparent.

B. RECENT APPOINTEES

1. Shirley MILLER

Endervale Elementary School
Westbury School District

Shirley Miller is now in her third year as principal, at Endervale Elementary School. Endervale is a rural school with 241 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. She is also principal of a smaller school of 115 students several kilometres down the road in which a vice-principal looks after the day-to-day responsibilities. Shirley does not have formal teaching responsibilities at either school.

Shirley obtained her first position as a teacher in Westbury School District sixteen years ago. She began teaching in an elementary special education class and then moved to the regular classroom before receiving her first vice-principalship after six years in the classroom. She then combined teaching responsibilities with administrative duties as a vice-principal

for five years after which she received a district position as helping teacher for professional development. After one year in this position at the district office Shirley was placed in a second school as vice-principal. There also for one year, she then received her principalship at Endervale Elementary.

Shirley is married and has two grown daughters who are now both in university. She was married young and both of her daughters were born before she was nineteen years old. Six months after the birth of her second daughter she began full-time studies at university where her husband was also enrolled. Immediately after completing her Bachelor's degree she assumed her first teaching position. She completed a Master's degree in Special Education early in her career through part-time study and then, later, a second Master's degree in Administration, also part-time. She has always worked full-time.

On the day I arrive at the school to speak with Shirley I note that, although an older building, Endervale Elementary is bright and colourful with a lively and active atmosphere. Students are friendly and willing to help. Shirley Miller is also warm and welcoming. She is a self-assured woman, quick to laugh yet serious about her tasks. She is open and straightforward and not hindered at all by any doubts about what she is attempting to accomplish in the school. She is proud about the fingerprints on her doorcasing which she sees as a mark of her success--a positive

relationship with kids, parents and teachers, an openness and willingness to talk to all about what is going on in the school.

2. Doriana KEAN

Mountain View Elementary School

Carlisle School District

Doriana Kean is in her second year as a principal at Mountain View Elementary School in Carlisle School District, an urban area. The school enrollment is 340 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven, up eighty students from Doriana's first year at the school. The school had lost numbers in previous years as parents were choosing to enroll their children in other schools in the area. Doriana is working to change the school's reputation and the attitude of the public and is pleased with and proud of results so far. As required by her school district, Doriana teaches twenty-five percent of her time.

Doriana began teaching twenty-one years ago after having attended university for three years. She assumed her first teaching position in another school district, spending three years there before coming to Carlisle School District where she has remained for the last eighteen years. Although she has taught intermediate grades, most of Doriana's teaching years have been spent at the primary level. She was primary helping teacher for two years in Carlisle district after which time she requested a

return to the classroom. Before obtaining her principalship she taught as a head teacher for two years ago. While teaching Doriana completed her Bachelor's degree part-time. She began a Master's degree in Administration but chose to withdraw while doing coursework because she was not satisfied with the quality of the courses. She is married but has no children.

Doriana is a warm and exuberant person. She is thoughtful and analytical, answering all of my questions with care and deliberation. She is convinced that a good administrator can really make a difference in the lives of everybody in the school and is committed to bringing to life her own image of a good school in Mountain View. She is enthusiastic about her new job and appears to be extremely dedicated to her role as principal.

3. Patricia MUNROE

O'Brien Elementary School

Foxfield School District

Patricia Munroe is in her first year as a principal at O'Brien Elementary School. O'Brien is a primary school housing 286 young students and is located in a comfortable residential neighbourhood. Foxfield School District is both urban and rural. O'Brien itself is located several miles from the large town centre which forms the hub of the school district. The school is warm

and inviting and seems a cheerful place to be. Patricia's duties at the school include a .3 learning assistance assignment.

Patricia began her career in the mid 1970s. She completed her Bachelor's degree through four full-time years at university before accepting her first teaching position in the school district from which she had graduated earlier. She taught Grade Two there for two years and then took four years off during which time her two daughters were born. She then returned to teaching in a second school district where she had subsequently moved with her husband. She spent two years teaching there (the first of the two, part-time) before being appointed primary consultant for the district. She remained in that position for two years and then moved to Foxfield School District as primary supervisor/director which she held for four years before assuming the principalship at O'Brien Elementary.

Patricia is a bright and friendly woman in her late thirties. She is calm and relaxed, yet speaks vividly about the new programs that the school is working on that she hopes to see firmly entrenched at O'Brien within the next few years. Patricia is candid about the demands of being a full-time working mother with school-age children and a first year principal while at the same time working part-time on her Master's degree in Administration. She is happy to be living in the neighbourhood of her school as she can easily keep in touch with her daughters who occasionally drop in to visit her on their way home from school. Although

clearly a busy person, Patricia speaks with relish about her new role as principal. She enjoyed her work at the district office, she says, but expresses satisfaction about being able to make a difference at the school level and see that improvement and change directly and immediately through the work that she does.

4. Marie JANSEN

Radnor Elementary School
Broadwood School District

Marie Jansen is in her first year as principal at Radnor Elementary School. The school is located in a rural area within a suburban community. Radnor houses 250 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. Marie is also principal of another smaller thirty-student school nearby. She combines administrative duties with Learning Assistance responsibilities (a .2 assignment) at the larger of her two schools.

Marie has been teaching for fourteen years. After three years at university she began her first teaching job at the age of twenty. She spent her first few years teaching Grade Seven and then took a year's leave of absence to complete her Bachelor's degree. She then took a second leave a number of years later in order to complete a Master's degree in Learning Disabilities. After the completion of her Master's degree she taught as a learning assistance teacher before becoming a vice-principal where

she remained for three years before assuming her principalship. Marie is married and has a two year old son. Other than a short break for her maternity leave she has worked full-time throughout her career.

Marie seems to be enjoying her first year as a principal and speaks warmly about being able to make a difference in children's lives. She is business-like and straightforward, yet is quick to see the humour in situations and laughs easily at herself. Marie is conscientious about doing a good job and hopes to remain at Radnor for a number of years. She is pleased with her present assignment and feels particularly comfortable in the community as she also lives in the rural area surrounding the school.

5. Peggy MARSHALL

Longacre Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Peggy Marshall is in her first year as principal at Longacre Elementary School in Broadwood School District. Longacre is a small, rural school of 102 children from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. Her assignment is divided evenly between administrative duties and the library. Peggy's first year as a principal is also her first year in Broadwood District. Although she began teaching eighteen years ago, all of her career as a teacher was spent in another school district.

After completing Grade Thirteen and then her Bachelor's degree through four years of full-time study Peggy began teaching. She taught at a variety of grade levels for a number of years and then spent two years as an outdoor education teacher at her district's outdoor education school. After that assignment she then returned to the regular classroom where she also held a variety of positions. Peggy then proceeded to the vice-principalship, a position she held for six years in total, at two different schools respectively, before moving to Broadwood School District to assume her first principalship. Peggy is married and has two small children, one preschooler and one just school age. Other than short maternity leaves after the births of her children, she has always worked full-time.

Peggy is excited about being a principal. She has been looking forward to the job for a number of years and already expresses satisfaction about being able to dig her teeth into the position. On the day that I visit Longacre to speak with her she talks animatedly about the staff and the new programs they are working on and ushers me about the school to show me the changes that have taken place there already. Peggy is an articulate woman who seems challenged and exhilarated by the new responsibilities she has taken on. Although she wonders where she will find the time to do everything--continue to be as good a first year principal as she can, complete her Master's degree in Administration which is currently underway, and be a wife and

mother--she appears to thrive on rather than be overwhelmed by these demands.

6. Julie CLARKE

Mountainair Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Julie Clarke has just completed a one year leave of absence from her school district during which time she began and completed her Master's Degree in Educational Administration. Before that she had spent her first year as principal at a rural school of 250 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven. This assignment also included responsibility for a smaller school of 30 students nearby.

Julie has over twenty years of varied teaching experience at the elementary level. After completing Grade Thirteen and one year of teacher training she entered her first classroom as a teacher. After teaching for a number of years at a variety of grade levels in a different district she then "retired" and spent six years at home full-time caring for her two young daughters. After these six years she then returned to teaching part-time in Broadwood School District where she has remained for the last twelve years. Of this part-time teaching Julie spent five years in learning assistance and then three years, also part-time, as district helping teacher for reading and language arts. After

these years she then returned to work full-time (as her youngest daughter entered Grade Seven), assuming a vice-principalship which she held for two years before being appointed a principal. Julie completed her Bachelor's degree through part-time study over the years while her children were young.

Julie has enjoyed her year of study very much and speaks highly of the experience. She appears recharged for the coming year and seems to have defined very clearly what she hopes to accomplish as a school principal in the future. She is an articulate and confident woman with a caring manner. With new insight, she looks forward to returning actively into the field this fall where she will take up duties as a principal at one of her district's largest elementary schools.

7. Sharon IRVING

Poplar Bluff Elementary School

Broadwood School District

Sharon Irving is in her first year as a principal at Poplar Bluff Primary School. Poplar Bluff is a K-3 primary school with 167 students. It is situated in an older, residential neighbourhood of a suburban area. However, the traditionally stable school population is changing with the recent completion of several rental housing developments nearby. Sharon's duties include a .5 library assignment.

Sharon has been in Broadwood District for seven years, but has taught for more than twenty years. After completing her Bachelor's degree through four years of full-time study she began teaching at the secondary level in another school district. She then spent a number of years with her husband working in teacher education in Africa. For a short interlude during these years she returned to British Columbia for four months, teaching at the Grade Seven level. After her return from Africa she and her husband spent several years in the U.S. where she completed degrees in both Educational Psychology and Special Education respectively. By this time both her sons had been born. Upon returning to British Columbia to stay she spent one year teaching in a special school for autistic children. After this she then began teaching in Broadwood School District. She taught learning assistance for three years part-time and then assumed the full-time position of district itinerant resource teacher in special education where she remained for three years also before being appointed to the principalship.

On the day I arrive at the school to meet with Sharon teachers wander in and out of the office talking to each other about their latest projects. The school is bright and cheerful and there is much evidence of student activity about the hallways. Sharon herself proves to be an active and ebullient person, arriving on the run after having dealt with a pressing student concern. Although only a first year principal, she has clear

ideas about where she wants to go. She tells me that she came to the principalship because she is convinced that the most influential people in the process of change in schools are principals and that from this position she felt she could do the most for special needs children, a personal concern of hers. Sharon describes the variety of new programs that Poplar Bluff is implementing and expresses her pride in the activity of her teachers. She worries about what more she could do, however, and wishes for longer days so that she could accomplish even more.

8. Joanne KENWOOD

Richardson Elementary School

Lakewood School District

Joanne Kenwood began as a first year teacher in Lakewood District twenty two years ago and is now in her third year as a principal there. Her school, Richardson Elementary, is located in a suburban area but within the downtown core that serves the local community. The school enrolls 260 students from Kindergarten to Grade Seven and houses two language development classes. Thirty percent of Joanne's time is spent teaching, primarily in learning assistance but also in other areas as well.

After completing three years of full-time study at university Joanne began her teaching career in Lakewood District. She taught for a number of years at a variety of grade levels, moving into

intermediate learning assistance where she also spent some time. She then assumed a district position as intermediate resource teacher/supervisor where she remained for seven years before being appointed a principal three years ago. She was a principal at her first school for a year and a half and then was moved to her current assignment at Richardson Elementary where she has now also been for a year and a half. Through her teaching years Joanne completed her Bachelor's degree part-time during evenings and summers. She is now working on her Master's degree in Administration, also part-time. She is divorced and has no children.

On my arrival at Richardson Elementary, shortly after dismissal, Joanne is not in the office. After a short wait I spot her bustling down the hallway speaking to students and exchanging greetings with parents. She introduces herself energetically and apologizes for being late. She is a friendly and thoughtful woman who is not hesitant to speak openly and honestly. Throughout our discussion Joanne reflects concern for students and continually expresses dismay and frustration with aspects of her job that get in the way of helping children. She is firmly committed to the teaching portion of her principalship and is confident and clear about her role within the school. She exudes determination, focussed on her work as a principal.

9. Carole BURBANK

Cavanaugh Elementary School

Dunston School District

Carole Burbank is in her very first year as a principal. Her assignment is at Cavanaugh Elementary which is a rural school of 133 students. Cavanaugh Elementary School is a small, but neat and tidy building located in a beautiful pastoral setting of productive farmland. Carole supervises a staff of seven teachers there. Her time is divided between administrative duties and learning assistance which she teaches two days per week.

With three years of study at university Carole began teaching. Before coming to British Columbia she spent a number of years teaching in two other provinces where she held a number of positions at both the elementary and secondary levels and worked particularly with special education children for three years. During these years she completed her Bachelor's degree part-time and also obtain a specialist's certificate in special education. Upon arriving at Dunston School District ten years ago she first taught learning assistance at the junior secondary level. She then spent a year as special education consultant in her district and after that a year with a rehabilitation program at a secondary school. From there she moved to the vice-principalship at an elementary school where she remained for two years before being appointed to the principalship.

Carole is married with children. She had her first child before doing her year in teacher's training and, other than taking a year out to have each of her children, she has always worked full-time. She did not, however, consider undertaking an administrative position until her children were in their teens.

Although quiet and calm, Carole is committed to her new role. On the day that I spoke with her the school and office were a buzz of activity and she moved quickly about the school ensuring that needs were met everywhere. Carole has definite goals and plans for the school which she articulated for me clearly and confidently. She expressed frustration, however, with routine administrative matters that have not yet become as smooth and effortless as she would like them to be so as to enable her to devote as much time as possible to what she considers more important leadership and curricular tasks.

CHAPTER 4

FINDINGS

Chapter Four is divided into four sections for ease of data presentation: A) Developmental Experiences, B) Career Development, C) Administrative Style, and D) Assessing the Experience. All quotations cited throughout the chapter have been carefully chosen to be illustrative of group response and should be read as such unless otherwise indicated.

SECTION A - DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCES

Data presented under this first section relate to the experience and background of each principal leading up to her entry into the teaching profession. There are four subdivisions: 1) Academic History, 2) Academic Orientation, 3) Developmental Experiences, and 4) Professional Orientation.

1A. Academic History: Recent Appointees

All of the recent appointees--nine principals in total-- have completed Bachelor's degrees. All have four or five years of post-secondary education. Of these women, four completed their Bachelor's programs through four years of full-time study before beginning teaching. The rest completed two to three years of schooling and then finished their degrees (up to fourth or fifth

years) while teaching, most of them through part-time study (evenings and summers). All of these newly appointed principals received their training at a university although some took Grade Thirteen before beginning university.

Of these nine newly appointed principals four have completed Master's degrees; four are currently enrolled in programs. The ninth respondent, Dorian Kean, began a Master's program in Administration but declined to continue because she felt the coursework lacked quality. Although in Dorian Kean's district principals are expected to obtain Master's degrees she does not intend to reenter the particular program in which she had registered and does not mention whether she plans to complete an alternate Master's program in another area of education. Nor does she suggest what her district's response to her decision might be or have been. She does state openly, however, that in beginning her Master's program she was responding to district expectation for principals to have graduate degrees, which is also true for most of the other principals in this group.

Of the nine recent appointees six have or will have their Master's degree in Educational Administration. The other four degrees are in Learning Disabilities (1), Special Education (2), and Educational Psychology (1). Two of these principals, Sharon Irving and Shirley Miller, have each completed two Master's degrees. Two of the recent appointees also have a sixth year of university education which they completed before beginning their

Master's degrees. One, Carole Burbank, holds a Specialist's Certificate in Special Education which she obtained in another province before coming to British Columbia. The second, Peggy Marshall, spent an extra year at university for what she terms, "personal growth." Three of the recent appointees with Master's degrees completed their degrees through full-time studies--one year leaves of absence for two of them. The rest (six principals) have or are completing their degrees part-time.

1B. Academic History: Former Appointees

Of all of the former appointees all but one have completed their Bachelor's degrees. However, only one of these nine completed the degree through four years of full-time study before beginning teaching. Six of the respondents spent two years, and one three years, in post-secondary training before beginning teaching. Of these principals, the two oldest, Margaret Gamble and Jeanne Chalmers, completed Senior Matriculation after high school and then spent a year in Normal School. All the other respondents completed their initial post-secondary education and training at a university. Once having begun to teach, two of the principals, Elizabeth Hammond and Judith Cuthbert, completed their degrees by taking time off (one and two years, respectively). The rest of these principals also completed their Bachelor's degrees while teaching, but part-time through evening and summer courses.

Of the eight former appointees, five have completed Master's degrees. One of these five women, Judith Cuthbert, has two Master's degrees and another, Frances Kent, is currently working on a second. Of these seven degrees four are in Educational Administration, one in Special Education, one in Reading and one in Curriculum and Instruction (general). All of the former appointees with Master's degrees completed them part-time during evenings and summers while working at the same time. One respondent, Elizabeth Hammond, took half a year off near the end in order to complete her project.

Three of these eight women do not have Master's degrees. One of the three, Mary Asher, is the sole respondent from this group who completed her Bachelor's degree through four years of full-time study in Great Britain before teaching. She then obtained a specialist's certificate in Early Childhood Education through another full year of study. She explains that she entered administration before a Master's degree became essential, but has, nonetheless, always been involved in coursework. The second woman, Margaret Gamble, completed her Bachelor's degree twenty-six years after she began teaching. She also became a principal before Master's degrees were an expectation. The third woman in this group, Jeanne Chalmers, like Margaret Gamble, began teaching after one year Senior Matriculation and one year at Normal School. After that she did spend two summers at university but did not complete her Bachelor's degree nor did she do a Master's degree.

She was not particularly interested nor would she have had time, she says, as she also maintains a fifty head dairy farm on her own.

2A. Academic Orientation: Recent Appointees

Almost all of the recent appointees report being competent, willing students. In speaking of her school years Marie Jansen recalls that, "school was easy. I didn't have to struggle. I didn't have to study an awful lot in high school or elementary school." These principals were good students. They were competitive, high-achievers who wanted to do well.

✓ Almost all of these recent appointees were also involved at school and remember it being a fun and happy time. Marie Jansen "played basketball...did lots of other extra-curricular things" as did Sharon Irving who, "was a very good athlete and involved in everything." ✓ These women also enjoyed being at school and they enjoyed studying. "My elementary school days I really liked school...elementary was a place I enjoyed," recounts Patricia Munroe.

Of these nine principals only two--Shirley Miller and Doriana Kean--report not being happy at school or motivated by their studies. However, both women obviously did continue with post-secondary studies. Shirley Miller comments that, "In elementary school I remember I was always a reasonably good

student, but I was not particularly enamoured with school. I did not enjoy school all that much." Shirley credits her husband with giving her the support and encouragement to continue on to university. "My husband at that point was in university," she explains, "and had done first year university. My youngest child was six months old when I started university. I had no intention of going to university. It was only through his encouragement and pushing that I attended university and basically changed my life in terms of giving me a whole different venue to follow." Doriana Kean, similarly, did not enjoy her school experiences. "I did not like high school at all," she remarks calmly, "I refused to go (because of a particularly insensitive and cynical teacher)...I hated going to school...I couldn't wait to get out of school."

✓ However, prodding from a family member was also instrumental in her remaining in school. Doriana had wanted to go into the general program in high school, but, she says, "my mother refused. She made me stay on the university program." Interestingly, both women comment on how much they like school now. Shirley Miller completed two Master's degrees part-time while working full-time and Doriana summarizes emphatically, "now I really like going to school. I will always go to school."

2B. Academic Orientation: Former Appointees

All of the former appointees also report favourably on their years as students. They, too, were good students for whom school

was easy. "Looking back," says Margaret Gamble, "I recognize that I was a capable student...and I always just enjoyed studying." Anne Laurence, too, enjoyed her school experiences. "I did like school," she says. "I liked it because it was a social place for me. I guess I was fairly successful at it." Although Elizabeth Hammond is the only respondent from this group who remembers not being very happy in elementary school because she was younger than her peers she was still, "a good student. I always got top marks." These women clearly liked school, enjoyed studying, had fun and were happy. Unlike their more recently appointed colleagues, however, they do not mention extra-curricular activities and involvement with school community outside of academics.

3. Developmental Experiences

Within this coding category analysis revealed that there was no major distinction between the two groups of respondents, former and recent appointees. There were not, either, any outstanding developmental experiences common to the two groups. As far as childhood and student life is concerned, from the group as a whole four respondents speak of either good or bad teachers who had an effect on them. In addition, several respondents mention having been younger than most of their peers--from beginning school earlier in Canada or elsewhere or being accelerated--and how this affected their school experiences.

Doriana Kean, Patricia Munroe, Judith Cuthbert and Ellen Davies (two recent appointees and two former appointees) all mention the effects of good or bad teachers. As recounted earlier, Doriana Kean felt particularly uncomfortable with a French teacher whom she perceived to be cynical and insensitive. In contrast, she reminisces about her Grade Three teacher who was fair. Both of these teachers stand out in her experience and have affected her practice as a teacher. Judith Cuthbert relates feeling, "privileged to have some very good teachers." Both Patricia Munroe and Ellen Davies mention, on the other hand, teachers who encouraged them to go on to pursue their academic studies, in particular in teaching. Except for Doriana Kean, whose teachers clearly had an impact on her development and conception of herself as a teacher, teachers for the most part provided for only a few respondents some encouragement and occasionally a little inspiration.

As far as age is concerned, two respondents, Elizabeth Hammond and Peggy Marshall, mention at length the negative effects of being younger than their peers on their school experiences. However, although they often felt awkward or removed from the social group, neither cites any negative effect on their teaching career resulting from age. Marie Jansen mentions the fact that she began teaching when very young, but that her age never caused any difficulty for her in the classroom. Judith Cuthbert was also quite young when she first taught which she found uncomfortable as

her first teaching assignment was in a high school where she was the youngest teacher and the oldest students were only a few years younger than she was. After her first year teaching she returned to university to complete her degree and then transferred to elementary teaching where she has since remained. Although all respondents began teaching very young none except Judith Cuthbert cite any effect, negative or positive, on their teaching career.

