THE SELECTION OF HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS:

AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS USING

FEMINIST PHASE THEORY

Ву

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CHAPTER I

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

In 1997-1998 in the State of Oklahoma, the composition of school administrators for grades K-12 totaled 38% female, while the teaching staff for K-12 was 76% female (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998). These percentages revealed a strikingly unbalanced rate of advancement from the classroom to administration along gender lines. It was shocking that women, at a ratio of 3:1, overwhelmingly dominated the teaching force in the state, yet the building administrators were only slightly more than one-third female (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998).

While the male dominance in school administration was alarming, considering the entire K-12 group, male dominance was even more evident in *secondary* school administration (grades 6-12) than in the total population of school administrators. In 1997-1998, in the State of Oklahoma, women made up 58% of the secondary level teaching staff but comprised only 22% of the secondary school principals and assistant principals. This meant that males held 78% of secondary level administrative positions although they comprised only 42% of the secondary teaching force (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998).

One particular position within secondary education, the high school principalship, revealed the most pronounced level of male dominance in school administration. In the State of Oklahoma, in 1997-1998, 89% of high school principals were men and 11% were women

although women dominated the high school teaching force 52% to 48% (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998).

National trends were even more bleak for women than they were within the State of Oklahoma. According to the December, 1996 issue of *The American School Board Journal*, only 11% of superintendents, 9.9% of high school principals, and 24.8% of junior high and middle school principals in the United States were women. As these figures revealed, underrepresentation of women in school administration was most striking at the high school level, with 90.1% of high school principals being male (Zakariya, 1996).

Bem (1993) explained the perpetual male dominance in school administration as a manifestation of androcentrism within the school structure. Shakeshaft (1987) defined androcentrism as

...the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from a male perspective. It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal and the honoring of men and the male principle above women and the female. This perception creates a belief in male superiority and a masculine value system in which female values, experiences, and behaviors are viewed as inferior.

Shakeshaft (1987) also explained the effects of androcentrism:

(Shakeshaft, 1987, pp. 94-95)

Organizing benefits androcentrically is precisely what men in power have done since time immemorial...they have used their position of public power to create cultural discourses and social institutions that automatically privilege male experience and otherize female experience. (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 79)

Central to the concept of androcentrism, according to Bem (1993), was "males at the center of the universe...They divide reality into self and other and define everything categorized as other –including women—in relation to themselves" (Bem, 1993, p. 42). Hence, male school administrators were viewed as the norm, and female administrators were viewed as differing from the normal male experience due to the androcentric view held by the dominant culture.

Statement of the Problem

Statistics showed that women held fewer principalships at the secondary level than at the elementary level and that women achieved the principalship most infrequently at the high school level. Eighty-nine percent of high school principals in Oklahoma and 90.1% of high school principals nationwide were male (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998; Zakariya, 1996).

These figures, when juxtaposed against the overwhelming female dominance within the teaching field (from whence administrators spring), revealed a disproportionate bias in favor of men. Probability would suggest that the ratio of women in administration would have been approximately equal to the ratio of women in teaching. Instead, women comprised 52% of the high school teaching force in Oklahoma but held only 11% of the high school principalships in the state (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998). The fact that gender figures were so skewed presented a statistical and cultural anomaly.

Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991), a descriptive evaluation strategy of current knowledge, philosophy, and sociology, sought to explain the lack of women in school

administration. This theory expressed school leadership in exclusionary terms of "male administration" in which there was no consciousness that the existence of women as a group was an anomaly calling for a broader definition of administration. From his exploration of the disciplinary development of secondary school administration, Schoeppey (1997) explained the anomaly, in part, in terms of hiring. Those who were doing the hiring "have failed to see that women are being left out of the principalship" (Schoeppey, 1997, p. 129).

Purpose of the Study

Applying Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991), a descriptive evaluation strategy, to school administration, the purpose of this study was to examine the selection of the high school principal using Feminist Phase Theory. Specifically, there were three goals:

- 1. An examination of the selection of public high school principals in terms of content, structure and methodology;
- 2. A description of the resulting perspectives on developmental thought which emerged; and
- 3. An assessment of the usefulness of Feminist Phase Theory for exploring these perspectives.

For the purposes of this paper, the "content" of selection was defined as the "process" used to select a new principal, i.e. the "plan of action." A job description, advertisements for the position, determining who was involved in the process, screening candidates, and interview procedures comprised the "content" of the selection process.

"Structure" was defined as "who did what" during the selection process. Structure included a look at relationships among members of the selection committee and anyone else involved in the process. Group dynamics, task assignments, and roles were also involved in "structure."

"Methodology" was "the how and why" of the selection process and included the various activities of committee members as they progressed through the phases of the selection process and also expressions of what was valued in candidates.

Theoretical Frame

According to Bem (1993), androcentrism reproduced male power in two ways:

First, the discourses and social institutions in which they are embedded automatically channel females and males into different and unequal life situations.

Second, during enculturation the individual gradually internalizes the cultural lenses and thereby becomes motivated to construct an identity that is consistent with them. (Bem, 1993, p. 3)

Hence, the cultural aspects of androcentrism affected the thinking of all members of the culture, male and female.

If Bem (1993) and Shakeshaft (1987) were correct in assessing the impact of androcentrism on both male and female members of our culture, then androcentric thinking played a major role in the selection of school administrators. Bem (1993) advised feminists to "reframe the cultural debate on sexual inequality so that it focuses not on male-female difference but on how androcentric discourses and institutions transform male-female difference into female disadvantage" (Bem, 1993, p. 5).

Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) provided a conceptual base for understanding social or cultural developmental stages of thinking about women. Specifically, Feminist Phase Theory addressed how our culture defined legitimate school leadership and the cultural and economical effects of omitting feminine experiences and feminine school leadership from that definition. Within the current study, Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) was used to explain how those who selected high school principals defined school leadership. The focus was on the effects of androcentric thought in school administration, that is, the ways in which the culture (in this case, the individuals who selected a new principal) valued the experiences and leadership of a female candidate and the experiences and leadership of a male candidate.

Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) considered that recent interest in women's studies, within the time frame of 1970 to 1985, had ultimately led to altering paradigms about how to judge effective school leadership. Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) presented five stages of thought which described, in terms of cultural knowledge or scholarship, various views of women, their traditions, their history, and their experiences. While these stages were formulated in terms of scholarship, in the current study they were adapted to describe school leadership and administration.

The classification schema was developed by reviewing the literature in anthropology, history, literature, and psychology; by identifying five common phases of

thinking about women; and by providing examples of questions commonly asked about women in each discipline (Tetreault, 1985, p. 366). Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) comprised a new paradigm for documenting the ongoing process of the inclusion of women into various disciplines, recording the steps towards a more gender-balanced view of what is worth knowing in school leadership and providing a means to evaluate the "content, structure, and methodology" of school leadership in relation to gender (Tetreault, 1985, p. 380).

In the current study, Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) was applied to the developmental thought of those involved in selecting high school principals. For the purpose of the current study, "content" was defined in terms of the process used to select a principal. "Structure" was the organization of the task, what role each selector played in the process, group dynamics, and relationships. "Methodology" included how the selectors completed the search and what they valued in candidates. The underlying beliefs of those participating in the selection process were evident in the content (process), structure (relationships between selectors), and methodology (activities and personal goals) of the search procedure. Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) was used to categorize the stages of thought towards gender in which the selectors operated.

Feminist Phase Theory (Tetreault, 1985) called the first stage of cultural development "Male Scholarship." The current study utilized the term "Male Leadership." This stage "assumed that the male experience was universal, that it was representative of

humanity and that it constituted a basis for generalizing about all human beings" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 367). In this stage, "there was no consciousness that the existence of women as a group was an anomaly calling for a broader definition" of school leadership (Tetreault, 1985, p. 367). Male Leadership assumed that positions of leadership should be held exclusively by males. In this stage of thought, the absence of female leadership was not noted by either male or female educators, nor parents, nor students (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Not only did males dominate administration, but "they also dominated the union movement, state associations, and national groups, such as the National Education Association" (Thomas, 1986, p. 90).

The second stage of Feminist Phase Theory was "Compensatory", in which school leadership continued to be "articulated by men about men" but included an awareness of the absence of women (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). In this stage, a search was begun for the atypical female who "fit the male norm of excellence or greatness" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 367). However, "the majority of women revealed themselves to be different, and women were thought to be inferior" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 373).

The infrequency of women in educational administration was acknowledged as a problem in Compensatory Administration (Jacobson, 1989). However, those who did the hiring pointed to the lack of qualified female candidates as the primary reason for the inequitable number of women in administration (McGrath, 1992; Bonuso & Shakeshaft, 1983). Pigford and Tonnsen (1993) said there was a dilemma for women: "They can be either women or leaders; to be both is generally contradictory" (Pigford & Tonnsen,

1993, p. 10). These authors went on to say that "it may be more realistic for women currently seeking leadership positions to attempt to be resocialized—i.e., to develop the skills necessary to gain entry into a 'man's world" (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993, p. 10). In other words, the culture expected women to be inferior leaders. Hence, the atypical woman being sought, but seldom found, was the woman who succeeded at resocializing herself to be more like a man.

"Bifocal" was Tetreault's (1985) third stage in which there was movement "away from the notion of women as deficient... Women were thought of as a group that was complementary but equal to men" (p. 373). In this stage, both genders were valued; however,

anthropologists theorize a universal separation between the activities of females and males in the domestic and public spheres. This same theory is applied in history with analyses of the division between the public and the private spheres...Because the public sphere has been internalized as more valuable than the private sphere, there is a tendency to slip back into thinking of women as inferior and subordinate. (Tetreault, 1985, p. 373)

Applied to leadership in schools, Bifocal Administration existed when practitioners and patrons came to value female leadership for its differences. For instance, Shakeshaft (1987) found that "female superintendents and principals interact more with teachers and students than men do" (p. 172); and they "listen more than men...using more affiliation words" when speaking (p. 181). Bifocal administrative thought acknowledged that female leadership benefited students and teachers and was valuable and also that male leadership was also of value and benefit.

In the fourth stage of Feminist Phase Theory, "Feminist", Tetreault (1985) stressed a major change from the previous three stages: "Women's activities, not men's, were the measure of significance" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 374). These activities were not limited to the public sphere. On the contrary, they included the mundane, such as housework and child rearing. As a result of the inclusion of the full spectrum of the female experience, a "pluralistic conception of women" emerged (Tetreault, 1985, p. 374). Such a pluralistic conceptualization was necessary to avoid "generalizing about a group as vast and diverse as women" which would have "led to inaccuracies" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 374). The feminine experience, diverse as it was, was studied within "historical, ideological, and cultural contexts" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 374). Of course, this mimicked the contextual evaluation of the male experience held to be representative for all of humankind in the earlier stages of cultural development put forth in Feminist Phase Theory. At this point, "by paying attention to women as subjects and objects of study, scholars have found that the extant theories are no longer adequate" (Schmuck, 1987, p. 3).

Feminist Administration totally eliminated males and male dominance in schools. Sexist practices favoring females occurred in administrative training programs, selection, hiring, and promotion. Female students and employees were mentored and encouraged to achieve and hold all positions. In the Feminist phase, "the focus was on women's oppression because women have not achieved the accomplishments of men. Gender was relevant only because it shows inequality..." (Schmuck, 1987, p. 18).

The final stage of Feminist Phase Theory was "Multifocal or Relational" in which the focus was on how men and women "relate to and complement one another"

(Tetreault, 1985, p. 375). In this phase, a revolutionary relationship came to exist between things traditionally treated as serious, primarily the activities of men in the public sphere, and those things formerly perceived as trivial, namely the activities of women in the private sphere. This new relationship led to a recentering of school leadership, a shift from a male-centered perspective to one placing women at the center of their own experience. This reconceptualization of school leadership worked toward a more holistic view of human experience (Tetreault, 1985, pp. 375-376).

Multifocal Administration valued both the female and male perspectives. In this final stage, it was recognized that "both men and women were capable of providing leadership and good management and that their characteristic styles could complement each other" (McGrath, 1992, p. 65). In this stage, males and females held similar administrative positions in numbers nearly equal to the gender ratio found in teaching positions.

Schuster and Van Dyne (1984) formulated a theory on the knowledge of the female experience which was similar to that of Tetreault (1985). Their theory focused on women's absence or presence in higher education curricula and included six developmental stages: 1) Absence of women not noted; 2) Search for missing women; 3) Women as disadvantaged, subordinate group; 4) Women studied on own terms; 5) Women as challenge to disciplines; and 6) Transformed, "balanced" curriculum (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 419).

In their examination of curricula, Schuster and Van Dyne (1984) defined the "invisible paradigms" of academia and the culture, which they say "marginalized or trivialized the lives of women..." (p. 417). They went on to say "...these invisible

paradigms were organized around power (who has it and how we are allowed to access it) and around values" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 417).

These authors also observed that "invisible paradigms were related to ideology. The more coherent an ideology and the better it served the interests of those who benefit from the status quo, the less visible these paradigms were to those who perpetuate them" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 417). This was an important observation. Invisible paradigms which existed at a subconscious level were difficult to identify, explain, or evaluate.

Procedures

In general, case studies are the preferred strategy when "how" or "why" questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 1989).

The current study sought to understand the process of the selection of high school principals, the beliefs behind that process, and the role that gender played in that process. Hence, an explanatory case study was the best match to the research goal.

Researcher

From early childhood, I can remember my father telling me, "You can do anything you want to do. All you have to do is set your mind to it." I had no idea how unusual it was for a Native American man born in rural Oklahoma in 1923 to make a statement like that to a daughter growing up in the 1950's and 1960's. He was sincere, and I believed that statement during the twelve years I was a classroom teacher. I had

noted the near absence of women in administration, but I believed myself to be an atypical female capable of overcoming any obstacle. It was not until I entered high school administration nine years ago, that my perception of how people succeed was threatened.

At that time, I became aware of barriers between myself and some male administrators, and I began searching for literature to help me label and understand the hidden agenda of sexism in the school. Shakeshaft (1987) called ours a "sex-structured society that generates a belief in females that they lack ability—a belief reinforced by an organizational system...through both lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 85).

In recent years, there was unprecedented turnover among site administrators in my district. The professional experience and past successes of the female candidates for these positions were impressive and included previous experience as a high school principal. Two of the candidates held doctoral degrees. In fact, at least one female could have been described as "over qualified;" yet males were selected to fill all four positions of high school principal.

Consequently, selection processes for high school principalships are suspect because 1) only 11% of high school principals in my state are female; 2) many highly qualified female applicants with extensive quality experience have failed to advance to the principalship; and 3) less qualified men have advanced ahead of women with superior skill and experience. This situation was problematic, not only for myself, but for the next generation of females who will pursue advancement in their careers, be it education or any other field.

In one of the most tradition-bound of all institutions, the American high school, educators have encouraged girls to excel in all areas of the curriculum and in extracurricular activities to help prepare for successful careers. Simultaneously, we have failed to show them living examples of women in leadership positions. Consequently, both boys and girls have been enculturated to perpetuate the status quo: Men have continued in leadership positions; women have continued to assist men. A female student in my district was heard to say, "I never heard of a woman being a high school principal before." Schools have sent mixed messages to all students.

Data Needs and Sources

To gather information about the content, structure, and methodology of the selection of high school principals, individuals who had recently been involved in the selection of a principal were needed. Permission was requested and granted by the Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board to allow the use of human subjects for this research (Appendix A). Superintendents were then contacted in four suburban or small city districts which had recently (within the last 2 years) chosen a new high school principal (Appendix B). Superintendents were asked for permission to interview two individuals who had served on the recent selection committee. Having two respondents from each district presented the opportunity for a broader perspective of the selection process. Superintendents were encouraged, but not required, to be one of the two interviewees. Two of the four districts had chosen a female high school principal; and two had chosen a male principal.

Data Collection

Prior to beginning each interview, the purpose of the research was explained, and the participant signed a consent form (Appendix C). Open-ended questioning was used in interviews that lasted up to 90 minutes at a location of the interviewees' choosing. During interviews, the researcher asked questions (Appendix D) about what selection process was used, who did the various tasks, and what traits and experiences were valued in the candidates. Yin's (1989) model for explanatory case study research was used, utilizing safeguards to ensure validity and reliability. Lastly, demographic data was collected from each of the participants during their interviews: gender, age, level of education, and occupation (Appendix E).

Data Analysis

Data on the content, structure, and methodology of the selection process were reviewed; and statements about the selection process could then be classified into various phases of thinking about women, as described in Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed to ensure that data was accurate prior to evaluation and analysis. All data was analyzed for differences in responses as well as for repeating patterns, with consideration given to all possible rival explanations (Yin, 1989).

Significance of the Study

Knowledge obtained from this study was valuable to current research, theory development, and practice. In addition, the new knowledge has included information

needed to reevaluate the reasons for the infrequency of females in the high school principalship.

Research

There has been a great deal of research pointing to gender bias as a barrier to advancement for female school administrators (Ortiz, 1982; Schmuck, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1987; Epstein, 1988; Ginn, 1989; Tallerico, 1993; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Grogan, 1996; Schoeppey, 1997). However, no studies have yet looked at how gender bias has manifested itself in the selection process and within the selectors themselves. By using Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991), this study identified how the gender of candidates for the high school principalship affected the decisions and actions of selection committee members.

Practice

Many cultural norms are taught through modeling within the domain of public education. The absence of female high school principals has imprinted on the minds of the next generation, both male and female, perpetuating the cultural tradition of a male in this leadership role. Qualified female candidates have been available yet have not been selected (Ortiz, 1982; Schmuck, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1987; Epstein, 1988; Ginn, 1989; Tallerico, 1993; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Grogan, 1996; Schoeppey, 1997).

This has continued to be a problem for our children as well as for female candidates for the principalship. In order to remedy the situation, it was first necessary to understand how it occurred. Hence, it was necessary to examine the selection process. Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984;

Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) provided the means to assess what has been happening within the selection process that has hindered the advancement of women.

Theory

This study, using Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987;
Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991), helped to explain how
the gender of candidates for the high school principalship impacted how
they were perceived by members of selection committees. Expanding the use of Feminist
Phase Theory to include selection practices for choosing school administrators has added
new insights and applications to the theory.

To date, Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) has been applied to the fields of knowledge, philosophy, sociology, and curriculum. Utilizing Feminist Phase Theory to evaluate the selection process of school administrators had not previously been done. This application of Feminist Phase Theory provided an opportunity to check for a subtle, cultural bias within the selection process, which added to the explanation of the absence of the expected ratio of females within the high school principalship.

Summary

In 1997-1998, women held 52% of the high school teaching positions in Oklahoma, yet they held only 11% of the state's high school principalships (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998). This startling statistical anomaly was examined through the use of qualitative research and Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). The

focus of the current study was the content, structure, and methodology of the selection process for high school principals and the role that gender played in that process.

Reporting

Chapter Two contains a review of the literature pertaining to the history of women in Western culture and in school administration and also the demographics of public secondary school administration. Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) and gender bias are also explored in Chapter Two as well as traditional protocols for the selection of school administrators. The collected data is presented in Chapter Three followed by an analysis of the data in Chapter Four. The last chapter contains a summary of the study, discussion, conclusions, and recommendations for future practice and research.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

In this chapter, the roots of androcentrism in Western culture will be identified. Second, the dichotomous view of gender which supports androcentric thought will be explored. Third, Feminist Phase Theory will be presented as a means of understanding the evolution of thought about gender. Finally, a view of women in school administration and current gender issues in education will also be included.

To fully benefit from the following discussion on gender issues, one must first understand the distinction between "sex" and "gender." "Sex" is biological. "Gender," on the other hand, refers to "the distinctive qualities of men and women that are culturally created" (Epstein, 1988, p. 6). Gender is a socially constructed concept (Clovis, 1991: Grogan, 1996; Korabik, 1982; Schmuck, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1989), one that is subject to change but also is dependent upon "the social roles prescribed to that sex" (Schmuck, 1993, p. 5).

Androcentrism in Western Culture

Androcentric thought was described in terms of "males at the center of the universe" (Bem, 1993, p. 42) or the idea that males were superior and representative of all humankind (Schmuck, 1987; Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984). An androcentric view of the world has continuously manifested bias against women within the public spheres of learning, law, and work as well as the private sphere of the home from the earliest days of Western culture. These viewpoints and biases existed as cultural values and have been passed from generation to generation under the guise of fact (Bem, 1993; Gilligan, 1993; Grogan, 1996).

Robert K. Merton (1996) described the most common adaptation to cultural values as conformity to such values. "Were this not so, the stability and continuity of the society could not be maintained" (Merton, 1996, p. 139). To comprehend the depth and scope of the forces that have created and maintained our androcentrically-biased culture, it was necessary to look at historical perspectives in Western religion, myths, philosophy, knowledge, and law.

Religion and Myth

In the Biblical account of the creation, Adam was created in God's image, and he alone was given the task of naming all creatures, including woman. Eve was created to be his helper (Bem, 1993). Eve was created from Adam, and Gilligan felt that woman has thus been viewed as "the deviant" since creation (Gilligan, 1993, p. 6). Bem stated that the serpent's choice to tempt Eve rather than Adam "emphasized the definition of woman as an inferior departure from the male standard" (Bem, 1993, p. 47).

In Greek mythology, Pandora was the first female created by Zeus. She was intended to be a desirable creature for men, but an evil one who would punish Prometheus for stealing fire from heaven and giving it to mankind. When Pandora opened her box and unleashed evil into the world, she mirrored Eve. Both Eve and Pandora, as the first woman, condemned all of mankind to suffer from evil and initiated the fall of man from grace due to their inherent weaknesses (Bem, 1993).

Greek Philosophy

Plato held a subordinating view of women within the patriarchal family. Women were expected to carry out three functions within the home: domestic chores, bearing children, and looking after children. Women were segregated from the public sphere in Plato's prescribed social order, and they were denied basic civil rights, such as the right to own property. In

fact, women were regarded as private property and could legally be given away by male relatives, denying them the right to choose whom they would marry (Bem, 1993).

Aristotle's views, as expressed in his writings on women, were similar. Aristotle found it natural to position women relative to men, man being the "standard". Woman was deficient, impotent, lacking the ability to reason, and "born of the same circumstances at conception that also produce deformed children and other monstrosities" (Bem, 1993, p. 54). Within the household and family, Aristotle viewed the hierarchy as father over son, "master over slave, and husband over wife" (Bem, 1993, p. 54).

Within the Greek tradition, "natural differences justified political inequalities" (Bem, 1993, p. 55). These ideas influenced the writings of the Enlightenment period as well as the Constitution of the United States. A case in point is the fact that the right to vote was denied to women, blacks and also white males who did not own property (Bem, 1993).

Knowledge

There was presumed neutrality within science. However, knowledge was comprised of human constructions and was therefore subject to revision (Gilligan, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1989; Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984). Some believe that bias existed within the realms of observation and evaluation, particularly in social science theory (Gilligan, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1987; Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984). Epstein found that "positivist knowledge produced by the scientific establishment was uniquely male because it was an extension of male personality and interests" (Epstein, 1988, p. 18). Weisstein (1971, p. 70) condemned male psychologists for being unscientific and "misrepresenting women in their research."

One example of androcentric bias in "scientific" knowledge was Edward Clarke's *Sex* in Education (1873). According to Clarke, higher education was "not a suitable activity for a

woman" (Bem, 1993, p. 10). Clarke's premise was based on his theory of limited energy within a woman's body. Channeling energy to a woman's brain for intellectual activity was harmful to her due to the diversion of that energy from reproductive organs (Bem, 1993).

British philosopher Herbert Spencer (1876) and G. Stanley Hall (1919), the American psychologist, were others who agreed with Clarke (1873), perhaps in reaction to concurrent events of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Colleges and universities were opening their doors to women, and there was a drop in births to elite, educated women at that time (Bem, 1993). Spencer went one step further in his application of evolutionary theory to conclude "a class- and sex-based division of labor in society is biologically ordained" (Bem, 1993, p. 11).

Another prominent theorist, Sigmund Freud, is commonly known as the father of modern psychology. Much of current psychological theory was based on his work done in the early days of this century (Freud, 1905). According to one such theory, the Freudian model of personal identity, a woman's personality was characterized by "passivity, vanity, masochism, and jealousy, and women were believed to share a contempt for other women that men also feel" (Epstein, 1988, p. 73). Freud's "masculinity complex" condemned as pathological cases of deviance those women who rejected the traditional roles of wife and mother in order to achieve an intellectual profession (Bem, 1993).

More currently, in 1975, E. O. Wilson, the Harvard entomologist, defined sociobiology as "the systematic study of the biological basis of all social behavior" (Wilson, 1975, p. 4). A strong natural drive, according to Wilson, was the desire to ensure the passing of one's genetic code to offspring. Wilson attributed "male dominance" to this evolutionary urge to procreate with as many females as possible. Likewise, "women's passivity" is seen

by Wilson as maximizing the opportunity for survival of offspring of the female (Epstein, 1988). In other words, male dominance was ordained by nature.

Law

English common law influenced the writing of early state constitutions which largely barred women from participating in the public sphere. Women lacked the rights to vote, to own or sell property, to enter into contract, to conduct business, to sue, and even to have legal guardianship of their own children (Bem, 1993).

Likewise, in the Constitution of the United States, the Fourteenth Amendment failed to extend the right to vote to women, and the Fifteenth Amendment failed to protect the rights that women did have. In 1971, the Supreme Court finally extended the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to women. This protection was denied women on the grounds that to interpret the Fourteenth Amendment as applicable to women was to go outside judicial conservatism, thereby creating new law (Bem, 1993).

In the 1973 case, *Frontiero v. Richardson*, four Supreme Court justices acknowledged the existence of long standing discriminatory practices within our nation when they wrote

There can be no doubt that our Nation has had a long and unfortunate history of sex discrimination. Traditionally, such discrimination was rationalized by an attitude of "romantic paternalism" which, in practical effect, put women, not on a pedestal, but in a cage...(Frontiero v. Richardson, 1973).

Gender Viewed as a Dichotomy

One of the reasons that androcentric thought has been so pervasive since the beginnings of Western culture may be what Durkeim (1915) called "self-maintenance mechanisms" that were based on polarities, such as male and female. Viewing gender as a

dichotomy or as an oppositional relationship helped to perpetuate androcentric beliefs in future generations (Epstein, 1988; Grogan, 1996).

Shakeshaft maintained that androcentrism led to a hierarchy of status. "Men and women must do different things; women and what women do are less valued than are men and what men do" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 95). Thus discrimination occurred based upon culturally assigned values.

Dichotomous categorizations ensured a maximization of differences, rather than a focus on similarities (Clovis, 1991; Epstein, 1988). Therefore "it is no surprise that dichotomous models are an ideological weapon ... because it is easier to propose a dichotomy than to explicate the complexities that make it invalid" (Epstein, 1988, p. 15).

Gender has long been viewed as a dichotomous concept, but what is the empirical evidence that it is a social or psychological dichotomy? The use of dichotomies was a preferred method of analysis for understanding due to the appearance of the attainment of closure and clarity through a mutually exclusive categorization process (Epstein, 1988).

Some maintained that dichotomies have remained popular with scientific researchers in the behavioral sciences because they wished to emulate the physical sciences, identifying findings in terms of immutable independent variables in an effort to demonstrate causality. Gender has thus been viewed as an empirical independent variable, commonly observed in a laboratory-like setting, removed from social context, so as to be designated in more mathematical or statistical terms (Epstein, 1988).

In one of her early works, Bem stated that "the dimensions of masculinity and femininity are empirically as well as logically independent" (Bem, 1974, p. 155). She disputed the long accepted notion of bipolar gender traits, existing at opposite ends of one

continuum, and conceived of the possibility that some individuals could exhibit both masculine and feminine traits. Her list of traits, however, was developed according to "sextyped social desirability" (Bem, 1974, p. 155). Bem's traits were selected on the basis of desirability for either a man or a woman in American society. Masculine items included "acts as a leader"; "analytical"; "has leadership abilities"; and "self reliant"; while feminine items included "childlike"; "gullible", "shy"; and "yielding" (Bem, 1974, p. 156). Bem moved away from the notion of masculinity and femininity existing at opposing ends of a bipolar continuum, abandoning the dichotomy in favor of "empirically as well as logically independent" dimensions (Bem, 1974, p. 155). However, she based her selection of traits on social perceptions which did not appear to be empirical in nature.