In childhood and at school all of the respondents reported that they had, for the most part, uneventful and unremarkable lives which did not have great impact either negatively or positively on their future careers as teachers. A number of respondents mention a variety of experiences and situations which they experienced when they began teaching which they see as instrumental in their development as teachers. As these experiences and stories--the impact of the first school, working with wonderful colleagues, working under a negative principal, for example--relate to the respondents' teaching and fit well within the second major category of analysis, Career Development, they will be reported on and treated there.

4A. Professional Orientation: Recent Appointees

Only a few of the recent appointees report always having known, or decided early on, that they would be teachers. Patricia Munroe, one of them, admits, "I always knew that I was going to teach. I mean, that was in my plans from the time I was very

young...I was the type of kid that really enjoyed playing school." Peggy Marshall, too, never thought of doing anything other than teaching, but for different reasons: "I think that what it was was that our family has always been teachers...I think it was one of those non-decisions. My parents thought that it was a nice job for a girl to go into. Basically I don't remember making the decision. I remember it just happening." Julie Clarke consciously decided to become a teacher in late high school. In her mid-forties, she waited longer than most of the other recent appointees before becoming a principal and of this group she is the only one who hints strongly at limited career options.

Of this group of recent appointees several mention never having thought about being a teacher at all when they were young. Most of them decided in university where they were going and what they were going to do with their Arts degrees. "I never really thought about going into teaching," states Shirley Miller. "I didn't decide to go into teaching until I actually started university...I guess my my decision was where am I going with my Arts degree, where is my future?"

These principals, unlike many of the former appointees, do not report enjoying school, or liking the school community, or liking the lifestyle of teachers as reasons for becoming teachers. ✓ They maintain that helping others learn and enjoying and loving children motivated them more often to choose teaching. "I liked

working with kids," states Marie Jansen, "I knew then (in high school) I would like to work with children."

✓ The security of teaching, middle class values and money also figure highly among this group, much more so than with the former appointees. Sharon Irving, for example, relates her story: "I was going to be a dentist since I was about six. My parents--well, they could not support me through that length of a university degree." Patricia Munroe says, "my parents were strong on the idea that their kids have a good dependable career and at that time for a woman teaching was considered to be a very good thing to have to fall back on."

4B. Professional Orientation: Former Appointees

✓ All of the former appointees except one report that they either always knew they would be a teacher or knew at least from elementary or high school. Almost all of them (six) report that there were not many choices available: teaching, nursing, dietician or secretary. Among these four choices, most respondents mention only teaching or nursing. "I don't think I had a lot of choices open to me," says Judith Cuthbert, "unless I wanted to go into nursing, which I didn't." Interestingly, three of these respondents, Margaret Gamble, Frances Kent, and Jeanne Chalmers, do not mention the idea or the possibility of choices at all. "I don't remember ever having considered doing anything else but teaching," states Frances Kent. Of all the former appointees,

Margaret Gamble and Jeanne Chalmers are the oldest principals and have been teaching the longest. Frances Kent, too, has been in education for well over twenty years.

Several of these women mention having thought about other careers, but that in addition to the limitations placed on them by their gender, they and their families could not finance a long degree. "If the truth was known," confides Judith Cuthbert, "I probably always wanted to be a doctor. And at that time there wasn't the encouragement or the money to do that." Mary Asher mentions the appeal of art school which also would have taken longer and been more expensive than teaching. In addition, she honestly cites her lower middle class background as an explaining factor, that is, the appeal of the security of a teaching career to her parents.

These former appointees also discuss having enjoyed school and studying, and liking the school community. They liked the things teachers did and thought they could do it too. Anne Laurence explains how the lifestyle of female teachers, as compared to that of her mother, appealed to her: "I do remember watching and looking at some of the female teachers and thinking how much better life they had than my mother. It just seemed to me like they had a lot more freedom. They travelled. They laughed. I think I decided pretty young in life that I liked the look of that."

SECTION B - CAREER DEVELOPMENT

In this section, Career Development, findings are presented that cover career growth and development for each principal up to and including her appointment to the principalship. There are ten separate subsections: 1) Teaching Experience, 2) Experience Growth, 3) Career Management, 4) Administrative Orientation, 5) Appointment, 6) Administrative Experience, 7) Principal Support, 8) Mentorship, 9) Networking, and, last, 10) District Support.

1A. Teaching Experience: Recent Appointees

Most of the recent appointees have a fairly broad range of teaching experiences, teaching at a variety of grade levels. Five of the nine principals taught learning assistance for a number of years. Seven of the nine held helping teacher or resource teacher positions, two in special education, two in reading/language arts, two in primary supervision and one in intermediate supervision. The two who did not hold resource or helping teachers positions, Marie Jansen and Peggy Marshall, were both vice-principals. Of the nine, six have been head teachers or vice-principals. Four of these women held both district helping/resource teacher positions and were also vice-principals: Shirley Miller, Dorian Kean, Julie Clarke and Carole Burbank. None of these recent appointees came to the principalship before twelve years experience or more in education. Four of them were appointed to the principalship after approximately twelve years, excluding time out to study or

care for children. The rest were appointed to the principalship after fifteen to twenty-two years in education. The youngest to become a principal was thirty-four years old. Most were close to forty or older.

1B. Teaching Experience: Former Appointees

Most of the former appointees have a fairly broad range of teaching experience, but they did tend to concentrate at one or another level. Half were primary teachers, two tended more to intermediate grades and two, Frances Kent and Elizabeth Hammond, were primarily learning assistance teachers. Only one, Anne Laurence, held a district position as helping teacher. One former appointee, Elizabeth Hammond, worked for one year with student teachers in a university teacher training program. She was also a vice-principal for one year, the only one of the group. Two others, Margaret Gamble and Frances Kent, were head teachers for several years. Margaret Gamble was a head teacher in a small, rural school that had a supervising principal, but no school-based principal. Frances Kent was a head teacher in a school district in which all schools have head teachers but no vice-principals.

Only one woman in this group, Jeanne Chalmers, became a principal before at least twelve years in her career. She was appointed principal in a small, rural school three years after she first began teaching there. All of the former appointees have

been in education for at least twenty-five years, the longest forty-one.

2A. Experience Growth: Recent Appointees

In speaking of education and their careers all recent appointees reflect a personal focus on learning. They report learning in all situations, they learn from other teachers, and they learn from principals. They learned much in their first few years as teachers and principals.

The interest of these women as teachers was also peaked by working with various groups of children which lead them to further their studies. Shirley Miller reflects clearly this orientation: "Those kids piqued my interest so much in terms of kids with problems that when I decided I wanted to pursue further studies I wanted to explore the whole area of special education because I wanted to know how I could better serve these kinds of kids."

These principals also learned through the variety of positions they held, as helping teachers, as learning assistance teachers. Peggy Marshall speaks of her experience working as an outdoor education teacher as, "a tremendous growth experience and I think not only did I learn a lot about the art of teaching, I learned lots about people because it was a residential school. We got a different staff in each week...I learned a lot about curriculum and kids."

These women also sought out new experience. They asked for new or repeat assignments; they requested transfers; they chose assignments. They looked for new challenges in new positions. Shirley Miller reports on her experience as a vice-principal: "At the end of five years I wanted a change. I wanted a transfer...so that I could grow professionally...I felt that I had stopped growing at that point...and felt I should be given an opportunity." Dorian Kean says that when applying for a head teachership, "what I was looking for was another challenge," a motivation expressed by most of the principals in this group. These principals also valued their university work and chose professional development work carefully as another means of learning more.

To summarize, these recent appointees report learning as a strong value. Shirley Miller maintains that "there were some times in my career when I worked in what you would call less than favourable conditions. Even in a negative situation I learned. I learned an awful lot during those times. I think that you can learn in any situation that you are in." And these principals admit that they do and will continue to learn.

Of all the respondents in this group only two appointees did not overtly verbalize this orientation to and focus on learning as much as the others. They, Carole Burbank and Patricia Munroe, do, however, demonstrate in their career histories a similar focus,

having both sought and held a variety of positions in a variety of situation.

2B. Experience Growth: Former Appointees

Former appointees, except, once again, for two of them, also reflect this focus on learning. Most of them reminisce about their previous schools and muse on what they learned as new principals and what they learned as they progressed, moved to different schools and became more experienced. Like the recent appointees they, too, learned from various people including vice-principals. Judith Cuthbert speaks of the learning experience of having a vice-principal for the first time as does Anne Laurence who says, "When I was aware that I'd be working with a vice-principal, that to me was an opportunity for me to grow in an area that I haven't had previously."

These principals also have a broad range of experience. Margaret Gamble reminisces on her teaching: "I've had a broad range of experiences simply because I sort of kept coming back at the last minute and I was put where I wouldn't have chosen to be put, but...of course, once you get into it you enjoy it and, yes, it's great."

These women are confident of their ability as teachers because of their experience. Mary Asher most clearly articulates this confidence upon becoming a principal: "What mattered to me

was all my classroom experience--different levels, intermediate, primary, different districts....I care about what teachers are doing and can recognize what's going on in the classroom clearly."

Former appointees, as well, report that they learned in all situations and are still learning. However, on the whole they do not mention incidents or teaching situations, as do the recent appointees, where their interest was piqued which subsequently lead them to formally expand their expertise at university or through professional development activities. In general, although not exclusively, the "seeking out" theme is also not apparent. They rarely mention asking for new assignment, choosing their assignments and looking for new challenges in new positions.

3A. Career Management: Recent Appointees

Almost all of the recent appointees report becoming known in their districts because of their teaching, and their activities and leadership at the school and district level. As Shirley Miller explains, "I found that I was in positions where I was offering leadership in a group. I found that I was an organizer. And as a result, in a district this size, people came to know me and started depending on me." She continues: "One of the things that is really important is the selling of people and there were a lot of people along the way who sold me, who let people higher up know about the things I had done, mentioned me. When I was appointed the director said that he had been a Shirley Miller fan

for years. I didn't even know he knew I existed. But it's because people talk." These women were clearly noticed, but, importantly, their attention-getting was, overall, much more active and deliberate than that of the former appointees. Joanne Kenwood encapsulates this vividly: "I personally was hired because I covered every base that I had to to become a principal. And I have to tell you that I did that as a strategy."

One or two of these recent appointees, like Patricia Munroe, were encouraged by others to apply for positions, but far less often than the former appointees. However, like the former appointees, they took advantage of opportunities that were available, but quite strategically, repeatedly requesting and soliciting transfers, looking for new experiences and applying for new positions. Shirley Miller stands out in this regard. She sought transfers and new postings on numerous occasions and appealed to and approached assistant superintendents and superintendent. Joanne Kenwood also did not hesitate to approach her superiors requesting transfers when she identified schools and situations that she thought would be beneficial for her. Peggy Marshall also sought experience, looked for variety, and moved to new positions when she felt she needed another challenge.

With respect to family, two of the nine recent appointees--Doriana Kean and Joanne Kenwood--have no children. They have worked full-time nonstop throughout their careers. The rest of these principals have children. Four of the women have

taken virtually no time off with their children: Peggy Marshall, Shirley Miller, Marie Jansen and Carole Burbank. Carole Burbank took a year off when each of her children was born. However, other than those breaks she worked full-time throughout her career, but did decide to go into administration only when her children were in their teens. Of the other three recent appointees, one, Sharon Irving (one of the oldest recent appointees) stayed at home for some time while studying to obtain her Master's degrees. Like several of the former appointees, Patricia Munroe had not originally planned to go back to work as early as she did. However, after four years at home full-time she went back to teaching half-time. "My husband," she recalls, "decided to change careers and he went back to university and...because he decided to go to school I decided to go back teaching full-time. Had he not decided to go back to school I'd probably still be teaching half-time and feeling quite happy about it." The last recent appointee, Julie Clarke, spent six years full-time at home and eight years working part-time before returning full-time when her youngest daughter was in Grade Seven. She is also one of the oldest recent appointees. She decided quite consciously and deliberately to stay at home with her children for a number of years. "There was a period of six years where I did not teach," she says, "I wanted to remain home with my children. They were pre-school. My family took priority at that time."

3B. Career Management: Former Appointees

About half of the former appointees mention having being offered positions or being asked to apply for certain jobs. Margaret Gamble recounts the story of how she was first led into her head teachership: "One day I was phoned by the director of schools...he just sort of asked if I would be interested in being a head teacher...and quite frankly I laughed and thought it was a huge joke. And he asked me to consider it and call him back the next day." Once in this head teachership she was again contacted about applying for the newly developed principalship soon to be posted for that same school: "The supervising principal dropped in and so he said, 'Well, you're going to apply?' 'Oh, I don't think so.' I didn't really want to be a principal. And he sort of looked at me and said, 'Well, you've been doing the job now for several years. Why don't you get the name as well as the game?' So I did apply." Like Margaret Gamble, Jeanne Chalmers was also approached by her superintendent about becoming a principal. In Ellen Davies' case, her principal suggested that she apply for a posting for a new principalship within her district. "I didn't really decide [to become a principal]," she states, "it was decided for me almost....I think that likely I wouldn't have chosen to go into administration if I hadn't sort of tumbled into it."

If they were not asked directly to apply for administrative positions many of these women simply took advantage of

opportunities that became available. Judith Cuthbert says, "I had originally thought about something like district helping teacher (after completing her Master's degree in reading). Those opportunities didn't come up. But the opportunity to apply as principal...came up. I thought, well, maybe I could do that." Only one principal in this group, Anne Laurence, reports becoming known through teaching-related activities and leadership at the school or district level and yet here again she was asked to apply for a position: "I developed a Grade One program that year that was more in keeping with what I had been doing with those kids in Kindergarten (whole language based). And then they asked me to take a resource position at the Board Office, helping teacher."

These women received attention and were offered positions, but their attention-getting, as they report, was much less active than that of the recent appointees; in fact, for the most part it was passive (situational). Margaret Gamble best captures this phenomenon: "My supervisors in each case [becoming head teacher and principal, respectively] perceived that I would have the abilities to do that and recognized those and therefore encouraged me." Only one former appointee, Frances Kent, demonstrates deliberate career management. Much more so than the other respondents in this group she actively planned to become a principal. She says, "I decided that I could do the job of administration...at that time learning assistance teachers did not become head teachers...and so I made the switch." Realizing that

learning assistance teachers were not appointed to head teacherships which were stepping stones to principalships, she moved out of learning assistance to teach in the regular classroom.

Two of these women, Margaret Gamble and Jeanne Chalmers, actively resisted transfers and stayed in smaller schools as principals by choice, demonstrating what might be termed, by traditional definitions, negative career management. Margaret Gamble, she says, "clung to small schools for as long as possible before I liked to move. I felt that my strengths were at the more personal level." Eventually, however, because of district policy regarding principal transfer, she was moved to larger schools later in her career. Jeanne Chalmers was encouraged by her assistant superintendent to complete her Bachelor's degree and then continue with a Master's degree so that she, too, could move on to larger schools. She chose not to, however, always preferring smaller schools.

With respect to family, three of the eight former appointees do not have children--Mary Asher, Judith Cuthbert, and Jeanne Chalmers. Of the five who do, one, Elizabeth Hammond, did not take time off from her career to stay at home with her child. One, Ellen Davies, spent two years at home with her first child, one year with her second child and worked full-time in between and after. The third, Anne Laurence, spent two years at home full-time and then worked part-time for four years. The fourth,

Frances Kent, took some years off when her children were born and went back to work quite soon, part-time for several years, and the last, Margaret Gamble, substituted when her children were tiny and then returned to work full-time when her youngest was four years old.

Of this group of former appointees, only Frances Kent and Margaret Gamble approximate the traditional post World War II approach to mothering whereby mothers remained at home full-time to care for their young children and if they returned to the workforce did so only after all their children were in school. Both Frances and Margaret stayed at home full-time with their children when they were very young, but both either substituted or worked part-time and each returned to work full-time quite quickly. Ellen Davies, on the other hand, had planned to be a stay-at-home mother. "I thought," she explains, "that I was going to teach for a little while and then get married and have my children and I would just sort of have teaching as something to fall back on if my husband should be ill or something and I didn't really think that I was looking at a lifelong career. However, after I had my daughter, and I loved her dearly, I found out I wasn't a very good stay-at-home person. I really missed teaching so I got back into it rather immediately. I was only home for two years." Anne Laurence also had not planned to return to full-time teaching quickly after the birth of her two daughters. "I had no intention of doing this full-time career thing," she explains. "I

didn't work because I didn't like being at home. I just liked it all and so I took that resource position. Everything was just going to be for one more year, just another year."

4A. Administrative Orientation: Recent Appointees

For about half of the recent appointees administration was not originally a career goal either. However, much more strongly than the former appointees they reflect a need for another challenge, something different. They were bored doing the same thing and they needed a change. "I don't like doing the same thing for too long," admits Peggy Marshall, "I get bored." Speaking of her newly acquired principalship, she also says, "it's always got to be a real challenge. I don't see this as the end of the rope." These principals had done everything else. Being a principal was there to be done and it looked like fun. "It was there," explains Julie Clarke, "I had kind of done everything else...there was nothing else to do."

What is not apparent within the ranks of the recent appointees is any doubt about whether they could do the job. None of them mention suddenly realizing themselves able to do the job, or do it better than others they had seen. They knew they could do it. What is, however, more apparent among the recent appointees is a sense of determining ahead of time what they wanted to do. Many wanted to become principals because of what they thought they could do in that role. "I saw, first of all,"

states Sharon Irving, "that the most influential people in the process of change are the principals....That really just jumped off every school wall that I went into. Where I saw really significant things happening it was happening because the administrator believed in it. That's how I got into administration." "It was really exciting to be making a difference," remembers Peggy Marshall as a vice-principal. "I found I could do it, I could make the changes with the people and join what was going on and it was really exciting to see that you could improve education."

Only one of these recent appointees, Patricia Munroe, was asked to apply for an administrative posting and it was a district job, not a principalship. Only one recent appointee, Shirley Miller, mentions encouragement from others as a crucial factor in propelling her along the path to administration.

4B. Administrative Orientation: Former Appointees

Most of the former appointees report that administration was not originally a career goal. Several, like Margaret Gamble, Anne Laurence and Elizabeth Hammond had never seen any women doing it and so consequently thought it could not be done by women. Margaret says, "women were not in administration therefore it never crossed my mind to be an administrator. So I just went happily on teaching." Because there were so few women in administration many of these women were intrigued by the challenge

of entering that field themselves. "There weren't many women administrators," states Frances Kent simply, "so it was a challenge."

Once involved in their careers, however, many former appointees, like Margaret Gamble, Jeanne Chalmers, Ellen Davies, and Anne Laurence, were asked to apply for their first administrative jobs. They were encouraged by others--husband, principals, district office personnel, colleagues--to apply for administrative postings. Frances Kent says of her husband: "I had somebody pushing me and saying, 'Well, why not? You can do it.'" Ellen Davies had the support of both her principal and her husband. Of her principal Ellen recounts, "he brought the posting to me one day in early June and waved it under my nose and said, 'Here's a posting you might be interested in.' And I just laughed and said, 'Well, that's very flattering of you to say that, but, you know, I'm not trained to be a principal.' And he said, 'Well, you certainly have the skills. I think you should apply.'" Her husband supported her principal's conclusion: "'Well, why don't you, then? You could do it.'"

These former appointees also saw opportunities available and they thought the job looked like fun. They thought they could do it; they thought they could do it as well or better than many administrators they had seen. "Having been in the system for three years (in Canada)," states Frances Kent, "I decided that I

could do the job of administration just as well as the administrator could."

As they proceeded along in their careers about half of these women found themselves bored, needing something different, a change, another challenge. "I guess I knew I would be bored staying in the classroom because I knew I could do more," states Elizabeth Hammond. In the end, says Margaret Gamble, "I think it was the challenge."

Of all the former appointees, the experiences of one, Mary Asher, are not similar to those of the others in this group. Mary went to a high school in Great Britain administered by a woman. It never occurred to her that she couldn't be an administrator and she specialized in early childhood education where many administrators were women. She had women friends who were administrators and the expectation to be an administrator was always there. "Nobody ever said to me, you're a woman, you can't be an administrator," she relates. "The expectation [to be an administrator] was built in fairly early on. It really didn't occur to me that I couldn't." Like the other former appointees, she did feel that she could be as good a principal as many of the other incumbents that she observed. And she does mention vision and philosophy which figure highly in the administrative orientation of the recent appointees.

5A. Appointment: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees mention very strongly, and quite bluntly, the role of affirmative action in their hiring. Speaking of her district, Shirley Miller says: "They are very aware of the lack of women in administration and they have over the past few years appointed more and more women to administration." Marie Jansen was hired, partly, she says, "probably because the district had decided to hire more women, to jump on the bandwagon, that's why I think really. They looked around and said, hey, they are hiring women everywhere. We'd better not get left behind. So I think I was lucky to try for the position at the time that I did."

Although these women seem to accept with equanimity the fact that many of them were hired, in part, because they were women, there is uneasiness about hiring in this way. Julie Clarke speaks forthrightly: "In our school district this last year I believe there were seven administrative positions and six of them went to women because the district felt that the time was right for women to get these positions and I don't like that at all. I think that opportunities should be available for women and that whoever's best should get the job, not that the time is right and we'll have six women administrators this year and six men next year. I think that that's a real insult." It is interesting to note here that, nonetheless, several recent appointees cite the careful hiring practices of their district. "Carlisle is really good," explains Dorian Kean. "We are almost 50% which is quite good. I think

they have really good personnel practices. I have never had to feel like, oh, you have to beat the boys because I think the central office is very fair. They look for talent. They look for people who they believe really can do the job and it does not matter if you are male or a female."

The recent appointees mention much more strongly than the former appointees the fact that they were high profile in their district and had good reputations through district work and workshops. But like the former appointees, they also proved themselves capable and had good job and track records. "I was high profile in the district," explains Doriana Kean. "I worked really hard. I worked on a lot of committees so I was high profile in that sense."

None of these recent appointees mention an individual supervisor's perception of their capabilities as the crucial factor in their appointment. They did not need others to tell them they were capable. That was apparent to them as well as, immediately, to all others. These women proudly mention their qualifications, their backgrounds in curriculum and instructional practices and their expertise in various specialized areas. Pat Munroe was hired as a principal, she believes, "because I have the skills. I have very good public relation skills. I have a fairly good background in instructional practices and curriculum." "I believe that why I was hired for this district was my knowledge of whole language," states Peggy Marshall, "and my experience as a

vice-principal in inner city schools and community schools. It was quite broad."

5B. Appointment: Former Appointees

Only two former appointees mention affirmative action as having any bearing on their appointment to the principalship, and not affirmative action as such, but the fact that it was a good time as women were beginning to obtain principalships in their district. "It was the right time," states Frances Kent. "It was just at the forefront of people beginning to apply and for women to be coming in." Anne Laurence, the third woman to be hired as a principal in her district, also says, "I might have got the job because there were a couple of women on the School Board who wanted women to be in." Like her district colleague (recent appointee, Joanne Kenwood), Frances Kent speaks quite positively about her district's hiring practices: "There was no affirmative action in that women were appointed over men. None of that. It was very much a question of, okay, these are the credentials, these are the qualifications. Don't let's even look at the name. Let's look at what these people have to offer. I think that the applications were considered by merit and they sort of went over backwards to be fair to the men when women started to produce better resumes than the men did."

One former appointee, Ellen Davies, was appointed to her first principalship in a primary school because, "I think it was

situation specific. It was a primary school and I don't think even any men applied for that position. I don't know if we even had any men teaching primary at that time." Judith Cuthbert, too, had much primary experience and was initially hired to a primary school as well.

One woman, Jeanne Chalmers, was appointed, not because the superintendent supported women in the principalship, which he didn't, but because she was "different." "I am not in favour of women principals," he said," recounts Jeanne, "but you're different."

Most of the former appointees cite the fact that they proved themselves capable and they had a good track record as teachers. Margaret Gamble took part in an in-basket competition prior to her appointment as a principal. "The in-basket was a fun thing once you had applied," she recalls. "It was quite exciting and I did very well on it...so that certainly was the basis on which the principalship was assigned." "Well," states Elizabeth Hammond unequivocally, "I guess I was the best candidate. I guess they (the School Board) had good word from what I had done."

Several respondents also mention the fact that they were known in their districts for a variety of other reasons. Frances Kent, for example, was known because of a study she conducted in her district for her Master's degree on why there were so few

women in administration and Mary Asher cites her good reputation for working with teachers.

6A. Administrative Experience: Recent Appointees

All except one of the recent appointees (Joanne Kenwood, who has spent a year and a half at each of two schools respectively) are in their first schools. All have responsibility for between 102 and 365 students. Three principals--Shirley Miller, Marie Jansen and Julie Clarke--have two schools. Five of the nine principals have just completed their very first year as principal. Two, Doriana Kean and Carole Burbank, have completed two years and two, Shirley Miller and Joanne Kenwood, have completed three years. All of these principals except one (Shirley Miller) have a teaching assignment at their schools or a district assignment (from .2 to .5 time allotment). Shirley Miller, the only principal without a teaching assignment, has two schools with 365 pupils combined and a vice-principal at each school, one of the most complex assignments of all these principals. No other principal in this group has a vice-principal.

Julie Clarke, who left a double assignment of about 270 students before taking a one-year leave of absence to complete her Master's degree, will be returning to one of the largest schools in her district, dual track, with over 500 students.

6B. Administrative Experience: Former Appointees

Most of the former appointees are in their third or fourth schools as principals. Three, Jeanne Chalmers, Ellen Davies, and Mary Asher, are currently in their second schools by choice. Elizabeth Hammond is also in her second school; however, she attempted unsuccessfully to transfer from her first school where she remained for nine years. "I guess I should have gone out of that first school sooner than I did," she laments, "but I tried."

All of the women in this group have gone from small to medium schools, or small to medium to large schools progressively. All but one of the women in their third or fourth schools have responsibility for five hundred or more students. Five of these principals have vice-principals or head teachers.

7A. Principal Support: Recent Appointees

All the principals in this group (except one) report quiet support and encouragement from the principals they worked with. Their principals were helpful and they learned from them. Shirley Miller's comment is typical: "The year that I was given my principalship I worked for a principal at that time who was very supportive, not strongly supportive, but quietly supportive. And he was a very nice man, very gentle man. And his pleasure in learning about my appointment was really touching to me."

The one principal, Patricia Munroe, who did not mention principal support here spent six years in the district office before becoming a principal herself. Thus, her contact with principals as a teacher is now fairly distant.

7B. Principal Support: Former Appointees

Of the former appointees, five principals mention the support of principals with whom they worked. Margaret Gamble credits her two supervising principals with recognizing her potential for administration and encouraging her to go on. Jeanne Chalmers also talks of the man who was principal when she first began teaching who, she says, having seen her as an independent teacher who was capable of making her own decisions, was probably helpful in recommending her for the principalship after his departure. With respect to supportive principals, Mary Asher mentions only the fact that she had several good male role models. Three principals, Judith Cuthbert, Anne Laurence, and Elizabeth Hammond, do not mention any principal support whatsoever.

Although when asked about individuals who might have been helpful to them in their career, five of the eight former appointees do cite principals, these women do not seem to speak of supportive, encouraging principals in the way that recent appointees do, that is, people who are more active and nurturing in their support.

8A. Mentorship: Recent Appointees

Over half of the recent appointees mention mentorship, that is, strong supportive action, guidance, active help in developing leadership skills and solidifying philosophy. In most cases this mentorship was provided by principals, all male. Shirley Miller describes her mentor at length: "The principal that I called my mentor was strongly supportive in terms of being very vocal about me in the district, really selling me. Suggesting to me in terms of, you should serve on this committee, you should because it would be very good. Suggesting that I take on certain tasks. So he was very active in guiding me." In thinking about mentorship provided to her Peggy Marshall credits one of her principals with helping her to develop her leadership skills and crystallize her philosophy.

Mentorship in one case, that of Patricia Munroe, was provided by district office people. "In this district," explains Patricia, "I worked with a very supportive assistant superintendent and director colleague and the three of us were very much a team. Actually I've had some very good mentors through the years."

8B. Mentorship: Former Appointees

Only three principals in this group mention mentorship, Judith Cuthbert, Anne Laurence and Mary Asher. For Judith Cuthbert the mentor was a former principal, but the mentorship she

describes resembles more closely, in fact, the support and encouragement mentioned above by recent appointees under Principal Support rather than the mentorship described above by recent appointees. In addition, this mentorship was provided after she became a principal. "Bob kept me realistic," states Judith, "he would phone me up and say you are a way off base. He was trying to be a friend and helpful."

For Mary Asher and Anne Laurence mentorship was provided by other women. "I had a woman who coaxed and cajoled me into going into the resource position," recalls Anne Laurence, "and she had become a principal for a year and she would phone me in that first year of principalship."

None of the other former appointees identify as mentorship any other support they received from other individuals.

9A. Networking: Recent Appointees

Of all the recent appointees only one, Joanne Kenwood, mentions networking as a principal, having some women friends who are also principals, and developing a natural network through her seven years work at the district office. "I have a couple of close friends who happen to be female administrators and that's helpful just to have close social friends who also have the same kinds of responsibilities as you," she recounts. In addition, she says, "I think I had a natural network based on my district work.

But it's with males and females." Of the network of women principals she highlights the benefit of having friends who share one's occupation. The fact that she is networking seems less important. And, within the natural network that she developed at the district office both women and men were involved.

Almost all of the recent appointees, however, mention having had helpful and supportive colleagues when they were teachers. Doriana Kean remembers a special teacher friend: "I think a dear friend over at Brookside School really had an impact too. She is just a very professional lady, very clear thinking, very sensible." Pat Munroe also cites the influence of a colleague: "A colleague that I worked with who was an intermediate consultant also really helped me to learn on the job."

Three of the four recent appointees who did not mention collegial support are from the same district.

9B. Networking: Former Appointees

Former appointees networked extensively as principals, with other women principals, at the district office. They bounced things off other female colleagues. "I knew Helen quite well because I had worked with her and we both went into administration at the same time so we had a sounding board for each other," remembers Judith Cuthbert. Speaking of the increasing numbers of women principals in her district she says: "The support group

within our administrative group is now much wider--there are ten or eleven women in the group now--and a range of people who have been administrators for a fair length of time who can be a support group for people who just got in." Mary Asher too recalls the women with whom she met: "The women I've worked with have been like-minded. We reinforce each other in doing things differently."

Many of these women did meet in groups when female representation in their districts was small. "We don't have it now, we haven't met for a long time," states Frances Kent, "but when there were only a few women in the district we used to meet on a monthly basis and have a rap session." Often, however, as in both Frances Kent's and Mary Asher's cases, formal meetings stopped when the number of women principals in the district in question increased.

Only one former appointee, Elizabeth Hammond, mentions having had helpful friends and good feedback from her colleagues when she was a teacher. Of all the former appointees, Elizabeth is one of two who did not mention any principal support. She was when she was hired, and still is, the only woman principal in her district.

10A. District Support: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees also mention help from the district office but, on the whole, much more generally and globally than the

former appointees. "This is a wonderful district," says Doriana Kean. "It is a wonderful district in the sense that the support that is there and the kind of district where you have an idea you can approach them with it." Some recent appointees do not speak of any support of this kind at all. Direct help, support and personal contact from superintendent, assistant superintendent and supervisors seems less evident for recent appointees.

In several cases support from the district office is mentioned by both recent and former appointee pairings. Some districts are not mentioned at all, by either recent or former appointees.

10B. District Support: Former Appointees

Most former appointees mention supportive district personnel, particularly their supervisors, assistant superintendents and superintendents. They also often mention the district office as a whole being particularly helpful and supportive. "I've found all the people at the Board Office who I've referred to for help very supportive," states Margaret Gamble. Judith Cuthbert acknowledges a former superintendent and then speaks candidly about why the district has been supportive: "He (her former superintendent) always allowed me to try my way when I was the one that was doing the work. I haven't really found many problems with the district administration (as a woman). Mostly because they hire you so they have a vested interest in not causing too much hassle."

SECTION C - ADMINISTRATIVE STYLE

Findings reported here all relate to the individual's style and sense of herself as a principal. They are categorized under five headings: 1) Time Management, 2) Time Use, 3) Priorities, 4) School Goal Development Priorities, and 5) Administrative Style.

1A. Time Management: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees use a variety of common strategies for managing their time: blocking time, scheduling, timetabling, making notes, making lists, calendars, keeping appointment books, etc. Almost every one of them cites one or a number of these strategies.

Apart from the simple strategies listed above, the most important time management strategy for these new principals is prioritizing. They prioritize at work, doing what is most important or pressing first. "Well," muses Doriana Kean, "I think what you have to do is set a list of priorities. My priority first of all is working with teachers and kids--well, with teachers, especially." And this view is also reflected by Carole Burbank: "Prioritize. These things must be done each day. Whatever else doesn't get done doesn't get done. The most important are the students (and then) the teachers, and the parents."

From there these principals do what they can, playing it by ear, managing by walking around, looking after crises. "Every day is quite different," says Marie Jansen, "I never really know what I'm going to do when I come to school. I can walk in the door and literally the whole day is totally different from what I had planned, just because of things happening." Peggy Marshall, too, says, "some days I can come in and my calendar looks like it's just packed, but the day goes very smoothly and falls exactly as I expect it. Other days I can come in and the calendar looks really open and I don't get breathing time. I just jump from one minor crisis to another."

Some work on Sundays, like Dorian Kean, and some work at nights, like Peggy Marshall. But there is a commitment to get as much done during the day, before leaving work, as possible. Particularly for women with children, when they are at work, they concentrate on work; when they are at home they look after home concerns. "The work day is for work," says Peggy Marshall. "Barring emergencies we keep our home life out of it."

1B. Time Management: Former Appointees

Former appointees also use a variety of time management strategies as outlined above--calendars, lists, notes, etc. Some of their time management strategies do, however, seem one step more sophisticated and stringent than those of recent appointees. Like Elizabeth Hammond, these women know which phone calls to

return; they know which deadlines can be adjusted. "When I first started I used to really work to the deadlines," says Elizabeth, "I think that's what I've learned, is deadlines can be, some can be moved." Elizabeth also comments wryly on being overloaded and knowing what can be disposed of, particularly when she isn't able to get to the mail immediately: "Of course, you discover things that you should have done and you haven't and so you throw it in the garbage. It wasn't so bad that I didn't do it." And Mary Asher mentions having to say to her secretary, "shut the door, I need an hour of uninterrupted time in my office."

After prioritizing at work like recent appointees, former appointees proceed to do what they can throughout the day. They manage by walking around and handle crises as they come up. This focus on getting things done when they can, dealing with things as they happen, is particularly strong in former appointees. "There is still a great deal of what happens in a school every day that happens right now," remarks Ellen Davies, "and I guess what I try to do is take that in good grace. I usually have a few piles of things that I'm trying to get to and if I manage to get to them then I do."

Among these former appointees there is a sense of a heavier load, that it has become harder and harder to manage time. When asked how she manages time Frances Kent replies: "With difficulty. I don't know. I seem to just go on." In response to

this same question Mary Asher says: "I don't! It's just incredible, the overload."

2A. Time Use: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees spend much time teaching. Each of them, except one, has a teaching assignment that takes up a great deal of her time, from twenty to fifty percent.

Apart from teaching these principals spend much time in contact with their staff. "I'll come in at eight o'clock and usually have coffee with the teachers in the staffroom, just get a feel for how things are," says Marie Jansen. "I make a point of being in the staffroom as much as possible at recess and lunchtime," adds Shirley Miller, "because I feel it's really important for the staff to see that I'm there with them, part of them."

Recent appointees also spend much time with children, supervising on the playground, greeting kids, taking part in and supervising activities. "I do supervision at lunchtime. I also do duty at recess time," says Doriana Kean as do most of these women. "I spend a lot of time walking in the hallways as the kids are coming in in the morning and I try and greet the kids and talk to them," relates Pat Munroe. "If we have students that we know have been having kind of a rough time and need encouragement I

either touch base with them or they come here," says Sharon Irving.

Recent appointees are also with both children and teachers in the classroom, in classrooms casually as much as they can be and observing formally. "I try to be in the classrooms every day," says Dorian Kean, "I try to visit some classes." "I spend a lot of time just going in, walking by, sitting down with the kids," explains Peggy Marshall, "reading to them, having them read to me, seeing what's going on."

These principals are also in their offices working and consulting with their secretaries. They spend time telephoning and doing administrative paperwork, during the day as much as they can, and after school as well if they can't fit it in during the day. "Once the kids are all in the class and everything is sort of humming along, then I generally come back to the office. That's my administrative time. I check with my secretary. We make sure she knows what she's doing and I know what part I have to play in it," explains Patricia Munroe.

Last, meetings take up a fair amount of time as does interaction with parents. "There's usually some meetings in the morning," outlines Sharon Irving, "we're meeting all the time in the school." "And," she continues, "I work with parents, with the parent advisory committee during the day and in the evening."

2B. Time Use: Former Appointees

Former appointees as a whole do not spend as much time teaching. If they do, they choose to in a larger school (with a regular assignment or by relieving teachers) or find teaching a part of their assignment in a smaller school. For example, Margaret Gamble says: "I choose first of all to continue to teach. I've never stopped teaching. That time is blocked into my day first of all."

They, too, have contact with their staff, but this is not reflected as strongly and to the degree that it is with recent appointees. "I try and talk to the staff before school and be around in the outer office or in the staffroom before school and from twelve to twelve thirty so that I'm available for them," notes Frances Kent. Anne Laurence says, too, "I try to keep myself not tied up with any one person before the first bell. So to connect with lots of people."

Former appointees also spend time with children supervising on the playground, greeting and interacting with kids casually and through planned activities. "I try to talk to as many children as I can every day," notes Ellen Davies. There seems to be less contact with children for former appointees overall, but they do appear to be in the classrooms more often casually than recent appointees. "I try to be in to classrooms as much as I can without overburdening people by making them feel I'm breathing

down their necks," explains Ellen Davies. "If I feel I haven't been in classrooms as much as I should I might in the early morning make myself do that," remarks Anne Laurence. However, she adds as a postscript, "most of my day is spent with people and I don't think enough of it with kids and I miss that."

Former appointees spend time with their vice-principals as well as their secretaries, but the telephone seems to occupy them less. They, too, do as much paperwork as they can and speak far less often of completing paperwork after school or on the weekends. "In any given day there are just picky, nitty-gritty things I have to talk to the secretary about just to keep the wheels going, all the paperworky things," explains Ellen Davies.

Meetings keep these principals busy and so do parents although here again they mention parents slightly less often than recent appointees. Mary Asher lists a variety of meetings each week and month that keep her busy. Ellen Davies, in a newly opened school says, "I don't suppose too many days go by that I don't have several conversations with parents about one thing or another."

3A. School Goal Development Priorities: Recent Appointees

All recent appointees speak of locally devised school goal development priorities, some very specifically and some more broadly than others. The New Primary Program (ungradedness,

integration), figure highly in the school goal development plans of these principals as do integration of special-needs students and cooperative learning. "I hope to see that program [the New Primary Program] successfully implemented and with a high level of acceptance by teachers and parents," says Patricia Munroe. "I don't want to see subject areas taught," explains Peggy Marshall, "I've always believed in that."

These respondents also mention a myriad of other academic and curriculum-related goals for children (writing process, academic enhancement, computers, fine arts, gifted, special needs, thinking skills, problem-solving), as well as goals related to teachers (collegial teacher supervision, peer coaching, the team, openness, sharing among teachers, etc.).

Several principals also mention some affective goals with respect to children: self-esteem, manners, discipline.

Only two recent appointees do not provide a specific outline of their school goal development priorities. However, they both speak in depth and at length about goals for children and their personal visions of education.

3B. School Goal Development Priorities: Former Appointees

Not all former appointees speak in terms of school goal development priorities. However, the two who don't, like the recent appointees, do discuss their priorities for children in a

global way. Those who do list specific school goals reflect much the same concerns of the recent appointees such as the New Primary and Intermediate Programs and ungradedness. Full-service schools and cooperative learning are also high on their lists.

Apart from the above goals, which are also espoused by recent appointees, former appointees do not, for the most part, mention other academic and curriculum-related goals like the recent appointees who had a very long list.

Several former appointees, like their recent counterparts, however, do mention school goals related to teachers such as the team, openness, sharing among teachers, good communication, etc. "We've used our professional development days," says Frances Kent, "to work on developing those skills and developing models (of collegial teacher supervision) and it's been a very good experience."

4A. Priorities: Recent Appointees

The main priority of recent appointees is children. Kids are number one, schools are there to provide the best for every child, to make a difference. "I guess I do have an overall vision, if you like," states Patricia Munroe, "I mean, things that directly affect the students--that is my most important priority." "My goal, which is idealistic," declares Joanne Kenwood, "is that this

is a place for learning and kids. We're here to make sure the kids learn the best way that we know how."

For these recent appointees the affective domain and climate building are also very important. They speak of developing a sense of caring for one another, building a warm, caring atmosphere, a comfortable place for kids. "And what I'd like to see," confides Doriana Kean, "is everybody feeling successful, excited about learning, coming to school because they want to be here because it is an exciting and challenging place."

Recent appointees also focus on teachers. They speak of acting as instructional leaders and being visible and there for staff. They want to facilitate, enable and work with teachers. They want to make themselves available and challenge and satisfy their staff. "My goal," says Joanne Kenwood, "is to be here for the people in the school. And when the kids are here it's for the kids and the teachers. But before school and after school it's for the teacher. I see myself mainly as an instructional leader."

Only a few principals mention interacting with children and actually being with children, either casually or in the classroom, as a priority.

4B. Priorities: Former Appointees

Former appointees also report that kids are very important. Schools, these principals explain, should be places for learning,

child-centered and activity-oriented. "I want the best for every child that attends here," insists Ellen Davies. "My focus," she continues, "is day to day achievement of physical and emotional and academic goals for all kids." The focus on learning and academics with kids at the centre, however, is not expressed as strongly among former appointees as it is among recent principals. In addition, only one principal from this group, Mary Asher, speaks of making a comfortable place for kids at school and developing a sense of caring for children.

These principals do, however, reflect the concern for staff that the recent principals display, and even more strongly. They, too, want to enable their teachers and work with them. They want to work through teachers to serve kids. "I think that my first priority has to be the staff," explains Anne Laurence, "secondly, the children. But when I'm making decisions about what would happen in the school or how resources are spent I always try to put, what are the kids' needs first, but as far as my time is concerned, my energy, I would say it goes to the staff." Mary Asher sees her role as, "somebody who makes it possible for teachers to do their job. I am someone there to make it possible for teachers to do teaching as best they can." Her best legacy, she maintains would be independent teachers who think about what they're teaching. Former appointees mention the team, developing positive ethos and the school as a comfortable place for teachers much more often than do the recent appointees.

Former appointees place, last, a high priority on interaction with children. They want to work with children and be with them casually, in the classroom and outside it. "I always try and have some time when I'm with the kids," says Judith Cuthbert, "I think it's important that I stay in those classes. Also I know every kid in the school." "I try to talk to as many children as I can every day," summarizes Ellen Davies simply.

5. Administrative Style

Although aspects of individual principal's administrative styles have become apparent through discussions of their time management and time use, a focussed look at this element of their principalship is worthwhile and beneficial as it highlights specifics about how these women say they act as principals.

5A. Administrative Style: Recent Appointees

A number of recent appointees use the terms "administering through loitering" and "management by walking around." This seems to be characteristic. "I do a lot of administering through loitering," says Shirley Miller, "loitering with intent. You administrate on the move. And do a lot of problem-solving."

Recent appointees also mention a positive relationship with children as an aspect of their administrative style. "Kids," states Shirley Miller, "a very positive relationship with kids. I come in contact an awful lot with kids." "I tried to get into

classrooms as much as possible," explains Julie Clarke, "and be with children so that I wouldn't be somebody who was sitting in the office and only deal with them when they were bad."

These principals also speak of their relationship with staff as being one of support, encouragement, facilitating, working with rather than directing. "My decision to go into administration was based more on working with teachers in workshop types of situations rather than as manager/employee kind of relationship," explains Shirley Miller, "I don't see myself as manager/employer or employee kind of thing, but I enjoy being able to facilitate a group of adults in a direction that we all want to go." "I am not the boss," declares Carole Burbank, "I facilitate professionals to excellence and provide opportunities for cooperative planning and working."