Ortiz (1982) observed that society was organized into a network of "positions or statuses, within which individuals enact roles. For each position... various kinds of expectations about how incumbents are to behave are delineated" (Ortiz, 1982, p. 127). Consequently, values were attached to appropriateness of one's sex-role. Gilligan observed that "the capacity for autonomous thinking, clear decision-making, and responsible action are ... associated with masculinity and considered undesirable as attributes of the feminine self" (Gilligan, 1993, p. 17). Thus, a competent woman was perceived as unfeminine (Shakeshaft, 1987). Such stereotyping was identified as a source of conflict and a barrier to women in school leadership (Barrett & Bieger, 1987; Clovis, 1991; Metzger, 1985).

What happened when there was conflict between one's position, societal expectations, and observed behaviors? John Stuart Mill observed that biases prevented objective understanding of women's behavior and motivations, causing the same behavior to be perceived differently when carried out by a man than when enacted by a woman (Epstein,

1988). "All women who infringe ... are called masculine, and other names intended to convey disapprobation" (Mill, 1824, p. 526).

Tallerico, Burstyn, and Poole observed in their research on women exiting the superintendency that a "dissonance" occurs when "people are confronted with individuals or behaviors that defy tradition or previous personal experience" (Tallerico, Burstyn, & Poole, 1993, p. 11). Moreover, they further observed that women superintendents were penalized whether they assumed either male leadership (assertive) *or* a more traditional female model of nurturing. This occurred because their constituents felt that women were not supposed to be superintendents in the first place (Tallerico et al., 1993, p. 12).

Robert K. Merton described the phenomenon in which "in-group virtues became outgroup vices" or in everyday language it was called the "damned-if-you-do and damned-if-you-don't" pattern (Merton, 1996, p. 189). He coined the phrase "moral alchemy", which meant "the same behavior must be differently evaluated according to the person who exhibits it" (Merton, 1996, p. 191). Thus, achievement and performance by a member of the outgroup, such as female superintendents, were either condemned or discounted (Merton, 1996, p. 195).

Summary

The fascination with point of view that has informed the fiction of the twentieth century and the corresponding recognition of the relativity of judgment infuse our scientific understanding ... when we begin to notice how accustomed we have become to seeing life through men's eyes. (Gilligan, 1993, p. 6)

Androcentric thought was universal because it existed at a subconscious level.

Schoeppey found that women were affected just as much as men. In his study of secondary

school administrators, the females were "still struggling with a definition of administration that is bound with male thought" (Schoeppey, 1997, p. 127).

Not only did androcentrism permeate and dominate our cultural institutions, it did so without being questioned. Epstein, a psychologist, made this observations about the social order: "it is difficult for members of any social order to question their own order and not regard it as necessary for the continued functioning of social life" (Epstein, 1988, p. 9). This concept was reinforced by Durkheim's concept of "self-maintenance mechanisms" and Merton's adaptations to cultural norms, confirming the self-perpetuating nature of cultural beliefs.

Merton (1996), Mill (1824), and Tallerico, et al. (1993) were all describing a phenomenon of castigating women, or others, who had strayed from their culturally expected roles. These roles were based on gender as defined in dichotomous terms. Social norms were based on gender-assigned traits, such as those of Bem (1974), and upon a rigidly dichotomous definition of gender.

Hence, a woman was "feminine" and was not expected to assume "masculine" behaviors. Non-conformity to cultural norms resulted in social sanctions. Merton perceived the situation as serious:

...the composition of the role-set is ordinarily not a matter of personal choice but a matter of the social organization in which the status is embedded. More typically, the individual goes, and the social structure remains" (Merton, 1996, p. 121).

Feminist Phase Theory

Feminist Phase Theory addressed the influence of androcentric thought in curricula and in writing and thought on women (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van

Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). There were five versions of Feminist Phase Theory, developed by Lerner (1984), McIntosh (1983), Schuster and Van Dyne (1984), Tetreault (1985), Warren (1989), and Twombly (1991). Feminist Phase Theory was a classification schema documenting the evolution of thought since 1970 regarding woman's role in knowledge, the social order, and the history of humankind (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). The classification schema was developed "by reviewing the literature in anthropology, history, literature, and psychology; by identifying five common phases of thinking about women; and by providing examples of questions commonly asked about women..." (Tetreault, 1985, p. 366).

An important attribute of Feminist Phase Theory was that it provided a "record of changes in our thinking at each phase as scholars moved from a male-centered perspective to one more gender-balanced" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 380). Twombly provided this caveat regarding Feminist Phase Theory: Boundaries among stages are "fluid and ... one piece of scholarship might well represent thinking of more than one stage" (Twombly, 1991, p. 11). Phase One: Women are Absent

The first phase was labeled in terms of the absence of women altogether or the invisibility of women (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Schmuck (1987) also used the term "Androcentric Thinking" to describe phase one, in which women and gender were not addressed. Not only were women absent from the literature, history, and knowledge, their absence was not noticed (Twombly, 1991).

In this phase, the privileged male class defined power and determines what knowledge was most worthy (McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). There was an underlying assumption that the male experience was universal for all humanity and that it could be used to generalize for all human beings (Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985). Furthermore, "there was no consciousness that the existence of women was an anomaly calling for a broader definition of knowledge" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 367).

Examples of exclusionary, androcentric thinking in this phase could include well known theorists such as Getzels and Guba who completely omitted females in their conceptualization of a model for social behavior (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984; Shakeshaft, 1987). Another example was Fiedler, who failed to consider the "salience of gender of the leader in the group situation" when developing his theory of leadership effectiveness (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984, p. 193). In this exclusionary phase, women were not expected to be leaders, so there was no perceived need to study them in that role. The absence of women was not noted by any of these theorists.

"Legitimate knowledge" was defined in terms of a dominant male class which was privileged, and this knowledge in turn defined the dominant world view of our entire culture (Epstein, 1988; McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). The result was an incomplete view of knowledge, lacking the views of not only women, but also those of the non-powerful men, people of color, and other minority groups (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

A vertical value system existed in this phase of thinking, with power holders in control at the pinnacle (McIntosh, 1983). Women were encouraged to believe that the "generic man" included them, and the level of resistance to the male-centered world view

was surprisingly low (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 421). History, philosophy, textbooks, and research commonly excluded women in this phase of thought (Schmuck, 1987).

Phase Two: Compensatory

There was a consciousness of the missing woman in phase two of Feminist Phase Theory (Compensatory Thought), and a search was begun for the exceptional woman who met the male standard (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). In general, women were viewed as deficient and inferior, and it was commonly thought that women needed help in overcoming, or compensating for, their deficiencies. Women were expected and advised to assume male behaviors that would help them to become successful (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

The few women, the "exceptional" ones, who did achieve success by male standards approached the pinnacle of power by adopting male ways and having pursuits in the public sphere of leadership, not the private sphere. These women's achievements equaled those of male leaders; hence they were noticed (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). This phenomenon was described in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs Theory (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984).

Maslow (1970) narrowly viewed self-actualization as possible for women only if they

1) adopted male modes of behavior and valuing; or 2) "stayed within the boundaries of
patriarchal convention and the code of feminine behavior. Maslow never realized the
contradictory stance of his standards of self-actualization for women" (Shakeshaft & Nowell,
1984, p. 196). "When female behavior ran counter to the theory, it was the female, rather
than the theory, who was found inadequate" (Shakeshaft & Nowell, 1984, p. 197).

There was a belief in this Compensatory Phase of Feminist Phase Theory that women needed female role models to help them in their adaptations to male norms for success. A woman leader had to be truly exceptional to be noted as worthy of study, a "female Shakespeare" or at least a notable, salaried woman (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Because there were so few examples of women who reached this level of success in the public sphere, the impression persisted that women have "participated only occasionally in the production of history and culture" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 422).

Another outcome of thinking in this Compensatory Phase of Feminist Phase Theory was that only the exceptional women were studied. The many, those who remained within the private sphere, were invisible, had a minor status, and were devalued (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). The majority of women continued to be viewed as deviant, "other", or not fitting the male paradigm in this Compensatory Phase (Tetreault, 1985). In fact, the question was asked "What is wrong with women that they do not fit the theories of achievement, motivation, the theories of psycho-sexual, cognitive, social, and moral development?" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 368).

Other underlying assumptions in this Compensatory Phase were that institutions, like schools, were well functioning and not problematic. Problems of gender were attributed to the women of the institutions, and it was believed that nothing of value could be learned from them (McIntosh, 1983). Consequently, adding a few women to the institution did not "change the structure or the methodology" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 368). In research, studies continued to be about men by men (Tetreault, 1985). People in organizations believed that exceptional

women could help others to fit in, and data was kept on women in positions as faculty and administration (Twombly, 1991).

Phase Three: Bifocal

There was a focus on differences between genders in the third phase of Feminist Phase Theory, which was called "Bifocal" (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). There was a theme of "complementary but equal" in the Bifocal Phase. However, the two genders were compared and contrasted in all areas: psychology, socialization, career differences, their values, even their models of development. Stereotypes based on gender were thus reinforced due to the emphasis on differences (Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Another theme in the Bifocal Phase was the oppression of women (McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). A political motive was recognized as to *why* women have been omitted from legitimate knowledge. There was a disillusionment at the realization that white males have defined history and the curricula to best benefit themselves and their quest to retain power with the culture (McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Tetreault (1985) warned that too much emphasis on the oppression of women could reinforce the notion of women as passive victims, thereby perpetuating the patriarchal framework even further.

Several emotional responses were associated with the Bifocal Phase. First, anger was a response to the realization that the misogyny present in the first three phases of thought served to perpetuate "invisible paradigms" within the culture. "...Invisible paradigms are related to ideology. The more coherent an ideology and the better it serves the interests of those who benefit from the status quo, the less visible these paradigms will be to those who

perpetuate them" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 417). Both males and females were uncomfortable when discussing social structures that limited women. Women did not want to believe that they would face obstacles they could not overcome; and men did not want to believe that their gender was culpable (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 423).

The emotional response felt by students sometimes resulted in denial. Women sometimes held a strong belief that they alone could overcome and sometimes expressed faith in an "individual solution" which would allow them to succeed on their exceptional merit (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 423). Some women and minority group members abandoned some of their best qualities in order to achieve this "individual solution", wanting to meet the white male standard. It was problematic if women and minorities lost their differences to mimic while males. There were positive effects of diversity that were being forsaken; "we have helped women become just like the school leaders we already have rather than celebrating their differences" (Schmuck, 1987, p. 15).

Why did women try to assimilate rather than revolt? According to McIntosh (1983), women identified with authority. Also, when difficulties were experienced, there was a tendency to focus on the individual as the cause. A remedy was needed to change the defective individual (Schmuck, 1987). The model for success remained male. There was a prescribed method for reaching goals, and women continued to struggle to fit the male model (Schmuck, 1987).

Strategies abounded to help the deficient woman. Networking, workshops, and educational experiences were sought to help the inferior woman overcome her inferiority (Twombly, 1991). McIntosh described this phenomenon as "woman as an anomaly or problem" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 10). Rather than viewing the female as an anomaly or

something to be fixed, McIntosh (1983) encouraged the study of all women, not just the exceptional ones. According to McIntosh (1983), to study all women would lead to the discovery that women were not all alike and that women's values were very different from those of men. Women, contrary to men, valued diversity and pluralistic thinking, which strengthened our culture (McIntosh, 1983).

Phase Four: Feminist

There was a realization in phase four of Feminist Phase Theory, the Feminist Phase, that women have had half the human experience and that women's activities, not men's, were the measure of significance (McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Women were now the subject of study, not the object (Twombly, 1991). Knowledge was reconceptualized to include women's experiences (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985). Questions of study were "What were the majority of women doing at this time?" and "How was this significant?" and "How do individual women's experiences define the human experience?" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 370).

A pluralistic view of women was common in the Feminist Phase, and there was a realization that generalizing about them previously led to inaccuracies (Tetreault, 1985). A more holistic view emerged as well; women were not studied in isolation. Rather, class, socialization, race, and diversity of experience were considered as factors of the female experience (Twombly, 1991). In fact, psychologists in this phase emphasized the interaction between the individual and the social context the individual inhabits, and the public and private spheres were at last seen as a continuum in women's experiences (Tetreault, 1985).

Within the Feminist Phase, there was also a focus on discrimination and its causes, such as the differential grooming of male teachers, mentorship of males by males, a lack of

female role models, unequal opportunities for males and females, unfair hiring practices, and male domination on screening and selection committees (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Schmuck, 1987). Another area of focus in the Feminist Phase was the value system of females. Women valued the survival of all, arising from the private, domestic sphere, for the purpose of common survival as opposed to "getting ahead". Collaborative values were emphasized, such as developing ourselves through the development of others, including those who are different from ourselves. In addition, lateral values, or relationships, were valued by women over vertical values which put the power holders at the top of the pinnacle (present in phase one) (McIntosh, 1983).

Phase Five: Multifocal or Relational

McIntosh (1983) and Twombly (1991) described the Multifocal or Relational Phase of Feminist Phase Theory as difficult to visualize. McIntosh (1983) speculated that the values in this phase of thinking would be from the private sphere, valuing diversity, plurality, and the survival of all. Tetreault envisioned a "search for the nodal points where women's and men's experiences intersect" and anticipated that "humanness", conceived as a continuum, would replace the dualistic terms "maleness" and "femaleness" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 375). A relationship between the activities of men in the public sphere and the activities of women in the private sphere was established and recognized in this phase (Tetreault, 1985).

Men's and women's experiences were both valued and studied on their own merit and as relational to one another (Twombly, 1991). The canon of knowledge previously created by and for the privileged few would no longer be the standard (Tetreault, 1985). Rather, knowledge was mutable, was studied in its historical context, and might not pass the test of time (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Phase five research was modified to include women and had these characteristics: Research that was critical of existing social structures would be valued. It corrected old thought by providing alternative viewpoints; this was cyclical with criticism leading to alternative views, which eventually led to transformation (Schmuck, 1987).

Summary

Although there were five versions of Feminist Phase Theory, they were all very similar in their descriptions of developmental thought on feminist issues. Feminist Phase Theory has been used to categorize stages of thought in such areas as college curricula and writings in educational journals (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

The phases began at an exclusive, androcentric viewpoint in phase one which was "womanless" (Twombly, 1991) and lacking an awareness that women were absent (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Gender equity was not an issue in phase one because the male experience was used to generalize for all humankind. Women were invisible in phase one, as were others who lacked power (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). "An androcentric world view was so deeply ingrained...that it was difficult for most people to see it" (Townsend, 1993, p. 34).

Phase two of Feminist Phase Theory was Compensatory, and thinking in this stage reflected an attitude that the institution was functioning well even though an awareness was born that women were missing (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). A search was begun for the exceptional woman who fit the male standard, as the male standard was still considered the accepted norm. Hence,

women were considered exceptional and noteworthy only when their achievements equaled those of men.

There was nothing of value to be learned from women unless they adopted male ways (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). "Missing women were assumed to resemble the men who were already present in the traditional curriculum", and the criteria remained unchanged (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 422). Data was begun on women in faculty and administrative positions (Twombly, 1991).

In phase three of Feminist Phase Theory, views on gender were bifocal in nature (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Attention focused on the differences between men and women, maximizing differences and minimizing similarities. The result was a view of non-exceptional women as "deprived" or "oppressed" (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). "Invisible paradigms" were responsible for viewing women as deficient. Such paradigms were "organized around power... and around values" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 417).

To combat the oppression of women, many strategies were devised to help women overcome, but the underlying assumptions of the status quo were never questioned (Twombly, 1991). Instead, women were viewed as passive victims, and stereotypes were reinforced (Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Some women lost their differences to mimic white males and viewed their transformation to align with the male standard as their "individual solution", allowing them to succeed on merit and hard work (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Phase four of Feminist Phase Theory was the stage of Feminist Thought (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). For the first time, women's experiences stood on their own merit (McIntosh, 1983; Tetreault, 1985). Women were credited for valuing the survival of all over a desire to get ahead, for valuing collaboration and the development of others, for building relationships, and for valuing diversity and plurality (McIntosh, 1983).

Although discriminatory practices continued in the Feminist stage of phase four, the causes were recognized and identified (Schmuck, 1987). Male paradigms were no longer invisible, and their validity was questioned (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). Consequently, knowledge was reconceptualized to include women's experiences (Tetreault, 1985).

The final phase of Feminist Phase Theory, Multifocal or Relational, was difficult to visualize (McIntosh, 1983; Twombly, 1991). Feminine values of phase four continued in phase five: the valuing of diversity, plurality, and the survival of all (McIntosh, 1983). There was a cycle of critical thought, alternative ideas, and transformation in motion in phase five (Schmuck, 1987) which redefined knowledge on a perpetual basis (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). A search began in phase five for the "nodal points where women's and men's experiences intersect" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 375), and "humanness" was viewed as a continuum, replacing the dualistic conceptualizations of "maleness" and "femaleness" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 375).

Women in Education

In this section, specific examples of male domination and gender bias in the school setting are presented to support the notion of androcentrism permeating the school culture.

Second, the position of the high school principal is explored along with skills and traits most

commonly sought in candidates for principalships. Finally, common characteristics of the process for selecting a principal will be discussed.

Male Domination and Prejudice

A prejudicial history against women exists in education. Restrictions from professional organizations was one example of how women have been denied access to important networks (Ginn, 1989; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Thomas, 1986). The National Teachers' Organization denied access to women for almost the first decade of its existence, and Phi Delta Kappa "did not accept women as members until the 1970s" (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993, p. 6).

As a result, Pigford and Tonnsen (1993) found that women as a rule preferred not to say publicly that they wanted to be administrators, even while they attended graduate level classes. This fear on the part of women is supported by Ortiz (1982) who found that women who openly said they wanted to become administrators were denied tenure as late as the mid-1970s.

Perhaps the pressure on women not to enter administration was culturally based. Whitaker and Lane likened the educational system to the traditional home: "Men manage the schools and women nurture the learners" (Whitaker & Lane, 1990, p. 9). Others in educational literature have made the same observation that men manage and women teach (Ortiz, 1982; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1987; Weber, Feldman, & Poling, 1981).

Grogan (1996) found that male/female dualism is responsible for the stereotyped image of male leadership in schools. Others maintained that androcentric leadership is

dominant because leaders have typically been men. Males have thus set the standard (Grogan, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1987; Ortiz, 1982).

In more political terms, male leadership was sometimes connected to a desire on the part of men to get ahead, something perceived as lacking in women. Superintendents and school board presidents have indeed expressed that viewpoint, adding that women are "more home oriented than job oriented" (Shepard, 1998, p. 4). Epstein (1988) found that the effect of defining women as "passive" has limited their employment opportunities.

Another reason for the male domination within school administration was found to be the scientific management model, which was a male ideology (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Richards, 1988). In the corporate model, administration was male, and schools have adopted this model (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). Furthermore, "sponsorship, not open competition" was the rule for career advancement, and was a manifestation of "patriarchal exclusion" (Richards, 1988, p. 161). Schmuck called this pattern of male domination "unearned privilege" (Schmuck, 1993, p. 10), and it is typical of phase one of Feminist Phase Theory, Androcentric (or "exclusionary") Thought.

Pavan found that, in particular, women were not being hired for the positions of superintendent, assistant superintendent, or secondary principal (Pavan, 1987, p. 321). Others have found that women continue to be sorely underrepresented in school administration at all levels when compared to the ratios of female teachers (Grogan, 1996; Jones & Montenegro, 1988; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988, p. 123; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). The *American School Board Journal* in its December, 1996 issue stated that only 11% of superintendencies were held by women; 9.9% of high school principalships were held by women; and 24.8% and

43% of middle school and elementary school principalships respectively were held by women (Zakariya, 1996, p. A21). In addition, Ortiz found that

among adults (Ortiz, 1982, p. 56).

Many females occupy the teaching and the staff central office positions.

Women, even though advanced into administration, continue to maintain instruction and students as part of their work. Men, on the other hand, depart from instruction and students and assume administrative and managerial duties

Pavan and D'Angelo (1990) also found that men were more likely than women to hold line positions, "line" positions being those that can lead to the superintendency. On the other hand, Pavan and D'Angelo (1990) found women in staff positions, supervised by male holders of line positions. The high school principalship was considered a line position, one that was "commonly held on the way up by male superintendents" (Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990, p. 14). Consequently, the high school principalship continued to be dominated by men.

The stereotype of the "man in the principal's office" had to be overcome by women wanting to enter the principalship (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Porat, 1985). In sociological terms, Epstein remarked that "disparity...from the workings of power is...necessary...for maintenance of power" (Epstein, 1988, p. 42). Sander and Wiggins described educational administration as "closely related to the beliefs and values...of the persons and the groups involved in the educational system and the community in which the system functions" (Sander & Wiggins, 1985, p.112). "She would be perfect if she were a man" was a remark made by a parent serving on an interview committee for a high school principalship. The parent elaborated that the school needed someone who could "take charge, demand respect, and whip things into shape" (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993, p. 15). This parent's thinking fits into

phase one, or Androcentric Thought, of Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Prejudice against women on the part of teachers and administrators continued to be a problem. Taylor (1977) found that men were preferred for line administrative positions.

Likewise, Basse, Krussel, and Alexander (1971) found that men experienced negative attitudes towards women colleagues and bosses, not because they found them incompetent or less qualified, but because the men viewed their presence as upsetting the traditional relationships between men and women.

Similarly, Shepard (1998) found that men preferred working for other men. Gupton and Slick discovered that "many of the teachers were...not inclined to accept leadership from a woman. And the women teachers were less inclined" (Gupton & Slick, 1996, p. 5). These same authors also discovered that "some male teachers resent a woman administrator" and that the "number one area of biased treatment was related to being given less respect and being left out of the dominant male network of administrators" (Gupton & Slick, 1996, p. 40). Shakeshaft also observed that "competent women may be at more of a disadvantage that women of lesser ability" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 97).

Difficulty being accepted led to isolation in the work setting for token females in educational administration (Ortiz, 1982; Woo, 1985). Women who chose administration sometimes feared being rejected by other women, which made up the majority of their faculties, due to the hesitancy on the part of women to accept another woman as an authority figure (Ortiz, 1982; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Weber et al., 1981). However, there was also evidence that this trend may be starting to reverse (Hudson, 1998; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). Hudson (1998) found that female and male teachers did not have a preference for a male

principal or a female principal. In the same study, however, it was clear that the women teachers readily accepted the legitimate authority of a male principal, but they and the men teachers failed to attribute legitimate authority to a female principal. Hudson (1998) speculated that female principals have to prove themselves to be accepted.

Women administrators were left without support from superiors as well as subordinates. Pavan found that "females are as likely to mentor males as females"; however, "males are much more likely to mentor males than females" (Pavan, 1987, p. 324). Superintendents sometime were quite biased as evidenced by one who said

It's easier to work without women. Principals and superintendents are a management team. We need each other for survival...I don't have that concern with a guy, he talks the same language. I can count on him. I don't have to take a risk (Schmuck, 1993, p. 8).

Similarly, Kanter made the following observations about tokens and their acceptance or lack of it by the dominant group within the corporate setting:

The 'threat' a token poses is twofold. First, the token represents the danger of challenge to the dominants' premises...Second, the self-consciousness created by the token's presence is uncomfortable for people who prefer to operate in casual, superficial, and easygoing ways.... (1977, p. 222)

Another way that women posed a threat to the male infrastructure was questioning fundamental values and policies to explain gender inequity. An "extraordinary challenge" would result because of the "threat to existing practice and the distribution of power in educational institutions" (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988, p. 136).

The most critical factor in trying to advance was having a mentor (Ortiz, 1982; Pavan, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1987). Male assistant principals aspiring to an eventual superintendency found a mentor to be most helpful in achieving their promotions (Pavan, 1987). However, Ortiz (1982) found that the ambiguous male-female relationship makes a cross-gender mentoring relationship difficult, and as was stated earlier, females were less likely to mentor other females than males (Pavan, 1987).

One last impediment to women's advancement is a finding by Ortiz that "every act committed by the women tends to be evaluated beyond its meaning for the organization and taken as a sign of 'how women perform'" (Ortiz, 1982, p. 74). Similarly, Kanter (1977) found that when females err, it is widely known. In addition, Kanter (1977) observed that women developed a "public persona" to mask their emotions. These token women were trying to fit the male standard, and emotions had no place. This is phase two of Feminist Phase Theory, Compensatory Thinking.

The High School Principalship

The principal of a high school was viewed as a leader of a complex organization made up of various types of professionals: counselors, teachers, vice-principals, as well as support staff (Ortiz, 1982). The high school principal was typically required to have an administrator's credential, had likely taught at least five years, and usually had experience as a high school vice-principal (Ortiz, 1982). The high school principalship was considered a line position, held by many superintendents on their way up the career ladder (Mertz & McNeely, 1990; Ortiz, 1982; Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990). The high school principal was perceived as having a great deal of access to superiors. For example, personal contact often occurred with the superintendent and central office administrators following principals'

meetings (Ortiz, 1982). It was also likely that the high school principal served on nearly all district-wide committees and was ultimately knowledgeable about most district plans and operations (Ortiz, 1982). The high school principal operated near the core of the organization and had a direct link to the superintendent (Ortiz, 1982).

Currently, women achieve the principalship most infrequently at the high school level. Statistics show that 89% of high school principals in Oklahoma and 90.1% of high school principals nationwide are male (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998; Zakariya, 1996). The average age of the female secondary principal is 50; the average age for a male is 44 (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Generally, high school principal candidates needed to have good work experience and competence. Specifically, they were desired to possess human relations skills, organizational ability, communication skills, judgement, personality, character, poise, good health, intelligence, and a sense of humor (Miklos, 1988).

The Selection Process

Richards found the selection process "profoundly political" (Richards, 1988, p. 161):

One feature of the hidden curriculum can be the deleterious effects associated with the absence of minority and female role models in positions of educational leadership... Nowhere is the disparity between ideal and practice more damaging to the meritocratic charter of educational institutions than in the underrepresentation of women and minorities in administrative positions....schools and colleges nourish democratic values when they practice what they teach. (1988, p. 160)

In spite of laws, like Title VII of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act, which prohibited discrimination in employment on the basis of race or sex, disparity continues

(Grant & Martin, 1990; Grogan, 1996; Mertz & McNeely, 1990; Miklos, 1988; Richards, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989). Perhaps the reason such disparity continued is that sex-equity policies were not viewed as morally legitimate (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988). According to Pavan and D'Angelo, at the American Association of School Personnel Administrators' national conference in 1988, an assistant superintendent spoke on the evaluation procedures used to select educational administrators and stated, "We...all have our preferences—older or younger, men or women, internal or external. They are not legitimate questions. You can't ask them on an application, but this kind of sorting does take place" (Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990, p. 17).

To control who gets in and who gets promoted, organizations devise their own formal and informal screening systems.... The one criterion on which women would have an advantage—years of teaching experience—is devalued in the administrative selection process. (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993, pp. 14-15)

The average woman had spent 15 years teaching before seeking a principalship; the average man, 5 years (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Grant and Martin (1990) were told by women seeking principalships that they encountered such barriers to application as being told that no job openings existed or that applicants had to have coaching or athletic director experience. Another reported that a job description had been altered to fit a certain male candidate, and a former Director of Personnel reported that job descriptions were commonly rewritten to give advantage to certain male candidates, but never to benefit a woman.

Glazer (1991) saw gender bias, a lack of mentors, traditional hiring practices, inadequate advertising of job openings, role stereotypes, and a lack of opportunity to gain

experience as the most common barriers to women seeking principalships. Ortiz and Marshall (1988) also observed unfair *informal* selection occurring to maintain the separation of teaching and administration which began in the early part of this century. Shakeshaft discovered several types of filters in existence which prevent the advancement of women within educational administration: recruiting filters, application filters, selection criteria filters, interview filters, and selection decision filters (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 99). Miklos (1988) described the lack of written policy, restricted involvement in the process, and extensive reliance on interviews as weaknesses in the selection process. Selection committees and political factors were also cited by Miklos (1988) as potential barriers for women.

Shakeshaft came to realize as she conducted research on selection procedures that "what someone says they do and what they actually do may be very different" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 102). Porter, Geis, and Jennings (1983) found that most school people do not consciously discriminate, however, the evidence suggests that sexual discrimination operates largely outside of conscious awareness.

Summary

There is a long-standing prejudice against women in education (Ortiz, 1982; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1987; Tetreault, 1987). As a result, males have dominated school administration even though females have dominated teaching, making the school a mirror image of the traditional home (Whitaker & Lane, 1990). Sponsorship of males has been the means of "patriarchal exclusion" of women in career advancement (Richards, 1988, p. 161).

The high school principalship is a line position for the superintendency (Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990) but is achieved by women in only 9.9% of the positions nationwide

(Zakariya, 1996). Women had to overcome the stereotype of the "man in the principal's office" in order to achieve the high school principalship (Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993). In addition, women encountered prejudice from teachers, other administrators, and parents (Gupton & Slick, 1996; Hudson, 1998; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Schmuck, 1993; Shepard, 1988). Consequently, they were less likely to be mentored, making it more difficult to achieve the principalship (Ortiz, 1982; Pavan, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1987).

The selection process for principalships has been described as "profoundly political" (Richards, 1988). There are many filters which keep women out (Shakeshaft, 1987) as well as conscious decisions on the part of some superintendents to "sort" applicants according to their personal preferences, including gender (Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990).

Chapter Summary

Androcentric thought has been present in our culture since its inception. Masculine viewpoints have defined our religious thought, knowledge, and our laws. Androcentrism was so pervasive that it affected the thoughts of both men and women at an unconscious level because it was a cultural norm and not easily recognized by those within the culture.

Androcentric thought has served to maintain the male power structure by perpetuating cultural views that limit women. Gender stereotypes have established men as authority figures, and women as nurturers and helpers.

Recent feminist writings, such as Feminist Phase Theory, have helped identify the "invisible paradigms" within our culture that are androcentric. Feminist Phase Theory explained the evolutionary process of thinking about women and the social roles assigned to them. As more people are able to identify androcentrism, cultural thought will continue to evolve. Individuals' thinking can be categorized as phase one (Androcentric or Womanless);

phase two (Compensatory), phase three (Bifocal), phase four (Feminist), or phase five (Multifocal).

School administration continues to be dominated by men. Women continue to encounter many barriers to career advancement, such as prejudice from teachers, other administrators, and parents. Women have rarely been mentored and have particular difficulty attaining line positions, such as the high school principalship. The absence of women in the principalship has largely gone unnoticed, indicating thinking in phase one, "Womanless". There is evidence of both conscious and unconscious bias against women occurring in the selection of principals.

CHAPTER III

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

The purpose of this chapter was to outline the research procedures used to collect the data; look at the demographics of both the individuals and the school districts studied; provide working definitions of content, structure, and methodology as they pertain to the research; and present the data in those terms.

Collection of Data

To evaluate and understand the culture of the selection process, I relied on personal experience, a review of the literature, and a pilot interview. Having been an interviewee and candidate for five principalships in three different school districts, I was familiar with the interview committee model. I have also served as a member of a selection committee, so my personal experience was of help in understanding the details of that process. In addition, a review of the literature showed the process of selecting administrators to be potentially political, with abundant opportunity for gatekeepers to influence outcomes (Glazer, 1991; Grant & Martin, 1990; Grogan, 1996; Miklos, 1988; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Pavan & D'Angelo, 1990; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Richards, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1987). A pilot interview of a district superintendent who had recently filled a high school principalship helped in revising the set of questions for subsequent interviews.

Initial contact was made with potential interviewees with a faxed letter explaining the purpose of the research and personal information about myself. (See Appendix B).

The letter also stated that they would be contacted by telephone in a few days to see if they were willing to participate and to set up an interview if they were. All potential interviewees were agreeable to an interview and were gracious in giving their time and making an effort to be flexible in scheduling the interview.

Interview questions were initially very broad and open ended which is typical for explanatory case study interviews (Yin, 1989). However, the "specific information" that emerged as relevant was "not readily predictable" (Yin, 1989, p. 63). The first two interview questions were broad and general: "Tell me a little about yourself and your district" and "Please describe the latest search for a high school principal." Other questions included "What were you looking for in a principal?" and "Describe the dynamics and relationships among those involved in choosing a principal." (Questions appear in Appendix D.)

Usually, the interviewees talked freely as they answered questions, frequently preempting the need to ask some of the planned questions. If the interviewee had not already stated what gave the successful candidate the edge over other candidates, that question was eventually asked. Interviews varied according to the method used to select a principal so that procedures were well understood regarding the content (process), structure (who did what), and methodology of the search (how and why it was done that way). Consequently, questions became more focused as the interview progressed to ensure understanding of the details involved in the selection process.

Interviews lasted from 60 to 90 minutes. At the outset of each interview, two copies of an informed consent form were presented to the interviewee (See Appendix C).

One copy was theirs to keep, the other was read, signed, and returned to me. Interviews

were all conducted during the period of January through April, 1999. Interviews were all tape recorded (audio) with the permission of the interviewees and then later transcribed verbatim for analysis. Personal names and place names were altered in the transcriptions to protect anonymity of participants.

At the end of each interview, a questionnaire of personal demographics was given to each interviewee. (See Appendix E) Although interviewees had the option of completing the questionnaire at their convenience and then mailing it, all chose to fill it out during the interview. Printed material that described the search process and that showed the demographics of the district was also requested at the interview.

Subjects

A sample of four suburban or small city school districts was chosen on the basis of having conducted recent searches for high school principals (within the last two years). Two districts had chosen a male principal, and two had chosen a female principal. Within each district, the superintendent was interviewed. During that interview, a name of a second individual who participated in the selection process was requested and obtained.

All potential subjects agreed to be interviewed and to participate in the study. However, one district was eliminated because their principalship had been filled without conducting a search. Rather, the district had restructured and had reassigned building administrators, keeping the same number and same personnel. Another district was chosen as a replacement according to the necessary profile of a small city district that had chosen a female principal.

Organization of Data

Data was grouped according to the "content" of the selection process. "Content" as defined in this study was the process used in the search. Content included the process of clarifying goals and the development of a plan of action. "Structure" was defined as "who did what" and included relationships, group dynamics, task assignments, and roles as evidenced in the process. "Methodology" was the "how" and "why" of the selection process and included not only the steps of the search process, but also the expressions of what was valued in candidates.

First, demographic data on both the district and two individuals who participated in the principal searches are presented. Following that, the content (process), structure (who did what), and methodology of the search (how and why) is detailed, as described by interviewees.

Study Sites

Whitman Public Schools

Demographics of the District. Whitman was located on rolling plains surrounded by cattle and horse ranches yet was less than an hour from a large city. The community abounded with pickup trucks and western dress, giving it a rural flavor. However, Whitman also maintained a reputation of culture, supporting a symphony orchestra, ballet, art shows, and theater. The community had a population of 36,000 inhabitants, which were 83% Caucasian. Thirty percent of adults in the community held a college degree. The largest employer in the self-contained community was Tracer Technology, which employed a number of individuals with Ph.D.'s.

There was a full spectrum of academic achievement represented within the Whitman district. Sixty-one percent of the senior class took the ACT test for college entrance, with an average ACT score of 23.1. Students scored a "3" or higher on 122 exams of the College Board Advanced Placement program, earning college credit. Exams were taken in 12 different Advanced Placement courses. The high school averaged six to eight Merit Semifinalists each year. At the same time, 33% of the students were eligible for free or reduced lunches, and the dropout rate was 4%. Special education was provided to 10.8% of the district's population.

Whitman Public Schools had an enrollment of 6,700 in K-12, with approximately 850 students at the high school. The revenue per pupil was approximately \$3,800. At the secondary level, two middle schools fed into a mid-high school (grades nine and ten). Whitman had one high school that housed grades eleven and twelve. There were approximately 65 teachers at the high school with three building administrators, a principal plus two assistant principals.

The search for a new high school principal took place in the spring and summer of 1998. At that time, there were three male administrators at the high school, a female principal at the alternative high school, and all male administrative teams at each of one mid-high and two middle schools. Since that time, other than the change at the high school, a male interim was temporarily assigned as principal for the mid-high, and one female assistant was hired for a vacancy at one of the middle schools.

<u>Profiles of Interviewees.</u> Mr. Brad Bowman, Superintendent of Whitman Public Schools, had been in that position for three years when the search for a principal occurred. He had come to the district as a coach 28 years before and had entered

administration in Whitman when a friend became principal and recruited him to be his assistant principal at the junior high. Mr. Bowman had also held the positions of middle school principal, high school assistant principal, assistant superintendent, and acting superintendent, all within the Whitman district.

Mr. Bowman's highest degree was a Masters Degree in Educational Administration. His father had had a career in law enforcement, and his mother had been a homemaker. He had three brothers and a sister and was 53 years old. He had two daughters who each had a Bachelor's Degree in Education, and his wife had been a teacher for 30 years.

Mr. Ron Hill, the Whitman Public Schools Director of Secondary Education, had started his career in education as a teacher and coach. He had served as an assistant principal for 3 years, as the principal of Whitman High School for 3 years, and was newly appointed in his director's position at the time of the search for a new principal of Whitman High School. Mr. Hill held a Masters Degree in Educational Administration and was working towards a Doctorate Degree, also in Educational Administration.

Mr. Hill had come from a family of five children, having three brothers and a sister. His mother had been a homemaker, and his father was a minister. His wife was currently a homemaker but had formerly been a computer analyst. He and his wife had three daughters, all currently in elementary or middle school. Mr. Hill was 41 years old.

The Successful Candidate. This district selected a female as high school principal, Dr. Sally Brown. She came from a nearby urban district where she had been an assistant principal of a high school. The principalship at Whitman became vacant when the former high school principal, Mr. Hill, as well as one of two assistant principals at the

school had been promoted to central office positions. The other assistant principal at the school left the district to take a position elsewhere in the state. Simultaneously, the district was looking for a high school principal, two assistant principals at the high school, and three elementary principals.

The Process of the Search. "Content" was what the selectors did to make their selection and included the process of clarifying goals and developing a plan of action. The director in charge of the search, Mr. Ron Hill, was brand new in his own position as Director of Secondary Education. He was also exiting the principalship at Whitman High School, so he was choosing his own replacement. It was evident that he took the responsibility very seriously and considered many factors before beginning the task. He considered using the committee process to make the selection but decided against that:

When I sit down and I think about the stakeholders of the principal, that a principal has, I find it short-sighted to think that a committee of prominent citizens, important teacher-leaders, and a central office person have the capacity to understand how a cafeteria worker would view that person.... I had so many variables that there was no way that a committee of six or seven people could come up with the same type things with the same intensity that I had to exercise in that situation.... I care so deeply about those people that are still there that that person that was assuming the role that I was leaving, I didn't want to leave that to chance.... I'm not against committees hiring at all. In fact, the mid-high principal's job, I placed an interim there, and that position will be hired by a committee this time.

Brad Bowman, the superintendent, described the Whitman search process as "getting on the grapevine":

We found four of five people based upon networking. We actively went out. We called principals from major districts that had had tenure in our schools and programs that were well thought of in the state....

That had been new to me as a superintendent, but we had had some success in doing that in some coaching areas and going out and doing some networking and going after some people that were up and coming.... While we did jump through the hoops of posting, the applicants we really wanted, we went after them and actually talked to them about that and tried to recruit them in here and tried to show them the benefits of coming.

The next thing that Mr. Hill did was post the position in urban newspapers. Once he had done that, he started making initial contacts with educators that he knew. He was not rushed in making the selection; rather he took a slow and methodical approach:

We posted it for a lengthy amount of time. In fact, one of the interesting things was a concern that we were taking so long to find the candidates. My position on that was if I didn't find the right one, I would go with an interim.... I look for the best there is, based on the attributes that the context requires, based on where the organization is at the time. I feel like in education we wait for them to come to us. I like to go to them and find them out.... I went to the best educator friends I know in the state and in neighboring states and told them 'Tell me who the best administrator is that you know, and tell me about their attributes.'

Superintendent Bowman set out initially to hire an experienced principal from a similarly sized district. However, Whitman was unable to compete with similarly sized districts on salary. He also observed that there was a shortage of experienced, quality principals in the state.

...In our opinion, there is a lack of quality lead principals, and those that were quality lead principals, we could not compete. We could not lure them away because of their commitment to their community, just because we didn't pay as much salary.... We considered that first. Then when we brought two or three of those people up here, it was very obvious that we couldn't compete, because we pay probably \$5000 less than some of the other major principalships.... I mean we went after a principal in a Metro (urban district) school who had been principal for 20 years in a strong school. He brought his wife up here...but when we started talking salary, we just couldn't beat it....

When the district found it was not possible to attract an experienced principal, the decision was made to look for a seasoned assistant principal. Mr. Bowman observed:

I was looking for experience and our preference would have been...to have gotten a proven principal at a well-respected high school in the state. That was our goal.... Then we decided that we had to go after quality assistants that had the potential, that had some experience...somebody that had been in the ranks...a solid reputable assistant who had had experience in the education profession...a tenured administrator who had had experience in a large school that was well-thought of within that district. That is kind of what we were looking for.

Mr. Hill gave some examples of the variables he considered in making the decision to utilize a headhunter or networking approach over a committee approach:

I knew the capacity of the staff. I knew the culture of the staff very well.... One of the variables that I looked at from a technical sense was an attempt to build a better coalition between the mid-high school, the nine and ten center, and the eleventh and twelfth grade, where there is not good continuity in the curriculum.

Superintendent Bowman's personal philosophy underlying his actions while conducting the search for a principal involved his views of the position. He viewed the high school principal as a powerful and vital contact point:

Your high school is what carries your community.... Your contact point is still at that site. It being the exit point of the school district is what makes that such a powerful site and position.... Really, the two most powerful positions are the high school principal's job and the superintendent...in this community, the superintendent and the high school principal carry the strokes.... If there are concerns based upon the day to day operations out there, expressed from my principal, I'm going to listen very, very closely to that individual.

Mr. Hill looked at selecting a principal as

a problem to solve, no more, no less.... Formulating that problem went into the current state of the school district itself, the state of the building, the state of the feeder building, the state of the staff internally, lots of different variables.

When asked about the procedure itself, Mr. Hill responded

I don't know anybody else that does this, and I don't have a patent on it. In fact, I probably couldn't write the recipe down. I don't want that to be a backhanded

compliment. It's just that I try to work really hard in defining what the needs are in a specific situation.... I think oftentimes the 'good old boy' system fills positions in school districts. That's okay if 'good old boy' is a good performer. If not, they need to go to plan B.

However, Mr. Bowman was unsure whether he would use this method of selection again. He had filled the high school principalship two other times during his tenure as superintendent or assistant superintendent and had never before used this model. When asked about using it again, he responded that he had a preference for group participation and that it was a long, drawn out process. However, he also had ultimate confidence in the director who was in charge of the search:

Well, I don't know. That goes a little contrary to my philosophy about group participation.... It was recommended that we do it this way.... I have a lot of confidence in the person assigned that task and that was their style.... I had watched...him hire good people time after time after time, people good for kids.

One of the pressures that Mr. Hill experienced in making the selection was from and for internal candidates who wanted the position. He described dealing with "lots of political agendas to get them into the position." However, because he did not view these individuals as "fit" for the position, he declined to consider them and was very honest and open about his reasons:

However much compassion that I have for them as a person, I felt that I had a responsibility to the district and the purpose of the district to tell those people that they would not be considered in that context.

Structure of the Search. "Structure" was defined as "who did what" and included relationships, influence, group dynamics, task assignments, and roles of those making the selection. The Whitman superintendent, Mr. Bowman, described the search process as very "unique" and conducted by the Director of Secondary Instruction, Mr. Hill, at the superintendent's direction. Mr. Bowman said that he was involved at the outset of the process "in terms of sitting down and talking about what we were looking for" but that he then "got out of it." The number of individuals involved in the selection was very small, mostly the superintendent and the director.

Mr. Bowman recognized that whoever was chosen to fill the position, of utmost importance was "a good feeling between that director and that person." Regarding the autonomy Mr. Hill had in the selection process, he said, "There was a flattering amount of confidence of whomever I chose is fine. I knew that would be the reaction." The superintendent spoke very highly of Mr. Hill, the director:

I had a lot of trust in this individual who was doing the work and knew that he was good at analyzing people.... He's unique in his thought process. His strength is organizations; he studies organizations.... I have a lot of respect for the director that I assigned that job to.... The value system is the same.... This person has a wonderful track record.

Mr. Hill, the director who did the search described himself as "probably the person in the best position to choose that candidate." He added, "I had virtual autonomy. It was the situation at the time that dictated that." The "situation" was having the high school administration (three positions) vacant all at the same time plus having the

superintendent busy with filling three elementary principalships and mentoring two new directors at the central office.

Mr. Hill decided to move one of the high school counselors into one of the two vacant assistant principal positions before filling the principalship. He described her as having "a historical and global understanding of the academic needs of the school district. This person was in some ways a barometer of the type of person that I chose." It was important to him for the new principal to be able to work well with the new assistant due to the assistant's "keen understanding of the needs." He also involved the Director of Personnel as a sounding board as he considered, "Where are the gaps in my thinking?" Although he largely worked alone in the search, he said, "I do not have all the answers. I like lots of different perceptions." He was self-conscious as he progressed through the search, questioning his own views at times, "I look at my thinking largely as assumptions. I do not know the right answer." Mr. Hill eventually considered four different candidates:

I felt like that was a negotiation. I did one of those by myself, and then I would bring in the assistant principal, the lady that was an assistant, and also the Personnel Director in to get their perceptions. The reason was...they think very differently from me, and that was my check and balance to see from their view of the world what we were looking at.

The superintendent did not become involved again until the final two interviews.

Mr. Hill described the culmination of the search this way, "There were two that I sent down to visit with the superintendent. One of those was the successful candidate." Mr.

Bowman said, "A recommendation came to the superintendent, and the superintendent

sat down and interviewed two individuals." Regarding the successful candidate, Dr. Sally Brown, the superintendent said, "I met with her one-on-one, sat with her about two and a half to three hours just talking with her about different things." When asked who was with them in the interview, the superintendent said, "There wasn't anybody else there."

Methodology of the Search. "Methodology" was the "how" and "why" of the selection process. Besides the steps of the process, methodology included expressions of values and what selectors were looking for in candidates.

Mr. Bowman, the Whitman superintendent, described the steps in the selection process in these terms:

We called principals from major districts that had had tenure in our schools....

We went out, and we actively had people coming up, bringing their spouses, and looking at our community and talking with us.... If a candidate looked good initially, and they checked out okay, and they looked very promising, the district pursued them.

Mr. Hill, the Director of Secondary Education, described the selections as largely a "screening process that I went through before the person was ever contacted. I went through sometimes as many as 25 to 30 phone calls before I would ever talk to the person." He got anecdotal answers from "many different people about this person" and then he networked once he "zeroed in on a potential candidate." He described it this way:

I got some names of some who had been the principal of the year and I had some names that were totally obscure. There were different sized schools; those things do not concern me a great deal once I get the human attributes I'm looking for.

Mr. Bowman described the drawbacks to the procedure as taking a lot of time to complete and spending a lot of time doing background checks only to find out something that meant they had to start over:

We had in this process some people that were very good candidates that, as we got to further checking them out we found out that maybe some of their traits would not fit into our school, into our community, what we were looking for....

That took a lot of time for that director. That's basically what that Director did for six weeks.

While conducting the search, Mr. Hill was concerned with how he might "empathize for people that I don't even know." He wanted a principal that would be concerned with what was good for all the constituents of the school. He described his approach and the responses he received when making telephone calls:

I checked to minutiae level with different people, such as secretaries and principals who dealt with them from a different role.... I think the most important variable that I found was checking people that had a different role.... I have to say that I got excellent answers. And when I didn't get excellent answers, I went to a different source. I just kept digging.

Mr. Bowman elaborated at great length what it was that he was looking for in a principal. He looked at the size of the school, the demographics of the school, and the kinds of jobs they had done: "Were they involved in discipline for a while? Had they been involved in the curriculum part of it? Had they been on committees at the district level?" He said he also wanted to "get somebody that understood the broad scope of dealing with all levels of kids."

Mr. Bowman enumerated several skills and experiences that Dr. Brown had successfully mastered in her previous job that helped her get this one:

...She understood what was going on in terms of having to make tough decisions about kids.... She had been in the vocational side of education.... She'd also been involved at her school in developing AP classes...and she had been in a disciplinary role. She had supervised athletics. She had worked in two at-risk schools that were tough schools so she understood drugs and gangs and weapons. And then she had served on a central office negotiations team.... She had been right there when negotiating the hard line with the teachers. That told me she was well thought of in Metro District in terms of her consensus building skills, her ability to communicate, and those kinds of things. The other thing I liked about her was that...she was a longtime educator. She had been in it for over twenty years.... I was looking for experience in terms of dealing, not only with the academics, but with the activities and the community.... I was looking for professionalism...and what people thought about them as an administrator....

A strategy that Mr. Hill used in making contacts was to tell them "the context that we were dealing with, and that would often stimulate thinking about people. It would click with them, several days after sometimes." An example of the type of question used in Mr. Hill's telephone calls is "How does this person deal with kids when you get involved in a discipline situation?" Other questions were "How do they deal with a person that they disagree with?" and "How do they make decisions?" and "Do they ask opinions of other people?"

Besides calling their principals, Mr. Hill said he often talked to secretaries, which he found to be very open. He watched for certain behaviors in those he contacted:

Most of those were emotional that appealed to that person or did not appeal to that person. And I found that the more guarded they were, the deeper I needed to check because there may be something there about a person.... Sometimes the honesty was something that people had a difficult time dealing with, and that is an attractive trait to me.

Mr. Hill looked for triangulation of views by making numerous contacts with people in various positions: "you would get a consistent pattern on a person." He was cautious in assessing what people told him about a candidate:

I think that what you have to weigh in there is the possibility that all those people are wrong. Always keep that in mind because there are some people that are perfectly capable of snowing others or being pretentious.

Another quality highly valued by the superintendent was loyalty. He perceived Dr. Brown as loyal and elaborated on the role that loyalty plays in administration. In addition, he made several references to the "team", such as: "Once the team makes a decision we come out of it and we expect our team to support that. If they can't support it, then they don't need to be part of our team." He continued by saying

We worked very hard at trying to assemble a team that is loyal.... We have enough problems trying to deal with our constituents, and once the constituents find there's a crack in the administrative team, then they just start prying you apart.... Loyalty and being able to be part of a team, being able to take defeat as a member of the team, not always getting your way was very important.

Mr. Hill wanted particular human traits in the principal. He said, "We can all work for nice people who stand for something." Mr. Hill knew precisely what he was looking for and tailored his questions to inquire about values, habits, personality, leadership style, and behaviors:

We have some very strong faculty members. I wanted a person who was not intimidated by that.... I also wanted someone who could empathize with people's needs, was not a control freak, knew how to dialog properly. Some of those issues defaulted to the emotional and the personal needs of the building.... I wanted someone who was willing to think about others in their personal situations.... I felt like it was going to have to be a person that was capable of developing the understanding of the needs of this community, both at the top end and the bottom end academically, and then understand the other variables of working in a community where there were so many Ph.D.'s.... I needed somebody both with the finesse to deal with those people but at the same time somebody who would stand their ground to protect what we have.... I did not want anybody who was selfish. So some of the questions that one asks about, 'Do they move a lot? How does their family like that?'.... I wanted somebody who had strong internal locus of control. I didn't want somebody...being influenced politically in every situation that occurred for popularity.

Other considerations that Mr. Bowman valued in Dr. Brown were her terminal degree and her success in a large district. Dr. Brown had interviewed in the Whitman district for an assistant principal's position two years earlier. She had been in the top two at that time. To Mr. Bowman, this fact meant that "we had a little inside to her."

Regarding her gender, the Whitman superintendent, Mr. Bowman, said, "She is the first female secondary principal that I can remember in 30 years. We've had assistants, but she's the first." He also commented on personal aspects of her life:

She's a single parent. Her kids were pretty much grown which meant that her life or career could take center stage, and her family was close. Aging parents could be there where it could work out...

Mr. Hill delved into the personal fabric of each candidate by asking about his or her family and parents. He said he tried to "find out the basic fiber of the human being." He explained his reason for doing so:

...Certainly Sigmund Freud and his assistant, Carl Jung, had strong opinions that our personalities are developed by the interrelationships with mom and dad, whether we're ambivalent to them, whether we're close to their nurturing side.

Oftentimes I say 'Tell me about your parents' or 'Tell me about your mom.'

When Mr. Hill felt like he had a candidate that exhibited the characteristics he wanted, he could "sit down with them face-to-face and say 'Are you interested in talking to me?" Another of Hill's goals was to "through that process of building to that climax of honesty, be able to have trust before trust developed." Honesty was a two-way process, and he himself was open and honest with the candidates:

In the ultimate stages of hiring, I wanted them to know what the expectations were of the community, the district, what my expectations were as a supervisor so there were really no surprises.... Also, in those final stages, I had to give them the good, the bad, and the ugly to make sure that they were going to be a technical and an emotional fit, to know what they were getting into.

The superintendent interviewed two individuals at the end of the process. Earlier, a candidate had turned down an offer, and another had been eliminated just when an offer was forthcoming. Regarding the interviews of Dr. Brown and one other candidate, Mr. Bowman commented that he spent the first hour doing the "formalized stuff." Then he switched and "really got down into the nitty gritty part of it."

We talked about my background, where I was coming from, what was going on, my value base. Then I listened to the individuals so that I knew where they were coming from, what they believed. That basically took up the largest part of the interview, seeing if the value bases were compatible.

By the time the final decision was made, Mr. Bowman felt like "we were already behind. Especially being turned down twice by what we thought were quality principals." He commented that "through a series of negotiations and talking, this thing took about four months." He felt that Dr. Brown would have been a finalist even if they had conducted the search "the traditional way." Regarding his satisfaction with the outcome of the search, Mr. Bowman said, "I've got a winner. There's no doubt in my mind."

When Mr. Hill spoke of his level of satisfaction with the outcome of the principal search, he said

I feel very comfortable when I hired the lady that I hired that she was the right person. There were others who had as good of attributes in certain areas, but I felt like that was the ultimate fit that would work when I personalized the whole situation.

Regarding salary, which had caused one candidate to refuse an offer, Mr. Bowman made this remark:

We couldn't pay her (Dr. Brown) what she initially thought, but we told her that if she would come for the salary offered, that we would try to make that up over a period of a year or two....

Morgan Public Schools

Demographics of the District. Morgan was located at the outskirts of a large city. The community was affluent, and the price of a new home averaged \$175,000. The city was known for its many golf courses and its growth. The population of the city was 70,000, which was 87% Caucasian. Forty percent of the adults in the community held a college degree. There was a variety of industry in the nearby metro area, and two large universities were located within the Morgan community.

Morgan Public Schools had an enrollment of 16,000 in grades K-12, with 110 certified staff at Central High School, where the vacancy occurred. The expenditure per pupil was approximately \$3900 per year. At the secondary level, four middle schools fed into three comprehensive high schools, comprised of grades nine through twelve.

Only 11% of the district's enrollment qualified for free and reduced lunches, and the dropout rate was 3.6%. Special education was provided to 12% of the district's population. Of the senior class, 76% took the ACT for college entrance, with an average score of 22.9. High school students took 557 exams in the College Board's Advanced Placement program, scoring "3" or higher on 470 of them to earn college credit. The district had doubled their offerings of Advanced Placement courses from 12 to 24 over the last two years.

At the time of the search in 1997, the Central High School administrative team was made up of the principal and three assistants, two males and one female. There were

two other high schools in the community. One high school was headed by a male principal and two male and one female assistants. The other high school was headed by a female principal and two male and one female assistants. Three males and one female held the middle school principalships in that year, and there were eight middle school assistant principals, three males and five females.