Most recent appointees also cite a variety of personal characteristics and principaling characteristics that are representative of their approach: people person, open door policy, being involved, helping, warm, humanistic, caring, emotional, intuitive, reflective. This sense of the personal, of caring, is much stronger among the recent appointees than among the former. "There's a lot of warmth, a lot of hugging," says Shirley Miller, "it's building that kind of a feeling, that kind of atmosphere in the school that I feel is really important to me."

5B. Administrative Style: Former Appointees

Former appointees also speak of administering through loitering and management by walking around. "I do quite a bit of management by walking around," says Judith Cuthbert, "I'm reasonably visible most of the time."

Former appointees, too, focus on a positive relationship with children. Jeanne Chalmers believes this to be especially important and considers it a hallmark of her principalship. "I can't directly influence the kids other than on their times when they're not with their teachers," states Judith Cuthbert, "and so I try always to have some outside time with them. The kids know me as a different person because of some of the things I do, the outside interests."

Former appointees boast equally of a supportive, encouraging relationship with staff. Collegiality and teamwork figure slightly more highly among former than recent appointees. "I've been working with my staffs. It's just tremendous, we work together," says Margaret Gamble. "Most of the times I choose to be with teachers," states Mary Asher, "I encourage collegiality."

Only two principals from this group speak of the caring, personal aspect of being a principal, unlike the members of the recent group where this is strongly evident. Nor do they speak of any of their personal characteristics that enhance their principalships.

SECTION D - ASSESSING THE EXPERIENCE

In this last section of findings are presented the respondents' reflections on their careers and being a principal. This section is also divided into a number of subsections which include: 1) Significance of Gender, 2) Impacts, 3) Problems, 4) Satisfactions, 5) Personal Satisfaction, 6) Regrets, 7) Advice, and, last, 8) Career Goals.

1A. Significance of Gender: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees do not report on the effects of tokenism, exclusion, discrimination or harassment and criticism from men. Each of them is among an increasing number of women administrators in their school districts. The way that has been paved by the women preceding them has helped to increase the acceptance of women and has consequently made for fewer of the above problems for these new principals.

Recent appointees also do not speak of limited options and only one mentions another preferred career. They made their choices more freely. They do, however, discuss many ways in which their careers might have been different had they been men and what they would have done differently. These women would have sought more demanding positions and striven for administration earlier. They would have become more goal-directed. They would have started career-building earlier. "I suppose if I were a man,"

contends Patricia Munroe, "I probably would have strived to go into administration, with a long-range view to a career. I can't honestly say I planned out what my career was going to be."

Joanne Kenwood wonders about men her age who have been principals for ten years already: "Some of them had aspirations from the time that they taught for five years. I wonder about that, but it doesn't bother me."

For these women sex-role stereotyping from others persists. Shirley Miller relates a story similar to those voiced by many of the former appointees: "In dealing with parents, especially early in my career it was very difficult for some of them to believe that a female would have any position of authority. So I ran into some difficulties sometimes, particularly with fathers, also mothers in terms of not being taken seriously. Even now I will find sometimes--my vice-principal is tall and sort of, I guess appears to be strong, in terms of physical and personality. And there are people who assumed he is the principal, not me. And even this year people come and say 'I'd like to see the principal' and are sort of taken aback that it's a woman."

These recent appointees do not report a double standard with regard to their conduct and behaviour as principals as consistently as do the former appointees although several still do refer to it and the problem of being seen as a "bitch" or "pushover," once again sex-role stereotyping. "I think people expect us to be pushovers or a bitch," says Peggy Marshall.

"There's no middle of the road for women. You're either known as a pushover or a bitch."

Recent appointees still have to prove themselves and still have to work harder than the men. Speaking of the reaction of the public to the fact that she's the principal, Marie Jansen says, "So I almost have to prove myself because I feel like they're saying, 'What are they doing these days? You're the principal?' So I have to work harder at showing them, yes, I am the principal. And I deserve to be. And you can't just say that in words. I have to show them that by what I'm doing in the school."

Almost all recent appointees cite the effects of affirmative action. In many ways, they say, being a woman is not a disadvantage. District offices are recognizing that women are capable and more opportunities are available to them because they're women. "I think in some ways it helped to be a woman," states Shirley Miller. "It just so happens," she continues, "that as I was coming up in my career was at a time when the lack of women administrators was being noticed so in some ways that really worked to my benefit. It's very seldom that I've found that being a woman has worked against me." "Certainly the opportunities are there for women today that weren't twenty years ago," acknowledges Julie Clarke.

Several women cite resistance to affirmative action. Peggy Marshall applied for a principalship several times in her former

district. One of her friends suggests that, "it's because I'm a woman that I did not get anything, because we're in the backlash." And, she adds, "the last round of appointment [of all men in that district] is a backlash. That the men were saying they couldn't get ahead because of the women."

These women speak, further, of the special skills and characteristics of women as principals. More understanding, empathy, intuition, emotion, nurturing, cooperation and human relations are words they use to describe women in the principalship. "I do believe," states Patricia Munroe, "that with school administration women have some skills maybe that men don't have, that help them be more successful in their job. I do sometimes think that they are more understanding and can relate, empathize better maybe with parents." "It's the little things like the notes of encouragement, the recognition, the personal touches when somebody has gone out of their way," adds Peggy Marshall. "Is it sexist to say the women's touch?" Joanne Kenwood supports her own thoughts by referring to research: "the ability to work as a team member, the ability to nurture, the ability to cooperate with other people at all levels. Those are qualities that more often come out in psychology literature as female attributes."

Recent appointees also speak with no hesitation of the fact that they perceive women to have a teaching skill and knowledge level that men don't have: women have different skills, women are

more informed, women are more democratic, women are curricular leaders, women work as team members. "Nine out of ten or eight out of ten (master teachers) are women," affirms Doriana Kean, "so it would make sense that women would then become leaders in the school." "I think, and I don't know whether I have the right to say this," states Peggy Marshall, "I think the new women administrators are more democratic, are more willing to go to the staff and say, let's make this decision together."

These women speak, too, of different expectations for men, of men being "shafted" because of the changing expectations for principals. Doriana Kean expresses this point of view particularly clearly: "In the past the administrator was probably either someone who specialized in P.E. or Counselling. The expectation was that you be the athletic person on staff. The expectation was not necessarily there for curriculum. I think that the men that are in the profession now sort of got shafted when they got into the job by the expectations that were placed on them. The expectations were high in one area but not high enough in the important area of curriculum." According to these women, the "jock" is out and curricular leader is in.

Men are not able, either, to take time out from a career, to move in and out as women do. Had she been a man, says Patricia Munroe, "I wouldn't have had the time off. It also seems to me it's less acceptable for a man to say, well, gee, I'm going to take four years out and go and do something else. And then I'm

going to jump back in." Discussing societal expectations for men to continue to gradually move up in a career Pat says, "It also would have been less acceptable to have the position I had in the Board Office (Director) and then say, oh, well, I think I'm going to be principal of a smaller school."

Recent appointees highlight the positive aspects of these differences. "I do see a downfall in being a man in our district anyway," says Joanne Kenwood. "If you don't play with power as a male in our district right now you don't get ahead. And even though I don't always get what I want, I don't have to fall into that power play to get ahead. And in a way I feel lucky to be a woman because I don't have to do that." Women, too, are also free from the stigma attached to men regarding warmth and physical contact, contends Shirley Miller.

This group of recent appointees, last, focusses even more strongly on the issues of child-bearing and motherhood than the former appointees. Child-bearing and career interruption are issues that must be faced by women principals and administrative aspirants. "I know that when my references were checked, when I was shortlisted the first time," explains Peggy Marshall, "the principal was asked how can she be a principal if she's got young children? I was pregnant for two years so that is an issue if you're a woman who's going to bear children." Like the former appointees, recent appointees with children are unequivocal about the difficulty of juggling kids, marriage, jobs and studies.

Since children and family concerns are named as the greatest external influence on career by these women as well, their thoughts on children and family will also be discussed under the sub-section Impacts which follows.

1B. Significance of Gender: Former Appointees

All former appointees report in some way and to some degree on the effects of tokenism, exclusion, discrimination, chauvinism and harassment from male colleagues. Margaret Gamble recounts an interesting story about her district: "When I was growing up there were many women principals. Following World War II the superintendent persuaded women principals to do other things. Over a period of about ten years every woman principal was eased out of her position into some other role in the district." Thinking of her own appointment, Margaret says: "I think there were twelve appointments and only two of us were women. At the time I think we thought that was an acceptable ratio."

Former appointees also report on an absence of intensive career-building direction from men or "the assumption that one is administrative material." Mary Asher says that as a man she would have fewer doubts about her own ability. "Inwardly I am confident and know that I am capable," she explains, "outwardly I don't have unquestioning self-confidence. Men don't seem to have any lack of outward self-confidence about their ability, often in the face of much evidence to the contrary. There is an assumption that you're

administrative material. This came quite late to me." "Nobody ever told me I could (be a principal)," states Elizabeth Hammond.

Once having surmounted the obstacles and become principals these women continue to report on the reactions of their male colleagues to their activities and leadership. Margaret Gamble describes the comments of other male administrators to the all-female networking group that had been established in her district: "It became recognized as 'The Women Are Meeting Tonight,'" which she enunciates in the sepulchral tones of those who said it. Judith Cuthbert also discusses male reaction to her principaling: "When I was at (my first school) the school was sometimes referred to as the 'dollhouse.'"

Anne Laurence and Ellen Davies also discuss having felt excluded from their principal groups because they are women. "Being in a primary school," explains Ellen Davies, "I think that there was, previously in this district sort of an old boys' club of the people who ran the show and I was definitely not one of those."

In addition, these women encountered much sex-role stereotyping. Margaret Gamble says, "I think back to my first appointment as head teacher and at the end of the year a gentleman sort of admitting to me that when he found out I was in charge he was appalled." She then says that, given the times, "it was sort of an accolade, as such, that he would share this."

"Unfortunately," she adds, "I think there is automatically that public expectation still that somehow men are more capable."

Judith Cuthbert says, "as far as parents are concerned, when I was the only administrator in the school they accepted me reasonably well. When Bill (her vice-principal) was hired here, new people would see us both together and they would make the assumption that Bill was the principal."

Most of the former appointees report on a double standard regarding their conduct. They had to work harder to get where they are and they also had to work harder in order to prove their competence and ability; they had to prove themselves. When she was appointed, says Frances Kent, "most of the women who were applying for jobs at that time had their Master's programs. And very few of the men did. They were playing the old-boy network, coming up through the ranks and some of them, after their appointment, were taking their degrees, but very few of them had them initially. Women were also more aggressive about doing district stuff, about going for the job than the men were. The men were relying on, well, it's my turn."

To complicate matters these women could not do and say things the men could. "I couldn't get away with some of the things some of the guys get away with, that I'd be really jumped on, just sort of perceived competency sorts of things," explains Elizabeth Hammond. Personal traits and actions that would have been accepted quite calmly in men were criticized in them. "I've been

accused of being aggressive, outspoken. I don't think I would have been thought of as being mouthy or outspoken (as a man)," says Judith Cuthbert. At one time it used to bother me," she adds, but then, "I decided I was going to make it work for me. That I would just be the very best administrator I could."

As the only woman, or one of the first few in their districts, they had a responsibility to do well. They were watched carefully. Anne Laurence says: "We did feel an awful lot of responsibility to do well because we really felt and heard people make comments that suggested subtly to us that if the first women didn't do well other women wouldn't get the jobs." And Elizabeth Hammond, the only woman principal in her district, says, "I think I have to do better because I always think people want me to fall on my face. They want it, to say, oh, it's just that woman. She's crazy. And so I have to make sure that message doesn't get out."

These former appointees reflect further on the roles and situations of female and male administrators respectively. As far as administration is concerned in general Margaret Gamble says: "I think men need to be liberated. I think too many men who are excellent teachers feel that they're failures unless they become principals. And I still think there are women who would make excellent administrators who don't sort of consider it sometimes. So both need to be liberated."

These women perceive men and women as having had different expectations placed on them. Women often find themselves in primary administrative roles and men don't. Women are often associated with special needs, low SES needs, and are often placed in difficult schools. Anne Laurence remembers her second posting: "It was a school with difficulties and I think women will often find themselves in those positions. What I saw them seeing me as was a change agent and I think they did see women as that." Ellen Davies speaks of her first administrative posting: "It was a primary school and I don't think even any men applied for that position. There weren't--I don't know if we even had any men teaching primary at that time."

Of men, on the other hand, Anne Laurence says, "the whole macho thing must be such a drag." Men, contends Mary Asher, were not expected to be curricular leaders formerly and the shift from administrator to curricular leader has had an impact on those who went into administration to manage a school. They are having difficulty adjusting to these changed expectations for principals, she believes.

Although these women don't often use traditional feminine traits to describe their work and roles, two former appointees do articulate clearly their view of women in the principalship and how women do things differently. Anne Laurence explains her view: "I think a lot of people expect you to make a decision like a man would or they expect you to do things like a man would and I don't

think we do the job the same. We do things differently, I think. We handle situations differently. There's no way I'm going to get into a physical kind of confrontation. That physical thing isn't there as much." Mary Asher confirms this: "A lot of men have tried to tell me how to do it but I have not had a feeling of macho image that I have to hold up--didn't feel I had to. I don't have to do it that way. There are other ways of doing things. The women I've worked with have been like-minded. We reinforce each other in doing things differently."

These women do not report affirmative action by their districts. Women were definitely not favoured. Numbers were not being balanced. Anne Laurence relates a telling story about her developing resolve to become a principal nonetheless: "When I went in to be interviewed (as a principal for the first time) I was waiting with a fellow and I could tell that he was surprised that I was there. He was next in. When the fellow that was in the room at that time came out he looked at me and he said, 'Oh, you'll probably get this because you're a woman.' And, you know, I can remember thinking, 'You're damn right I'll get it.' It seemed like he made me so determined where I don't think I was that determined before."

Several of these women cite, once again, the limited options for women. Many would have chosen other careers had the options been there. Jeanne Chalmers might have been a veterinarian, Judith Cuthbert a doctor, Mary Asher an artist or lawyer. They

enjoyed their careers and for the most part have no regrets but had they been men they must admit that they might not have been educators.

Most of the women of this group with children do speak, last, of the difficulty of juggling children, marriage, job and often studies at the same time. These feelings are discussed at length in this section under Impacts which follows. Suffice it to say here that, "there are implications for women," states Mary Asher. "With families and home there are lots of sacrifices to be made. This gives some advantage to men, but there are lots of young women with ability and willingness."

2A. Impacts: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees with children also mention the difficulty of combining marriage, children, career and studies. Once again, children take time and create demands. "I have two children and that definitely has an impact on my career," states Patricia Munroe, "and the number of hours I put in and all that kind of thing." She continues: "about being a woman and impact on career, that's hard, to juggle all those balls. I have a daughter in Grade Eight and another one in Grade Five and a husband that works full-time. And to juggle the kids and a marriage and the job and plus trying to do a Master's degree, sometimes it feels like a three-ring circus." Child-rearing, these women lament, is still mostly a mother's concern. In speaking of her family Sharon

Irving says, "I tell you, I probably wouldn't be as busy now if I were a man. A lot of the responsibilities are still centred on me even though Mike's very supportive, but he has a great deal of difficulty sorting out the kids' weekly meal plan and lunches and their clothes." "It's very hard to balance the two (family and career)," summarizes Julie Clarke. "I believe that it's different for a woman than a man," she explains, "because you have a family, because you still have that responsibility and being an administrator is not an easy job. I believe that it's the family that makes a difference, not being a woman."

Most of the women with children do comment nonetheless on great support (rather than simply encouragement) from their husbands with respect to family responsibilities: the sharing of parenting and household tasks, being on duty at home in the evenings. "My husband," declares Peggy Marshall, "I couldn't do it if I didn't have him. There's no way that I think I could do my job as well as I do if I was also having to carry all of the 'female' load in the house. It's not a matter of we have roles, it's a matter of who's home to get the job done at the time." Sharon Irving explains, "I have a very stable marriage and that helps a great deal. My husband is also in education and he's also an administrator so we kind of speak the same language and help each other that way. It is a great deal of a commitment on his part to parenting too. We have to share."

Outside of family concerns, upheavals and cataclysmic events often affected the personal outlooks and careers of these women. Patricia Munroe and Carole Burbank mention career changes for their husbands which affected theirs. Doriana Kean mentions the divorce of her parents. Joanne Kenwood mentions her own divorce, after which she devoted much time to her work. "Sometimes when you go through a personal trauma you throw yourself into your profession."

2B. Impacts: Former Appointees

All former appointees with children report on the difficulty of juggling kids, husband and job, and often studies at the same time. Children had a great impact on the careers of these women; they had less time and more demands. "I was raising children," remembers Margaret Gamble, "and I was substitute teaching and I was driving to UBC once a week all winter and doing my homework sort of 10:00 to 2:00 a.m. And now I wonder how I did it." Elizabeth Hammond also remembers a particularly difficult year: "It was a really heavy year, like really hard. I guess I had a baby then too. I had a one year old which made it difficult." And she elaborates on the effect of having a daughter on her career: "I sometimes feel that I could do better or in the early years when Christine, my baby, was little, that I was held back. When I first started I thought I wanted to go into district work as a superintendent...and I gave up on that I guess because

I...(didn't) have the energy or time to do that kind of thing....so I realized I had, you know, to take a kid to dancing lessons and make costumes and I couldn't do both." Ellen Davies summarizes simply: "there've been sort of some constraints on how the last eleven years have gone. As I say, the motherhood issue."

Several former appointees also mention the encouragement and support of their husbands. "I've been fortunate to have a very supportive husband," explains Margaret Gamble, "who has this feeling that I can do anything I want to that I decide to and is most encouraging and at the same time, because he farms and because we live there, he was always on the site which didn't mean that the children came home and he was always in the house, but he always checked very carefully. I could concentrate on my career when I was at work because my husband was concentrating not only on the farm, but on the children." Frances Kent, too, speaks highly of her husband's support: "I have a husband and a family and my husband has always been very supportive, more than supportive, almost pushing, to say, 'Why not? There's no reason why you shouldn't.'"

Apart from family, former appointees also mention a variety of factors which had an impact on their careers: being the eldest therefore high-achieving daughter, being the daughter of a handicapped parent, being the only girl between two brothers. Several cite personal characteristics such as stubbornness and

organizational skills and Jeanne Chalmers cites, quite naturally, her dairy farm.

3A. Problems: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees as a group cite a large set of problems and frustrations associated with being a principal. Among the top on the list are dealing with parents and dealing with teachers.

Julie Clarke cites, first, a general problem overall: "that you're a complaint department. That you're everybody's complaint department. They (teachers) never come to you and say, thank you for giving me this wonderful child. It's always, what can we do about little Johnny?" Carole Burbank also mentions, "some parent complaints. Parents are not always reasonable and rational. Some complaints are very petty."

As far as the problem of working with parents and teachers is concerned Peggy Marshall's summary is slightly different than Julie Clarke's: "and so it's having to work through other folk to get the changes done that is exciting but can be frustrating." Joanne Kenwood states that in working with teachers, "I'm finding making the collaboration that I aspired to effective." And Doriana, too, is experiencing a similar problem: "There are a lot of people on staff from the old administration, but people who really like that style of administration and are not really buying into what I am doing."

Among the specific problems of dealing with teachers recent appointees frequently mention teacher contract and union. "One of the recent developments that I'm finding on administrators as well is the problem of contract," declares Shirley Miller, "a whole new system. Contract living, especially now that we're testing the contract, and that whole thing, I find that difficult. Before you make a move you better make sure that it fits the whole contract parameter." "The contract can be so definitive and limit teacher flexibility," states Carole Burbank. "That can be very frustrating."

Also high on the list of recent appointee frustration with being a principal is the school as a social agency, specifically, not having enough resources and not being able to help all children. Shirley Miller is particularly bothered by the social role of the school: "Another thing that I find very frustrating is the roles that schools have to take on that the home used to or else society used to take care of. More and more, teachers are expected to become counsellors, psychologists and nurses. And trying to deal with this is very tough. And not having the resources to do it."

The very nature of the principalship is, last, also a problem for these recent appointees. The job is, first of all, a busy one. Patricia Munroe is concerned about, "the number of tasks to be completed. There's only those five hours during the day." "It

feels overwhelming," insists Carole Burbank, "if you expect to keep up to date or as informed as you would wish."

For these women the principalship is also complicated by the fact that it is so often reactive. "No matter how you plan," contends Doriana Kean, "you end up reacting to situations. Having to be reactive all the time. I find that really frustrating."

And, because most of these principals have assignments in which they also hold teaching responsibilities that too becomes a problem. "I'd like to be told that the expectation is that you will teach 25% of the time," states Doriana Kean, "however, I don't like being locked in like I'm locked in."

Last, principals work by themselves, in isolation. Having moved from a district office position, Pat Munroe says, "it's a much lonelier place in the school, in school administration now. Although those people (other principals, district office personnel) are just a phone call away, you do feel isolated." Carole Burbank sums it all up: "It's a very lonely job. There is great weight in knowing that the buck stops here."

3B. Problems: Former Appointees

Former appointees also list a great variety of problems and frustrations. Parents are troubling for former appointees as they are for recent principals. Margaret Gamble, for example, is particularly frustrated with, "the stupidities, people with

unrealistic expectations of you, the students." "Most parents," she explains, "are realistic and supportive and marvellous to work with, but the person who comes with their mind made up isn't prepared to listen or understand."

The teacher union and contract are also troublesome for these principals. "And the whole of the union issue," says Elizabeth Hammond with exasperation, relating a particularly complicated story about a grievance that has been filed by her district's teacher association on behalf of all the teachers at her school. Mary Asher is also concerned about, "the union with teachers--the possibility of 'them and us.'"

And, once again the school as a social agency is a problem for the experienced principals in this group. Frances Kent is particularly bothered, "when you see kids that you know can be helped and that ability is taken away for various reasons. My belief is that that child's life is going to be ruined, just a disaster and there's nothing we can do about it. And you see those kids, the abused child, the child who's moved to twenty schools."

In addition to the above problems, outside agencies (special interest groups, government cutbacks and restraints, the Ministry, politics, restrictions) are frustrating for this group, a concern that is not reflected among recent appointees. Judith Cuthbert

states: "I find outside agencies really hard to deal with. They don't often see things from the school's perspective."

Former appointees are particularly conscious of the demands on their time, and report a heavy work and paperwork load that has gotten heavier over the years with not much time, and certainly no more, in which to complete it. Elizabeth Hammond asserts that it's, "just the time issue. It's just the feeling that you're totally overwhelmed, that there's just too much, too much to do." And Mary Asher expands on the paperwork problem: "It's not that I'm getting worse at it, there's just more of it."

Former appointees do not mention teaching itself as a problem. The few who still do teach do so by choice. Most of them are assigned to large schools in which they do not have formal teaching responsibilities to place further demands on their time. They also mention far less frequently than recent appointees the difficulty of dealing with teachers. Except for one principal (Elizabeth Hammond, who expresses great frustration with a staff she finds particularly recalcitrant), teachers do not seem to pose a great problem for these principals and are not particularly frustrating for them.

Only one former appointee finds the job lonely. Only two former appointees feel bothered by not knowing all the answers and former appointees, with only one exception, are not, or no longer,

bothered by the crisis demand of principaling, the constant interruptions and changing gears.

4A. Satisfactions: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees report that they are satisfied when kids are learning and experiencing success, showing academic growth. "I think the most satisfying is seeing the kids and the benefit that is paying off for the kids," says Doriana Kean. Joanne Kenwood states simply: "the kids. Definitely the kids. And I don't think it's just enjoying kids as little people but it's also enjoying kids learning. We're here to make sure the kids learn the best way that we know how."

These principals also find great satisfaction in seeing and knowing that they are making a difference. Patricia Munroe finds this to be especially satisfying compared to her former district office job: "If your bottom line is you're here for the kids you really don't see a difference when you're at the board office. But as a school administrator I can see that there is a direct reaction or significance of my actions on what happens in the school--the climate, the tone, the educational program."

Seeing their staffs grow together and develop and experience success is also satisfying. Peggy Marshall gives voice to this satisfaction: "Watching the staff really pull together and be cohesive to the end. They have grown. They have jelled in a

philosophy. They are madly supporting each other." And Carole Burbank is particularly satisfied, "hearing teachers excited about things, discussing their work and successes professionally--enthusiasm, commitment, risk-taking teachers willing to undertake growing and learning."

Helping, encouraging and stretching people also pleases recent appointees. Shirley Miller reflects all of these: "Being able to feel as though I am stretching people. To know that I am encouraging them. To know that I'm helping people to develop themselves to their potential. To stretch individuals. Whether they be a kindergarten student or a parent or a staff member. To meet challenges that they have not perhaps thought of trying to reach. To teach them to continue to learn. To enable them."

4B. Satisfactions: Former Appointees

Seeing kids learning and experiencing success is also gratifying for former appointees. They are pleased to see wonderful things happening in the classroom and are happy, like Mary Asher, to work through new projects that have an impact on student learning. Although in this area they experience as much satisfaction as recent appointees, these principals do not speak as strongly as do the recent appointees of making a difference and changing lives. In speaking of one of her schools Anne Laurence says, "we achieved a lot in terms of student achievement in the

end. But it wasn't just academically. That was really gratifying."

Like the recent appointees these experienced principals report very strongly on the satisfaction they feel from working with their staffs, seeing teacher success, watching a staff come together, sharing as a group, building a team, building a school community, and using staff strengths and resources. Ellen Davies voices satisfaction with, "the things that I found that I was able to do, putting together a staff, of building that it. That feeling of team building and it's really wonderful, delightful; the building of a school community. It's really gratifying." And Judith Cuthbert feels great satisfaction when, "a teacher comes in and says, 'I did that, and it worked this afternoon.'"

Several principals from this group mention getting to know students, interpersonal relationships with kids, and working with kids as great satisfactions. No recent appointees mention this. Frances Kent states simply: "the interpersonal relationships with the kids. That's the most satisfying thing." And Jeanne Chalmers speaks often of the satisfaction she feels from simply interacting with children casually.

A number of former appointees are especially satisfied with appreciation from other people, thank yous from their teachers and, conversely, express disappointment with getting no thanks and stressful years. Judith Cuthbert is especially appreciative and

satisfied when, "I get a letter from somebody at the office--thank you for doing something. Or when a teacher comes and says, 'I really appreciate you telling me about that.'"

5A. Personal Satisfaction: Recent Appointees

Most recent appointees state that they enjoy their jobs and look forward to coming to work each day. They find their jobs challenging and meaningful and never boring. "I really enjoy what I'm doing," marvels Shirley Miller, "I really do. I love being an elementary administrator. I feel good. I know I'm doing a good job." Joanne Kenwood says, "I really enjoy being with kids and being with teachers. I'm really kind of proud to be an educator. Some of the stuff that's gone around about teachers doesn't bother me because I have enough of a sense of self-esteem as a professional."

They feel fortunate to work with good people and are satisfied with good teachers, excellent teachers and happy when their staffs operate as a group and get along. Patricia Munroe declares: "I have an excellent staff. There really isn't a weak teacher on the staff. They care a lot about each other. They're an easy group to work with. They have just been really good about accepting me as a leader." Shirley Miller speaks with satisfaction: "I feel good that the people are very happy here and the kids are very happy here and the parents are very happy."

These women feel very lucky. For the most part, they have enjoyed everything they have done, they have had good jobs, they feel rewarded and gratified. "I'm very happy with my life," states Shirley Miller, "in all aspects. And because I am I want to do for others. It's a real pleasure. I've been really lucky. This particular position has done so much in terms of confidence and self-esteem and the positive feedback that I've received from so many people." Joanne Kenwood observes: "I feel like I'm just beginning. It has been just a year last month actually. I feel really rewarded. These kids in this school have lots of potential problems, but, boy, when things go well, do they go well. When I walk around the school and talk to kids and just see the way the adults interact with kids--it's a nice place to be. I'm just really proud of what we can do for kids."

These women are especially concerned about decreasing contact with children as they move further and further away from the classroom. Contact with children is important; they enjoy it. Shirley Miller misses teaching her own class, but says, "I like the opportunity to be able to have contact with more than just my thirty kids and have all of these kids. I just love the kids." Doriana Kean, too, says, "I had fun teaching. I think I would regret it (being a principal) if I wasn't teaching. But I still teach." Peggy Marshall also tells a similar story, extending her concern about decreasing contact with children to the possibility of moving away from the principalship as well: "People tease and

they say, 'So, assistant superintendent' and I think there's a desperate need for assistant superintendents to be women, but I'm not sure that's what I want. The frustration I feel in this job is the not immediate contact with children. While, heck, if I get out of the school site there will be even less."

5B. Personal Satisfaction: Former Appointees

Most former appointees also enjoy their jobs a great deal. They love what they are doing and are also happy to come to work each day. Judith Cuthbert states emphatically, "I've enjoyed it (her career, being a principal) immensely. It's been a wonderful experience. I would probably do it all over again." Ellen Davies, too, likes her work: "I think that likely I wouldn't have chosen to go into administration if I hadn't sort of tumbled into it. But once I got here I love it. I'm nuts about the job." And Mary Asher says, "I like being an administrator. I'm never bored. I don't have time to be bored and I am grateful for that. I really like my job." These principals are happy on the job and satisfied with their careers; unlike the recent appointees, however, only one principal from this group mentions feeling lucky.

Former appointees also report good teachers and excellent staffs and the satisfaction they feel from that. They are appreciative of positive feedback and support from their teachers. "I feel gratified," explains Judith Cuthbert. "I have a good

rapport with my staff. I know I have a competent staff. I think we have a good relationship." Mary Asher also comments on the "fantastic" team of teachers that she has at her school. "Teachers are supportive of me," she says with pleasure.

Most former appointees also feel rewarded and gratified. They are satisfied with their efforts overall and feel they have accomplished a lot. Frances Kent says, "I think I've done a good job. I think I'm doing a good job. I think there are things we could do better. There are always frustrations. There are always things that one can change, but we've had a good year."

When asked to discuss job satisfaction none of these former appointees express concern about decreased contact with children in the principalship. They have been principals for a number of years and, presumably, have become accustomed to not having full day contact with children as they used to in the classroom. However, as will be seen, when questioned about their career goals they do express concern about moving out of the principalship and into district office thereby removing themselves from the presence of children entirely. (This discussion follows in the Career Goals section.)

6A. Regrets: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees have virtually no regrets. They are extremely happy with their careers and choices. Because they are

such new principals, they have had, quite naturally, little time in which to develop serious regrets.

One principal, Julie Clarke, has some concern that she came back to work full-time a little too soon, but, of this group, she spent the most time at home with her children. "The first year that I worked full-time as a vice-principal," she says, "I wished that Karen were in Grade Eight, that she would have been at the high school and it would perhaps have been a littler easier." But, she concedes, "if I were to have a family today I think I would still have done the same. If I were to do it again I can't really say if I were to do anything differently."

Two of these principals wish they had started on their Master's degrees earlier. "I regret," says Pat Munroe, "that when I took the four years off with my kids I didn't start working on a Master's degree then." And Carole Burbank says of going to university while working: "It might have been nice to do university work without having to work full-time." She does say, however, that she never really regretted it while working.

Other than these retrospective wishes, recent appointees regret nothing about their careers.

6B. Regrets: Former Appointees

Former appointees, perhaps because they have had a great number of years in their careers, especially as principals, have

accumulated more regrets. However, although each principal of this group mentions a regret, they are not more than that--a simple regret or two. These women, too, are generally very contented people. They are happy with their careers.

Of the regrets expressed, one respondent, Ellen Davies, wishes that she had had the option to work part-time when her children were small. "I would have to go way back to when I was teaching with tiny children and I would have liked to have the opportunity to do part-time teaching as people can do now. It wasn't an option when my kids were little. If I could have changed that I think working part-time would have served my need to work and it would have made those years a little easier." But another former appointee, Margaret Gamble, would have gone back into full-time teaching earlier. Of her years substituting when her children were small, she says: "I wouldn't have substituted for those years. I would have come back into the teaching force sooner. For a year or two I think it's valuable (substituting), but from then on it was upsetting. I wasn't able to have a complete home life anyway because you always have to be ready to go and I just think it might have been, really, easier for me to be teaching full-time." Frances Kent, on the other hand, thinks she could have waited a few more years before entering administration. "I may have waited longer before moving into administration because of the kids." But, as she summarizes,

"there's no way to go back and so we don't spend a lot of time worrying about it."

Several principals regret not having had the chance for a different career. They regret the lack of options available to them. "Occasionally I regret not going into medicine," states Judith Cuthbert, but she finishes by saying, "I would probably do it all over again and I don't know that I would do it a lot differently. No, I don't think so."

And, one principal would have liked more time to try more things. "I wish," says Anne Laurence, "like everybody else, there was more time because I can see a lot of things I would like to have tried. There just isn't time to do it all."

7. Advice

Both former and recent appointees give much advice freely. There are, however, no major themes that stand out across the two groups or even, with any strength, within either one respectively. Findings will, nonetheless, be outlined following the established format for ease of presentation.

7A. Advice: Recent Appointees

Recent appointees give much advice that concerns traditional feminine attributes. Be caring, be personal, be supportive, be compassionate, they advise, but also be objective and separate

your personal feelings. That is, don't take things personally. "You have to learn to be compassionate but at the same time you have to be able to separate your personal feelings," suggests Shirley Miller. "You have to be able to be objective but at the same time don't be so objective that it doesn't appear that you're insincere or that your feelings aren't there," she adds.

Although in giving advice these women highlight what they see as the feminine characteristics of the principalship, only one recent appointee refers to men in this context and compares women to men. This principal, Patricia Munroe advises, "not to feel that you're going to be less able to be principal if you are a woman (and) to trust your instincts a lot because I really do believe that women do have some good instincts as far as management goes. Go with that, go with that softer style of leadership if that's your style."

Recent appointees advise heavily that prospective principals have credibility as teachers. They must get lots of experience and they must ensure that they are qualified. Dorian Kean says, "first of all, I think you have to be a good teacher. I think you have to be extremely knowledgeable of curriculum. I think you have to gain respect of people. To gain respect of teachers you have to be credible and you've got to get in there." "Strive to make your experience versatile, flexible. Do different things," insists Carole Burbank in support of Peggy. "What I did before I became a principal," remembers Joanne Kenwood, "was to make sure I

had all those criteria (her district's administrative criteria) covered and was very confident of them."

In addition, these women caution to be aware of expectations from all quarters. Keep learning and growing; keep up to date on changes in education. "Keep trying new things, not that you should always be getting on bandwagons," says Julie Clarke. "I believe that education is something that always changes," she continues, "and to be a good educator you'd better be up-to-date on those changes."

Several recent appointees also mention looking carefully at what the principalship is and sorting out one's beliefs, developing one's own vision, determining one's own strengths and preferences before undertaking administration. Sharon Irving supports this very strongly: "I think I would sort out my beliefs because I think it's really important to have a burning vision of what you want to become and what you want to influence, what changes you want to see occurring and I think school districts look for that. They look for somebody who has a passion about what they're involved in."

Only one respondent from all the principals, both recent and former, recommends that if women have a family they be aware of the necessity to manage home and household responsibilities carefully. "It is very hard for women if you have a family, " maintains Julie Clarke, "and you'd better be prepared to realize

that and have things in place...even to having a housekeeper, somebody to do that ironing, so that you're not tied down thinking about those things, that you can go on to other things.

7B. Advice: Former Appointees

Former appointees do not mention a great deal that concerns traditional feminine attributes. Advice in this area, unlike recent appointees, is noticeably absent. However, former appointees, unlike recent appointees, have much more general advice to give about people and human relations skills. "Be congenial and happy so it makes for a positive atmosphere in school," says Jeanne Chalmers. "Have a good sense of humour. Be kind of easygoing; don't fret. Don't nitpick on little things. Just have a good attitude to life." "And confidence," adds Frances Kent, "an aura of confidence even if you don't feel it inside, you know, you present that." "Be a good listener," continues Frances Kent, "you have to be able to listen to what is said as well as what the underlying message is because sometimes they're not the same."

Former appointees also advise prospective women principals to get lots of experience, to be a good teacher and to get their qualifications. "One thing I think is important and I don't think it relates to women," explains Frances Kent, "I think it relates to everybody, and that is to keep growing. It's an evolving, growing, developing situation. Be flexible, be open to new ideas,

but don't jump on bandwagons. Sit back and wait till you're sure." Anne Laurence advises prospective principals to, "take a look at your experience and try to round it out quickly." "You have to have credibility as a teacher," outlines Mary Asher, "this is first and foremost to be a principal." In making suggestions regarding preparation for becoming a principal, these former appointees do not refer to or discuss beliefs or vision or personal philosophy.

Former appointees advise women to be prepared to do anything the job entails including dealing with male colleagues on an intellectual level, as suggested by Judith Cuthbert. These principals advise women not to try and compete with men, and not to feel they're less able as women, that they do have a lot to offer. They encourage women to work differently, to do what women do, and to eschew traditional male models. "I think that the most important thing is to be yourself and don't be afraid to be a woman," says Frances Kent. "You don't have to outman the men. You don't have to be hard and tough and so on. You can still be feminine. You can still wear dresses. You can still have your hair done and wear makeup and be a woman and be feminine and be respected. And it's possible. It works." Mary Asher advises female candidates to, "look at what we are as women and bring it to the job rather than try to compete with men. Don't go for the traditional male model. You don't have to do it that way."

Former appointees focus much more than recent principals on networking and getting support. They encourage women to work with people they admire and to find a mentor. "(I'd) go and work with somebody that I thought was successful," suggests Anne Laurence. "I think I would develop a mentor," she adds, "and, if I could, a network where a few males were in, that would be great."

Former appointees, last, encourage capable women to consider the principalship and to go for it if they want it. Judith Cuthbert says, "make sure it's really what you want. Understand that it's going to be a lot like becoming a beginning teacher. It's learning a whole new set of skills. Go for it if you want it." "Don't be ashamed of ambition," insists Anne Laurence, "because I think some women are. They don't want to say that. And there's nothing wrong with it."

8A. Career Goals: Recent Appointees

All recent appointees are, not surprisingly, interested in expanding on their experience as principals. Most wish to remain a principal for a while, going to a different school, a larger school, a K-7 school, one school instead of two. "I would like to be principal of a full-range school at some point, K to 7," remarks Patricia Munroe. "I don't necessarily want to go to a bigger school. I don't think bigger is necessarily better although I guess that may happen. Three or four years from now as I look at job opportunities I will probably apply for schools that

are somewhat bigger." Speaking of her current school Sharon Irving says, "I would really like to stay here for quite a number of years--at least five." Peggy Marshall states unequivocally that, "I need to have a bigger school. I need to see if I can run a bigger school too. For me to now move into a different role (other than principal) without gathering some new experiences would be foolish."

About half of the recent appointees are then interested in pursuing their administrative careers to the district level as directors in curriculum development, professional development, staff development, special education. "I'm very interested in staff development," relates Julie Clarke, "and I'm looking all over for a director of staff development, some position like that. I see the principalship as a stepping stone to where I want to get to be." Doriana Kean, Sharon Irving, Joanne Kenwood, and Carole Burbank also discuss the district positions they would be interested in holding.

The other half of these recent women aspire to the superintendency. "I'd have to be honest," says Patricia Munroe, "and say that at some point in time I may have a view to looking at senior management in a district, but it wouldn't be a large district and I'm not in any hurry to pursue that." Not one of these respondents independently mentions becoming superintendent. When asked directly if she would be interested in becoming

superintendent Marie Jansen confides, "I was going to say (superintendent), but I thought, no, assistant superintendent."

Several recent appointees, Julie Clarke, Dorian Kean, Marie Jansen, mention the possibility of doing a PhD in the future. And several mention the possibility of going back into the classroom at some time, although they do not seem especially convinced about really wanting to do so.

8B. Career Goals: Former Appointees

Over half of the former appointees plan to remain a principals with possibly one last principalship at a different school. "I think probably the principal's position is something that I will stay with," remarks Frances Kent. "I would like to do a district assignment type job again for a short time but I think that I would want to come back. I see myself at the principal position as something I'm comfortable with. I had made one or two moves into applying for district jobs, but my heart really isn't in it. The interaction with the students is important to me." "It's possible that I might have one more school in Broadwood," before her retirement surmises Ellen Davies as do Elizabeth Hammond, Mary Asher and Anne Laurence.

Several of these principals mention directorships or district principalships and hope to move on in this direction from their schools. Judith Cuthbert expresses interest in a directorship in

personnel or administrative supervision. Elizabeth Hammond also discusses a district principalship that is available to her and says, "that might be interesting."

Three former appointees mention specifically not having had a desire to be a superintendent and one reveals that she had thought about it early in her career but had given up on it a long time back because of family responsibilities. "I have no desire to be a superintendent," states Judith Cuthbert, "because the job is way too political." "I don't have aspirations to be anything other than a school-based principal," explains Ellen Davies. "The minute you step out of the school you're away from the children," she continues, "and I don't think that's where it's at. I think the school's where it's at."

Two of these principals, Margaret Gamble and Jeanne Chalmers, are retiring imminently and three are approaching retirement within the next five to seven years and looking forward to it. Only two of these women mention going back into the classroom and of those two one, Anne Laurence, honestly admits that it really is unlikely that she will do so.

CHAPTER 5

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE FINDINGS

SECTION A - DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCES

1. Academic History

All of these women are extremely well-educated, the recent group as a whole with slightly more formal training than the former appointees. Although academically oriented, they might not all have continued on to graduate degrees had the expectation not been there from their school districts. The three former appointees who did not complete Master's degrees do mention the fact that they became principals before a graduate degree was expected. Nonetheless, others who have also been principals for as long, did pursue graduate studies. ✓ The expectation for an advanced degree for principals is, as these former appointees indicate, fairly recent. All except one of the recent appointees either have their degrees already or are currently completing them. Since these principals were not asked directly about their motivation in pursuing a Master's degree, we cannot know definitively why they are doing so. Yet even with an awareness of the depth of their academic orientation we can presume that district expectation has played some part.

Many of these women, with their sixth or speciality years, and a Master's or double Master's, appear to be extremely qualified for their jobs. It is likely that recent male appointees are also as qualified given current district expectations for academic requirements for prospective principals. In such a case this would not then be significant for the recent female appointees. However, several former appointees also fit within this extra-qualified category, suggesting strongly that these women did have to be very qualified in order to obtain their positions as administrators (Adkison, 1981; Fauth, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987; Yeakey, Johnston & Adkison, 1986). Certainly Frances Kent supports this idea when she discusses women in her district whose resumes clearly outshone those of the men, who, relying on the old boys' network and waiting for "their turn," did not as often complete their Master's degree before applying for a principalship.

2. Academic Orientation

Across the board these women were good students who, for the most part, enjoyed their experiences at school. They were capable and highly academically oriented students who were willing and hard workers. Two recent appointees report not particularly liking elementary and high school. Neither of them expected originally to continue past Grade Twelve. However, because of support and encouragement from home (husband for one, mother for

the other) both continued their education at university. They now report loving school and can't imagine not having gone to university.

It is significant, as far as academic orientation is concerned, that only five of these seventeen women completed their Bachelor's degrees through four consecutive years of full-time study, but that all the others did so by taking some time off later on or through part-time study. In many cases part-time study took place while these women were working full-time or part-time with young children at home. In addition, in all cases except three the Master's degrees were also completed through part-time study, most often, once again, while working full or part-time with children at home. Like the principals in Edson's (1988) study, these women were determined, despite obstacles, to further their education, and exhibit much tenaciousness in doing so.