<u>Profiles of Interviewees.</u> Dr. Edward Jones, Superintendent of Morgan Public Schools, was in his first year as superintendent at the time of the principal's search. The Morgan position was his second superintendency. Before that, he had been a deputy superintendent or assistant superintendent for 14 years, a director for 11 years, and had been a science teacher for 10 years.

Dr. Jones' father had been a farmer, and his mother was a homemaker. He had one sibling, a sister. He was married, and his wife was an administrative assistant. He had two sons, one who had a college degree and another who had attended technical school. He was 61 years old.

Ms. Mary Bright, the Director of Human Resources for Morgan Public Schools, had just been named to her current position shortly before the principal's search began in 1997. Before that, she had been an elementary principal for three years, an assistant principal for one year, a counselor for eight years, and a teacher for five years.

Ms. Bright's parents were both retired school principals. She was 39 years old. She was a single parent with two boys, one in college and one in public school. She had two sisters. She was working on her doctorate degree and was near the end of the program.

The Successful Candidate. The Morgan district selected a male principal, Dr. Russell Green. He was promoted from one of the middle schools in the Morgan district where he had been principal. Prior to that, Dr. Green had two years' experience as high school principal in a rural district. The vacancy at Central High School came about when the former principal retired.

The Process of the Search. "Content" was the process selectors used to make their selection. This included the process of clarifying goals and developing a plan of action. The model for the search for a new high school principal was a common one. Dr. Jones, Superintendent of Morgan Public Schools, explained, "We use a screening committee process...We use this process for selecting all of our school leaders and our major central office positions." He described the process as beginning with "identifying job specific behaviors and responsibilities." The next step was then to post the position with that job description in the metropolitan newspapers and the local newspaper. Ms. Bright, Morgan Public Schools Director of Human Resources, commented on the job description, "We put on there 'preferred five years classroom experience.' We like them to have teaching experience and administrative experience preferred. All those things are preferred."

Dr. Jones explained that the screening committee was made up of "a composition of parents, teaching staff from the building, and central office administrators," including the three associate superintendents. Of the committee membership, Dr. Jones said

We usually have three faculty members, three parents, and then Mary Bright
(Director of Human Resources) chairs the committee. She's not a voting

member...We believe in the process. It's worked quite well. We've done that for all principalships.

Dr. Jones described the process as being in the committee's hands. The committee worked with Ms. Bright, and they conducted preliminary interviews which lasted "about 45 minutes" usually all on the same day. Ms. Bright confirmed how the committee process worked:

We use a committee process when we hire all administrators in this school district. And that process started when they filled my position...Prior to that, they had committees of central office administrators...We put together a committee. We had two teachers at Central High School. We had two parents. We had all three Associate Superintendents and myself.

In describing the interview portion of the process, Ms. Bright said "They come into a room with, you know eight people at a table, and they're asked questions, and it's for an hour." She added that there was also a written question:

They're set in a room, and they can do it in handwriting and they have a dictionary, or they can use a computer. It's just to make sure that they have good writing skills, and that becomes one of the questions and is scored like any other question.

The committee eventually submitted the top names to Dr. Jones who then conducted a second interview and made a recommendation to the Board of Education. He described this step as "They send those three names to me, and then I conduct personal interviews with each of them in preparing my recommendation to go to the Board."

Structure of the Search. "Structure" was defined as "who did what" and included relationships, influence, group dynamics, task assignments, and roles of those making the selection. The first step was assembling a screening committee. Although Dr. Jones remembered the composition of the committee as having three parents and three teachers and three associate superintendents, Ms. Bright remembered having only two parents, two teachers, and the three associate superintendents. She remarked that,

We didn't have any other high school principals on the selection committee this time. We had three associate superintendents. One had been a high school principal. One had been a middle school principal, and I had been and one (associate superintendent) had been elementary school principals.

To put together a committee, Dr. Jones said, "We always go to the PTA and get representative parents from that and then the faculty appoints their own." He added, "Of course the three associate superintendents are there because in selecting principals, it may be in any one of the verticals (sub-districts) and the interplay between them may become very important too."

Ms. Bright described the selection of parents to serve on the committee as falling to the current building principal. She asked him to "give us a list of parents that you would recommend for this committee." Although the high school did not have an organized PTA, she described the parents on the committee as "active parents." She added that, "Lots of times, my secretary will just call. She'll have five names, and she'll just call" until enough parents agree to serve. She described the involvement as "a time commitment. They have to be there for the entire training and interview process. And sometimes the interview process lasts two full days."

Regarding teacher members of the committee, Ms. Bright said that they too were chosen by the existing principal. She asked for names in this manner: "Give us somebody that would be good for our committee, someone who represents your entire school, not a special interest."

The next step was posting the position in newspapers and Ms. Bright added that sometimes the district faxed out the posting to neighboring districts. She commented, "A lot of it is word of mouth. I think in the education area, high school principals will talk to other high school principals." As far as posting positions in the state administrators' association newspaper, Ms. Bright did not find that very useful due to its monthly publication schedule. She said, "Usually these are positions that you want to fill within a month. They (the association newspapers) don't come out very often." However, in this particular search, Ms. Bright found, "We had a little bit of time." The district had time to plan this search due to knowing about the existing principal's pending retirement.

Dr. Jones described the role of Ms. Bright as she worked with the screening committee:

The chairman of the panel is our Director of Human Resources, Mary
Bright...She's not a voting member... She's developed this process, and has some
very nice booklets that are made available to candidates when they apply for
positions so they understand the process. She trains the screening committee.
There's always a parity of parents to professional staff on that committee. They sit
down, and they draft interview questions that are specific, not only to the job, but
also specific to the school.

Ms. Bright described a primary role in training the committee as going over "all the issues of confidentiality." She assembled a booklet that included types of questions that could and could not be asked, information on required confidentiality, and lists of responsibilities for herself as chair and also for committee members. The booklet included a statement regarding the training process and confidentiality issues. Each committee member was required to sign the statement. Ms. Bright described that process: "They come in on an afternoon, and I have a booklet ready for them, and we go through the booklet page by page and answer their questions. They sign a piece of paper and say that they'll be confidential."

At that point, the committee began working on interview questions. Ms. Bright described the process:

We meet prior to interviewing, and we go over all the issues of confidentiality...Everyone has input, and we determine the length of the interview and how many questions we want to have. We make sure we cover a lot of different areas. That's just a process, and it takes an hour to two hours to work through and to come up with the questions, to word them the way that we want to and to put them in the sequence that we want.

Ms. Bright noticed a difference in questions coming from associate superintendents than those coming from parents or teachers. She said that the associate superintendents "will ask pretty set questions about organization or their experience and their broad-minded thinking." Parents and teachers, on the other hand, "may have a particular issue at that building that they want to know about...If it's an important issue, you go ahead and allow that." Some examples of issues for teachers that she gave were

wanting more autonomy, having teachers serve on advisory committees, school climate, and school morale. Parents wanted to know "If we do a fundraiser, how will you allow us to spend the money? Will we have input?" She added, "Those kinds of things concern the school and the people that are there very much."

Ms. Bright added, "We also have a written question. It's really almost torture. No, it's not. I've been through it." She laughed as she described the "torture." Other activities of the screening committee included a paper screening process. Ms. Bright indicated that "We do not ever hire a building principal without administrative experience." Dr. Jones described Ms. Bright as the key person involved in the paper screening:

The paper screening process is usually accomplished by our Director of Human Resources, Mary Bright, to see if the basic qualifications are there: the degrees, the preparation, and the experience that is called for in the position...The personnel office posts the position, receives all the applications and checks all those applications. And they check references and do all those kinds of things...The screening committee decides how many and who they are going to interview. They don't interview every applicant...Obviously, those that do not fit the qualifications for the job as it's posted are pointed out. The committee makes the decision. It depends upon...whether they want to waive a particular requirement, like "x" number of years of experience or something like that.

Ms. Bright described the initial screening as trimming a large number of candidates down to about eight. However, in this particular search, she said there were only six candidates, so it was not necessary to reduce the number. Once the committee

was trained and the initial screening was done, interview questions were developed by committee members. Dr. Jones described it as

...a very structured process. They have so many questions to ask and they go through and decide what questions are going to be asked. Each member of the screening committee has a particular question to ask, and they decide that these are the questions that will give us the best-balanced perspective.

Ms. Bright teaches the committee members how to do ratings of "one", "two", or "three." She explained that she gave them examples, "the 'one' being below average, 'two' is average, and 'three' is above average." She added that, "There's a criteria we look at also in the different areas, such as communication skills, and human relationship skills...We put a different book together for each committee." Her secretary then schedules the interviews on a school day.

When asked to describe the dynamics of the committee members and whether the parent and teacher members felt like they were on an equal footing with the administrative members, Dr. Jones responded, "Yes, they're put that way by the training process." He added "We make it very comfortable. I purposefully make it very comfortable. I'm there for their expertise and their observations." He elaborated on the training that Ms. Bright did with the committee members.

Mary has an excellent training process to put them through. They are all equals, and it's presented that way.... The parents are comfortable and teachers are comfortable in that role.... Everyone is equally empowered in the process....

They have a significant role. They are a representative. They represent the parents; they represent the teachers; they represent central administration.

Dr. Jones described the process as culminating in "a consensus building process" which results in the selection of three candidates. "They send those three names to me, and then I conduct personal interviews with each of them in preparing my recommendation to go to the Board." Dr. Jones typically did the second interview alone with each of the three candidates and was prepared to take one name to the Board for a vote.

However, in this particular search, Ms. Bright said "We went through the process and weren't happy with our candidates. We opened it up again, went through it again, posted it again." She continued

So we pulled back together, and Dr. Jones talked to the committee, and there was a middle school principal here that had been a high school person, an assistant principal, and had his doctorate, who was somewhat interested. And Dr. Jones asked the committee if we would pull back together and interview him.... So we pulled back together, and we conducted another interview just for him.

Prior to making a recommendation, Ms. Bright did a background check on the candidate. She contacted one or more individuals who were listed as references and then one more individual who was not listed as a reference in order to be more thorough. After the second posting and interviews and the background check, the in-district middle school principal was recommended and hired.

Ms. Bright confided that the use of the committee search had "helped a lot with the trust in our school board." While she said she sometimes got calls from Board members wanting to make sure that someone got an interview, Ms. Bright did not view that as a problem due to the small pools of candidates, "especially with the high school

principal." In the Board meeting when it was time to recommend a candidate, Ms. Bright said,

I bring everything, sit down with them in executive session, and pass out the booklet. I show them who the committee members were, what questions were asked, who all applied, and then say, 'This is the candidate.' And I pass out that person's resume and talk about the person and the strengths of that person...The process itself, I think, helps build credibility...They have been very impressed with the process.

When asked to describe the Board's role in the selection process, Dr. Jones responded that "the Board has the authority to contract for employment, from a legal standpoint." He added

Of course, the Board's going to be interested in what this person's qualifications are, and the background of the interview, and about the cultural fit too. Will they be able to work in the community and so on?...They look at it from a broader perspective as well, as far as the total administrative team. So it's important for me to be able to share that with them.

The last role performed by the committee, after the candidate was named and approved, was "getting that person inducted and introduced to the faculty and to the community. It's really kind of a celebration. They kind of take over and do it."

Methodology of the Search. "Methodology" was the "how" of the selection process and included activities and steps of the process as well as the formation of opinions and clarification of values which occurred as selectors moved through the process. Dr. Jones had implemented the screening committee model of administrator

selection the year before this principal search took place. He said that he had previously used that process exclusively in another district. He stated his reasons in these terms, "I'm a strong believer philosophically in site-based, shared decision-making. It incorporates that aspect quite heavily." Dr. Jones described what he was looking for and what he wanted the selection process to achieve:

Of course, the important feature of this process is that it's tied in to the culture of the school. We're trying to find the fit. People are going to have the qualifications. I mean that's easy to determine. They've got the degrees and all of those. When it gets down to the interview process and the screening process that they go through, we're looking for "cultural fit" for that particular job and that particular school.

And the ownership is built right in because you've got parents and teachers there that are going to be looking at the person that does fit their particular needs for that school in leadership style and so on.

Dr. Jones discussed the types of questions that committee members came up with as "there are a few canned questions," such as "Introduce yourself and tell us a little bit about you and your experiences and your philosophy." He added, "There will be specific questions that they're looking for based on the job description and the needs of the school." He also said, "each member of the screening committee has a particular question to ask."

Ms. Bright viewed the most important aspect of the interview process as "treating everyone fairly that comes in for an interview and that you ask the same questions the same way." She said that she cautioned committee members not to give the candidates

hints at what they were looking for in an answer. She felt that if a committee member said something like, "Well, do you send out a newsletter?" that it "gives them the answer." In the interviews, Ms. Bright had the responsibility of clarifying questions for candidates. She explained that the committee tried to word questions so that "they're not too broad" and also so "they're not 'yes' and 'no' answers." As the chair of the committee, she would "reword it" if a candidate needed clarification, and she also kept the committee operating on schedule.

Dr. Jones said that it was very important to give the committee autonomy and to insure that the process was conducted in an unbiased fashion:

They (the committee) spent a lot of time with this, so I want to take into consideration everything they have to tell me. I trust them with the process. I don't have any preconceived notions about it. Oh well, the superintendent's favorite candidate, make sure we got him on the list. Absolutely, I stay away from that. I want to leave it completely open and unbiased as possible.

When asked if the committee members, as representatives for other teachers and parents, pyramided back with their peers during the process, Dr. Jones raised the issue of confidentiality,

As far as networking is concerned, during the interviewing process, it's very confidential. They do sign a pledge form. They do not talk about it to anyone outside the interviewing committee...So we don't talk about who's being interviewed and 'what do you think about this person or that person?' It stays within that interview team. It's kept at a very professional level.

Ms. Bright also viewed confidentiality as a major concern, saying, "Nothing is to be discussed among committee members. It's almost like a jury until everything is done because that can sway you in one way or another." She added,

There is a lot of pressure on parents that are on the committee. Other parents will call and want to know who has applied...Teachers get a lot of pressure. Teachers in the building, wanting to know who has applied and what are the questions going to be...They can discuss it generally (the process), but they're not to give specific information.

As far as the weight that the committee carried in selecting a principal, Dr. Jones said, "I place more weight on the screening committee than anything else." He added, When they finish their screening and they have their top three people, they give me a debrief on each one of them: strengths, weaknesses, and the way they perceive the person. So I have a pretty good feel as to how the screening committee is feeling about those three people. I listen to that very carefully because I believe that the cultural fit is very, very important to the success of the person if they're going to fit with the job, working with the faculty and the community. They're going to be successful because those people will make them successful.

Ms. Bright explained that once the committee interviews were completed, the committee members looked at their ratings. At this point, the candidates were ranked according to committee member ratings to identify the top three. Ms. Bright remarked on the process and said that in most searches, "Those were the people we liked, that we felt comfortable with. Any of the three would be fine." She made the observation that Dr.

Jones "has liked the top candidates too. So we haven't ever had a problem with it." She added, "Dr. Jones listens to your input. He wants what's best for the school."

She added, "We'll look at the top three scores...but if our numbers disagree with our intuition, then we need to talk about that." Since committee members did not want to make a recommendation until the second round interview of Dr. Green, that did not happen in this search. However, Ms. Bright recalled one instance when the ratings did not match the committee's final choice:

There was one time when the person who was ranked fifth did a terrible interview, but she was a principal in the district, and people knew her...It was just one of those things where people knew that it was not a good interview.

When the committee's work was complete, Dr. Jones said he received the committee's top three names. Of the top three candidates, he said that two had been indistrict (including Dr. Green) and one had been from outside the district. Dr. Jones said he got the three names in a "debrief" meeting with the committee, which was the first meeting that he had with the group. He stated that he did not want to know how the candidates were ranked,

I asked them for the top three, and I don't want to know which...I can tell that when I go through the debriefing from the information they share with me. I can get a pretty good idea how they stack up...It's a debrief. I go in and it's kind of an interview. They feed back to me: 'These are our top three candidates. Here's what we found were the strengths and the weaknesses.'

Dr. Jones commented a great deal on confidentiality. He said that he did not want details of the selection process shared outside the committee and described the procedure,

When the top three candidates are selected, they (the committee) share them with me, and no one knows who those top candidates are. And of course, no one knows my recommendation until it goes to the Board. The worst thing that can happen is for the Board to hear about it before they get the recommendation. We don't allow politics to enter it.

After the committee's work was complete, Dr. Jones conducted a "personal interview" with the finalists. He mentioned looking at "another dimension" in his private interviews because "that person will be a part of the administrative team of the entire district." He had other issues that he explored as well:

Basically, I ask for the cultural fit and I use a lot of verifying questions based on the questions the team used. I will usually explore things like vision and what their career goals and path are. By the time the three people come to me, there's a very good assessment already made of their cultural fit and their qualifications. I can see that. Now, I'm looking for someone who can show me some of the characteristics of long-term leadership. I want to know where that person wants to be five years from now. If I place them in that position, can I help them grow and achieve that?...I'm looking a little bit at their ego drive. What are their career goals and aspirations?...If you've got a person that wants to grow in that organization, and that's the kind of "fit" they have, then you're going to have a successful person that you can nurture and develop...Will they be happy there? What will be their mix in the total administrative team? I'll talk to them a lot about the district and our philosophy and where we're going. I'll get them to share their philosophy. I'm kind of looking for a broader fix than maybe the screening

committee does because they're dealing with that discreet position in that specific school. I'm looking at how they fit the entire team. Team work and team development is one of my priorities. It's kind of like a coach putting a team together.

Because Dr. Jones mentioned "vision" as an important consideration, he was asked what he looked for in that area. He replied,

From a standpoint of vision, what's their personal philosophy and is this a person that is a maintainer or a change agent? And of course, it depends upon the school, the "fit", and their style, how they would go about incorporating that. And of course, vision primarily is a whole process of being able to set goals and motivating commitment of the staff.

Dr. Jones said that the leadership style that he valued included site-based, shared decision making and empowerment of others. He said,

The principal's role as a leader rather than a manager is very, very important in the process because it's got to be an individual that can share power, can share in decision making, and exercise leadership skill instead of management skills...The style of principal that we look for is one that is very astute at participatory management styles or "lead management" versus "boss management."

Ms. Bright had concerns early in the selection about the six candidates who applied. The committee had interviewed all six. She described one candidate "from a comparable school district" but with "a whole different attitude about how to run a school, more traditional, more old-fashioned." She described the other candidates as well:

The other people were from little bitty places that had maybe worked with 60 students in a high school, or 300 in a high school...It's a whole different ball game. And this is like a small college campus almost, with 1800, and the type of classes that are offered...And then the demands of this community are such that personality-wise I would be somewhat concerned with some of the people that applied. Poor grammar, just issues that really stood out...One of our questions was on certain books that educators should be aware of. They were not aware of that. Or "What's the last book you've read?" It's a struggle for some of them.

Of the six, there was one who stood out. He was already a high school principal from a metropolitan district. Ms. Bright described him as a "very dynamic person, and he was the one. He had it all together and had worked with enrichment programs." She described what happened next:

This Kenwood principal came in and met with Dr. Jones, and we were going to hire him, but the pay wasn't enough. We upped it the most we could, and he withdrew. It's my understanding that Kenwood countered the offer and paid him a whole lot more to stay. So Dr. Jones thought he was kicking the tires...When there are not very many outstanding high school principals, I think it does become an issue of compensation...It wasn't just the pay; it was the number of days' work. You know they examine those things right down to benefits.

At that point, the committee reconvened, the position was re-posted, and the process started over. "Dr. Jones asked the committee if (they) would pull back together and interview" an in-district middle school principal. Ms. Bright described it as "more like recruiting in a sense. And you know sometimes within (the district) people won't

apply unless they're encouraged to." She described how the process continued at that point,

We were really struggling with what to do. I mean this principal was perfectly happy with where he was at. So we pulled back together, and we conducted another interview just for him.... By far he was above anyone else who had applied and who had interviewed. And I don't feel like we were settling for second best. But I'm real cautious in the fact that I think you need to be careful about recruiting and asking people to apply because they need to know that the committee makes the decision. It's not a sure thing.

Dr. Jones discussed the successful candidate and his satisfaction with the outcome:

Dr. Russell Green applied for the position. At the time, he was principal of one of our middle schools. He had previously been a high school principal in a smaller district in the state and had experience as assistant principal at one of our other high schools and then at middle schools in a neighboring district. He was an experienced administrator and had that experience. He fit the culture quite well. He and two other candidates were recommended. I selected him and recommended him for promotion to the high school principalship.

Springfield Public Schools

<u>Demographics of the District.</u> The community and business district of Springfield is connected to a large metropolitan area. Two four-lane highways lead from the nearby city to the suburb of Springfield, and light to heavy industry, such as plastics manufacturers, sprawl out along the way. The community is proud of its historical

downtown area, as evidenced by numerous advertisements along the highway and in Chamber of Commerce publications. There were approximately 19,000 inhabitants in the community, which were 79% Caucasian, 14% Native American, 5% Black, and 3% Asian or Hispanic. Only 11% of the adults in the community held a college degree, but another 23% had earned college credit hours. New and expensive housing was being built on one side of the district.

The K-12 enrollment for the district was 4,400, with 1,100 students and 67 teachers at the high school. Several dependent school districts fed into Springfield High School, making the enrollment at that site comparable to a much larger district.

Springfield's revenue per pupil was approximately \$4,400. Nearly 41% of the K-12 enrollment qualified for free and reduced lunches, and 11.3% were served in special education. The district's drop out rate was 4.5%. Sixty-two percent of the high school seniors took the ACT, and their average score was 21.5. Students scored a "3" or better to earn college credit on 25 Advanced Placement exams in eight different courses.

Typically, the district produced two National Merit Scholars each year. The socioeconomic profile of the district was bimodal, with a large percentage of poor families and another concentration of upper middle class.

Profiles of Interviewees. Dr. Steven Smith, Superintendent of Springfield Public Schools, had held his position for 11 years at the time of the search, which took place in the spring of 1998. Previously, he had been assistant superintendent, high school principal, junior high school principal, high school assistant principal, junior high school assistant principal, high school counselor, teacher, and coach, all within the Springfield school district. Dr. Smith held a Bachelors Degree in Social Sciences, a Masters Degree

in Counseling and Guidance, and a Doctorate Degree in School Administration, all from a major state university.

Dr. Smith was married and had four children, two daughters and two sons, all of which held Bachelors Degrees. One daughter and one son had earned degrees in the area of business. The other daughter had a degree in education, and the other son had a degree in engineering. Dr. Smith's wife was a career counselor. He was 66 years old and came from a family of four girls and three boys, including himself. His father had been an oil treater, and his mother had been a homemaker. In his free time, Dr. Smith enjoyed participating in civic clubs, fishing, and traveling.

Dr. Nancy White, the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction at Springfield, had also been in her position for eleven years at the time of the principal search. She had moved directly from the classroom where she taught English to the Assistant Superintendency. She explained that she was able to make such a big step because she had valuable experience serving on committees in all areas of curriculum when she was chosen. Dr. White was herself a graduate of Springfield High School. However, she had left the state to start her career as a teacher and came back to the Springfield district sixteen years ago. She held a Bachelors Degree in Secondary Education from a major state university and had earned her Masters and Doctorate in Educational Administration from a local private university.

Dr. White had one child, a son, who was currently a college student. She was married to an electrical engineer. She came from a small family, having only one brother and no sisters. Her father had worked in insurance and real estate, and her mother had been a homemaker. Dr. White was 48 years old.

The Successful Candidate. Springfield had chosen a male candidate, Mr. Bob Black, who had held the position of Assistant Principal at Springfield High School. The administrative team at the high school was made up of a principal and two assistant principals. The former principal, a male, had resigned to take a principal's position at a private high school. At the time of the search, there was one male (Mr. Black) and one female assistant principal at the high school, both of which had held their positions for several years. At other secondary sites, a female principal led the middle school (grades 6 & 7), a male headed the junior high (grades 8 & 9), and a female principal was at the alternative school (grades 9 to 12).

The Process of the Search. The "content" of the search was the process used. This included the steps of the process, the process of clarifying goals, and the development of a plan of action. Dr. Smith described the first step of the process as advertising the position both inside and outside the district: "We advertised in the administrators' organization and also the state school boards' association. We sent notices to all the colleges." Dr. White confirmed how the position was advertised, saying "We sent them (advertisements) to colleges. We post them in the Metro paper, the state administrators' newspaper, basically everywhere."

Dr. White described the selection process that had been in use in the district for a long time:

We've been using that approach for at least nine years. Almost as long as I've been here and that is a major group interview approach. We work together. We have used teachers. We did not this time. We generally use central office

personnel and as a group we develop questions and really try to cover the 'waterfront.'

Dr. Smith could not remember the exact number of applicants on the closing date, but he thought it was "17 or 18." The superintendent said the next step was to screen the applicants based on information found in the applications:

From the application, which includes personal handwriting samples of what they want to accomplish in the school district, we graded them and screened them down. We screened them to five finalists. There was one inside the district and four outside.

The interviewing committee consisted of central office administrators. Dr. Smith remembered only three members, but Dr. White remembered four. Dr. Smith had this to say about the membership of the committee, "We then formed a committee which consisted of the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent, and the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction." However, Dr. White described the committee as consisting of "central office administrators, myself, the Superintendent, the Special Education Director, and the Deputy Superintendent. He's in charge of personnel."

The superintendent said of the interviews, "We interviewed each applicant exactly the same way. We had a structured list of 14 questions." He recalled interviewing five candidates before making his recommendation to the Board:

We narrowed the five down to two finalists. Then I had an individual, as the superintendent, a follow-up interview with the two finalists. Then I made a recommendation to the Board.

When asked how many applicants there were, Dr. White said, "Maybe 10.... We look at those real carefully...Out of 10 or 12, maybe at the most there are five that we would want to interview." However, later in the interview, Dr. White said, "We had about five candidates back for another interview. We rework the questions again and we might ask some elaboration on something they said before." To clarify the numbers, Dr. White was asked again how many were interviewed the first time. She answered, "Well, we must have had four come back. We probably interviewed six or seven. Some that we scheduled to interview changed their minds."

Dr. White mentioned that references were checked on each candidate: "I might add that we send out three evaluation requests on every candidate...references." Dr. Smith also described how they check references:

We also sent out a rating sheet to each reference that was listed. We ask them to list about five references. So, of course, those were scrutinized very carefully, and we were screening them down. And we also made selective phone calls to their immediate supervisor.

Superintendent Smith indicated that the Springfield district had used the group interview model for a long time: "We have used this model ever since I've been superintendent. All key administrative jobs, we have used the committee approach." Smith added, "We have not revised it substantially. We revise the questions from time to time." When asked about the results, Smith expressed, "We're getting good results with it."

When asked if there were policies governing their searches, Dr. White said,

Yes. We've been through several EEOC investigations. If anything will straighten you out.... That's why we have the same questions. We keep all the paperwork. We keep the scores. We do reference checks, the same number on every person. Mr. Brooks (Deputy Superintendent) reworked that about ten years ago. It's as standardized as you can be.

Structure of the Search. Structure was defined as "who did what" and included relationships, group dynamics, task assignments, and roles in carrying out the process.

Central office administrators carried out the process of the search.

Superintendent Smith recalled, "We have worked together a long time." As far as the exact membership of the committee, Smith recalled, "Both assistant superintendents were on the committee and had been in the district a long time." Superintendent Smith remarked on the relationships among those on the committee, "I hired them. We're close knit although we're somewhat different personalities." Smith then described how the group worked together:

We all sat at the table with the person to be interviewed. Our rating scales were done independently. Then after we rated them, we discussed the applicants. We discussed how we thought they had performed, in an informal way. We relied very heavily on those scores we had, the rating scales. We tried to all have the same authority, not have a predominant person being the superintendent.