3. Developmental Experiences

Of the seventeen respondents four mention the impact of particular teachers, either good or bad, while at school. Of these four, one speaks of these teachers as having been important in her development and style as a teacher and administrator. A fifth, a former appointee, does not mention a specific teacher, but simply remembers having thought about how she liked the look of being a teacher and found the freedom of lifestyle, compared to

her mother's, especially appealing. Given the fact that teachers and administrators are privileged in being able to observe these professionals at work during their own pre-career school days it seems surprising that only four principals discuss the effect of their childhood teachers and only one with respect to her career as teacher and administrator.

Only one woman, in mentioning the divorce of her parents, suggests anything other than a happy, uneventful, untroubled childhood for all of these principals. They appear to have come from very stable, middle class homes where education was valued.

4. Professional Orientation

✓ Almost all of the former appointees knew they were going to be teachers long before they reached Grade Twelve. Several discuss having thought about different careers but the middle class backgrounds of these women meant that the length of education required by these professions would have been difficult to finance.

Only a few recent appointees mention that they always knew they would be teachers. Most of these principals chose consciously to become teachers. That these choices were more controlled by the recent appointees is indicated by the fact that only one of these women mentions a desire or wish for a different career and only one even hints at limited options for women.

These women chose their careers freely and are happy. For both groups, however, the security of teaching was also important particularly for former appointees who did not necessarily expect teaching to become a lifelong career, but knew they could always return to it if need be.

The idea of free as opposed to more constrained choice is also reflected in other reasons that both of these groups give for becoming teachers. Recent appointees seem to have focussed on becoming teachers because they wanted to teach and help children. Former appointees, on the other hand, appear to have identified teaching as the only option or the most appealing of the limited choices available to them: women not wanting to nurse, teachers by default.

It is interesting to note that if social class does not determine career choice uniquely these recent appointees may in fact be women who, formerly, might not have been appointed principals. As a result of freer choice for women today, the potential competition may simply have gone elsewhere. Now that gender barriers are being removed, middle class background may be overall and ultimately the determining factor in career choice. Further research, both quantitative and qualitative, regarding women's career choices is required in order to address more fully the issues raised here.

SECTION B - CAREER DEVELOPMENT

1. Teaching Experience

All of the women from both groups have a fairly broad range of experiences within teaching. A great number of former appointees do have more consistent and longterm experience with the primary grades.

It is significant that all of the recent appointees (but only three of the former appointees) have had either a district helping teacher/resource teacher/supervisory position or vice-principalship experience or both. More recent appointees have also had more experience as learning assistance teachers. Overall recent appointees have come to the principalship with far more non-school-based, adult-oriented, supervisory experience than the former appointees. This can be explained partly by the fact that for former appointees, as they explain, there were fewer district positions available to them as well as fewer vice-principalships at the elementary level. In addition, where there were vice-principalships many more, at that time, were career jobs with little in and out movement. Conversely, opportunities for recent appointees to hold specialty roles at the district office are greater and vice-principalships in the school districts of these women are now all shortterm line positions.

The specialization roles of these women, either at the school level as learning assistance teacher or at the district office as helping or resource teacher, are not surprising as women have traditionally and still hold these specialty staff positions, especially in reading, language arts and special education (Ortiz, 1982). It is possible, given the backgrounds of these women, particularly recent appointees, that school districts may be currently seeking principals with ever greater qualifications and expertise as a whole. ✓ As both Doriana Kean and Frances Kent suggest, the district search for particularly qualified and experienced candidates may simply be yielding far more women than men because women have traditionally had to work harder and prepare themselves more thoroughly. Only a look at the qualifications and experience of all recent incumbents would allow us to ascertain this.

Recent appointees do not appear to be coming to the principalship any younger than their former counterparts. In fact, several women from the former group actually became principals younger than most of the recent appointees. ✓ If women have traditionally become principals later than men have (Ortiz, 1982; Prolman, 1982), which holds true for the former appointee group here, then recent appointees are becoming principals even later. Because of time out with children some of these women may not have as many years in total teaching time as their counterparts without children, but their careers are long.

2. Experience Growth

All recent appointees reflect a focus not just on gaining experience, but on learning. These women want to know and learn more and seek out the opportunity to do so in the classroom, at the district level, at university, and through professional development work.

Former appointees also focus on learning. They learn in various situations and from various people but they do not demonstrate as much the "seeking out" of the recent appointees. Their growth and learning seem much more situational--they happened to be there and they learned--whereas with recent appointees it is much more clearly deliberate. Recent appointees also learn when they happen to be there, but they look for it much more often. Recent appointees often mention incidents or situations in which their interest was piqued through teaching certain groups of children and they decided to learn more. Former appointees do not mention these kinds of incidents and they rarely looked and asked for new assignments.

Former appointees are, in fact, as interested in learning and growth as recent appointees. However, their response to this interest is, on the whole, much less active and much more passive than the recent appointees. Role modelling and sex-role stereotyping appear to be important here. Former appointees were not as openly competitive and aggressive about looking for and

obtaining what they want. Most of the recent appointees, however, seem to have been much less influenced by any remaining constraints on the behaviour of women.

3. Career Management

At least half of the former appointees were offered positions or asked to apply. Very few of the recent appointees were asked to apply for jobs. Much more often they sought their opportunities, applying for new positions, seeking transfers. In both groups these women became known in their districts because of their teaching and/or because of their activities outside of the classroom--in the school or in the district. However, former appointees, quite traditionally, became known more often for teaching than for other activities.

The attention-getting, or GASing (getting the attention of superiors; cited in Wolcott, 1973; Ortiz, 1982; and Ortiz & Marshall, 1988), of the recent appointees, whether inside or outside the classroom, was much more active than that of the former appointees. Once again this is not surprising given the related socialization of each of these groups of respondents. Former appointees appear to have received attention situationally, as a by-product of their activities. They seem to have been fairly passive as a group and reluctant to be seen as ambitious. Recent appointees took a much more deliberate role in their activities and leadership, perhaps feeling less pressure to be

self-deprecating than former appointees. They may not have thought ahead of time about the fact that they would be noticed, they may not have had ulterior motives originally, although some clearly did, but they definitely contemplated the activities they were to become involved in and chose this involvement carefully and deliberately. All of these women report GASSing, the one group more deliberately, the other group more situationally.

As far as family is concerned, women in both of these groups have children. Two recent appointees and three former appointees do not. However, of the women who do (12) only four appear to have taken off any substantial amount of time when their children were young. Given the tendency for women to break their careers and spend a fair amount of time at home with children, especially in teaching (Biklen, 1986), the experience of Julie Clarke might have been expected to be the norm, or at least the median. However, it is not. These women do fit the pattern of women in education in that many of them did break their careers to bear and raise children, an orientation that is described as in and out (Biklen, 1986), unlike that of men (Adkison, 1981). However, as an entire group these are not average women. They are very strongly career-oriented and have, on the whole, not spent a great deal of time at home with their children. Many of them state that their family is their first priority and that school and career come second. However, their actions do not represent traditional definitions of the priority of mothering and childcaring. Recent

and former designations do not distinguish these women in terms of children and childcare.

As indicated above, three former and two recent appointees do not have children. Other than the fact that the total number of years spent teaching by these women sometimes exceeds those of the others slightly because of the fact that they did not take time off, their careers do not seem to have differed significantly from the other principals within their groups. For the most part, these women without children simply remained in their pre-administrative positions a little longer, especially as teachers. They did not do anything dramatically different and did not, on the whole, assume their principalships any younger than their counterparts with children. The careers of these women principals with children do not differ significantly from those of the women without. If children are thought to seriously and permanently delay and/or limit a woman's chances for career advancement, this phenomenon is not reflected here.

4. Administrative Orientation

✓ For most of the former appointees administration was not a career goal. ✓ Most had never seen any women principals, or, like Margaret Gamble as a child, had seen them systematically removed from the principalship (Shakeshaft, 1987). ✓ They therefore could not imagine the job being done by women. However, along the way they were often asked to apply for their first positions.

✓ Encouragement from others--husbands, supervisors, district office personnel and occasionally a principal--figured highly in their decision to aspire to administration. Supervisors recognized their ability and potential and suggested that they apply. Husbands seconded these views and encouraged their wives from home, encouragement which often seems to have been especially key for these women. ✓ Many observed other principals doing the job, realized that they were as capable as the men and decided they could do it too. As they proceeded in their careers many looked to the change and a new challenge with, in a few cases, very little support from others. Ortiz (1982) points out that women have often been censured for revealing administrative aspirations and subsequently discouraged. Former appointees may have felt pressure to be self-deprecating and been reluctant to be seen as ambitious for these reasons, thus laughing at the suggestion that they become principals and rarely seeking out new positions openly and independently.

The recent appointees, on the other hand, have focussed on administration much more deliberately. Although for about half, administration was not an early career goal either, the decision to try came gradually as they taught. These women, however, did not compare themselves to the men; they knew they were capable and their decision to try, the choice itself, was independent. ✓ They did not become principals because they thought they could do as well or better than the men. And further, encouragement and

prodding by others wasn't necessary. Unlike the former appointees, recent appointees do not indicate that their husbands played any significant role in determining the direction of their careers. ✓The decision to aspire to administration was not associated with or contingent upon someone else's suggestion. Very frequently these women found themselves bored and needed another challenge (Edson, 1988). Administration was simply the next thing to try. Yet, this motivation notwithstanding, many came to the position with a clear vision about what they wanted to accomplish in the principalship and the role they could and would enact there.

The expectation that one will become a principal and the sure knowledge that one is capable are crucial, as these women's histories demonstrate, in developing an orientation to administration. The experiences of recent appointees show a gradual shift away from the "it just happened" syndrome related by many former appointees who realized only after some time that they were able, and capable of becoming a principal. None of the recent appointees knew from the beginning of their teaching careers that they wanted to be an administrator, but the idea was planted fairly early on whereas with most former appointees it was not. The experiences of Mary Asher demonstrate particularly clearly the power of prior expectation, and sureness and confidence in one's qualifications and experience.

Recent women appointees as a whole contemplated and planned for administration earlier than did the former appointees. And, interestingly, as pointed out, they also began to come to the principalship with a clear idea about what they hoped to accomplish which is not apparent among former appointees. ✓ These two phenomenon, developing what Mary Asher terms the "assumption that one is administrative material," first--that is, an orientation to administration based on prior expectation, and knowledge and confidence in one's abilities--and second, developing a vision are, from the data provided by these women, most certainly linked. Former appointees, who developed an orientation to administration more tentatively and later than recent appointees, do not indicate that they had any prior notion about what they would be or hoped to accomplish in the principalship.

It is troubling that most of the recent appointees and many of the former appointees mention boredom in the classroom as a factor in their administrative aspirations. Several women mention at length the lack of opportunities for leadership in school (Biklen, 1986), particularly for women who are not interested in sports. These women became bored in the classroom and needed more challenges yet many others, perceiving teaching as a career (McLaughlin & Yee, 1988), do not. The questions arising here certainly suggest the need for further qualitative research in this area, including whether boredom is also a factor in the

administrative aspirations of men. Women who are bored in the classroom and seek change and successive challenges may be a special strain of teacher who, by default almost, become principals because there is nothing else to do. Or, they may simply be the cream that rises to the top.

5. Appointment

Most former appointees believe that they were hired because they are capable teachers who had proven themselves. Several mention their primary experience; no men applied for the principalships in primary schools where they first began. Only two former appointees suggest that they might have been hired because they were women and not because of any formal district attempt at affirmative action, but simply because women were beginning to enter the field, seemingly a pre-affirmative action awareness. Former appointees, capable and qualified as they were, were hired despite the fact that they were women.

Recent appointees, on the other hand, often cite affirmative action as one of the determining factors in their appointment. They discuss even more extensively than former appointees their qualifications, knowledge and expertise. However, they were hired because they were qualified, knowledgeable and experienced women instead of men.

Many former appointees express retrospective satisfaction about their appointments. To them, the time for women in administration was overdue. Even if others dared suggest that they obtained their positions partly because they were women, they, like Anne Laurence, revelled in it. They deserved it. For recent appointees, however, the issue of affirmative action is more troublesome. They recognize that they are capable, knowledgeable women yet they also recognize the role of affirmative action in their hiring. When six out of seven administrative appointments in one year go to women, a situation Julie Clarke describes in her district, the evidence is pointed and obvious. And most women find this unsettling and insulting. They want to be recognized and appointed because they are the best candidates, because they're skilled and capable, not because they are women and according to their districts the time is right. These women perceive negatively a district's aim to balance numbers by gender. It gives women a bad name and engenders what Peggy Marshall describes as "the backlash," where a disproportionate number of men are subsequently appointed to counter complaints about unfairness to men.

There are a number of instances in the data provided by these women about their appointments where, significantly, information provided by principal pairings (both the former and the recent appointee) corresponds. Doriana Kean and Frances Kent, first, both praise their district and its fair personnel practices

highly. Their district, claim these two women, seeks the very best. Approximately half of all the administrators in what is a large district are now women and, although early on the district became aware of the need for greater numbers of women administrators it did not appoint them indiscriminately. Doriana and Frances suggest that a greater number of women were appointed through the district's search for the best candidates in which every effort was made to be scrupulously fair to men. More women's resumes were simply better than the men's, they state. They are the only principals who speak favourably of their district's hiring practices.

On the other hand, Jeanne Chalmers and Patricia Munroe, from another district, do not discuss affirmative action at all. Jeanne Chalmers was the fourth woman principal to be hired in her district thirty-eight years ago. There are now three women principals although Patricia Munroe explains that there are a number of women vice-principals waiting in the ranks. And, Julie Clarke is only one of several women from her district, which already has a number of women principals, who discuss rather negatively that district's fairly blatant attempt to quickly increase the number of its women administrators even further.

Although the hiring of women and affirmative action may, as its initial purpose, raise awareness regarding the imbalance of number (based on race, gender or other distinctions) it rapidly becomes insulting to those for whom it has been established. The

uneasy and sometimes angry response of these women is simply an intelligent response to what is, in fact, a quota system. As far as policy adoption is concerned, the long and shortterm ramifications of affirmative action are not often carefully thought out by implementing agencies. The reactions of these women to their respective district policies on the hiring of women to administrative postings indicate the importance of honest, fair and respectful district hiring policy. According to these women, school districts should present equal opportunity to all rather than no opportunity or ill-conceived affirmative action.

It is interesting that no former appointees discuss at length the issue of discrimination against women. They recognize the discrimination against women as a class that existed, the fact that women were not hired as a matter of course as administrators when they became principals. And often, as in Anne Laurence's case, this intensified their resolve to become principals. Yet even though they too had to overcome this obstacle, the unjustified and irrational exclusion of women from administration, they do not perceive themselves as having been subject to discrimination personally because they all, in fact, were ultimately appointed as principals.

Further to the question of discrimination, however, must be noted the fact that all of these women principals are Caucasian. Although these women may not have experienced any form of discrimination based on race or gender from hiring bodies there

may be, in fact, an informal selection process that occurs before women candidates ever come before the interview panel. The barriers imposed because of race may be too great from the outset for non-white women to contemplate and plan for a future in administration or as aspirants these women may be blocked at some point along the way. Further investigation, which has the potential to help in the removal of any barriers that do exist, is required here.

6. Administrative Experience

For the most part the experience these women have gained in administration is fairly typical and traditional. Former appointees went from small to medium to large schools. Recent appointees are beginning in small or slightly larger schools. Within the ranks of former appointees, however, there are several principals who resisted transfer, who preferred to remain at smaller schools by choice. One of these, Mary Asher, calls this a desire not to follow "the traditional male model that bigger necessarily means better." However, she does concede that it is difficult to gain a variety of experience without moving to larger schools. Recent appointees express a desire to remain at their current schools for a number of years. However, these women are not hesitant about moving on to bigger schools. They do not consider them better either, but the obvious way to gain more experience as a principal.

Of the recent principals three have double assignments, two of them with a total of about 260 students, the other with over 360 and a vice-principal at each school. For a new principal this last is a fairly complex assignment compared to her recent appointee colleagues. Hers is, however, the only appointment of quite this complexity, the others being typical for new principals. The traditional small to medium to large school ladder for principals appears to have been broken in the case of one principal among the recent appointees. Having spent her first year as principal at one of the double assignments with 260 students and then taken a one year leave of absence to complete her Master's degree, Julie Clarke has recently been assigned one of the largest elementary schools in her district, a dual track school with over 500 students. At the moment her experience appears to be anomalous. Only the outcome of the next few years in the careers of the other recent appointees could prove otherwise.

With respect to administrative assignment one last tendency is notable. Of the group of women principals two of the recent appointees were placed in primary schools in their first postings and two of the former appointees are currently in primary schools. One former appointee, Mary Asher, who has specialty training in early childhood education, laments the placement of women into primary schools whether they have the experience or not. None of the other women comment on this particularity, other than to

highlight their experience and knowledge at the primary level. Women do appear to be categorized into primary slots far more often than men, yet not unnaturally since men rarely have experience at this level. As Ellen Davies says of her first principalship: "Only women applied." None of these women would deny, however, the need for more men as teachers of primary students and as principals of primary schools.

7. Support

Almost all of the recent appointees report on the support and encouragement that they received from principals with whom they worked as teachers and vice-principals. And, over half of the former appointees also report on some support and encouragement from their principals. However, notably, the support and encouragement that the recent appointees mention is slightly different; it appears more active and nurturing than that provided to the former appointees by their principals. ✓ The intensity and focus of the support aside, principal support was extremely important for almost all of these candidates aspiring to administration (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988).

As far as support from others is concerned, few former appointees cite mentoring relationships. They appear not often to have had them. ✓ On the other hand, over half of the recent appointees name mentors. For recent appointees this mentorship came from male principals. In the case of former appointees what

mentorship there was came from other women. Mentorship was not freely and openly provided to former appointees and if they sought it they could not obtain it (Ortiz, 1982). Women were not mentored; male principals did not mentor women. Recent appointees do not, either, refer to having sought mentorship; however, it was provided to them by their male principals, a change in intergender social relations and a significant change in experience from that of the former appointees. Mentorship appears to have been and to be important and helpful to women seeking to become principals (Edson, 1988; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988) as demonstrated by the number of recent appointees citing it and, as well, by the advice of several former appointees who encourage administrative aspirants to find it.

Further discussion by these women on support reveals an absence of support for women administrative aspirants from supervising district personnel and the district office when they are teachers, with only rare exceptions. These women do refer to it, but only as it was provided to them as principals. Interestingly, recent appointees report far less support from their district offices as principals than do former appointees who speak to a much greater extent, and highly and enthusiastically, of district support and encouragement. It is conceivable that school districts felt more obliged to provide support to their few women principals years ago and, with the greater numbers of women appointees now, they do not anymore. In this case, the support

cited by former appointees may actually be untypical for principals as a whole and the support cited by recent appointees typical overall, in the past and present. ✓ Support of principals does, however, vary from district to district. Some districts are mentioned as supportive by both former and recent appointees from that district. Some districts are mentioned by neither of the pair.

A number of the principals from this group also comment on the support they received from colleagues while on the administrative track. However, for the most part, this is true only for recent appointees. Only one former appointee mentions support from colleagues as a teacher. ✓ Yet almost all of the recent appointees mention helpful and supportive colleagues. Interestingly, only two women from the entire group of seventeen respondents address the issue of women supporting and assisting women. Both former appointees, one feels that women are very supportive of each other and the other that women are very distrustful of one another. That so many recent appointees cite so much support from colleagues--although some might have been men--and the former do not is puzzling. As the ranks of women administrators grow women may be less uncertain and afraid of helping each other. Socially, school administration is now an acceptable career goal for women and because school districts are also belatedly recognizing the capability of women the field is opening up to them with more and more positions going to women

every year. As far as former appointees are concerned, these women may not have encountered as much support because they were beginning to tread unfamiliar paths for women which were less socially acceptable. Women were not supposed to aspire to administration since it was a man's field and women were simply not often hired (Adkison, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1987). As a result of this, like-minded women might have been less willing to support one another given the scarcity of positions available.

Once having become principals, however, support systems changed for both groups of appointees. Former appointees, first, accessed the support of other principals, namely other women principals. Like Edson's (1988) principals, these women networked extensively with other women appointees and speak gratefully of the support they received from others in their situation. Often they met formally in a group when numbers were small and usually these formal meetings ceased when more women were hired in their districts. In this case networking was clearly a function of numbers, evidence of the effects of tokenism (Adkison, 1981; Kanter, 1977; Ortiz, 1982). The fewer women there were, the greater the consequent need to network with others of the very small minority group for mutual support. And, the larger the representation, the lesser the need to network formally. However, while recent appointees might have received support from both principals and women colleagues before their appointment to the principalship, only one specifically mentions networking which

happened to develop during her time at the district office as intermediate supervisor and which included both men and women. Recent appointees from this sample, simply stated, do not network. Because of the greater numbers of women principals recent appointees likely do not have to make the special effort to develop support that former appointees did. Pre-arranged formal meetings are not necessary for them as a cadre of women is always available and present whenever principals meet. In addition, networking may take place among recent appointees on a very informal basis, almost unconsciously, which they take for granted because of the ease with which it is possible and also their greater representation as a group.

However, while the absence of formal networking between recent women appointees is understandable in light of the above, the fact that they do not mention networking at all, with men either, is initially puzzling. Since, unlike the former appointees, they do not mention exclusion from the old boys' network, one might assume that entry into this group is open to them and that they are part of it. Optimistically, mutual support among all principals, male and female, may be occurring as a result of the increased numbers of women administrators and acceptance of them. On the other hand, the old boys' network may still be present and fairly exclusionary, with recent appointees simply not even acknowledging this exclusion by even discussing it. A third scenario is also possible. Recent women appointees

may simply be choosing to chart their own course alone or with support from wherever it happens to come, most likely informally from others like them, other women appointees. This idea and this possibility is one that reappears when women discuss their priorities and styles as principals, and will be explored further in these contexts.

If former appointees received little support from their principals and little from other women teachers, they received much from other women appointees, from their husbands and friends, and from the district office. If recent women appointees received less personal support from the district office and less, formally, from other women appointees, they received more from their principals and other women colleagues. Wherever and whenever former and recent appointees received support, they did receive it. Support, from whatever source and within whatever context, has been extremely important for these women.