Assistant Superintendent White recalled the membership of the committee slightly differently from Smith, "Central office administrators: myself, the Superintendent, the Special Ed Director, and the Deputy Superintendent. He's in charge of personnel. I think it was just the four of us."

Interviews were scheduled during the school day, according to Dr. White, and teachers did not have a representative on the committee. Consequently, Dr. White was asked if teachers had communicated to the committee members what they wanted in a principal. She had a lengthy response:

We have done that. We did that when we did others. We are aware that that works and is needed in a lot of communities, and we have done it before. But the superintendent just did not go that direction this time. And really, I don't know. I don't know how the teachers feel about that.... If there are complaints and concerns about that, we just haven't heard them. Mainly, they're just too busy and don't want to mess with it. And that's another thing. They really need to be held, some, during the day. We have some after school, but you can only get so many in, and it's more difficult, and we hate to get them out of class. I know that a lot of districts involve parents and teachers.... If it were just one or two people picking, I think they'd be very concerned. I think they know it's a group. I kind of did some informal polls this last time and tried. I was very appropriate about it, and I didn't give out any information at all. I felt pretty good about our choice from the teachers' response.

Regarding the screening of applications to determine who was interviewed, Dr. White recalled that it was done like this:

The screening is done kind of informally. Mr. Brooks (Deputy Superintendent) will grab us and we'll kind of go through them. He and Dr. Smith might talk about it. There may be an occasion where we actually have a meeting and sit down and go through references, but I trust them on that. You know, if there's

anyone who looks like they might work, they'll ask us about it, Sarah (Special Ed Director) and me.

Additionally, when asked if there were some who applied who did not meet the posted qualifications, Dr. White answered,

I don't think so, but I don't.... You'd have to ask Mr. Brooks. Sorry. He screens it for that kind of stuff first. We would never even know. He would know, but I don't know.

In describing the dynamics of the individuals serving on the selection committee,

Dr. White said that although the members often had different viewpoints on other issues,
they usually agreed on these decisions. She found the consensus surprising, given the
diversity of the group along gender lines as well as experientially:

It's amazing. And we all think a little differently. It's been amazing to me how when we discuss it.... Sometimes when we score, it will be so similar it's amazing. And yet we are completely different people. On most topics we have a range of opinions. I think we work great together as a group. A part of what makes our central office interviewing team a little more valid than some is it's two men, two women, all with different areas of expertise and backgrounds. So you're not getting three or four people that have had the same career path.

Dr. Smith agreed that the individuals had differences, but he also hinted at the need for more diversity within the committee. He described the group in these terms:

We're somewhat different, the three of us. We have some commonalities and some differences. I guess the case could be made for us having more diversity on the committee, and at times, we have had.

Once the committee had narrowed the search to two or three finalists, extensive checking of references and backgrounds took place. Dr. White recalled that, "When we get to the finalists, we do lots of calling, lots of checking. They call former bosses. The superintendent and Mr. Brooks make quite a few phone calls."

Dr. White commented on the role that the Board of Education played in the selection process. She indicated that the Board of Education typically "has input with Dr. Smith about what they want." She added that the Board took a very active role once the committee had narrowed the field of candidates down to finalists:

We present them, generally, two candidates. That gives them some say so....

They ask him (Dr. Smith) for the two finalists, meaning that we could live with either one of these. Which one, though, does the superintendent recommend?

Dr. White recalled that there were either two or three finalists for the high school principalship and that the Board of Education made the final decision:

Well, to be honest, we had about three top people, and they were all outstanding. Actually, we had four and then narrowed it to two. It was the closest it's ever been. It could have gone either way, actually. One was in the district.... We were very impressed with the other two also, especially one from a very large district. The final decision was left to the Board, which is very unusual. Of the two, and actually, we may have taken three names in, it was very interesting because I stayed at that Board meeting and stayed and stayed, and it was 12:00, and I had a bunch of stuff going. So I left and I did not know who was principal until I got a phone call.

Methodology of the Search. Methodology was "the how and why" of the selection process and included expressions of what was valued in candidates. For example, Dr. White stated the overall goals of the search were focused on academics:

We seriously in this district are concerned with curriculum and academics. We're not just looking for a manager of a school site. We want someone who even if they haven't developed curriculum, knows about it, is concerned about it, reads about it. Usually, it hinged a lot on those curriculum issues because most of the people applying have done discipline.

Dr. White continued describing what the committee was looking for, someone who presented themselves well in the interview, someone with some experience, and someone who can lead:

They've all done management. Maybe I'm overstating that a little bit, but it's the kind of interview, open ended enough, that they have to have some PR skills and be very articulate. Experience counts, but not any more than any other area. It's not weighted at all. Basically, we all want the same thing. We want someone who presents themselves well, manages well, and who can be a good school leader.

Dr. Smith emphasized that the interviews were standardized, "We interviewed each applicant exactly the same way." He added,

We had a structured list of 14 questions, which we asked all of them, and we rotated the questions and asked some follow-up questions. We had a grading sheet for these questions with a scale from 1 to 10, and all three of us rated them. We tallied up the points. We narrowed the five down to two finalists, then I had an

individual, as the Superintendent, a follow-up interview with the two finalists.

Then I made a recommendation to the Board.

Dr. White confirmed that all candidates were interviewed the same way, but she recalled that occasionally there was some difficulty doing so:

Everyone is interviewed the same way. I tease them about if you want reliable interviews, you can't throw out these little "special questions" with some of your candidates because it's going to give them such an advantage if you haven't asked them of everyone. So I try to keep them in the true "research mode," but it's hard. (laughs)

She also remembered meeting as a group to organize the questions:

He lets us all proof it. We change it a little bit and rework them and tweak it. He gives us the questions we used the last time. We try to keep them somewhat fresh, but we all work together on that. We sit down and tend to ask the questions in our area of concern.

As for specific questions, Dr. White recalled that questions dealt with "management, discipline style, several curriculum issues, special education...We try to make them as open as we possibly can." She added, "We ask, 'Tell us your strengths and your weaknesses.' And they can go anywhere with that." Dr. White elaborated on the technical aspects of the interviews:

We rotate around the room asking these different questions. We all keep a score sheet. So it's completely individual scoring. But then we discuss and try to come to consensus. But we'll turn in our ratings and see how they jive. If they don't jive, we'll talk about it more.

She viewed the interview as central to being selected:

Basically, we put a lot of credence into their interview. When we took the time to interview properly and write good questions, it was so easy to see. I mean it just stood out immediately who would be finalists.

In describing the type of person the committee was looking for, Superintendent Smith indicated that good relationship skills were essential for a principal:

We were looking for a good "people person." In the follow-up interview that I have, I just sit down. It's a casual sort of thing, and I really try to get to know that person. What I'm trying to determine is "Will people like this person?" because we're in the people business. Is this a person that likes kids, that likes parents, a good people person?

Dr. White agreed with Smith on the importance of being a "people person":

If you aren't a "people person," you'll be eaten alive. You can be wonderful, but if people don't like you or relate to you, you'll be miserable and they will be miserable.

Smith differentiated between a manager and a leader, specifically as it pertained to academic programs:

And of course, we're looking for an academic leader. We're looking for a leader, not just a manager, but a leader. Somebody that can maintain a strong academic program and provide some leadership for that. Of course, you're looking for a good manager too, somebody who can make good schedules, be organized, and follow through.

Superintendent Smith mentioned the value of being a team player, knowledge of teaching, responsibility, and enthusiasm as other desirable traits. Successful experience was another essential characteristic that he looked for in a candidate:

We were also looking for a team player, someone that will work with other people in the district and work well with small groups. We ask them about teaching. We want to know that they know something about teaching. I'm looking for someone also that's willing to accept responsibility. And part of that responsibility is supervising personnel. Of course, enthusiasm, and we looked at their experience, their track record. We like some successful experience. We look at the quantity and the quality of the experience.

Dr. White also talked about experience, but she gave it no more importance than many other traits:

Experience counts, but not any more than any other area. It's not weighted at all. We would be more likely to hire an assistant that had some well-rounded involvement in the school than we would just somebody who's been a principal forever and is just kind of manning the ship. We want a well-rounded person. We are not opposed to young people and people in their career on their way up.

Professional growth was more important to Dr. White, and she felt like that was an important part of a candidate's experience. She said it impacted how well they interviewed: "If they've not had anything progressive and not been allowed to get out and go to professional meetings, then they're not going to do very well in the interview. It shows up." She summed it by saying, "We just want someone that you can tell is current with what's going on and cares about kids." She also thought it was acceptable for a

candidate to be honest in an interview and say so if they lacked experience in a given area. She emphasized,

We want someone likeable and not someone that knows every single thing or that knows nothing. It's okay in our minds to say, "Well, I really haven't dealt with that."

Both Dr. White and the superintendent emphasized leadership. Dr. Smith remarked that he was looking for someone "that will have a vision for this school, that can articulate that to the staff and inspire them to work with that vision." He pointed out that academics were very important to him. He had served as the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction, and he wanted "somebody that's going to be a strong instructional leader." Dr. White said that candidates were asked, "What's your style of leadership?" She described the faculty at the high school as "very involved" and added that, "We don't want a dictator, because they're not going to be successful, especially with the high school staff."

Dr. White likened the high school principalship to the superintendency in that "it's hard to find good candidates," and "it's a tough job." She continued, "It consumes your entire life. Both of those jobs do." As an example, she said, "In a town like Springfield, the principal and the superintendent better be at most every athletic event and everything else."

The superintendent named a few issues that may have influenced committee members as they made the selection. He said the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction had "a strong instructional and academic background, and she was looking for that." On

the other hand, Smith said that the Deputy Superintendent, Mr. Brooks, had been a junior high principal, and he looked for other qualities:

He was looking for someone that's a good manager. He had a strong management style and was someone he thinks that not only can get along with people well but can run a pretty tight ship as far as student behavior and having rules for the school's structure.

To summarize, Dr. Smith said, "In the end, we're looking for the most qualified person, whether they're inside or out." He added,

We have a balance in this district if you look at us historically of about 50-50. We go outside about half the time, and we stay inside about half the time. Whoever is the most qualified person is who we want to hire. Probably, we elevate more inside, but we cherry pick if we need somebody from outside.

Dr. Smith also said, "We have no preference for gender. We have quite a number of female administrators in this district."

Dr. Smith talked about community relations as part of the principal's job. He described the community as "close knit" and said, "When a good person does a good job, they bond with them, and the community tends to be kind to them." He described effective community relations:

The best community relations is for the principal to run a good school, to run a good academic program, support the activity programs. We like for our principals to be visible at activity programs. We like for them to have some visibility in the community. We do not require them to live here. Most of our administrators do. We think that it's valuable to them if they live here, if they attend church here and

become involved in a civic club. If they're involved in the community, the community people can see them out of their roles.

The selection committee named an in-district high school assistant principal as a finalist, Mr. Bob Black, and the Board chose him. Dr. Smith described the situation:

We ended up elevating an assistant principal in the district because we thought he was the most qualified person. I think the determining factors in this was that we knew that the individual we were hiring had been a good teacher, was going to be a strong instructional leader, was a person who would accept responsibility and would be held accountable, was especially well-liked by the teachers and the students. We knew these things.

Dr. White agreed with Dr. Smith that being known in the district was an advantage for the successful candidate, Mr. Black, who was "in the district currently." In fact, another finalist "had been in the district before and had gone somewhere else and been a principal." She felt that, "You have a little more knowledge base of those people." Dr. White returned to this fact later in the interview and added, "They (Board members) knew them or knew of them. In the long run they did value the things they heard about the person in the district."

Glendale Public Schools

Demographics of the District. Glendale was a freestanding community of 20,000 located in an agricultural area only thirty minutes from a sprawling metropolis. Feed stores and horse trailer sales were plentiful, and the Cattlemen's Association held an annual ball in this community. Many Glendale residents commuted to the city daily on a four-lane interstate. Others worked in Glendale at a federal project, which employed 500,

at the hospital, which employed 360, and at a metals manufacturing plant which employed 300. The school district also had 300 employees.

A small community college was located in the city, and 9% of the adults in Glendale held a college degree. The county vocational-technical school had an evening enrollment of 1,100 and a daytime enrollment of 900. The local school district had a K-12 enrollment of 2,700 students, with 37 certified staff at the high school. The ethnic makeup of the Glendale school population was 73% Caucasian, 9% Black, 14% Native American, and 4% Hispanic.

Although there was only a 2% unemployment rate within Glendale, 51% of the district's students qualified for free and reduced lunches, and 14% of the enrollment was served in special education. Fifteen percent of the K-12 enrollment qualified for gifted and talented programs, and 60% of the high school seniors took the ACT test in Glendale with an average score of 20.4. High school students took 31 Advanced Placement exams, scoring a "3" or better on four exams to earn college credit. The annual expenditure per pupil in Glendale was \$4,400.

Profiles of Interviewees. Dr. Carol Clark was a brand new superintendent when the search for a new high school principal occurred in the summer of 1998. She held a Bachelors Degree in English Education, a Masters Degree in Reading, and a Doctorate in Educational Administration, all from prestigious private universities in the South.

Prior to being named superintendent in Glendale, Dr. Clark had been a high school principal in a nearby metropolitan district for four years. She had also been a middle school principal in the same district for three years, and a director of curriculum in a district of 17,000 in another state for two years. Before that, Dr. Clark had been a

middle school principal for 1.5 years, an assistant principal at a junior high school for 1.5 years, and a reading teacher for 5.5 years. Her teaching experience took place in both an inner city, all minority, high school and at a suburban high school.

Dr. Clark was married and had two children, aged six and nine, plus a stepdaughter who was 26. She had two brothers and two sisters and was 45 years old. Her mother had been a homemaker, and her father was a physician. In her spare time, Dr. Clark spent time with her children and did community service or worked in her church.

Mr. Wayne Johnson was the Assistant Superintendent in Glendale and had held his current position for 11 years. Before that, Mr. Johnson had been an elementary principal for 14 years and an elementary teacher for three years. Mr. Johnson had been in Glendale for his entire professional career. He held a Bachelors Degree in Elementary Education and a Masters Degree in Educational Administration, both from state universities.

Mr. Johnson was married and had one daughter who had two degrees from a nearby state university. His wife worked as a secretary. Mr. Johnson came from a family of three boys, and he was 59 years old. His mother was a homemaker, and his father was a farmer. He enjoyed playing golf, reading, and gardening in his spare time and was a grandfather.

The Successful Candidate. Glendale had chosen Ms. Brenda Gray to be their high school principal. She came to them from a middle school principalship in Kenwood, a large metropolitan district only a few miles from Glendale. Prior to that, Ms. Gray had been a high school assistant principal, working for Dr. Carol Clark who was herself a principal at that time.

In Glendale, four elementary schools fed into one middle school, which housed grades six and seven. The middle school had a female principal and gained a new position of assistant principal after Dr. Clark became superintendent. The new position was filled with a male. Grades eight and nine were housed in a junior high school whose vacant principalship was filled simultaneously with the one at the high school. A male was chosen to fill the junior high principalship, and that school also acquired a new position of assistant principal under Dr. Clark. The new assistant was also male.

The Process of the Search. The "content" of the search was defined in this study as the process used to conduct the search. Clarifying goals and developing a plan of action were included in the process or content.

The Glendale search began under unusual circumstances. Dr. Clark was hired as the new superintendent in June. She confided, "Both the high school principal and the junior high principal had applied to be superintendent of this district." Both principals resigned within the first two days of Dr. Clark's superintendency. She described the situation: "I really didn't know much about personnel here, and these were two key and pivotal positions in our district."

Mr. Johnson, the Assistant Superintendent, said that the high school vacancy occurred because the exiting principal "took another job." He added,

He was a young man, about 32 years old. He had been preparing himself for a superintendency, so he took a position at a little school up north, probably a nice little starting place for him.

The first thing that Dr. Clark did to start the search process was to advertise the position in the newspapers. She said, "We did a real live search. We put it in the

newspapers...and we must have gone in some national publication.... We had some candidates who applied from outside the state." A very unique feature of the search was that Glendale used the same pool of candidates to fill both the high school and junior high school vacancies. Dr. Clark asked herself, "Why go through the whole process twice?"

The search took place during the summer of 1998. When asked how many were interviewed, Dr. Clark remembered, "It seems to me the interviews were about 20."

Interviews were conducted in "just one day, just going all the way through, every 20 minutes," according to the superintendent.

A community and school committee interviewed the candidates and narrowed the field down to "about five or six people," as Dr. Clark recalled. Mr. Johnson, the Assistant Superintendent, said of the committee, "We tried to involve some of the present administrators, some of the teachers from the high school, a Board member, a community member and kind of give it a fairly broad base."

Structure of the Search. Structure was defined as "who did what" in the search and included relationships, group dynamics, task assignments, and roles. Mr. Johnson recalled having a low level of involvement in the search. He stated,

I wasn't real involved the last time when Dr. Clark came in and our high school principal quit.... To be honest, I was so busy doing everything else that she pretty well took care of organizing the committee and interviewing and getting that going.

Dr. Clark described forming the interview committee: "I started off first with a community committee made up of parents, students, administrators, counselors, and I really don't remember how I selected that." However, later in the interview, Dr. Clark

said, "I had two assistant superintendents, and I asked them for high profile parents in the community who were well respected and well known, and they gave me their names."

Regarding the questions that the community committee used in their interviews, Dr.

Clark said,

I designed the questions that the initial interview committee asked, and it seemed like there were about 10 questions, primarily related to instructional leadership, like a situational case study.... If "this" happened to you, how would you handle it? How would you get the community involved in the school? Those kinds of questions about effective leadership tools.

Dr. Clark also addressed "taboo" questions with the committee that are illegal to ask in an interview: "Prior to them interviewing anyone, I sat down and explained to them school law and state law and personnel law and what it all meant." She also gave them other guidance, such as "This is what we're looking for in a candidate. One: we want an instructional leader. Number two: someone who's going to fit into this community."

Dr. Clark described herself as uninvolved in the actual community interviews.

She said,

My Assistant Superintendents nor I were not involved at this process. It seems like we had maybe the counselors at both the high school and the junior high school.... We had about 9 or 10 people on the committee. We had the president of student council, several parents, some representatives from Native American and from African American communities.... One of the counselors, I think, tallied them up and gave us the names. That's how uninvolved we were at that phase.

When asked to describe the group dynamics of the community committee, Dr. Clark could not. She said, "I don't know." So she telephoned the new junior high principal to ask him how it had been in the interview. Mr. Donaldson told her, "The people on the committee knew what they were supposed to ask, and the questions were straightforward and relevant to the position."

Dr. Clark said the community committee narrowed the field of candidates from 20 to the "top three or five." One of the candidates who made the cut was someone that Superintendent Clark had asked to apply. She described the candidate:

I really had in mind somebody I wanted to be high school principal. She had been my assistant principal.... She was appointed by her district to be principal at the school where I had been principal.... She had taken over a crisis situation there and turned it around. I knew she was good. I had to have somebody I could really depend on. So I invited her to apply for the position...in hopes that she could make as outstanding of a debut in her interview – which we had a committee as I knew she would, and she did.

Other candidates who were chosen by the committee for a second interview included local people. Dr. Clark described them as "several hometown folks who had no experience but, you know, would be considered." She added,

So all of their folks recommended them. So I went in there knowing who I really wanted to have as high school principal, but it was going to be a true committee decision.

The second round of interviews involved three to five candidates and were conducted by school personnel. Dr. Clark recalled that the interview team consisted of

herself and her two assistant superintendents. In addition, Dr. Clark invited one Board member to sit in on the second round of interviews as an observer. She gave her reasons for doing so:

I invited one Board member to really observe because I knew as a female superintendent, if I was going to hire a female high school principal, I was going to have to have a lot of "buy in" in a small town like this...the most conservative school board member we had. He was more of an observer to the whole thing. He wasn't a participant...in the decision because he wasn't comfortable with that.

Dr. Clark described how the group determined what questions to ask: "We got together and designed the questions. We designed them right before the interview." Following the interviews, Dr. Clark, Mr. Johnson, and the other assistant superintendent compared notes on the candidates. Dr. Clark said, "What we did after we finished interviewing everyone, we said, 'Who was your favorite?' We all chose Brenda. She was our favorite." She continued, "I think we each listed our top two or three candidates…and then kind of tallied it up."

Methodology of the Search. Methodology included the "how and why" of the search process and included what was valued in candidates. The community committee had conducted the first round of interviews and reduced the number of candidates from 20 to "three to five." Dr. Clark could not say what they were looking for in a candidate. "I don't know. Do you know?" (to Mr. Johnson) If that topic had been discussed when the superintendent met with the committee, she did not recall what they said.

When Dr. Clark asked if the community committee had rated the candidates, she answered, "Yes, they did. It seems like the top score you could have was maybe a "50." It

seems like maybe there were 10 questions." She produced a list of questions that had been used in the assistant principals' search, and she said there was some overlap with those used in the principal search. The questions included, "What is due process, and how would it affect you as an administrator?" Another question was, "How would you make yourself highly visible as a positive role model in our community?" A third question was, "What are your long range professional plans?" The fourth and fifth questions dealt with how to handle sexual harassment and the role of the principal as an instructional leader. (These questions appear in Appendix F.)

Although Dr. Clark had readily admitted, "I really had in mind somebody I wanted to be high school principal.... I knew she was good," she was adamant that her invited candidate, Brenda Gray, had to earn the position in the interview process. Dr. Clark addressed the questions used in the second round of interviews and said, "We designed them right before the interview. So then it wouldn't appear that I'd...you know I wanted to be completely above board. I hadn't given anybody any answers."

Dr. Clark recalled that the community committee had liked Brenda Gray, but she was not first on their list:

When the original interview committee had recommended her, I think she may have been either second or third on that list. But to all of us who interviewed her, she was head and shoulders above everyone else.

Dr. Clark described what she and the assistant superintendents were looking for in a high school principal:

We were looking for somebody who would give us a feeling of commitment, that they wouldn't be on their way to be superintendent or something else. That they were looking for stability now...not that they might not want to be a superintendent in five or ten years, but that we're sensing a feeling of wanting to be here for five years.

Besides commitment, the administrative interview committee was also looking for a willingness to be involved in the community. Dr. Clark asked herself,

Were they going to be involved in the Kiwanis or the Rotarians? Were they going to be involved in different aspects of this city because, particularly in a small city, you need to have a very high profile.

Dr. Clark also listed some traits that she valued and that the committee addressed in their questions. She said,

What we were really looking for was enthusiasm, flexibility, and a real willingness to continue to grow. And you can spot that pretty easily by what they'll say about themselves. You know, like conferences they've gone to, or "tell us about the most interesting research you've read lately", that kind of stuff.

She also added a "likeability factor" to her list of desired traits. Dr. Clark spoke plainly about that: "Do you like them? Because coming in as an outsider, you've got to be a likeable person." She also said that overall, in an interview,

You're not really looking for somebody with all the high quality experience you want. You're really looking for somebody who is receptive to leadership, looking for change and growth and is as excited about you as you are about them.

Dr. Clark recalled that the administrative interview team (Dr. Clark, Mr. Johnson, and the other assistant superintendent) interviewed each of the "three to five" candidates in the second round "for about an hour." Once the interviews were completed, Dr. Clark

said, "We talked about it. Who was your favorite, who was definitely the high school, and I think we knew Brenda right away." She added,

Brenda was head and shoulders above everyone else. I don't even think we tallied. We tallied on the assistant principals. On the principals, we just talked it out.... I think what we did was just sit around and casually talk about who we could work with and who looked like the best fit for our organization. I think that's what we did.

Mr. Johnson recalled the events the same way, adding that the Board member, Mr. Wilson, left the room "once we started talking about the decision and who we were going to choose." The superintendent had described Mr. Wilson as the "most conservative" Board member she had. Dr. Clark said, "We were the decision makers. Mr. Wilson was in there primarily just to observe because I was a new superintendent, and God knows what I was going to do." (laughs)

Once the administrative team decided on Brenda Gray for the high school principalship, they turned their attention to "the second person." Dr. Clark spoke openly, "I did not expect wanting him." The superintendent continued her discussion of the candidate they chose for the junior high principalship:

The second person actually happened to be an assistant principal at the middle school who had been an assistant principal for one year. But when he walked in, he literally knocked us over. He was the most enthusiastic, bubbly, wonderful person I had ever met. I had actually expected wanting someone else who we were interviewing...but he was by far the second best candidate.... It wasn't a hard decision as I recall it.

Mr. Johnson made similar remarks about Mr. Donaldson, the candidate chosen for the junior high principalship:

We had a young man who had come here from an urban district and was serving as the assistant principal at the middle school. He impressed a lot of people there with his ability to work with people and everything. So he had a lot of support from the staff and the community for him to be the principal at the junior high. We had to go through the process and everything, but at the end, he was the one that was chosen.

Mr. Johnson added that only a parking lot separated the junior high facility from the high school. He added, "They share quite a few teachers and curriculum."

Dr. Clark discussed taking only one name for each position to the Board and getting the candidates she wanted approved by the Board,

I was still on my honeymoon then, and I only started a month earlier. So it was kind of like, with the vision I had, these were the people that I needed to do what I wanted to accomplish.

Dr. Clark sang the praises of her new high school principal, Brenda Gray. It was clear that she was pleased with the outcome of the search. She said of the process, "I don't know if we were recruiting the right candidates or if the process was a very good process. But we have gotten excellent principals." She seemed to derive satisfaction from how Ms. Gray had performed in her first year and commented on a few specifics:

Brenda goes to everything, everything. She doesn't have an assistant principal. She has a dean. She's like the lead secondary principal. She works with the other two (middle school and junior high principals) on scheduling and things like that.

Dr. Clark made some observations about high school principals. She felt that, "Nobody wants to be a principal or a superintendent anymore. There's a real dearth of principal candidates right now." Speaking of her own experiences as a female in reaching for a superintendency, she remarked, "At the time that I wanted to be a high school principal and a superintendent, I think only 2% of the superintendents in the United States were women." As a result, she said the response she got from others who heard her aspirations was, "Everybody looked at me like, 'Yeah, right!"

Dr. Clark made a few other remarks about race and gender as they relate to selection of school personnel:

We don't have any minority candidates. We are working very hard right now.

We're going to a minority college career fair, everywhere we can, to actually put our antennae out and see if we can find.... And we won't hire anyone just because they're white, or just because they're black, or just because they're male, or just because they're female.

Chapter Summary

Demographics of Districts

The population of districts varied widely, ranging from 19,000 in Springfield to 70,000 in Morgan. Likewise the ratios of college-educated adults within the communities were different. Only 9% of the adults in Glendale held a college degree, and Springfield was similar to them with only 11% of the adult population holding a degree. However, 30% of the population in Whitman, and 40% of the population in Morgan, held at least a Bachelors Degree.

The percentage of students who qualified for free and reduced lunches varied from only 11% in Morgan to 33% in Whitman, 41% in Springfield, and 51% in Glendale. All four districts were similar in their special education populations, ranging from 10.8% in Whitman to 14% in Glendale. Three of the districts had 60% to 61% of their seniors who took the ACT, but Morgan had 76% of their seniors taking the college entrance exam. Average ACT scores fell between 20.4 in Glendale and 23.1 in Whitman.

Demographics of Interviewees

Three of the superintendents were male, and one was female. Three of the superintendents held a Doctorate Degree. (One male superintendent did not have a Doctorate Degree.) The female superintendent was the youngest at age 45, and she was the only new superintendent, having just started her first superintendency. The male superintendents ranged in age from 53 to 66 and had from three years' to eleven years' experience as superintendents.

In the Whitman district, the Director of Secondary Instruction (male) was the second interviewee. In the Morgan district, the Director of Human Resources (female) was a participant. In Springfield and Glendale, the second interviewees were Assistant Superintendents. Of this group, the youngest was 39 years old, a female. The oldest was 59 years old and was a male.

Seven of the eight interviewees' mothers were homemakers. The eighth, a female, had parents who were both retired school principals. Fathers' occupations ranged from farmer to physician. All but one (a female) were married and had children, and all adult children were college educated.