SECTION C - ADMINISTRATIVE STYLE

1. Time Management

All of these principals are very busy people. They all use a variety of time management strategies and those that are used by former appointees are also used by recent appointees.

Among the former appointees there is a strong sense of managing time more stringently. They have learned through extensive experience what is and what isn't necessary. There is also a sense of a heavier load among former appointees than recent appointees. Time actually seems to be harder to manage even with all their strategies. Most of the former appointees are responsible for larger schools, many with special programs, so this is not surprising since they have more students, more teachers and more programs to supervise. The load is heavier and there is more to do. Time management strategies must be more sophisticated, sometimes of necessity almost ruthless, and even so they are not always successful all the time.

2. Time Use

Like time management strategies, the time use of both recent and former appointees, as they report, is very similar. Both groups of principals appear to do much the same things in much the same way in their schools, with any existing differences in degree rather than in kind.

Contact with both staff and student occupies a great deal of time for both of these groups of principals. On the whole, former appointees appear to be in contact with children slightly less often than recent appointees. Because almost all recent appointees teach and only a few former appointees still do this is not surprising. Former appointees also appear to spend less time

with children informally--outside, on supervision, in the hallways, in the morning before school and in the afternoon after school--possibly and most likely because of busier schedules, greater in-school demands, and out-of-school commitments that take them away from the building more often. In an attempt perhaps to increase contact time and address this concern former appointees seem to spend more time informally in classrooms, popping in and out, whereas recent appointees, although they do this as well, do not emphasize and highlight it as much. Recent appointees do have teaching assignments--usually library, learning assistance or teacher relief--through which they see a variety of children from day to day, if not each child at least once a week. They do not have to make as great an effort to meet and interact with children.

Principals from both recent and former groups also spend much time interacting with their staffs. Although both groups discuss this at length, former appointees seem not to do so as strongly or to the same degree. Former appointees may not, in fact, spend as much time with their teachers. Most of the former appointees from this group have fairly large schools, often with a number of different programs, as noted above. Their assignments are complex. It is also possible that former appointees spend as much time in total with staff as their recent counterparts but because of the demands of the schools, particularly the large number of

teachers and non-teaching staff they supervise they are not able to spend as much time with each individual.

Both groups of principals also spend much time in their offices, with paperwork. Former appointees mention less often than recent appointees having to complete paperwork after school or at home. There is much to do, they attest, but they seem to complete most of it during the day. Former appointees may possibly have prioritized; they will not take as much work home and, from experience, they know what is essential and what is not. Recent appointees, with less experience, also have teaching assignments and no vice-principals. Although they may spend more time than former appointees completing similar tasks they also have less unscheduled time available to them during the day.

As far as time use is concerned, experience and administrative assignment complexity appear to be the crucial variables that account for existing differences in this area among these two groups of women principals.

3. School Goal Development Priorities

Almost all principals except two spoke of school goals. Recent appointees focussed on Ministry related objectives (the New Primary Program, integration) as well as a huge variety of other locally-determined school goals. Former appointees, on the other hand, focussed more on Ministry related items than recent

appointees and less on locally-devised goals. These women may have more difficulty devising and working with local school-based goals than mandated ones. They also may have less practice since, as one former appointee pointed out, school goals are a fairly new phenomenon. The focus of school districts on school goals is quite recent (within the past ten years). As Jeanne Chalmers says, "We never used to have school goals. Our goal used to be to just teach kids." Both recent and former appointees also spoke of school goals related to teacher development.

The two women principals, both recent appointees, who did not refer to specific school goal plans both spoke at length of their philosophies and overall goals for children. One can presume that they, too, have developed specific school goal plans. For all principals school goal development plans are important, to the point of being naturally assumed.

4. Priorities

As far as individual priorities as a principal are concerned, recent appointees report a focus on children learning as their first priority. Creating a comfortable, caring environment for kids is second, and working with teachers is third. Former appointees also place children first, although their focus on learning and academics is less intense than that of the recent appointees. They also concentrate on working with teachers. However, even though most former appointees state that within the

school the children are of the utmost importance and priority for both principal and teachers, many of them then proceed to shift the emphasis of their time to teachers. In other words, their decision has been to best serve their number one priority, children, means working with and for staff. As far as their principal time use is concerned, then, the staff then becomes the number one priority, a realistic and practical adjustment. Interestingly, former appointees speak little of developing a caring, warm atmosphere for children, unlike recent appointees. Yet they place a high priority on working and being with the children casually and in the classroom whereas recent appointees do not mention this interaction with children as a priority. As already pointed out, former appointees as a whole appear to actually spend less time overall with children than do recent appointees. The fact that former appointees rarely teach and almost all of the recent appointees do is pertinent here too. Former appointees conceivably make interaction with children a greater priority than recent appointees because they do not teach as much, first, and because of the nature and intensity of their administrative duties which prevent them from interacting with children as much as they would like. The fact that these women are not able to spend as much time as preferred with children does not diminish its importance to them or to recent appointees who do not state it as a priority. Recent appointees, however, do teach--and in smaller schools--and so constantly interact with

children. They do not need to formally and specially prioritize interaction with children.

Among the former appointee group uniquely there are two principals who do not show the clear, vibrant sense of priorities that the other principals do. These two principals are, coincidentally, the very oldest of the entire group and they have taught and administered the longest. It is possible that the experience and age of these two women leads them not to speak as confidently as some of the others do and therefore not to articulate their vision and priorities as clearly. However, there is also a third principal who, although she does not stand out quite so vividly and strongly, also does resemble these two in the terms described above. The two who are particularly notable do not have their Master's degree and one of these two did not complete her Bachelor's degree. Both of these principals have always chosen to continue to teach. They think of and describe themselves as teachers. They measure their successes as teachers rather than principals.

I do not suggest that lack of a Master's degree correlates with an absence of priorities and vision as a principal. The other principals without Master's degrees from this group, one recent and one former, do not resemble these principals in terms of priorities and vision or, rather, lack thereof. However, I do suggest in these cases--and tentatively overall--that an absence of a sense of oneself as a principal leads to and explains the

absence of a clear and strong statement of priorities as a principal. In this context the Master's degree itself might contribute incrementally although not exclusively to the development of a sense of oneself as a principal, and a vision. This phenomenon may also be related to age yet even though these two women are the oldest of the entire sample the rest of the group of former appointees are not like this, their priorities being clearly evident. And as far as the teacher versus principal role is concerned, to see oneself as a principal does not mean that one has automatically negated the importance of teaching. Several of the younger principals state that they would not enjoy their jobs as much if they did not teach, but each of these women sees herself primarily and first as a principal and only secondly as a teacher. To the entire staff and student body these women relate as principals.

Earlier, in Section B4, Administrative Orientation, I suggested that prior expectation that one will become a principal and that one can, because of knowledge and confidence in one's skills and abilities, are crucial in developing an orientation to administration. These two women had neither the expectation that they would become principals nor the confidence that they could. In the same section I then posited a link between this "assumption that one is administrative material" and the development of a vision and philosophy as a principal, the latter being subsequent to and dependent upon the former. In this light the lack of

expectation and confidence in these two women which, when present, lead to the development of a sense of oneself as a principal, may explain the absence of a clear statement of priorities and overall vision.

Reasons for this difference aside, the women who appear most comfortable, at ease and yet satisfactorily although not overwhelmingly challenged in their roles, perceive themselves clearly to be principals. If these two older principals simply provide disconfirming evidence, then to develop a strong vision and agenda of priorities as an administrator does require a clear and prior sense of oneself as a principal as opposed to a teacher. Since all of the recent appointees do demonstrate strong priorities and vision, the sense of oneself as a principal is perhaps also developing nowadays in recent aspirants much more quickly and strongly than formerly, even prior to their taking up of duties as a principal.

5. Administrative Style

In discussing their administrative styles recent appointees describe a positive relationship with children. They report that they like to be with children and that they are often on the playground or in the hallways, getting to know students personally and showing their own personal side as well. They also speak of their supportive, facilitating relationships with staff. They encourage and work with, rather than direct their teachers.

Recent appointees cite, as well, personal characteristics that enhance their principaling, such as emotion, intuition, reflection, caring, being involved, and helping. Former appointees also mention positive relationships with children in the same way that recent appointees do. And they, too, describe supportive, encouraging relationships with staffs, focussing on working with teachers in a collegial way.

In describing their administrative styles, the focus of recent appointees on what might traditionally be called the feminine stands out: caring, emotional, reflective, intuitive, helping, being involved. Though former appointees might not describe their administrative styles in terms of the feminine, they do not espouse, either, dictatorial or authoritarian styles. However, from the recent appointees one most clearly senses the charting of a new role within the principalship, the developing of new ways of doing things which many describe in typically feminine terms. These are not authoritarian, aloof, unemotional, objective, uninvolved principals. These are not women guided by male roles and models. They are developing their own models. The idea of the expansion of the role and conception of the principalship to include women, to match the individual, appears again when women from both groups discuss the impact of gender upon their careers and give advice to prospective women principals. And in these areas the idea is voiced not only by recent appointees but also more strongly by former appointees.

SECTION D - ASSESSING THE EXPERIENCE

1. Significance of Gender


To hear that most of the former appointees encountered a variety of difficulties in their careers because of the fact that they are women is not surprising. They received little career-building direction from males in the profession and they were subject to harassment and the chauvinistic reactions of male colleagues. They were excluded from the old boys' network. They had to work harder to get where they are and they had to prove themselves on the job, constantly fighting the double standard regarding their performance and conduct. They suffered overall from the effects of tokenism, being only one or one of a few among a large group of "others" (Kanter, 1977). From outside the profession as well, sex-role stereotyping was a constant factor. It is heartening to hear that the recent appointees are not experiencing as many of the difficulties that their older counterparts discuss. However, for recent appointees unfortunately some things have not changed. They are still expected to prove themselves and must often work harder than men to do so. Sex-role stereotyping is still fairly prevalent as well and, as one woman pointed out, will take years more to change.

Both recent and former appointees see the sometime benefit of being a young woman principal nowadays. There are opportunities and advantages available to young women principals that were not

available to former appointees years ago. Former appointees had limited options open to them to begin and they most certainly did not benefit from affirmative action. They were hired despite the fact that they were women, not because of that fact. Although recent women appointees are pleased to have more opportunities they are not particularly pleased at being hired because they are women. They look for fairness from their school districts and for equal opportunity rather than affirmative action. The promotion of women unilaterally over men by school districts is not looked upon favourably by these women.

All of these women are also aware of the difficulties that men face, voicing the view that men are now becoming as cornered by traditional societal expectations and roles as women were and are by theirs. Women with children are easily able to take time off and move up or down from position to position without negative stigma attached to them. Societal conventions and expectations still place in a different light men who voluntarily take time off to do this (Adkison, 1981). ✓ Male principals have traditionally come to the principalship with physical education or counselling backgrounds (Ortiz, 1982). ✓ They were not expected to be curricular leaders. ✓ Women, on the other hand, could not get to the principalship without curriculum knowledge and specialty. These appointees, particularly recent appointees, clearly perceive women to have a skill and knowledge level that men don't have. In addition, these women principals are also concerned about the fact

that women are often slotted automatically into the primary grades and into primary schools as principals. Men, too, they intimate, should teach primary grades and administer primary schools. ✓ Last, capable women who still do not consider administration should do so. ✓ And, male teachers who feel they must consider administration because they are men, must also be liberated from this unofficial but constraining dictum.

 In speaking of their gender women--especially recent appointees--here again highlight, as they did when referring to administrative style, the special characteristics they have not just as principals, but as women principals. They create an image of a nurturing, empathic and knowledgeable principal. They describe a principalship that is different from that which they usually envision when thinking of the typical male principal. These women, both former and recent appointees, are not ashamed of their femininity, their maternalism, the fact that they are caregivers. They constantly stress the notion that women can and do do things differently. As a principal you can be a woman and be a principal. You don't have to compete with the men. You can do it differently. Although former appointees speak less on the whole of the feminine in terms of their principalships they do refer to their gender and the fact that they are not men. Over their years as principals they seem to have come to the same conclusions that the recent appointees have been aware of right from the start, that one does not have to be a man to be a good

principal, that a good woman makes a good or even better principal. And so, guided by the groundbreaking and initial forays of the former appointees and forsaking male traditions and models, recent appointees appear to be carving out a new niche for themselves, for women, and a new identity for the principalship.

2. Impacts

✓ By far the largest non-professional impact on these women's careers is their families. When discussing the significance of gender on their careers all women with families and children, particularly recent appointees, also refer to them. Children pose problems that women with careers must face and those without do not. They must be borne, which only women can do, and they must be cared for either by their mothers or by someone else while their parents are at work. For these reasons women's careers are often different from men's on the most obvious level if women take time out to bear and raise their children. As far as the later impact of children on the career is concerned, all of the women who have experienced this situation report on the difficulty of being a wife, mother, principal and sometimes even student all at once. However, although they laugh and exclaim about how difficult it is, they do not seem particularly overwhelmed by all that they are doing. They do, in fact, seem quite in control. Given the number of these women who did work when their children were small a surprisingly small number mention any concern over

childcare--only two and only after repeated questioning about this topic. Assuming that arranging for daycare and/or after-school care did take some planning and forethought for former appointees and still does for recent appointees, it seems not to have been an insurmountable concern for these women, certainly not one that they feel merits discussion. And only one woman, one of the above two, refers to household concerns, suggesting that they be taken care, through outside help if necessary, so as to facilitate full concentration on the job.

Interestingly, two former appointees do mention "not being able to do it all," that is, have a husband, children, and full and exciting career. Despite what these two principals say, all of the women with children, particularly the recent appointees with younger children, do appear to be doing it all. Their hearts are not at home--at least not between 8:00 a.m. and 5:00 p.m. every day. To say this is not to deny these women's feelings for their children. They do, as pointed out earlier in the Career Management portion of Section B, name their families as first priority. It is their careers and lifestyles, rather than their feelings, that do not conform to the traditional view of motherhood and childcaring. To the outside observer, these women, who make time stretch to fit their needs, are not run-of-the-mill. They stand out, they are exceptional. They wouldn't do it all if they didn't enjoy it--and all of them mention enjoying their jobs--but they do accomplish a great deal. One recent appointee

advises aspiring candidates that they needn't be superwomen to be good principals, but these women do appear to be a special breed.

None of these principals can deny the fact that having a family means less time for career concerns. And, two former appointees, as outlined above, do attest to not being able to do it all. One of these, Elizabeth Hammond, explains that she had always thought about being a superintendent but gave up on the idea after she had her daughter. None of the recent appointees mention these limitations, the fact that they are not able to do everything they wish and plan. At this point children do not appear to pose any major problems or hindrances for them. However, Elizabeth Hammond is referring to her thoughts about becoming a superintendent. As far as being a principal is concerned she and all the other principals are meeting the challenge of administration completely and successfully. However, none of the former appointees, quite obviously, have become district directors or superintendents yet. And there are, without doubt, men of their age already at the district office and in the superintendency. Not many former appointees do, in fact, express an interest in these positions. Some testify that they are simply not interested because of the concomitant loss of contact with children. They may have realized, like Elizabeth Hammond, that time constraints would be too great. More of the recent appointees do express an interest in administration at the district office level. But with family concerns will these women

really be able to do it all at senior level management? It is true that they have not had to contend with and overcome many of the difficulties and barriers faced by the former appointees and by the time they are ready to assume senior district positions family concerns will no longer be so pressing. In many ways they do appear to be gearing up and preparing for it; unlike the former appointees they've known from the start that even with children both directorships and the superintendency are attainable.

3. Problems

A great many of the same aspects of their jobs are frustrating for both former and recent appointees. Recent appointees, first, find the demands of parents and teachers sometimes a problem. Teacher contract, especially, has been notably bothersome. Recent principals are also troubled by the social role of the school. The school, they say, is expected to assume many parental and societal responsibilities for which it does not have sufficient resources. For recent appointees administering a school is also a very busy, highly reactive job, which, when compared with teaching, is done in isolation and is complicated by the teaching role of these principals. Former appointees, like recent appointees, are also bothered by insensitive and unrealistic parent demands. Teacher contract and the school as a social agency are a problem too.

From this point, where differences occur between the two groups with respect to problems and frustrations, they appear, for the most part, to be due to the differences in amount of experience, first, and to the greatest extent, and administrative assignment secondly. Recent appointees find teaching frustrating sometimes because it is difficult to be a principal in any size school and also hold a formal teaching assignment. Where teaching and administrative needs conflict, teaching needs usually lose out, a situation recent appointees find particularly frustrating. Former appointees do not find teaching a problem because most of them no longer teach. On the other hand, former appointees find outside agencies more frustrating to deal with presumably because they have dealt with and been frustrated by them far more often than less experienced principals. Recent appointees refer to them only occasionally when discussing the social role of the school. Recent appointees appear to be more patient, willing to wait, and still learning.

In larger schools, as they are, former appointees also find the press of time greater, as alluded to earlier, and over the years have noticed an increase in paperwork. Recent appointees do not have "ten years ago" against which to compare their experiences of today, but even so they report on the press of duties in their new roles. Former appointees also find teachers less troublesome. They rarely relate problems concerning teachers or dealing with teacher demands and cooperation whereas recent

appointees report at length on the frustration they feel from continuously working with groups of demanding and unappreciative teachers. Here again, former appointees presumably have had more time and experience in dealing with numerous and varied staff. They have either learned and been able to successfully develop cooperative and collegial interaction over their years as principals or are simply accustomed to and have accepted the inevitability of encountering difficulty working with a large group of adults with differing needs. Former appointees also appear to have become used to the crisis demand of administration and the isolation of the job, features with which recent appointees are still coming to grips.

4. Satisfactions

Both groups of principals experience much satisfaction as principals knowing that children are learning and seeing that difference. To see academic growth and success is extremely rewarding for them. Both former and recent appointees also find great satisfaction in the successes of their staffs and their roles in guiding that growth. Knowing that they personally have had an impact on their schools, on the children in those schools, is satisfying to recent appointees, what might in fact be a special thrill as a new administrator. Former principals do not speak often of making a difference. Perhaps, after many years as principals they have realized that they do not make a difference

for all children or, more optimistically, that sure knowledge of this fact is implicit in and reflected by the pleasure they show in student and staff success. Former appointees do make special note of the fact, however, that interpersonal relationships with students are especially satisfying to them. Once again, because former appointees do not teach and have less regular, formal contact with children, it is possible that they take special delight in and focus on interacting with children whenever they can. Because they are no longer classroom teachers and have been principals for many years they might find much satisfaction in not just seeing children learn but also simply being with them.

Former appointees also appreciate appreciation. Feeling satisfaction within oneself about one's accomplishments is rewarding, but it is also gratifying to have one's efforts acknowledged, especially by those for whom the effort is made and from whom the satisfaction stems: teachers. While recent appointees find much satisfaction helping and encouraging others, former appointees seem to have gone one step beyond. They too have helped and encouraged others for many years, but a job done without thanks and appreciation--in fact, often the reverse, much criticism--becomes less satisfying. Perhaps because of its rarity this appreciation is received so gratefully by former appointees.

✓ For both new and experienced principals the most satisfying aspects of their jobs concern children and teachers.

Satisfaction does not come from outside sources; satisfaction is

school-based. ✓ Satisfaction comes from seeing pleasing and rewarding results before one's eyes, that is, student and teacher success, and not from paycheques, status, or the praise and pleasure of superiors.

5. Personal Satisfaction

All of these women as a group are extremely happy. They love their jobs and enjoy coming into work each day. Both recent and former appointees are happy and thankful to work with good teachers and cooperative staff.

In the above regard many recent appointees repeatedly mention how lucky they are--lucky to have nice schools, lucky to have good staffs, lucky to have worked with good people. Only one former appointee, on the other hand, ever speaks of feeling lucky. It is ironic that the group of women who were much more deliberate and instrumental in developing their careers and gradually aiming for the principalship cite luck so often. Hard work, dedication and careful choices seem to have been much more elemental in their career success than luck. And, the group of women who more often found themselves in promising situations accidentally, without having used much deliberate control, do not mention luck where, in fact, it seems to have been a much more important factor. From the perspective of these women, however, getting to the principalship may not have been a matter of luck at all, but, rather, a course requiring much hard work and perseverance given

the difficulties and obstacles before them. And perhaps, when comparing themselves to former appointees and their experiences as aspirants and as administrators, new women principals feel particularly lucky as women to have achieved what they have more easily. Alternately, or at the same time, they may feel and exhibit a sense of false modesty, ascribing their successes to luck rather than to themselves. However, this group of recent appointees, while always ready to give credit and thanks where they are due, neither appear to be nor present themselves as individuals who credit others for successes instrumented by themselves. Yet a professional and/or feminine modesty may remain all the same.

When discussing their personal job satisfaction many of the recent appointees mention contact with children. ✓ They raise a concern about losing contact with children as principals and even more so should they move further and further away from them at the school level. Only one former appointee, on the other hand, mentions this concern outright in the context of personal satisfaction with the job. Longterm principals may slowly grow accustomed to less personal contact with children and gradually lose this as a source of satisfaction. However, when discussing career goals former appointees also refer to this same concern. Although they have become used to lessened contact with children as principals, compared to teaching in the regular classroom, they realize that district office jobs would allow them only minimal

contact with children, certainly much less than they enjoy now as principals. And even though all but one of the recent appointees still teach, none of them are in their own classrooms and the contrast from past years is thus especially noticeable.

Former appointees, last, comment often on how rewarded and gratified they feel. They are confident about having done a good job and are happy in that knowledge. Although former appointees do not refer often to having made a difference when discussing their professional satisfaction, this, like their pleasure in student and teacher growth and success, seems also to reflect the fact that they actually have.

6. Regrets

On the whole, neither recent nor former appointees have any substantial regrets. Quite naturally, former appointees do have more regrets; they have had more time to make mistakes, more time to assess and evaluate their actions, more time for second thoughts and second guesses. Several former appointees wish they had had more career options available to them; they would possibly have chosen different career paths. Other than that, had these women been able to make the changes they currently discuss, their lives and careers would not have been altered in any remarkable ways. These women are content in their lives, pleased overall with what they have done and happy in their present careers.