Content of the Search Process

Posting the Position. All four districts said that they posted their vacancies in two metropolitan newspapers in the state plus the local newspapers in their respective communities. They also posted positions in the state administrators' newsletter. One district, Glendale, ran an advertisement in a national publication. One district, Morgan, faxed their vacancies to neighboring districts.

Who was Involved in the Process. Two of the districts, Morgan and Glendale, utilized a composite committee made up of parents, teachers, and administrators to narrow the search to a few finalists. The Glendale district intentionally included ethnic representation of parents with a high profile in the community as well as a student representative in their committee. The Morgan district utilized PTA or "very active parents" in their search committees.

The Springfield district did not use a composite committee. In fact, teachers and parents were not represented on the selection committee at all. Instead, the district utilized a committee of four central office administrators, two male and two female, to make their selection.

The Whitman search was the most unique. Rather than using a committee approach, the Director of Secondary Instruction had nearly total autonomy in selecting a principal. However, his process included a great deal of input from a variety of sources as he "investigated" candidates from the perspectives of parents, secretaries, cafeteria workers, and others.

Screening the Candidates. Prior to interviewing any candidates, the Springfield superintendent and the deputy superintendent had screened a field of 17 or 18 candidates

down to only five to whom they granted interviews. The Morgan district considered their committee of parents, teachers, and assistant superintendents to be a screening committee. The objective for this group was to narrow the search to two or three finalists. The Glendale district used their community committee in a similar screening capacity, narrowing a field of 20 to three or five finalists. In Whitman, once the director found a worthy candidate, he or she was invited to the community for an interview and tour, with the director conducting the search.

Interviews. In three districts, Morgan, Glendale, and Springfield, the first round interviews all took place in one day. The Glendale community committee conducted about 20 interviews, each lasting 20 minutes. They interviewed during the summer. The Morgan and Springfield committees conducted all interviews on the same day, a school day, and the interviews lasted 45 minutes each in Morgan and an hour each in Springfield. Interestingly, the Glendale district used the same pool of candidates and the same interviewing process to fill two vacancies simultaneously: the high school principalship and the junior high principalship.

In three districts, Morgan, Springfield, and Glendale, a second interview followed the committee's interview process. In Morgan and in Springfield, the second interview was alone with the superintendent, and in Glendale the second interview took place with the superintendent and her two assistant superintendents.

Springfield prided themselves on the standardization of their process. They emphasized that they asked the same 14 questions of each candidate, but the assistant superintendent admitted that sometimes the superintendent slipped in a "special question."

Because the director in Whitman was talking to others about candidates, rather than to the candidates themselves, only finalists interviewed with the director. Only two candidates did a second interview with the Whitman superintendent before a recommendation was made to the Board.

Rating Candidates. The Springfield central office administrative team rated candidates and discussed their ratings to reach consensus following the preliminary interviews of the five candidates. In Morgan, the composite screening committee also rated their candidates in the preliminary interviews. The Whitman search, conducted by a sole individual did not use a rating system.

The Glendale district used a composite committee for the preliminary interviews, and they too ranked their candidates, using a rating system. However, in the second round of interviews, the administrative team in Glendale did not rate candidates; they just talked about them. This was a digression from what they did with the junior high principal and the assistant principals.

Reference Checks. The Morgan district did reference checks on finalists, calling references that candidates had listed plus one that they did not list. Once the Springfield administrative committee had narrowed the candidates to only two, reference checks were done by the superintendent and the deputy superintendent. The entire search process used in the Whitman search was a background and reference check. However, in Glendale, a reference check was not mentioned, likely because both successful candidates were known to those on the committee.

Recommendations to the Board. The superintendent in each district made the recommendation to the Board of Education for approval. The Springfield district took

two names to the Board, giving the Board input in the decision between candidates. The other three superintendents took only one name to their Board.

Structure of the Search

All of the searches were open to tremendous influence by the superintendent, or in the case of Whitman, the director designated to conduct the search. First, in Glendale, Morgan, and Springfield, the superintendents controlled the composition of the committee, both what the make-up of the committee would be (by role) and who the individuals would be.

Second, in both Glendale and Springfield, the superintendent largely controlled what questions would be asked. The Springfield superintendent also inserted "special questions" from time to time. In Morgan, however, the interview questions were designed by the committee. Moreover, the Glendale community committee narrowed the field of candidates to three or five. It appeared likely that the Glendale superintendent made sure that the cut did not eliminate her chosen candidate.

Third, in both Springfield and Morgan, the second interview was conducted by the superintendent alone. However, in Glendale, the superintendent included her two assistant superintendents in the second interview. It was interesting that the Glendale superintendent did not have the administrative team tally points after the second interviews. She gave herself yet another opportunity to control the outcome by avoiding tallying the points and just talking with them.

The most blatant influential act by a superintendent occurred in two districts, Glendale and Morgan. In these two districts, the superintendents invited candidates to apply. In Glendale, the superintendent invited a former assistant principal she knew to

apply, and she became the successful candidate. In Morgan, the invitation went out to the successful candidate only after the committee's choice candidate turned down the salary offer. The Morgan committee failed to find any of the remaining candidates acceptable. The superintendent then invited a local middle school principal to apply who had not applied before, and the committee liked him. He got the job.

There was no pretense in the Whitman search that any committee was in control since a committee was not even used. The director who conducted the search had virtual autonomy, as he expressed it himself.

Methodology of the Search

Each district had traits or experiences that they wanted their new principal to have. Values guided their actions as they moved through the search process. Hence, the methodology of the search was a blend of the steps of the process, intertwined with dominant values

All four districts wanted successful experience, including student discipline and academics or curriculum. Loyalty or team work was also mentioned by every district. Two districts, Springfield and Morgan, wanted "vision" and the ability to motivate others. Three of the districts mentioned wanting "people skills" or "likeability" or "relationships." Three districts wanted someone who would be very visible in the community and keep a high profile, attending nearly every student activity. Athletic activities were mentioned by three districts, and two districts wanted someone with a participatory leadership style. Other characteristics mentioned were having the right "cultural fit," having career aspirations, a commitment to stay in the position for a few years, being articulate, being able to make tough decisions, and experience serving on

district-wide committees. One district mentioned value-laden traits such as honesty and compatible value bases.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The purpose of this chapter was to interpret data on the content, structure, and methodology of the selection process using Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). This section briefly defines each of the five phases and then presents statements from interviews that illustrate thought occurring within the various phases.

Phase one was Androcentric Leadership. Women were absent from the high school principalship, but their absence was not noted. Gender equity was not listed as a needed school reform. Masculine leadership was used to generalize as the norm or standard for all leadership. Such paradigms were "invisible," operating at a subconscious level (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

In *phase two*, a consciousness was born that women were missing from the picture of the principalship. *This phase was called "Compensatory"* (Schmuck, 1987). A search was begun for the exceptional female administrator who could handle the tough job of the high school principalship, and few were found. These exceptional women were evaluated against a masculine model of "tough" leadership, and their achievements had to equal those of men in order to be recognized. The androcentric paradigms remained invisible.

Schools were perceived as well functioning institutions, as were all institutions, in phase two. It was not conceived that power holders were keeping women out of administration. When a few women did succeed, their presence did not serve to change the structure of school administration (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Phase three was called "Bifocal" (Tetreault, 1985). In this phase, there was recognition of the political and economic reasons for the discrimination against women. However, the model for attaining success, i.e. the high school principalship, remained masculine. Gender differences were maximized and dichotomized, and stereotypes were acceptable forms of thought. However, the androcentric paradigms were now visible (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Women leaders had begun to forsake feminine differences to become clones of male leaders in phase two. In phase three, many women refused to accept discrimination as a limitation and searched for the "individual solution" to overcome. Many men and women devised strategies to help women overcome, having the perception that women were in need of "repair" in order to function well in the world of school leadership.

Others recognized discrimination against women as oppression, and women were viewed as passive victims (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

In phase four, "Feminist Leadership," an acknowledgement emerged that women's experiences and knowledge could stand on their own merit. Feminist values were encouraged by both men and women, such as preferring the survival of all over

getting ahead; collaboration; developing oneself through developing others; valuing relationships; and valuing diversity and plurality.

The causes of discrimination against women were identified in phase four. Examples were grooming of males, recruitment of males over females, mentorship of only males, a lack of female role models, and unequal opportunities. In particular, male domination on screening and hiring committees was identified in phase four. The institution and its hierarchy were recognized as hurtful to women in their quest for advancement. In spite of identifying the causes of discrimination, such discrimination continued. Male and female experiences remained dichotomized (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

In phase five, administration was defined as "Multifocal" or "Relational" (Tetreault, 1985). This phase was difficult to visualize due to the short time (since 1970) that androcentrism has been recognized as underlying social thought (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Feminist values were common in society, and reconceptualization was an ongoing process. A cycle of critical thought, alternate viewpoints, and transformation was set in motion (Schmuck, 1987). The dichotomous view of gender was overtaken by a dualistic view of "humanness" (Tetreault, 1985). School leadership was studied in context and was no longer considered immutable and male (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Feminist Phase Theory provided "a record of changes in our thinking...from a male-centered perspective to one more gender-balanced" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 380). "Boundaries among stages are fluid" (Twombly, 1991, p. 11) and an individual commonly operated in more than one of the five phases simultaneously.

Whitman Public Schools

Phase One. The most obvious evidence of phase one, Androcentric Leadership, was the remark made by Mr. Bowman, the superintendent, that Dr. Brown was "the first female secondary principal that I can remember in 30 years." This was the only remark made by either Mr. Bowman or Mr. Hill, Director of Secondary Education, that referred directly to gender. Until the hiring of Dr. Brown, there had been an absence of women in the secondary principalship that was never perceived as a problem, which was typical of phase one thought (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Phase Two. Mr. Bowman defined school leadership in masculine terms when he said he valued Dr. Brown's ability to "make tough decisions" and her experience in "tough schools" in a "disciplinary role" and "supervising athletics." This masculine view of leadership was typical in phase two, "Compensatory Leadership" (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). He obviously viewed her as an "exceptional woman" (Schmuck, 1987) who had functioned well in an at-risk school and had held her own on district committees, "negotiating the hard line with the teachers." Her achievements were equal to any man's; hence they were noticed. She was perceived as one of the "women worthies" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984), outstandingly similar to men.

Mr. Bowman considered loyalty and being a team member two extremely important traits for the principal to have. His emphasis on the "team" was another example of leadership expressed in masculine terms; i.e. identification with the other power holders (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault,

1985; Twombly, 1991). He wanted reassurance that Dr. Brown had assimilated this important bit of knowledge. She was held to the male standard throughout the selection process and had to prove that she was a team player and loyal. Examples of Mr. Bowman's references to being part of "the team" included:

We worked very hard at trying to assemble a team that is loyal.... Once the team makes a decision we come out of it and we expect our team to support that. If they can't support it, then they don't need to be part of our team.... Once the constituents find there's a crack in the administrative team, then they just start prying you apart...your team just splinters and your effectiveness just goes away. Loyalty and being able to be part of a team, being able to take defeat as a member of the team...was very important.

Mr. Bowman made several allusions to the high school principalship as a position of power, "the two most powerful positions are the high school principal's job and the superintendent," and "in this community, the superintendent and the high school principal carry the strokes." He described the high school as "what carries your community." Until Dr. Brown was hired, the position of power at the high school had always been held by a man. Dr. Brown impressed Mr. Bowman as an "exceptional" woman (Schmuck, 1987), having the same experience as any male and meeting the masculine standard. Although he was willing to hire her, the criteria for the position had not changed. Schuster and Van Dyne put it in these terms: "Missing women are assumed to resemble the men who are already present" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 422). Given that expectation, the criteria for men or for women continued to be masculine leadership in the Compensatory stage of thought.

Regarding the content, structure, and methodology of the search process, Mr. Bowman was unsure whether he would use the same head hunter style of search in the future. "That goes a little contrary to my philosophy about group participation...I don't really know if I would do it again like that or not." While Mr. Hill did not view the selection committee as the right method for filling the high school principalship, he also said, "I'm not at all against committees hiring." He added that the mid-high position that had been temporarily filled with an interim would be filled by a committee in the spring.

Tetreault addressed this phenomenon when she said "adding a few exceptional women ... does not change the structure or the methodology" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 368), of the selection process. In other words, hiring a woman as principal did not change the selection procedures for the next principalship. This was typical of phase two, Compensatory Leadership, and was due to the belief that institutions were well functioning and not in need of new structure. The idea that equitable numbers of women were missing from the principalship and that institutional practices played a role in their near absence did not occur in phase two.

Phase Three. Mr. Bowman had given considerable thought to Dr. Brown's personal life and family responsibilities. This indicated a dichotomous view of gender, viewing a female as a nurturer who might focus more on family than career. This dichotomous or stereotyped view of Dr. Brown was clearly phase three, Bifocal (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Mr. Bowman noted that "She's a single parent. Her kids were pretty much grown which meant that her life or her career could take center stage." He added, "Aging parents could be there...and her family was close." Mr. Bowman had fears that

Dr. Brown, as a woman, might have competing responsibilities: career and family. Those fears had to be resolved before he was willing to hire her.

Phase Four. The Feminist Phase theorists vary from one another in how they defined phase four. Very few differences were noted in the other phases, but the variations in phase four were worth noting here. McIntosh called the feminine experience "the real though unacknowledged base of life and civilization" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 14). She added that women had half of the human experience, yet she stopped short of saying that only the feminine experience mattered. Schmuck (1987) focused on the sociology of discriminatory practices occurring in administration. Schuster and Van Dyne (1984) and Twombly (1991) focused on the necessity of feminine history being defined by women, not men, and also on the integration of both male and female experiences. However, Tetreault (1985) went farther than the other theorists, setting the feminine experience as the standard, replacing the androcentric world view with a feminist world view. She also found the public and private spheres of society to be a continuum, rather than separate realms, for women in phase four.

In phase four, Feminist Leadership, McIntosh (1983) described valuing the decent survival of all more than a drive to get ahead. Collaboration in leadership as well as diversity and plurality were all valued. Using McIntosh's (1983) model of the theory, there was evidence that Mr. Bowman and Mr. Hill were thinking in this phase. However, Tetreault's (1985) model of the theory would *not* have placed the remarks and actions which follow into phase four.

For example, Mr. Bowman said, "She was well thought of in Metro District in terms of her consensus building skills, her ability to communicate, and those kinds of

things." He valued the relationship skills Dr. Brown possessed; this was described as a feminist value in phase four (McIntosh, 1983). It was interesting that Mr. Bowman and Mr. Hill never referred directly to gender as they described feminist values. It appeared that the values were not recognized as being feminist, just as values in phases one, two, and three were not recognized as being androcentric. Again, the "invisible paradigms" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984) remained invisible.

Mr. Hill also valued relationship skills in a principal, asking in background checks, "Do they have the ability to empathize?" He also remarked that, "We can all work for nice people who stand for something." His own depth of relationship that he himself had had with faculty and staff at Whitman High School was apparent when he said, "I care so deeply about those people that are still there that that person that was assuming the role that I was leaving, I didn't want to leave that to chance." Mr. Hill's statements reflected that he had an interest in the "survival of all," a feminist value of phase four (McIntosh, 1983).

Hill considered these aspects of leadership when searching out information on potential candidates: "How do they deal with a person that they disagree with? How do they make decisions? Do they ask opinions of other people?" Later in the interview, he stated

I wanted someone who could empathize with people's needs, was not a control freak, knew how to dialog properly. Some of those issues I felt defaulted to the emotional and the personal needs of the building...I did not want anybody who was selfish...

Mr. Hill added that he wanted someone as principal who would be "willing to think about others in their personal situations." He said that he tried to "find out the basic fiber of the human being." He also considered if they had "balance with their personal life." Again, his remarks supported the premises of Feminist Leadership in phase four, as defined by McIntosh (1983), with a strong value placed on relationships, human qualities, and helping others.

Mr. Hill exhibited lateral values (emphasizing lateral, not vertical, relationships), also typical of Feminist Leadership in phase four (McIntosh, 1983). An example was the remark he made about the female he promoted to assistant principal at Whitman, "This person was in some ways a barometer of the type of person that I chose. I wanted to make sure that whoever I chose could work well with this person because this person has a keen understanding of the needs." He also said, "I wanted to immediately, through that process of building to that climax of honesty, be able to have trust before trust developed."

Not only did Mr. Hill have lateral values himself, he wanted the new principal to have lateral values as well. In other words, he wanted someone who did not operate as a top-down bureaucrat, but rather used a more collaborative style of leadership, typical of phase four (McIntosh, 1983). He summed up his feelings about the search and its results when he said, "There were others who had as good of attributes in certain areas, but I felt like that was the ultimate fit that would work when I personalized the whole situation." He had made a personal investment into the selection process for the benefit of those he left behind when he exited the high school.

Mr. Bowman valued diversity and was looking for a principal who "understood the broad scope of dealing with all levels of kids." He knew she had experience developing AP classes, experience with vocational education, and experience in working with at-risk students. Mr. Bowman recognized the need for a principal who wanted all groups of students to succeed. Valuing diversity was described as another feminist value in phase four by McIntosh (1983).

Mr. Hill echoed Mr. Bowman's value statements regarding plurality and diversity, but he was more specific. For instance, he wondered "how a cafeteria worker would view that person." He added, "I think the most important variable that I found was checking people that had a different role." He described the process of asking "many, many different people about this person."

Other evidence that Hill valued diversity was his inclusion of the assistant principal and the Director of Personnel "to get their perceptions. The reason that was important to me is because they think very differently from me, and that was my check and balance to see from their view of the world…." Furthermore, he made the following remarks:

It was going to have to be a person that was capable of developing the understanding of the needs of this community, both at the top end and the bottom end academically...I also checked to minutiae level of different people such as secretaries and principals who dealt with them from a different role...How can I empathize for people that I don't even know?

Mr. Hill stepped outside customary practices of school administration when he questioned the validity of using a selection committee. He said, "There was no way that a

committee of six or seven people could come up with the same type things with the same intensity that I had to exercise in that situation." He also said, "I find it short sighted to think that a committee of prominent citizens, important teacher-leaders, and a central office person have the capacity to understand how a cafeteria worker would view that person." He added, "I think oftentimes the 'good old boy' system fills positions in school districts. That's okay if 'good old boy' is a good performer. If not, they need to go to plan B."

He added that a problem he encountered during the process was dealing with "internal candidates who wanted the position that I didn't feel fit." Had he been operating in phase one, Androcentric Leadership, Mr. Hill would have likely promoted one of the internal candidates.

Another indication that Mr. Hill operated outside of cultural norms was his view of honesty. He observed that when he asked others about a candidate's honesty, "Sometimes the honesty was something that people had a difficult time dealing with, and that is an attractive trait to me."

These remarks indicated that Mr. Hill was questioning the validity of current definitions of principal selection. He was thinking critically about the norms of the selection practices in use today and was reformulating the questions that should be asked about purpose. This was a characteristic of McIntosh's (1983) phase four thought in which knowledge about leadership and administration was reconceptualized to include women's experiences.

It was interesting that Mr. Hill was against using a selection committee for this particular principalship because he also had stated that he was not opposed to hiring by

committee. What caused him to view this search differently? He appeared to have a deep personal interest in the continued well-being of the school, having been the principal there himself for three years. In his own words, he "personalized" the selection process.

In fact, Mr. Hill said, "Where are the gaps in my thinking?" To help him find the gaps in his thinking, he solicited input from others. He added, "I think that's the epitome of formulating problems because I do not have all the answers. I like lots of different perceptions." He also said of designing a selection procedure, "It's just that I try to work really hard in defining what the needs are in a specific situation." He added, "Formulating that problem went into the current state of the school district itself, the state of the building, the state of the feeder building, the state of the staff internally, lots of different variables."

He did not mind that he "went through sometimes as many as 25 to 30 phone calls before (he) would ever talk to the person." He viewed his thoroughness as a necessity. In reality, he was laying groundwork for an eventual transformation, as described in phase four. He not only questioned the validity of the typical search process, he questioned the validity of his own findings:

I look at my thinking largely as assumptions. I do not know the right answer...I think that what you have to weigh in there is the possibility that all those people are wrong. Always keep in mind there are some people that are perfectly capable of snowing others or being pretentious."

<u>Phase Five.</u> A few remarks and actions of Mr. Hill appeared to put him into the fifth phase of Feminist Phase Theory, Multifocal or Relational Leadership. However, if Tetreault's (1985) model of the theory was considered, then Hill's actions or words

would not be categorized as phase five. Tetreault (1985) required that each phase had to be experienced by the culture and in sequence, and the phenomena described in her phase four, Feminist Leadership, remained unfulfilled at the time of the current study. It is possible that feminism will never replace androcentrism as a socially standardized way of thinking. The other feminist phase theorists described ways of thinking that did match some of Hill's thoughts, so they were categorized as phase five in the following paragraphs (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Mr. Hill expressed values in his remarks that fit into phase five, Multifocal or Relational Leadership. Although he did not raise issues of gender, Mr. Hill made value judgements which indicated that he was thinking within this phase. Paradigms of thought exist at a subconscious level, and perhaps that is why gender issues were invisible to him. This would mean a phenomenon came into play that was similar to the unconscious role assignment and stereotyping that dominated Androcentric Leadership in phase one.

Mr. Hill made a statement about "humanness" which replaced the dualistic terms, "maleness" and "femaleness" in phase five (Tetreault, 1985). Although Tetreault (1985) would not categorize this remark as indicative of phase five thought, it could be argued that the boundaries of thought are fluid (Twombly, 1991), that change is gradual in coming, and that individuals operate in more than one phase simultaneously. This supports the notion that progress occurs in small, incremental steps, not all at once. Mr. Hill said,

I got some names of some who had been the principal of the year and I had some names that were totally obscure. There were different sized schools; those things do not concern me a great deal once I get the human attributes I'm looking for.

In addition, Mr. Hill viewed values from the private sphere of the home as significant in the selection process. This too was described as phase five thought, which redefined school leadership in many areas (McIntosh, 1983). He asked candidates about their parents because he believed that

Our personalities are developed by the interrelationships with mom and dad, whether we're ambivalent to them, whether we're close to their nurturing side.

Oftentimes I would say, 'Tell me about your parents' or "Tell me about your mom"...All of those factors taken in the aggregate paint a picture.

Morgan Public Schools

Phase One. In spite of the efforts the Morgan district made to insure fairness, the issue of gender equity was absent from the selection process. Gender was never mentioned by either the Superintendent or the Director of Human Resources. Gender was a non-issue and its absence from the process was indicative of Androcentric Leadership operating as an "invisible paradigm" (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). The training process for committee members provided an excellent opportunity to include recognizing gender bias, but it was not evident or mentioned.

Regarding the selection of PTA or "involved parents" to serve on the committee and the fact that training and interviews occurred during the school day indicated that *mothers* were the parents. Committee member names listed in the booklet put together for a principal's search (a different search) were all female. Dr. Jones said, "Yes, we always go to the PTA and get representative parents." Ms. Bright had said, "It's a time commitment.... Sometimes the interview process lasts two full days.... They're active parents.... On most of the committees we have, the PTA president is one of the people."

The use of stay-at-home mothers indicated that the parents of the district had representation that was very likely traditionally androcentric in their conceptualization of a power position such as the high school principalship. These individuals operated in the private sphere of the home and because they valued that private sphere for themselves, they may have valued it for other women as well, including candidates (Bem, 1993; Gilligan, 1993; Grogan, 1996). The use of mothers during the school day precluded professional or working women or men from sitting on the committee. Both women and men involved in the public sphere of the workplace or business world would likely have had a totally different view of women candidates based upon their experiences in the public sphere.

Teacher members of the committee may have had similar difficulty in visualizing a female in the position if they had never been exposed to working with a female principal. A common perception in the school culture was "Men manage the schools and women nurture the learners" (Whitaker & Lane, 1990; Ortiz, 1982; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1987). In both phase one and phase two thinking, males were the norm in school leadership.

The mental image of a male principal would have been at a subconscious level (Grogan, 1996). The committee members had to select someone to run the school based on paper applications and resumes and an interview in which "they come into a room with, you know, eight people at a table, and they're asked questions and it's for an hour." The opportunity for selecting someone based on the "image" projected in the short interview may have been a weakness of the process. Female candidates may have been at a disadvantage in this scenario, particularly if committee members expected women to

remain in the private sphere. The administration's failure to bring the issue of gender to a conscious level left the "invisible paradigm" of androcentrism in place (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

Phase Two. In phase two, Compensatory Leadership, there was a consciousness of the absence of women in administration (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). In the Morgan district, there was not a total absence of women. There was an absence of women in equitable numbers to men within the administrative team, but the situation appeared to be improving. One high school principal (out of three) was female as well as one middle school principal (out of four). Title VII of the Equal Opportunity Act heightened awareness of inequities across the nation and was likely the basis of their non-discriminatory policy statement.

The Morgan district's selection process was designed to be fair, confidential, and to share decision-making. The whole selection process indicated that legalistic thought had occurred in its design. One example was the training process for committee members and the use of signed confidentiality statements. Ms. Bright described that step: "They sign a piece of paper and say that they'll be confidential." Ms. Bright described the level of confidentiality as "almost like a jury." A written policy statement regarding equal opportunity in hiring was also included in Ms. Bright's training booklet.

The Superintendent and Director of Human Services perceived the Morgan School District as a well-functioning institution. In phase two thought, the institution was never recognized as contributing to gender bias (McIntosh, 1983). The shared decision making with input from the parents, teachers, and administration gave the selection process a democratic appearance and supported the notion of a "well-functioning

institution." Dr. Jones had said, "I'm a strong believer philosophically in site-based, shared decision making."

Other facets of the selection process that contributed to the notion of the "well-functioning institution" were 1) the few (exceptional) women already in secondary principalships; 2) the fact that a female was largely in charge of the process; and 3) the fact that it was a well-respected process. Parents had commented to Ms. Bright that they "really liked the process and they're very proud to be a part of the process." Dr. Jones had observed, "It's an extremely positive process in this district. There's a lot of trust in it."

In addition, Dr. Jones had said, "There's always a parity of parents to professional staff on that committee.... She trains the screening committee." Ms. Bright took pride in the process: "What's really important in the interview process is that everyone's treated fairly...that you ask the same questions the same way." The screening committee also had some autonomy, according to Ms. Bright, "The screening committee does decide how many and who they are going to interview.... It depends upon how many candidates there are, whether they want to waive a particular requirement...." All these things, on the surface, point to a "well-functioning institution."

Both the superintendent and the director viewed the democratic traits of the selection process as a successful defense against politics entering the process. Dr. Jones said emphatically, "We don't allow politics to enter it." Ms. Bright said of the Board of Education, "They don't really question if it's, you know, a political decision or a 'good old boy' or a 'good old gal' kind of decision. It's not like that at all because you have this input from this committee."

Morphet, Johns, and Reller (1982) described an innate political climate existing in any school district in which different constituent groups (parents, teachers, administrators) act on their beliefs to exert influence to satisfy their own needs. There was evidence that this occurred in the Morgan district. For example, Dr. Jones said the committee members "sit down, and they draft interview questions that are specific, not only to the job, but also specific to the school...They develop their own interview questions that are important to them." Ms. Bright added, "Your parents and your teachers may have a particular issue at that building that they want to know about. How would you handle this?" These statements indicate that committee members' interests did indeed take a political turn in some instances.

Dr. Jones eventually recruited Dr. Green to apply for the position. Although the position had been re-posted and the committee members wanted more candidates from which to choose, it was a political move on the part of Dr. Jones. Dr. Green was the only candidate in the second pool. In the superintendent's mind, no others were needed, and the committee did not disagree. This was in striking contrast to his own remarks, "Oh well, the superintendent's favorite candidate, make sure we got him on the list.

Absolutely, I stay away from that." Ms. Bright said of the recruitment:

We were really struggling with what to do.... Dr. Jones asked the committee if we would pull back together and interview him.... We conducted another interview just for him.... I think you need to be careful about recruiting and asking people to apply because they need to know that the committee makes the decision. It's not a sure thing.