7. Advice

Both groups of women, former and recent appointees, have much advice to give prospective principals, both women and men. In total these seventeen principals gave sixty-two separate pieces of advice, overall a kind of guide to certain success for administrative aspirants. Significantly, with such a plethora of advice, both groups touch on the issue of being a woman, on what becomes a linking theme, "be a woman." Towards this end, recent appointees give much advice concerning traditional feminine attributes. ✓ Be caring, be personal, be supportive, be compassionate. In this way, they continue the theme of developing a new role in the principalship, one that is not typically and automatically masculine. Former appointees also address this, although in a slightly different way. While recent appointees do not refer to men and do not compare women to men, former appointees discuss women within the framework of men and male experience. They do not concentrate on a variety of feminine attributes. They advise women not to try and compete with men, not to use their sex as an excuse, to be prepared to deal intellectually with men all the time. They exhort prospective women principals not to be afraid to be a woman and to leave male models behind. Both recent and former appointees contribute to the impression of a new and developing role for women in the principalship.

Apart from the above, several other items of advice stand out. Recent appointees suggest that women determine what their personal visions and philosophies are before becoming principals; in other words, know who you are. Former appointees suggest that women network and get support. Both of these are important factors as they relate directly to the respective development of each of these groups of women as administrative aspirants and principals. Both groups of women give advice concerning, quite naturally, what has been important to them.

8. Career Goals

Most recent appointees plan to remain principals for a while. They know they need more experience and want to get it. Many former principals are also interested in remaining principals for a while, but most often in the cases where they are approaching retirement. They will have time, they explain, for one more school. Several former appointees mention the desire to move up to the district office. Three mention going to a directorship or district principalship. However, four former appointees (half of the group) point out expressly that they are not interested in the superintendency. And often they explain that the reason for this is that they want to remain in the trenches, with the children. On the other hand, all recent appointees except one indicate a desire to eventually move to the district office. Half of them discuss directorships and the other half mention aspiring to the

superintendency. They do, however, say assistant superintendent rather than superintendent. Although they comfortably see themselves as principals and can picture themselves as assistant superintendents, these women may have difficulty picturing themselves as superintendents, in charge of an entire school district. Most have likely never seen or met a woman superintendent. It is interesting that no former appointees mention an interest in the superintendency even though some are still of an age to aspire to that position. In addition to the desire they express to remain with children at the school level, prior expectation and sex-role socialization may also be important here. These women did not aspire to the principalship until well into their careers, having seen only very few women principals. And although career-oriented, aspiring to the superintendency might, in their eyes, have been ludicrous, and certainly beyond reach. On the other hand, as Elizabeth Hammond explains, they might have faced the fact early on that with families they could not simultaneously assume the greater responsibilities and time commitment of the superintendency. However, the one principal who never did want to move beyond small schools and two of the four who definitely expressed no interest in the superintendency do not have families. The higher aspirations of the recent appointees are understandable within the context of their professional, social and cultural experience and realistic given their prior expectation and career orientation. Although recent appointees concede that having a family certainly impacts upon one's careers,

they rarely express this impact in terms of personal burden and professional impediment. Only their career records over the next twenty years will indicate whether they achieved these ultimate goals.

Of note here also is the fact that a number of the recent appointees mention possibly returning to the classroom, particularly if they are not happy in the principalship or satisfied with results after several years. Two former appointees mention this also although one admits that it is unlikely that she will ever do so. A permanent return to the classroom is probably also extremely unlikely for these principals, particularly if they seriously aspire to higher management. At this point although as principals they have already shed their teacher personae, they have not yet psychologically made the separation from the classroom.

SUMMARY

Although it is impossible to speak globally of "the recent appointee" or "the former appointee" because point for point the experiences of individual women within these groups all vary, it is important to summarize their experiences overall. To do so allows us to note more clearly the differences and similarities between the careers of these former and recent women appointees to the principalship. What follows, then, are composite sketches, the first of the typical former appointee and the second of the typical recent appointee, based on the seventeen principal interviews reported herein.

The Former Appointee

The average former appointee had a happy, uneventful childhood. She enjoyed school and performed well. She always knew she would be a teacher because, for the most part, there were few choices open to her as a woman. From a middle class background, the security of teaching was appealing and the training financially feasible for her family. She liked school and so was not unhappy with the choice of teaching, the most favoured option of those available to her.

The former appointee completed high school and Senior Matriculation or Grade Thirteen and then proceeded into a year or two of teacher training. At a young age, she then began teaching

with no thought or expectation of ever becoming a principal. Along the way she married and had several children, staying at home full-time for a year or two when they were born, returning to work part-time fairly quickly and then full-time by the time her children were four or five years old. Although she gained a fairly broad base of experience during her teaching career she concentrated, for the most part, at the primary level. She was very motivated to continue her education and completed her Bachelor's degree part-time along the way, while teaching.

As a teacher she has always had an individual focus on learning and is confident of her ability as a teacher. Although she did not seek new assignments independently, she took advantage of opportunities that were made available to her, growing in experience situationally. She did not seek attention, but received it passively, as a by-product of good teaching. She was asked to apply for her first administrative position and encouraged by others to move in that direction. ✓ She thought she could do the job as well as other principals she had seen, was intrigued by the new challenge and so became a principal after more than fifteen years as a teacher. ✓ She was appointed, she believes, because she was and is a good teacher with a good track record and solid primary experience. She was the best candidate, hired not because of affirmative action, but at a time when women were just beginning to join administrative ranks in greater numbers.

Along the way to becoming a principal she found her principals helpful, but not particularly nurturing--encouraging rather than supportive. She received no pre-administrative mentoring and no collegial support, but once she became a principal she found her district office helpful and supportive. She networked extensively with the other women principals in her district and attended the formal support meetings they organized together. While also a principal, she responded to the directives and encouragement of her school district and completed a Master's degree in Education, once again part-time while working. She began as a principal in a small school and is now in her third school, a large and complex assignment with a vice-principal.

✓ As a principal the number one priority of the former appointee is children, giving the best to every child in the school. ✓ At the same time, a major priority is staff, that is, working through teachers to best teach and accommodate children and ethos building. On a day to day basis, giving time to staff is most important because, she believes, in receiving the attention and best efforts of their teachers children are most effectively served. The former appointee, who no longer teaches, also places a high priority on interaction with children. Because of the number of students in her school and the demands of her complex assignment, however, she has, in fact, less contact time with children and spends less time informally with them than newer

principals in smaller schools. She consequently tries to get into classrooms often.

As an administrator the former appointee has adopted Ministry of Education goals for schools and teaching. She concentrates less on school-devised academic and curriculum-related goals for children, but has a number of school goals related to teachers. On the job the former appointee manages a great deal by walking around. She has a positive relationship with children and has a supportive, encouraging, collegial relationship with staff.

Because of the fact that she is a woman the former appointee suffered many negative consequences during her career. She received little career-building direction and support from male principals to begin with and then, once a principal, was excluded from the old-boys' network. She had to contend with the negative reactions of male colleagues to her work and harassment from them as well as sex-role stereotyping from others. Behavioural stereotyping also affected her. She had to work harder to become a principal and had to prove herself once there. She couldn't do and say things that male principals could, was watched carefully by others and felt a responsibility to well for the sake of those women coming up behind her. She realized that she would have to always do her very best and compete with the men on an intellectual level. √ Along the way, however, she began to perceive that women often do things differently, that they don't always respond and act in the same way as men. Because she couldn't be

part of the male group she decided not to compete with men, but rather to be a principal in her own individual non-male way.

The former appointee is especially satisfied as a principal when children are learning. She enjoys working with her staff and building a team and appreciates thanks and appreciation from others. Having not taught for a number of years she is used to an administrative role without direct classroom responsibility for children and so does not express concern about the loss of contact with children as a principal yet she continues to derive great pleasure from interpersonal relationships with them. She enjoys her job a great deal and especially likes working with good teachers. She feels rewarded and gratified.

The former appointee has no regrets about her career. She often found the demands of family, husband, career and studies difficult and pressing, but not daunting. She responded to and enjoyed the challenge, and accepted the encouragement of her husband. Before her retirement she expects to be principal at one more school or perhaps a director at the district office. The thought of total loss of contact with children as well as family responsibilities prevented her from seriously considering the superintendency. She advises prospective women principals to get lots of experience, be a good teacher and seek support from others. She also adds that they should be prepared to do anything the job entails, but not to try and compete with the men, to do what you do--be yourself.

The Recent Appointee

The average recent appointee has also had a happy, uneventful childhood. She too liked school and performed well, finding academics easy. She made the decision to become a teacher freely, not because of limited options. She liked working with children and wanted to teach others. Firmly anchored within a middle class background as well, the security of teaching was also appealing and the training financially feasible.

The recent appointee completed high school and then proceeded into university, spending three years there before beginning teaching. She was also fairly young as a new teacher. Although she did not begin teaching having decided to become an administrator, the idea occurred to her, and grew, while she taught. While teaching she gained a broad base of experience. She sought variety in her teaching, doing so at a number of levels. She taught learning assistance for a number of years and then moved from that into a helping/resource teacher position in the language arts/primary supervision area. She was also motivated to continue her education and completed her Bachelor's degree along the way.

As a teacher and administrator she has always had a focus on learning. She learned much, in each position that she held and constantly sought new experience and new assignments, transferring to different schools as well for new opportunities. She became

known in her district for her teaching and also for school and district leadership. She took on extra responsibilities for more challenge, conducting workshops and becoming high profile in the district for that expertise as well. She received much attention, but was instrumental and directive in the activity that gained her that recognition. She was not asked to apply for an administrative posting but took the initiative on her own. She was bored in the classroom and need a another new challenge. She applied for and became a vice-principal. She wanted to and knew she could be a good principal and knew what she needed to do to get there. Anticipating district requirements she has begun a Master's degree in Education. Along the way she also married and had several children, taking a maternity leave or one year off after the birth of each child and then returning to full-time work immediately.

The recent appointee became a principal after approximately fifteen years as a teacher. She was appointed, she believes, because of her good track record as a teacher, because she was well-qualified with a specialty area, and high profile in the district and also because of affirmative action. She is currently in a small to medium-sized school with a teaching assignment (up to .5) and no vice-principal.

Along the way to becoming a principal the recent appointee received much quiet support from her principals. ✓ She was also mentored by the male principal with whom she worked as a

vice-principal. His support, which was provided and not sought, was active and guiding. She also found her teaching colleagues to be helpful and supportive. Once she became a principal she found the district office to be helpful in a general, global way. She did not and does not network with other women specifically or in any significant way with men either.

As a principal her number one priority is children learning. Developing the school as a warm, comfortable, safe place for children--building climate--is also important. And working with teachers, facilitating and acting as an instructional leader, is also at the top of her list of priorities. The recent appointee does not have to make a special effort to see children or prioritize this activity among others. She teaches everyday thus constantly coming into regular contact with children. Both with her teaching assignment and smaller school she has more contact with students than her more experienced counterparts. With a less demanding and complex assignment she is also able to spend more time informally with children as well as interact more often with staff.

As an administrator the recent appointee has wholeheartedly adopted Ministry of Education goals for her school. In addition, she and her staff have developed a number of locally-developed goals, academic and curriculum-related, for the school. On the job the recent appointee also administers by listening. Her leadership, too, is characterized by a positive relationship with

children. She is not the boss, but works with her staff, in a supportive, encouraging, and facilitating way. She accentuates characteristics of her administration that are traditionally seen as feminine: warm, helpful, caring.

Because the recent appointee is now among a number of women administrators in her district she does not suffer the effects of tokenism. Negative reaction and harassment from male principals are not apparent. However, the recent appointee continues to suffer some negative effects because of her gender. ✓ Sex-role stereotyping from others continues as does the double standard and behavioural stereotyping for women principals. ✓ She must still prove herself. She believes, however, that women principals have special skills--in teaching and knowledge--as principals. The feminine characteristics which she highlights in a positive way and uses to advantage in her everyday work--understanding, empathy, nurturing--are a hallmark and distinction of the administration of women, she believes.

The recent appointee is especially satisfied as a principal with student success and making a difference in student's lives. She is also satisfied seeing her staff grow and experience success and overall likes to help and stretch individuals. She loves her job and is happy to work with good teachers. She feels very lucky, but is concerned about decreased contact with children as a result of her move from direct classroom responsibility to an administrative role.

The recent appointee has no regrets about her career. She has also found the demands of family, husband, career and studies sometimes difficult and pressing, but she thrives on the activity and challenge and sees her myriad responsibilities as matter-of-fact rather than daunting. She is thankful for the support of her husband who is attempting to shoulder the burden of childcare and household responsibility with her. She wants to gain more experience as a principal, remaining at her current school for a while yet and then moving on to other, larger and more complex school assignments. She then plans for a position at the district office, either a directorship or the superintendency. She advises administrative aspirants to gain credibility as a teacher and to keep growing and learning. Prospective principals must also sort out their beliefs and philosophy and develop a vision before they become principals. Last, she says, they should use their unique characteristics as women to best advantage in a positive way to do what women do, to be good women principals.

The differences here between the careers of recent women appointees and former women appointees to the principalship demonstrate overall the forward strides women have made in social and professional equity over the past twenty years. Although the recent women principals of this group may still have to prove themselves to outsiders and still do face sex-role stereotyping

from society as well, they are at least accepted and supported now by their male peers, unlike former appointees. New women principals also demonstrate greater career initiative than their former counterparts and are more active in their pursuit of career goals. Consequently, they also have a greater range of experience in both teaching and administrative areas and, aspiring to district management as they all do, their upward career orientation is even greater than that of former appointees.

Although the intent of this study, as stated in Chapter One, was to uncover the differences in experience between former and recent women appointees to the principalship an investigation of this kind cannot but also reveal similarities at the same time. To refocus here, in the final analysis, on the ways in which the careers of these women resemble each other is not to deny the importance of the differences and the changes that have occurred. The differences summarized above globally and these and others referred to in detail in Chapters Four and Five reflect positive growth and change within educational administration. However, the mark of the experience of women principals here is made not by the differences that exist between newcomers and those more experienced, but in their similarities. All of these principals are well-experienced with much expertise in a variety of areas. They characterize themselves and have been identified by others as excellent teachers. As individuals they are focussed on learning and growth. Their priority as principals is children, with their

goals for young people directed, not surprisingly, towards learning and growth. They focus on relationships, positive, collaborative, collegial relationships with teachers (working together for children) as well as positive, warm, caring relationships with children, building through these relationships both ethos and climate. In their orientation to people they do not, either, lack task orientation. They see themselves as instructional leaders and they are realistic, responsible goal-setting principals who take clear ownership for the challenges within their schools. They are career-directed women whose experiences and work history are remarkably similar whether they have children of their own or not.

As far as a being a woman is concerned, former principals were not accepted as equals by the male majority of principals with whom they worked. They remained on the outside and chose to do so because they were not male principals and realized that, despite effort, they could never become a natural part of the group. In proceeding to be themselves and following their own individual paths they realized that they were different. They found their own voices, their voices as women. Recent women appointees also reflect this perception of themselves as different. However, they have gone one step further to embrace the fact of their gender, accentuating and highlighting the feminine character of their leadership. To apply Carol Gilligan's (1982) phrase, these women speak collectively as principals "in a

different voice." What they clearly articulate as theirs is a leadership that is not traditionally male, but one that is uniquely their own, stamped by the fact that they are women. "Feminists," state Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger and Tarule (1986), "are beginning to articulate the values of the female world and to reshape the disciplines to include the women's voice..." (p. 6). In their comment on their lives, their experiences and their goals these women as one, whether feminist or not individually, have articulated the values of the female world of educational administration and are beginning to reshape the world of educational administration to include the women's voice.

APPENDIX A LETTERS OF CONFIRMATION AND THANKS

20520 123B Avenue
Maple Ridge, B.C.
December 1, 1989

Dear

Thank you very much for agreeing to participate in the study I am conducting on women in educational administration as part of my graduate studies in Education at Simon Fraser University.

As I have indicated to you, I plan to conduct interviews of principals between January and March of 1990 and will contact you again by telephone in January in order to establish a convenient date and time for us to meet during that three-month period.

I look forward to meeting and talking with you in the new year, and thank you in advance for taking time from your schedule to discuss your career and experiences as a principal with me.

Sincerely,

Yvonne Tabin Slipiec

20520 123B Avenue
Maple Ridge, B.C.
March 5, 1990

Dear

Thank you very much for allowing me to interview you on the subject of your career as a teacher and principal. I appreciate the time you took from your schedule to speak with me and am grateful for your willingness to share your thoughts and experiences.

As explained to you, the data I am collecting on women in educational administration through these interviews will form the basis of my research for a thesis on that topic. Once the data have been analysed and the written thesis completed, I plan to prepare an abbreviated version of the results of my study in the form of an article or essay which I look forward to sharing with you for your interest later this year.

Thank you once again for your most cooperative participation. Should I have any follow-up questions to our interview I will contact you by telephone later this spring.

Best wishes for continued success in your career.

Sincerely,

Yvonne Tabin Slipiec

APPENDIX B INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

QUESTIONS - Recent Appointees

1. School Information
2. Is there anything about your non-professional life that has had an impact on your career?
3. Administration is time-consuming. How do you allocate time between various responsibilities?
4. a. Can you tell me about your elementary and secondary school experiences as a student?

(Did anything happen at that point that lead to the career you chose?)

b. Can you tell me something about your post-secondary education? (...professional training?)
5. a. Can you tell me about your teaching experience (background) leading up to administration?

b. (...and your experience in administration so far?)
6. Why did you decide to become an administrator?
7. As recently as a few years ago very few women were appointed to the principalship. Why do you think you were hired?
8. In your administrative career have there been any individuals who have been particularly helpful to you? (And now?)
9. When you think about your career so far, has being a woman been significant? How?
10. Could you tell me how you spend your day?

11. a. What do you find the most frustrating or difficult about being a principal?
b. What do you find the most satisfying?
12. How do you feel about your work in this school? (so far)
What do you hope to accomplish in this school?
OR
What is the most important thing you hope to accomplish in this school?
13. Any regrets so far? (Nothing you would change?)
14. How do you think your career might have been different had you been a man?
15. What advice would you give at this point to prospective women principals?
16. What lies ahead for you after this job?
(What might your next job be? and after that?)
17. Is there anything else about your career, being a principal, that I haven't touched on that you would like to add?

QUESTIONS - Former Appointees

1. School Information
2. Is there anything about your non-professional life that has had an impact on your career?
3. Administration is time-consuming. How do you allocate time between various responsibilities?
4. a. Can you tell me about your elementary and secondary school experiences as a student?

(Did anything happen at that point that lead to the career you chose?)

b. Can you tell me something about your post-secondary education? (...professional training?)
5. a. Can you tell me about your teaching experience (background) leading up to administration?

b. (...and your experience in administration so far?)
6. Why did you decide to become an administrator?
7. As recently as a few years ago very few women were appointed to the principalship. Why do you think you were hired?
8. In your administrative career have there been any individuals who have been particularly helpful to you? (And now?)
9. When you think about your career so far, has being a woman been significant? How?
10. Could you tell me how you spend your day?

11. a. What do you find the most frustrating or difficult about being a principal?
b. What do you find the most satisfying?
12. How do you feel about your work in this school? (so far)
What is the best thing you've accomplished in this school/your schools?
OR
Which school do you have the fondest memories of? Why?
13. Any regrets? (Nothing you would change?)
14. How do you think your career might have been different had you been a man?
15. What advice would you give to prospective women principals?
16. What lies ahead for you after this job?
(What might your next job be? and after that?)
17. Is there anything else about your career, being a principal, that I haven't touched on that you would like to add?

APPENDIX C ANNOTATED CODES

1. ADMINISTRATIVE ASSIGNMENT - data about the respondent's current school and assignment
2. IMPACTS - any external factors affecting the respondent's career
3. TIME MANAGEMENT - management and organization of time
4. ACADEMIC ORIENTATION - respondent's orientation, attitude (positive or negative) to education and academics
5. ACADEMIC HISTORY - data regarding the respondent's education and details about her schooling
6. DEVELOPMENTAL EXPERIENCES - any experiences throughout school or after having an impact on or relating to career, career choice, growth as a person and/or teacher
7. PROFESSIONAL ORIENTATION - orientation to and focus on teaching; why the respondent became a teacher, how the decision was made
8. TEACHING EXPERIENCE - the respondent's history as a teacher; past teaching assignments and experience
9. EXPERIENCE GROWTH - events and activities engaged in by the respondent that lead to growth in experience in knowledge
10. ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE- the respondent's history as a principal; past administrative assignments and experience

11. ADMINISTRATIVE ORIENTATION - orientation to and focus on administration; why the respondent became a principal, how the decision was made
12. CAREER MANAGEMENT - actions taken by the respondent that advanced, affected the direction of the career
13. APPOINTMENT - respondent's thoughts, beliefs as to why she was hired as a principal
14. COLLEGIAL SUPPORT - support from teachers while a vice-principal or teacher
15. PRINCIPAL SUPPORT - support from principals while a vice-principal or teacher
16. MENTOR - strong and active support and guidance provided to a respondent by another individual
17. NETWORKING - support from another/other principal(s) while a principal
18. DISTRICT SUPPORT - support from district office at any time throughout the career
19. DISTRICT PRIORITIES - priorities and expectations from the district for principals
20. SIGNIFICANCE GENDER - data regarding the respondent's career relating directly to her gender
21. TIME USE - day to day activities
22. ADMINISTRATIVE STYLE - specifics about how the respondent does what she does; what she is as a leader
23. PRIORITIES - the respondent's role as principal; her priorities

24. SCHOOL GOAL DEVELOPMENT PRIORITIES - schoolwide goals for students; school-specific priorities
25. PROBLEMS - the frustrations and difficulties the respondent finds in being a principal
26. SATISFACTION - the satisfactions the respondent finds in being a principal
27. PERSONAL SATISFACTION - personal career satisfactions
28. ADVICE - advice to prospective women principals
29. REGRETS - regrets about career
30. CAREER GOALS - plans and goals for the future

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