Another opportunity for politics or manipulation occurred in the designation of teachers, administrators, and parents to serve on the committee. The administrative members were sometimes the three associate superintendents, as in this search, but sometimes building principals were used. Two methods were used to select teachers for the committee. On this occasion, the principal had selected them. Per Ms. Bright, "the principals will ask for volunteers, and they just draw, or they just make a recommendation." The parents were selected by either the principal or the superintendent. This practice was not questioned, according to Ms. Bright, "The superintendent has selected this person...It seems to be okay with them."

Dr. Jones was largely in phase two in how he looked at school leadership.

The male experience in school administration found in phase two included wanting to move up within the organization, being mentored, and fitting in with the team (Ortiz, 1982; Twombly, 1991). Dr. Jones said of Dr. Russell Green, the successful candidate, "He fit the culture quite well." Dr. Jones used the term "cultural fit" frequently in his remarks:

The important feature of this process is that it's tied in to the culture of the school. We're trying to find the fit...I have another dimension that I look for to have a cultural fit because that person will be part of the administrative team of the entire district...The cultural fit is very, very important to the success of the person if they're going to fit with the job, working with the faculty and the community.

Dr. Jones also mentioned "vision," "career goals," and "team work" as areas he explored in his interview. Regarding "career goals," Dr. Jones remarked,

I want to know where that person wants to be five years from now...Can I help them grow and achieve that?...That's very important to be able to perceive if you've got a person that wants to grow in that organization, and that's the kind of "fit" they have, then you're going to have a successful person that you can nurture and develop.

Phase Three. In phase three, "bifocal" thought, both females and males were uncomfortable with discussing social structures that limit women (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). Women did not want to believe that obstacles existed that they could not overcome, and men did not want to believe that their gender was culpable. Both men and women lived in denial.

Both Jones and Bright skirted the issue of gender bias. Dr. Jones said, "I want to leave it completely open and unbiased as possible." General bias was addressed in the policy statement in Ms. Bright's booklet for the committee, but she never mentioned the word "bias" or the word "gender".

Phase Four. Dr. Jones valued shared decision making and collaboration. He said, "I'm a strong believer philosophically in site-based, shared decision making." Later in the interview, he remarked that the principal had to "be an individual that can share power, can share in decision making, and exercise leadership skill instead of management skills." These remarks were indicative of a collaborative style of leadership, typical of Feminist Leadership in phase four (McIntosh, 1983). Although McIntosh (1983) would consider this phase four thought, Tetreault (1985) would not. Rather, Tetreault (1985) required the feminine world view to be the exclusive one in order to fit into phase four.

Phase Five. No statements were made by either the Superintendent or the Director of Human Resources that were indicative of phase five thought, Multifocal Leadership.

Springfield Public Schools

Phase One. The most notable characteristic of the Springfield search was its structure (who did what). Powerful men defined administration in phase one. A vertical value system existed, with power holders raised to a pinnacle within the organization, and with female power holders embracing the male standard (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Schuster and Van Dyne (1984) also observed that resistance to male-centered administration was surprisingly low.

The screening process gave the superintendent nearly unilateral power at that stage of the selection process. Shakeshaft (1987) listed application filtering as one device that thwarted the advancement of female administrators. It appeared that the Springfield superintendent, acting almost unilaterally, had the power to filter applications if he wanted to.

Mr. Brooks, under the guidance of the superintendent, screened "17 or 18" candidates, as recalled by Superintendent Smith. Dr. Smith recalled, "We screened them to five finalists." However, a third member of the committee, Dr. White, when asked how many applicants they had, said, "I don't see all of the applicants because Mr. Brooks sort of screens them a little bit. He talks to us about them. Probably, maybe 10." When asked how the team decided which ones to interview, Dr. White said,

Kind of informally. Mr. Brooks will grab us and we'll kind of go through them. He and Dr. Smith might talk about it. There may be an occasion where we actually have a meeting and sit down and go through references, but I trust them on that. You know, if there's anyone who looks like they might work, they'll ask us about it, Sarah and me.

When asked if there were candidates who applied who did not meet the requirements posted in the advertisement, Dr. White said,

I don't think so, but I don't.... You'd have to ask Mr. Brooks. Sorry. He screens it for that kind of stuff first. We would never even know. He would know, but I don't know.

Another aspect of the search that illustrated the superintendent's power was the composition of the selection committee. His remarks and those of the assistant superintendent indicated that Superintendent Smith decided who would and would not be on the committee. Dr. Smith remembered a three-person committee: "We formed a committee which consisted of the Superintendent, the Deputy Superintendent (Mr. Brooks), and the Assistant Superintendent for Instruction (Dr. Nancy White)." He described the dynamics of that group, "We're somewhat different, the three of us. We have some commonalities and some differences."

Instead of a three-member committee, Dr. White, the assistant superintendent, recalled the committee consisted of four "central office administrators: myself, the Superintendent, the Special Education Director (Ms. Sarah Barnes), and the Deputy Superintendent (Mr. Brooks)." Apparently, Dr. Smith did not even recall Sarah Barnes, the Special Education Director, serving on the committee, which indicated that her

involvement was minimal. This may have also supported Twombly (1991), who found that in phase one, women were "invisible" (p. 12).

When asked if there had been any teachers on the committee, Dr. White said, "No...we have done it before. But the Superintendent just did not go that direction this time.... I don't know how the teachers feel about that." However, Dr. Smith said that one of the "determining factors" in selecting Mr. Black as the principal had been that he "was especially well-liked by the teachers, and the students." Later, when Dr. White was asked if teachers had given input to the committee on their goals, Dr. White responded,

If there are complaints and concerns about that, we just haven't heard them.

Mainly, they're just too busy and don't want to mess with it. And that's another thing. They really need to be held, some (interviews), during the day...and we hate to get them out of class.

A third component of the search, over which the superintendent had a great deal of control, was the formation of questions. The superintendent brought a list of questions to the committee, which was used in previous searches. Dr. Smith said this about the questions:

We have not revised it (the process) substantially. We revise the questions from time to time. As I mentioned to you, we use structured questions. And of course there are certain things we're trying to find out about them.

Dr. White remembered that,

He (Smith) lets us proof it. We change it a little bit and rework them and tweak it.

He gives us the questions we used the last time. We try to keep them somewhat
fresh, but we all work together on that.

Once the applicants were screened, the committee created, and the interviews conducted, then Superintendent Smith and Mr. Brooks made numerous phone calls to check backgrounds of the finalists. Dr. White said they made those telephone calls on the final three candidates. She described it: "They call former bosses. They make quite a few phone calls."

Along with the background checks, the superintendent conducted a second round of interviews with two of the finalists before making his recommendation. Again,

Superintendent Smith had unilateral control over this portion of the selection process. Dr.

Smith described this step:

We narrowed the five down to two finalists then I had an individual, as the Superintendent, a follow-up interview with the two finalists. Then I made a recommendation to the Board.

It was interesting that neither Dr. Smith nor Dr. White mentioned the female assistant principal at Springfield High School. She had been a high school administrator for several years, according to the State Department of Education's Educational Directory (1993, 1994, 1995, 1996, 1997, 1998). Perhaps she did not even apply for the principalship, but if she did not apply, that was significant. If she did apply, she did not get an interview. According to the Superintendent, "There was one inside the district and four outside." This meant that Mr. Black, the successful candidate, was the only indistrict candidate that was interviewed.

In phase one, the absence of women was not noticed (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). In addition, gender equity was absent from a list of needed school reforms (Schmuck, 1987). The absence of

women existed in the high school principalship. Springfield had never had a female principal at the high school level.

Phase Two. In phase two, there was a consciousness that women were missing, but at the same time, there was an assumption that institutions, such as schools, were well-functioning and not the problem (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Males were still the standard, and criteria for success remained androcentric. Adding a few "exceptional women" to administration did not change the structure of the institution (Tetreault, 1985), and data was kept on women in positions as administrators (Twombly, 1991).

The superintendent seemed very aware of gender issues when he stated, "We have no preference for gender. We have quite a number of female administrators in this district. In the end, we're looking for the most qualified person." "The most qualified person," at the time of this search, had proven to be a female in 50% of the elementary principalships, in the single middle school principalship (grades six and seven), and in the alternative school principalship.

Perhaps one reason that Superintendent Smith brought up the issue of gender was that his district had been targeted in the past with investigations concerning equal opportunity in the district. Dr. White explained how the district had tried to handle that:

We've been through several EEOC investigations. If anything will straighten you out.... That's why we have the same questions. We keep all the paperwork. We keep the scores. We do reference checks, the same number on every person.... It's as standardized as you can be.

Although Dr. Smith made efforts to treat candidates fairly, such as standardized questions and ratings by all committee members, it was clear that he dominated the selection process. Superintendent Smith directed Mr. Brooks as he screened candidates, and he chose only three others to serve on the selection committee, all central office administrators. In addition, there was no provision for diversity among committee members that could have been achieved by including teachers, students, parents, or community members. Diversity on the committee could also have addressed issues of gender, race, and economics. A third example of Smith's domination of the process was how he interviewed alone in the second interviews with the two finalists, and then he made his recommendation to the Board.

Although Smith may have considered his institution to be "well functioning and not the problem," it was certainly not ideal, and there were too many opportunities for the superintendent to make a unilateral decision. Dr. Smith seemed pleased with the selection process used in the latest search. In fact, he said, "We have used this model ever since I've been superintendent (11 years). All key administrative jobs, we have used the committee approach." He admitted that "the case could be made for us having more diversity on the committee, and at times, we have had."

The superintendent said that he did not think he dominated the process. In fact, he stated, "Sometimes we argue. I think it's healthy to hear people.... We tried to all have the same authority, not have a predominant person being the superintendent." Dr. White echoed the superintendent when she said, "A part of what makes our central office interviewing team a little more valid than some is it's two men, two women, all with different areas of expertise and backgrounds." However, his actions in all the other steps

of the process indicated otherwise. His unilateral approach pervaded the process and informed his assistants on the committee that he was in charge.

Dr. White did provide some evidence that, on the surface, seemed to refute the superintendent's dominating control. She said of the ratings of candidates and the ensuing discussion, "We'll turn in our ratings and see how they jive. If they don't jive, we'll talk about it more." However, she also said, "Sometimes when we score, it will be so similar it's amazing. And yet we are completely different people." In addition, Dr. White's lack of involvement in or knowledge about which candidates were to be interviewed indicated that she relinquished her authority to the superintendent. She stated, "There may be an occasion where we actually have a meeting and sit down and go through references, but I trust them on that."

Smith's remark that, "We interviewed each applicant exactly the same way" indicated that he was thinking legalistically, as was Dr. White when she described the process. Although Dr. Smith considered the interview process to be very fair, Dr. White recalled that it had actually been a struggle for her to maintain uniformity in the interviews:

I tease them (other committee members) about if you want reliable interviews, you can't throw out these little "special questions" with some of your candidates because it's going to give them such an advantage if you haven't asked them of everyone. So I try to keep them in the true "research mode," but it's hard.

Dr. White's honest remark about interview methodology indicated that in spite of Springfield's efforts to be a "well-functioning institution," they were failing to be consistent in their interviews.

Dr. White seemed to be viewed as "the exceptional woman" of phase two (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). However, as Tetreault (1985) warned, having a few "exceptional women" added to the mix did not change the structure or the methodology of the institution. She operated in the public sphere, as "kind of a community liaison person."

However, she did not go out and seek to expand her own knowledge about the selection process. Some of her remarks indicated that perhaps she, as a female power holder, was embracing the male standard for survival. McIntosh (1983) described individuals in institutions as scrambling to reach the pinnacle, to be a winner. An individual was seen as "being on her way down to the bottom if she was not on her way up to the top" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 5). In her own career, Dr. White had made the jump from classroom teacher to assistant superintendent in one move. She may have felt very grateful and loyal for that opportunity.

The lack of involvement by teachers, students, parents, or community members did not appear to bother Dr. White. Diversity was not an issue in the "well-functioning" institution. In fact, she dismissed the issue by saying, "If there are complaints and concerns about that, we just haven't heard them. Mainly they're (teachers) are just too busy and don't want to mess with it." Likewise, the Superintendent's domination of the process did not appear to bother her. She said, "I trust them on that" about the screening procedures.

Phase Three. In phase three, gender roles and stereotypes dominated thought (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). An awareness of gender bias was manifested in phase three, but much

reaction to it was based on denial (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984). Females did not raise "issues that separated them from their peers" (Schmuck, 1987, p. 16). Furthermore, both males and females were uncomfortable with discussing social structures that limited women (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

There was a focus on career differences, and career aspirations were often attributed to gender roles (Schmuck, 1987). In phase three, the female was expected to live and work within the domestic sphere, or in a related area, like teaching children. The male was expected to be a part of the public sphere, and that was where the high school principal's job fell. Both males and females were bound by gender stereotypes (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

The Superintendent and Dr. White seemed to be looking for a principal that was strong in curriculum. Dr. White mentioned the importance of having done discipline and management, but she stressed being current with curriculum issues and having good people skills. A female candidate could have been on an equal footing with males on these criteria.

However, there were other criteria which may have pointed towards a male stereotype, which was typical of phase three thought (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Dr. Smith wanted a "team player, someone that will work with other people in the district." He also stressed the importance of supervising personnel, saying, "It's a tough job, but I think that's an important aspect." Smith also wanted "a leader," someone that could "maintain a strong academic program and provide leadership for that." Dr. Smith said that Mr. Brooks was

looking for "someone that's a good manager" and someone that could "run a pretty tight ship as far as student behavior and having rules for the school's structure."

Participatory management was never mentioned. Leadership style was not an issue as long as the candidate was a "people person" who liked students and parents.

While Dr. White said, "We don't want a dictator, because they're not going to be successful, especially with the high school staff," neither White nor Smith stipulated that a principal was expected to be collaborative in his or her leadership.

Dr. Smith wanted someone who would be "visible at activity programs." He added,

We like for them to have some visibility in the community...and become involved in a civic club. If they're involved in the community, the community people can see them out of their roles. I think it's an asset to them in relating to the community.

Likewise, Dr. White described the high school principalship as being similar to the superintendency and more demanding than even her job as assistant superintendent:

I think the high school principal is sort of like superintendent. It's hard to find good candidates. It's a tough job. It consumes your entire life. Both of those jobs do. Mine's bad enough. If you're a high school principal, you're gone constantly.... In a town like Springfield, the principal and the superintendent better be at most every athletic event and everything else.

Both Dr. Smith and Dr. White described the job in terms of being visible and active in the public sphere. In phases one, two, and three, the public sphere was a male-controlled domain. Women were not expected to succeed in the public sphere unless they

were exceptional and could match the male standard. Consequently, athletic events, in particular, as well civic clubs matched the male image and stereotype better than it did the female stereotype. Again, this was true for phases one, two, and three in Feminist Phase Theory.

Other evidence of gender stereotyping occurred when Dr. White said of the interview team, "A part of what makes our central office interviewing team a little more valid than some is it's two men, two women, all with different areas of expertise and backgrounds." This indicated that women viewed candidates differently than did men. Again, gender differences were stressed in phase three, Bifocal Leadership (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

<u>Phase Four.</u> Neither Dr. Smith, nor Dr. White, made remarks or presented any evidence that they were operating in phase four, Feminist Leadership.

<u>Phase Five.</u> Evidence of phase five thoughts or actions by both Dr. Smith and Dr. White were lacking.

Glendale Public Schools

Phase One. Neither Dr. Clark, nor Mr. Johnson, made remarks indicative of phase one, Androcentric Leadership. This was unexpected and appeared atypical when compared to the other districts and also when compared to the larger social milieu.

Phase Two. Neither Dr. Clark, nor Mr. Johnson, made remarks indicative of phase two, Compensatory Leadership. Again, this was unexpected and was an atypical district. Dr. Clark appeared to be fully aware of the role gender played in her own hiring as well as the obstacles to overcome if she were to hire a female principal. Perhaps her

own personal awareness of gender bias and androcentrism in school leadership had accelerated her developmental thought past phases one and two.

Phase Three. In phase three of Feminist Phase Theory, Bifocal Leadership, there was anger and full comprehension of *why* women were absent in administration, i.e. the politics and economics of androcentrism. In this phase, women did not want to believe that they would meet obstacles that they could not overcome. In fact, there were prescriptive devices to help women overcome, due to the belief that the problem lay in the women, not in how women were viewed by men (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Dr. Clark had herself overcome many obstacles. She had achieved a superintendency. Although the principal search was the focus of study, Dr. Clark was herself a catalyst and a variable that altered the environment, not only of the search process, but also of the district and the community. She remarked,

At the time that I wanted to be a high school principal and a superintendent, I think only 2% of the superintendents in the United States were women. So everybody looked at me like, "Yeah, right."

Dr. Clark appeared to be very shrewd. She knew who she wanted for the principalship, and she readily admitted that: "I really had in mind somebody I wanted to be high school principal." Understanding her position as a newly hired, female superintendent, wanting to hire a female principal for the high school, Dr. Clark maneuvered well politically. First, she incorporated the most conservative Board member as an *ex officio* member of the administrative interview (second round) team. She knew

that if she gained his confidence, that she might be able to get the candidate she favored. She was very candid:

I invited one Board member to really observe because I knew, as a female superintendent, if I was going to hire a female high school principal, I was going to have to have a *lot* of buy-in in a small town like this. So I had him to come and observe, and I considered him at that point to be the most conservative school board member we had.

Secondly, in order to get the high school principal that she wanted, she may have compromised on the junior high principal. When asked what the community members wanted in a high school principal, she answered, "I don't know." Perhaps it was not a question of "what" they wanted, but more a question of "who," the "who" being one of the local candidates. She recalled that the community committee had narrowed the field of candidates from about 20 to about "three to five" and that they included "several hometown folks." Dr. Clark expressed that, initially, she had not seriously considered Mr. Donaldson for the junior high position. She said,

When he walked in, he literally knocked us over. He was the most enthusiastic, bubbly, wonderful person I had ever met. And I did not expect wanting him. I had actually expected wanting someone else who we were interviewing. So we really didn't make the decision at that point.

Mr. Johnson, speaking of the successful candidate for the junior high position, said,

He had a lot of support from the staff and the community for him to be the

principal at the junior high. We had to go through the process and everything, but

at the end, he was the one that was chosen.

It appeared that Dr. Clark may have surmised that the Board member, Mr. Wilson, was operating in phase two or phase three. If Wilson thought of Dr. Clark as an "exceptional woman" (phase two), it would be a "hard sell" to convince him that Brenda Gray was also "exceptional," "exceptional" meaning scarce and rare. Or, if Wilson were entrapped in stereotypical casting of women, found in phase three, then the task would have been equally difficult to convince him that a woman should hold a position traditionally held by a man.

Dr. Clark exerted a great deal of influence over the selection process. First, she organized the community committee. Mr. Johnson said of that, "To be honest, I was so busy doing everything else that she pretty well took care of organizing the committee and interviewing and getting that going." She developed the questions for the preliminary interviews. She stated that very simply: "I designed the questions that the initial interview committee asked." Although she gave the committee a great deal of freedom in conducting the interviews, she expected her candidate to fare well. She said of the committee proceedings,

We did not, my assistant superintendents nor I, were not involved at this process. It seems like we had maybe the counselors at both the high school and the junior high school. One of the counselors, I think, tallied them up and gave us the names. That's how uninvolved we were at that phase.

However, Dr. Clark also said of her preferred candidate,

I invited her to apply for the position, but it wasn't that I invited her to apply for the position and was going to appoint her. I invited her to apply for the position in hopes that she could make as outstanding a debut in her interview –which we had a committee—as I knew she would, and she did.

As the administrative team discussed the candidates, following the second round of interviews, Dr. Clark spoke very enthusiastically of Ms. Gray. Not surprisingly, Mr. Johnson agreed with his boss. It would have been easy for her two assistant superintendents to defer to her choice, especially if they too perceived that giving Mr. Donaldson the junior high position would satisfy the community. Dr. Clark spoke about Ms. Gray's impression on the administrative team:

After we finished interviewing everyone, it was you (Johnson) and me and my other assistant superintendent, and we said, "Who was your favorite?" We all chose Brenda. She was our favorite.... When it was us, you know, you and me and my other assistant superintendent, we talked about it. Who was your favorite, who was definitely the high school and I think we knew Brenda right away. And then on the junior high school, we talked about why we thought George Donaldson was the best candidate. It wasn't a hard decision as I recall it....I don't think we even tallied.... On the principals, we just talked it out.... I think what we did was just sit around and casually talk about who we could work with and who looked like the best fit for our organization.

Dr. Clark summed it up when she said, "I went in there knowing who I really wanted to have as high school principal, but it was going to be a true committee decision." However, there was evidence that Dr. Clark may have influenced the search to make sure that her candidate was chosen. Her awareness of the politics of androcentrism and her understanding of what it would take to get her candidate approved certainly

would have helped her if she did indeed manipulate the process. Operating within phase three of Feminist Phase Theory, Bifocal Leadership, Dr. Clark had the understanding of the politics of the selection. In addition, she may have felt justified maneuvering the procedures of the selection to get her candidate. If this was the case, then Dr. Clark adopted masculine behaviors (political maneuvering and power) to get what she wanted. Schmuck (1987) found this phenomenon lamentable in phase three because women adapted to male standards, forsaking their own feminine, collaborative styles of leadership.

Phase Four. However, it was also plausible to describe Dr. Clark's influence in the selection process as focusing on incremental improving the system to benefit women, found in phase four, Feminist Leadership (Schmuck, 1987). Dr. Clark examined the "sociology" of the androcentric world view and found it to be problematic, rather than the "psychology" of the *individual*. In other words, the woman candidate, was no longer viewed as an anomaly in phase four thought of Feminist Phase Theory (Schmuck, 1987). That is why she realized she needed to include the conservative Board member, Mr. Wilson, in the interviews. She knew she needed "a lot of buy-in" because the social milieu was the obstacle to be overcome, not the individual, Ms. Gray.

In reality, the causes of discrimination against women that Schmuck (1987) listed as barriers to women in phase four (differential grooming of males; recruitment of males; mentorship of males; and male domination of selection committees) were reversed to help the woman candidate. Without a doubt, Dr. Clark's experiences stood on their own merit, also phase four thought (McIntosh, 1983). She and Ms. Gray were the subjects of study, not the objects (Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Dr. Clark had a vision, and she

knew whom she needed to make it happen. She said, "I was still on my honeymoon then.... With the vision I had, these were the people that I needed to do what I wanted to accomplish." The events of this search mirrored the image of androcentrically biased searches, occurring in reverse.

Dr. Clark also expressed phase four thought when she described Ms.Gray, the favored candidate: "She had taken over a crisis situation there and turned it around. With my experiences, I knew she was good." Again, this is evidence that to Dr. Clark, Ms. Gray's experiences stood on their own merit (Tetreault, 1985). She was not compared to a male standard, she had set her own standard.

Truly, the administration in Glendale was becoming integrated with regards to gender, another phase four characteristic (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984), due to the hiring of Dr. Clark in June, and the hiring of Ms. Gray in July of the same year. Other evidence included what Dr. Clark said of Ms. Gray after she became principal, "Brenda goes to everything, everything." Earlier, in describing traits she was looking for, Dr. Clark had said she wanted someone who would be "involved in the Kiwanis or the Rotarians. Were they going to be involved in different aspects of this city? Because particularly in a small city, you need to have a very high profile." Tetreault described this phase four phenomena as "the public and private are seen as a continuum in women's experiences" (Tetreault, 1985, p. 370).

<u>Phase Five.</u> No evidence of phase five thought was found in the interviews with Dr. Clark or Mr. Johnson.

Chapter Summary

Phase One: Androcentric Leadership

In Androcentric Leadership, the absence of women went unnoticed (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Masculine leadership was the standard, and feminine leadership was thought of as deviating from the norm (Tetreault, 1985). Women were invisible and without power (Twombly, 1991).

In the Springfield search, the male superintendent, Dr. Smith, utilized a vertical value system typical of Androcentric Leadership (McIntosh, 1983; Twombly, 1991). Superintendent Smith maintained control of the screening, the composition of the committee (all central office administrators), the interview questions, reference checks, and the final exclusive interview with just himself and the finalists.

The successful candidate, Mr. Black, had been an assistant principal at the high school. Springfield had never had a female as the principal at their high school, and although there had also been a female assistant principal at the school, she was never mentioned. If she did apply, she was not interviewed. In phase one, women were "invisible" (Twombly, 1991).

The female assistant superintendent in Springfield, Dr. Nancy White, participated minimally in the search. She was unaware of much of the preliminary screening done by the superintendent and the deputy superintendent. She was also unaware of what the teachers wanted in a principal and was quick to rationalize the exclusion of teachers from the process. It appeared that she was herself embracing the male standard, supporting the superintendent at the "pinnacle" (McIntosh, 1983).

Likewise, in the Morgan district, a female assistant superintendent was involved in the selection process. In fact, Mary Bright had trained the committee members and monitored all committee activities. However, neither she nor Dr. White raised gender as a relevant issue in the selection process. Even in Mary Bright's training sessions for her committee, she addressed bias and confidentiality in general and legalistic terms. Mary Bright appeared to have no resistance to the male-centered selection process, a behavior typical of phase one (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

In addition, the Morgan district used mothers who were homemakers, not professional women or men, as their parent representatives on the committee. The scheduling of interviews and the training during the workday may have further prevented the participation of professional men or women from participating on the committee. These mothers had chosen the private, traditional sphere of the home as the best place to be. Traditionally, women who had a preference for the private sphere often tried to impose that value on other women as well (Bem, 1993; Gilligan, 1993; Grogan, 1996), which could have adversely affected the chances of a female being selected in Morgan.

Phase Two: Compensatory Leadership

In phase two of Feminist Phase Theory, the consciousness of the lack of women was born, and a search was begun for the exceptional woman who met the male standard (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Institutions were believed to be well functioning and not contributing to the problem. Rather, the problem was thought to lie in the women themselves (McIntosh, 1983). Women were unworthy unless they could succeed in the same manner that men succeeded. In addition, leadership continued to be expressed in masculine terms

(McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

The Whitman superintendent, Mr. Bowman, described what he was looking for in masculine terms (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991): a disciplinarian, someone who could make tough decisions and negotiate the hard line. He also alluded to the power of the position as second only to the superintendent. Mr. Bowman seemed to perceive Dr. Sally Brown as an "exceptional woman" (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). However, the criteria for the position had not changed; Dr. Brown had to perform up to the male standard. "Missing women were presumed to ressemble the men who were already present" (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984, p. 422).

In the Morgan district, it was obvious that Dr. Jones and Mary Bright both considered their search process to be totally fair, a product of a model institution (McIntosh, 1983). Sharing responsibility with the composite committee, having women administrators in the district, and even having a female running the committee process seemed to reassure them that they were being successful in giving equal opportunities to female candidates. Their actions indicated that they were thinking in legalistic terms, training the committee in what was and was not legal to ask, and having them sign oaths of confidentiality.

They seemed sincere in their efforts, and the process was well liked by those who served on the committee. In fact, the committee and training process seemed to reassure Jones and Bright that politics did not enter the process. However, Ms. Bright admitted

that parents sometimes had "agendas," and Dr. Jones recruited the successful candidate to apply.

The Springfield district also was thinking legalistically, having been the target of E.E.O.C. investigations in the past. They seemed to be aware of the absence of women in the high school principalship, typical of phase two (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Dr. Smith pointed out that he had several female administrators. They were at the elementary level, a middle school, and the alternative high school. With the exception of one, Dr. White, no women held a line position.

Phase Three: Bifocal Leadership

Bifocal Leadership, phase three of Feminist Phase Theory, was dominated by stereotypes about men and women, stressing their differences rather than similarities (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Gender roles were emphasized (Schmuck, 1987), and the separation of public and private spheres was also stressed (Tetreault, 1985). Both men and women were uncomfortable talking about the oppression of women, yet there was an awareness of its causes (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

The Springfield district wanted a high school principal who was highly visible in public, who would attend numerous student activities at night and be active in civic clubs. They also wanted a team player, a good manager, a tough supervisor of personnel, and a strict disciplinarian. They likely envisioned a male doing these things, not a woman.

Mr. Bowman, the Whitman superintendent, had a dichotomous view of gender, evident from his expressions about Dr. Brown's personal life. He noted that her children

were grown, so she could focus on her career, plus he also thought it was important that her aging parents were nearby. While these remarks were true, they really were not significantly related to the job. Would he have given these factors any thought at all if Dr. Brown had been male? He imposed a female stereotypical image on Dr. Brown, pushing her role into the private sphere once again (Bem, 1993; Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

The Morgan district seemed particularly concerned with legal issues in their search process. However, it appeared that they never discussed the issue of gender with the committee or among themselves. This was indicative of Bifocal Leadership, in which males and females were uncomfortable addressing gender issues (Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985).

The most interesting phase three thought occurred in the Glendale search. Dr. Clark, a brand new superintendent, was obviously aware of the obstacles to overcome in hiring a female principal, which were outlined in phase three (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). She knew what she needed to do to get the candidate she wanted, Ms. Brenda Gray. First, she was successful in winning the confidence of the most conservative Board member by having him observe all proceedings. Second, she had included ethnic representatives on her community screening committee, as well as teachers and a student. Third, she made the community happy by naming a local candidate to the junior high principalship. Fourth, she avoided tallying points following the second interviews. By talking about candidates, instead of tallying points, her candidate was not eliminated before she had a chance to influence the assistant superintendents in her favor.

Phase Four: Feminist Leadership.

In this phase, feminism dominated leadership and created a new standard, replacing androcentrism (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Collaborative values, diversity, and helping others succeed emerged as salient feminist characteristics (McIntosh, 1983).

This phase represented a major paradigm shift, which had to occur over an extended period of history. Consequently, although phase four thought was appearing on the horizon in some individuals of this study, that did not mean that those individuals operated predominantly in phase four.

For example, the Morgan district seemed to value the sharing of power and decision making. They also wanted a principal that would incorporate collaboration into their leadership style. According to McIntosh (1983), these values are indicative of Feminist Leadership. However, Tetreault (1985) would not have viewed the transformation as complete enough to fall into that schema of thought.

Likewise, the Whitman district valued consensus building, the ability to communicate effectively, relationship skills, diversity among constituents, empathy, and collaboration. These were called "lateral values" in phase four (McIntosh, 1983). Mr. Hill also was capable of stepping outside of cultural norms. His critical thinking about what districts usually do to select a principal versus his more creative methods presented an alternative view. Mr. Hill questioned the validity of current definitions of personnel selection, and he considered reformulating the questions that needed to be asked in carrying out the task, typical of Feminist Leadership (Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984).

The Glendale superintendent succeeded in incrementally improving the system to favor women, a salient trait of Feminist Leadership (Schmuck, 1987). To do so, she was confident that her own and Ms. Gray's experience stood on their own merit, and she conveyed that confidence to others. She also successfully blended the private sphere of women and the public sphere of professional work into one continuum (Tetreault, 1985), again, not only for herself. She was able to convince others that a woman could successfully maneuver within the highly visible principalship, in civic clubs, and at athletic events.

There was no evidence of phase four thought in the Springfield search process.

Phase Five: Multifocal or Relational Leadership.

This phase was difficult to visualize, and perhaps the description will need modification as thought continues to evolve. This phase had a blend of masculine and feminine behaviors, which were "human" behaviors. According to Feminist Phase Theory, this phase did not yet exist (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

However, Mr. Hill, in the Whitman district seemed to approach this level of thought with a couple of his remarks. It must be remembered that Twombly (1991) considered the boundaries of phases to be fluid, and change occurred in incremental steps. Hill talked about looking for the right "human attributes" needed in a principal. Because he consistently spoke in these terms throughout his description of the search process, it appeared that he was moving in the direction of phase five. "Femaleness" and "maleness" gave way to "humanness" in phase five (Tetreault, 1985).

Although his search process gave Mr. Hill the most autonomy of any of the subjects of this study, he was by no means autocratic. On the contrary, he included input from superiors, peers, and subordinates of every candidate he considered. His goal was to know the candidate thoroughly, through the eyes of many others, before he ever made contact. He took an in depth look at character and values, more so than others that relied on a 45 minute interview.

There was no evidence indicative of phase five thought found in data from the Springfield, Morgan, or Glendale districts.

Tables

The following tables chart the thought development of participants in three ways and move from general results in Table I to more specific results in Tables II and III.

First, the developmental phases, as defined in Feminist Phase Theory and supported by remarks and actions of *all participants* in the study, are shown in Table I. Participants made remarks that were representative of more than one phase, and in Whitman the two participants' stages of development did not align with one another as they did in the other three districts. One cluster of phases one, two, and three was charted for Mr. Bowman, while a second cluster of phases four and five represented Mr. Hill.

The phases of developmental thought of the actual *decision makers* in each district are charted in Table II, and the dominant phase for each *district* is charted in Table III. Although no individual or district operated solely within the confines of a single phase, dominant phases did emerge. This was not surprising since phases one, two, and three were androcentric; phase four was feminist; and phase five was multifocal and brought an end to bias both against and in favor of women.

TABLE I

EVALUATION OF PHASES OF DEVELOPMENTAL THOUGHT
OF ALL PARTICIPANTS

	PHASE OF THOUGHT	I	II	III	IV	V		
DISTRICT								
*Whitman		X	X	x	X	x		
₩Morgan		X	X	x	X			
#Springfield		X	X	X				
*Glendale				x	x			
* (Indicates that district selected a female principal.) * (Indicates that district selected a male principal.)								

TABLE II EVALUATION OF PHASES OF DEVELOPMENTAL THOUGHT OF DECISION MAKERS

	PHASE OF THOUGHT	<u> </u>	II	III	IV	<u>V</u>			
DISTRICT									
* Whitman - Mr. Hill					X	x			
₩Morgan - D	Or. Jones	x	X	X					
₩Springfield - Dr. Smith		x	X	X					
* Glendale - Dr. Clark				x	x				
* (Indicates that district selected a female principal.)									

(Indicates that district selected a male principal.)

TABLE III

EVALUATION OF DOMINANT PHASES OF DEVELOPMENTAL THOUGHT OF DISTRICTS

	PHASE OF THOUGHT	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	III	IV	<u>V</u>
DISTRICT		-				
★ Whitman						x
₩Morgan				X		
% Springfield				X		
* Glendale					x	
•	that district selected a female	_	• '			

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS, AND COMMENTARY

This chapter presents a summary of the study, conclusions, and implications for current practice. In addition, some recommendations for future research are included along with commentary derived from analysis of data of this explanatory case study.

Summary

Three objectives guided this study:

- An examination of the selection of public high school principals in terms of content, structure, and methodology;
- A description of the resulting perspectives on developmental thought which emerged; and
- An assessment of the usefulness of Feminist Phase Theory for exploring these perspectives.

These objectives were accomplished by gathering data from individuals who participated in the selection of a new principal in four school districts. Data was obtained through interviewing two individuals, the superintendent and another person of his or her choosing, in each of the districts. Two of the districts had selected a male principal, and two had chosen a female principal.

Interviewees were asked to describe the process they used in making their selection, the "content" of the search; the dynamics of the group making the selection,

including their roles, which was the "structure" of the search; and what they valued in candidates as they moved through the process, the "methodology" of the search. To analyze the data, statements and actions of interviewees were classified as representative of various stages of thought about women, as described in Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991).

Data Needs

Data was needed from those who actually participated in a recent selection of a high school principal to achieve the purposes of this study. Data was needed that reflected the phase of thought about women that occurred in selectors as they accomplished the content, structure, and methodology of the search. For comparison purposes, two districts were chosen who had selected a male principal, and two were chosen who had selected a female principal.

Data Sources

Eight individuals, including four superintendents from four suburban or small city districts, were interviewed to gather data. Statewide, there was a much larger pool of districts that had recently selected a male principal as opposed to districts that had selected a female principal. However, districts that met the desired profile of hiring male or female principals within the last two years were successfully found.

Within the four selected districts, three of the superintendents were male, and one was female. The second individual in each district to be interviewed was an assistant superintendent, a deputy superintendent, a director of personnel, or a director of secondary instruction. Of this second group, two were males and two were females.

Data Collection

Data was collected using both open-ended and structured questions in interviews that lasted from 45 minutes to two hours. Although each interviewee had a choice of venue for the interview, all chose to be interviewed in their offices. All questions focused on the content, structure, and methodology of the search for a new principal.

At the end of each interview, the interviewee filled out a personal demographics questionnaire concerning degrees and positions they held. Also included in the questionnaire were items about their families and how they liked to spend leisure time. (See Appendix E.)

Data Presentation

The content, structure, and methodology of the search process proved to be varied but with commonalities. Every superintendent stressed the importance of being fair and stated that she or he was proud of and satisfied with the model they used. Overall, in spite of the intention to be fair, search processes were subject to manipulation. In addition, none of the districts identified gender bias as a problem to overcome, and only one district provided training to committee members. Sometimes, the outcome of the search appeared to be somewhat predetermined.

Content. The content or process of the search involved a plan of action for achieving goals and varied widely among districts. The aspects of the content of the search included posting the position, selecting who would participate in the search, screening and interviewing candidates, rating and ranking candidates, doing background and reference checks, and making a recommendation to the Board of Education.

Structure. The structure of the search involved "who did what", including relationships and group dynamics within the body making the selection. The superintendent's influential role in determining the roles that others played in the process was a key factor in the structure of each search. Superintendents determined who would be involved in carrying out the search in all four districts. They also influenced the questions to be asked in committee interviews in two of the districts. In addition, in three districts, the superintendent interviewed finalists alone, and in two districts, the successful candidates had been invited to apply for the position.

Methodology. Methodology included the values expressed during the course of the search and the effects of those values on decision making. Identification of desirable traits and experiences in candidates fell into this facet of the search, as did the articulation of the district's culture. "Cultural fit" with the school and with the community was a concern of superintendents. They also mentioned the importance of successful experience in student discipline, academics, curriculum, and relationships as well as loyalty and teamwork. Vision, high visibility, and involvement in the community were also valued. Analysis Using Feminist Phase Theory

The Review of Literature, presented in Chapter II, outlined the salient characteristics of five phases of thought about women, as defined in Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Those phases of thought were applied to school leadership and administration for the purposes of this study.

Women were absent in the first phase, called Androcentric Leadership, and their absence went unnoticed. In phase two, Compensatory Leadership, a search was begun for

the missing woman, but a woman had to meet male standards of performance and prove herself "exceptional" in order to be successful. Phase three, Bifocal Leadership, focused on the stereotyped differences between the genders, rather than their similarities, and oppression of women continued in spite of social awareness of it. There was a grand shift in social thought in phase four, Feminist Leadership. In this fourth phase, women were the focus of study, and their actions stood on their own merit, no longer compared to a male standard. In addition, Feminist Leadership valued diversity, the survival of all, and collaboration. In the final phase, Multifocal or Relational Leadership, gender was no longer an issue. Masculine and feminine leadership blended into "human" leadership, adopting whatever behaviors were effective.

Evidence of phase one thought occurring in the search process included the utilization of a vertical value system, the absence and invisibility of women, females who embraced the male standard of leadership, and the absence of gender as a relevant issue. Phase one thought occurred in three districts but was not observed in data collected in the Glendale district.

Phase two thought was also lacking in the Glendale district's data but was manifested in the other three districts and included defining desirable leadership in masculine terms, viewing successful women as exceptional, and maintaining the male standard. Districts appeared to be aware of the absence of women but failed to directly address the issue of gender. Instead, most took a legalistic approach to dealing with fairness in general and were quick to point out all the safeguards they used.

Gender stereotyping, found in phase three, seemed to influence thought in two districts. One superintendent expressed a concern for how a female candidate would

balance family responsibilities with her job, and another described the principal's job responsibilities as being largely in the public sphere, which was traditionally maledominated. Only one superintendent, the female, addressed gender as a relevant issue, and she presented it as an obstacle to overcome in hiring a female principal.

Sharing power and decision making, consensus building, relationship skills, valuing diversity and the success of all, and empathy were all lateral values of phase four thought and were valued in two districts. A third district successfully improved the system to favor women by hiring a female principal, also described in phase four.

Phase five valued "humanness" over stereotyped masculine and feminine traits.

This type of thought was found in only one district.

Findings

From the analysis of the data, multiple findings emerged. They described and defined realities about the search process and related to aspects of Feminist Phase Theory:

- 1. Generally, superintendents and other administrators were very pleased with the results of their searches. They expressed pride in the content, structure, and methodology of the search.
- 2. In terms of components of the search process:
 - ◆ The "content" of the search varied a great deal among districts.

 Multiple models were used, ranging from a unilateral decisionmaker to the use of various types of committees: communityteacher committee, administrative committee, and teacher-parentadministrator committee.

- The superintendent exerted enormous influence over the structure of the search, regardless of the method used, and could easily predetermine outcomes.
- Methodology focused on conducting a fair search in legalistic terms; importance was *not* given to gender equity in search outcomes.
- ◆ Values expressed in the methodology of the search indicated that the position of high school principal (1) was viewed as a "power position"; and (2) was conceived in masculine terms, belonging to the highly visible "public sphere."
- 3. In terms of thought development, gender bias appeared to be present in the content, structure, and methodology of the search process:
 - Responses from administrators involved in selecting high school principals largely fell into phases one, two, and three of Feminist Phase Theory, indicating that women in education are still being held to a male standard and suffer from a stereotyped image. (See Table I.)
 - ♦ However, some perceptions of administrators fell into phases three and four, indicating that progress is being made in developmental thought. (See Table II.)

Conclusions

The content or process of the searches in this study varied a great deal. Several models were used, and the breadth of input from constituents ranged from broad

background checks by personal contact in Whitman to composite committees made up of teachers, parents, and community members in various combinations. The structure of the search was under the control of the superintendent, and it was subject to predetermination if a superintendent wanted to exert his or her influence in that direction. The methodology of the search was value-laden and often reflected androcentric views of leadership and desirable traits. School leadership was expressed in masculine terms by several, but not all, of the participants. Feminine leadership traits, such as collaboration and valuing diversity were also valued by some participants. However, gender was not found to be an open issue of leadership or of the selection process.

It appeared that most of those involved in the selection process were operating within phases one, two, or three of Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991), regardless of their gender. The two notable exceptions were Mr. Hill in Whitman and Dr. Clark in Glendale. In Springfield, both participants operated exclusively in phases one, two, and three. In Morgan, the superintendent made a few remarks that indicated phase four thought, but he too had concentration in phases one, two and three. (See Table I.)

Glendale, who had a female superintendent, fell exclusively into phases three and four. The Whitman administrators were split in developmental thought. Mr. Bowman, the superintendent, expressed himself almost exclusively in phases one, two, and three. However, Mr. Hill, the director who actually conducted the search in Whitman, fell exclusively into phases four and five. (See Table II.)

There was a correlation between dominant phases of thought within districts and gender of successful candidates. The two districts that chose males, Springfield and

Morgan, fell predominantly into phase three in their developmental thought. Conversely, Whitman and Glendale chose female principals and fell into phases four and five. (See Table III.)

There was no doubt that superintendents were using vertical power to their advantage in the search process, regardless of their gender. It was also clear that they viewed the high school principalship as a power position as well. All subjects spoke of the high visibility of the principal in terms of community involvement and attendance at numerous student activities, particularly athletic events. Regardless of content, structure, or methodology used, every district was very pleased with the outcome of their search results.

Plainly, obstacles to gender equity in the high school principalship were still present, particularly since gender bias and androcentric paradigms were not recognized as problems at a conscious level. However, statements and actions were found that indicated that progress was beginning to occur in developmental thought about women in administration.

Leadership skills that McIntosh (1983) identified as feminine, such as collaborating for the survival of all, lateral values, relationship building, and valuing diversity and plurality, were valued by several administrators as they searched for a principal. These values originated in the private, domestic sphere (Bem, 1993; McIntosh, 1983). However, they were beginning to emerge in the public domain of school leadership, and that phenomenon signified a blend of the feminine and masculine and of the private and public.

Clearly, Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) proved quite useful in exploring perspectives of superintendents and other administrators as they described the content, structure, and methodology of their search. Feminist Phase Theory provided a framework to evaluate the statements and actions of these individuals and to identify those which were relevant to gender. The singular classification schema found in Feminist Phase Theory allowed perspectives about gender to emerge, although they typically were at an unconscious level for participants.

In spite of the usefulness of Feminist Phase Theory for this type of research, some would find the criteria for phases somewhat ill-defined. For example, there are substantial differences in how Tetreault (1985) and McIntosh (1983) described thoughts and values in phase four, Feminist Leadership. Also, some would be bothered by the clusters of phases found within individuals rather than a schema that could define individuals as falling into a single phase.

Implications and Recommendations

The goals of research are to: (1) add to the current research base; (2) add to or clarify existing theory; and (3) impact current practice. This section will examine how the current study met these goals.

Research

Much research has sought to identify the barriers to the advancement of women in school administration (Epstein, 1988; Ginn, 1989; Grogan, 1996; Ortiz, 1982; Pigford & Tonnsen, 1993; Schmuck, 1987; Schoeppey, 1997; Shakeshaft, 1987; Tallerico et al., 1993). Utilizing Feminist Phase Theory to examine the thoughts of school administrators

in four districts as they moved through the steps of their search revealed how gender bias can be manifested in the content, structure, and methodology of the selection process.

Theory

Feminist Phase Theory had previously been used to describe developmental thought about women in the areas of curriculum, history, knowledge, philosophy, and sociology (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991). Specifically, Feminist Phase Theory has been used to analyze gender issues in college curricula, education journals, college textbooks of history, and the work of high school administrators (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Schoeppey, 1997; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991; Twombly, 1993).

Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) proved to be useful and relevant in evaluating developmental thought occurring in the selection process. The theory's classification schema provided a means of identifying thought that was gender-based even when the participant was unaware at a conscious level that gender had influenced his or her thoughts. Applying Feminist Phase Theory to the content, structure, and methodology of a principal search added new insights and knowledge to the theory.

Practice

The practice of hiring male principals at a national rate of 90.1% (Zakariya, 1996) has perpetuated the cultural tradition of male leadership in schools. School constituents, both female and male, have had the male image imprinted on their conceptualization of what a principal is and does.

In choosing the sample of districts to include in this study, a much larger pool of districts were found that had recently hired a male principal as opposed to the small pool of districts that had recently hired a female principal. This was not surprising since statewide, the current ratio of female principals was 11% (Oklahoma State Department of Education, 1998). Consequently, it seemed likely that the two districts in this study that hired male principals and that also operated in phases one, two, and three of developmental thought were more representative of statewide trends than were the two districts that hired females.

This study revealed that the selection process could easily be biased (in one case, in favor of a female over a male) and that the superintendent had the power to exert enough influence to predetermine the outcome. It was also revealed that the content, structure, and methodology of the search process were in need of revision to address not only gender issues, but also other issues of fairness. The use of committees gave the appearance of shared decision making, but committees were politically maneuvered, as were subordinates of the superintendents. The vertical power found in phase one appeared to be the most influential force within the structure of the search process.

In addition to showing how gender bias occurred in the selection process, this study also pointed out that progress may be on the horizon. Also of significance was the fact that feminist leadership behaviors, such as collaboration, relationship building, and supporting the survival of all were identified as desirable in a high school principal.

Future Research

Three areas of future research would be helpful in broadening the knowledge base of barriers to the advancement of women. First, to check the generalizability of the

findings of this study, Feminist Phase Theory could be applied to the selection of administrators and executives in fields other than education. Specifically, the developmental thought about women presented in Feminist Phase Theory (McIntosh, 1983; Schmuck, 1987; Schuster & Van Dyne, 1984; Tetreault, 1985; Twombly, 1991) could be examined in private industry, science, and other fields traditionally dominated by males.

Second, to get past the filtered statements made by interviewees, an anonymous survey of superintendents might reveal (1) how they perceive their influence within the selection process; (2) the percentage of principal searches that are predetermined; and (3) how superintendents perceive female candidates. The interviewees in this study revealed a great deal through their statements, but their responses were still guarded.

Third, a longitudinal study of successful female position holders would identify how those women achieved success and obstacles they encountered along the way. This information would be enlightening for women who aspire to the principalship.

Commentary

Based on my findings, I judge searches for principalships to be largely predetermined and biased in favor of men. Many of the individuals involved in searches do not recognize this fact, and many do. The cultural paradigms held in our educational system and about school leaders are definitely androcentric.

It was encouraging, however, to find some bright spots on the horizon. There appears to be a change in what superintendents value in principals' leadership style. The preferred leadership is beginning to incorporate feminine, relational skills. Unfortunately, females are not getting credit. These skills and traits are not usually identified or

recognized as being feminine. They are, however, most assuredly feminine, originating from the private, domestic sphere (Bem, 1993; Tetreault, 1985).

Perhaps this emerging blend of leadership skills will result in more women being valued as leaders of schools. This is sorely needed. Had I not worked for a female principal for three years early in my career, I would not have chosen administration. I had to see it to understand it, to experience it, and to want it. I have great concern for female students in high schools and colleges who are preparing for careers with glass ceilings. We have told them to go into the world and achieve. Will the next generation face the same androcentric paradigms of today?

Starratt had this to say about cultural values taught in schools:

...youngsters pick up the value preferences within the culture and the subculture which the school teaches. This is the tacit curriculum, which even teachers are not usually aware they are teaching. What is worse, the students are not aware of how much they are picking up of the points of view, biases, stereotypes, and ethical judgements of the culture (Starratt, 1996, p. 56).

In phase four, there was a focus on "incremental structural changes in the existing arrangements of educational institutions" (Schmuck, 1987, p. 17) to benefit women. Change will occur in small steps and will require time to accomplish. Schools are not "model places" (McIntosh, 1983, p. 8), but they should be.

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APPENDIXES

$\label{eq:appendix} \mbox{APPENDIX A}$ INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD

DATE: 10-01-98

IRB #: ED-99-026

Proposal Title: THE SELECTION OF THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPAL: AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS THROUGH THE LENS OF FEMINIST PHASE THEORY

Principal Investigator(s): Adrienne E. Hyle, Betty S. Gerber

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

Signature:

Date: October 19, 1998

Carol Olson, Director of University Research Compliance

cc: Betty S. Gerber

Approvals are valid for one calendar year, after which time a request for continuation must be submitted. Any modification to the research project approved by the IRB must be submitted for approval. Approved projects are subject to monitoring by the IRB. Expedited and exempt projects may be reviewed by the full Institutional Review Board.

APPENDIX B LETTER TO REQUEST INTERVIEW

Broken Arrow Senior High School



1901 East Albany Broken Arrow, OK 74012 (918) 259-4310

Triple "A" High School

Academics

Activities

Attitude

Principal: Kyle Wood

Assistant Principals: Richard Boyes (N-Z) Genell Coleman (Attendance) Betty Gerber (G-M) Tom Sorrels (A-F)

Athletic Director: Ken Ellett Activities Director: GraceLannert

February 1, 1999

Dr. J. Doe, Superintendent City Public Schools P. O. Box 111 City, OK 70000

Dear Dr. Doe:

I am a doctoral student at Oklahoma State University conducting research in the selection process for the high school principalship; i.e. what is done, who is involved, and the various tasks involved in making a final selection. As a final requirement for my degree, I am gathering data for an explanatory case study as my dissertation. I need to interview superintendents who have recently selected high school principals (within the last 1-3 years). I have a certain profile of small city or suburban districts for my study, and your district matches that profile. I have a small pool of districts from which to draw, so it is important for me to obtain your permission to use your district as part of my sample.

I would like to interview you as one of my research subjects for approximately one hour at a time convenient to your schedule. I will be calling you soon to see if you would be willing to participate and to set a time if you are. I would also like to interview one other person who participated in that selection process. Of course, the contents of your interviews would be confidential, and your anonymity, as well as that of your district, would be protected. The Oklahoma State University Institutional Review Board has approved my research project, and I am working under the guidance of Dr. Adrienne Hyle.

In case it is helpful for you to know, I am an Assistant Principal at Broken Arrow High School and can be reached by phone at 918-259-4310. I look forward to talking with you.

Respectfully, Betty Gerber

APPENDIX C INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

"I,	, hereby authorize or direct				
Betty Gerber	to perform the following treatment or procedure."				
The content (done) of the researchers, a including wh selection con	of approximately one hour duration to investigate the following: what was done and why); the structure (who did what); and the methodology (how it was election process for a new high school principal. This information will be useful to educators, and theorists because it will help explain the process of selecting a high school principal, at a district wants in a principal, the dynamics of the selection process, and what makes similtees choose a particular candidate. The purpose of the procedure is to identify and otheromena occurring in the selection process.				
I am guarante this consent f	ed anonymity in all aspects of the ongoing research. My name will appear in print only on orm.				
	s part of an investigation entitled "The Selection of High School Principals: An Examination Using Feminist Phase Theory."				
I understand	hat a summary of results of this research will be shared with me if I so desire.				
	that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am aw my consent and participation in this project at any time without penalty after notifying the or."				
(405) 744-98 I may also co	Dr. Adrienne Hyle of Oklahoma State University at telephone number 93 ntact Gay Clarkson, IRB Executive Secretary, 305 Whitehurst, Oklahoma ity, Stillwater, OK 74078, telephone number: (405) 744-5700.				
I have read at to me.	nd fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given				
Date:	Time:(a.m./p.m.)				
Signed:					
	Signature of Subject				
_					
Witness(es required:	if				

	ly explained all elements of this form to the subject or his/her representative or his/her representative to sign it.
Signed:	Project Director or his/her authorized representative

APPENDIX D INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Background

- 1. Please tell me about yourself, your career, and this district.
- 2. Please describe the latest search for a high school principal.
- 3. Is that how other searches have been done?
- 4. Do you have documents about the search (posting, job description, etc.)?

Feminist Phase Theory

- 5. What was the district and school looking for in a principal?
- 6. How was that determined?
- 7. What were the dynamics/relationships among those involved in choosing a principal?
- 8. When you consider the individual chosen as principal, what was it that gave him/her the edge over other candidates?

APPENDIX E PERSONAL DEMOGRAPHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

Demographic Information

Name			·	-
Age N	Number of brothers		Number of sisters	
Parents' Occup	ations:	Mother		
		Father		 .
If married, spo	use's occup	ation		
Children: Age C	Gender	Education		
Education: School/College/	University		Degree/Area	
Employment H	istory in Ed			
Hobbies/ Leisur		:		

APPENDIX F INTERVIEW QUESTIONS OF GLENDALE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Interview Questions for Assistant Principals July 18, 1998

Please tell us about yourself and your professional preparation.

- 1. What is due process and how would it effect you as an administrator?
- 2. A student comes to you and says he/she has been sexually harrassed by another student. What steps would you take? Change the scenario. A student comes to you and says he/she has been sexually harrassed by a teacher. What steps would you take?
- 3. The principal is the instructional leader of the school, how would you assist him/her in fulfilling this function?
- 4. How would you make yourself highly visible as a positive role model in our community?
- 5. What are your long range professional plans?

VITA

Betty Sue Martin Gerber

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Education

Thesis: THE SELECTION OF HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALS: AN EXAMINATION OF THE PROCESS USING FEMINIST PHASE THEORY

Major Field: Educational Administration

Biographical:

Personal Data: Born in Broken Arrow, Oklahoma on February 25, 1951 to Carl and Betty Lee Martin; married to Gary Gerber with two children: Jennifer Gerber Day and Gary Michael Gerber.

Education: Graduated from Broken Arrow High School, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma; received Bachelor of Science Degree in Secondary Education from Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma in May, 1973; attended special summer program of University of Oklahoma at Universite de Grenoble, France in 1981; completed the requirements for the Master of Science Degree in Educational Administration at Oklahoma State University in May, 1989; Secondary Principal certification, June, 1991; Superintendent certification, January, 1994; completed requirements for the Doctor of Education Degree in Educational Administration at Oklahoma State University in July, 1999.

Experience: Taught English and French at Claremore High School in Claremore, Oklahoma; taught English and French at Broken Arrow High School, Broken Arrow, Oklahoma; practiced as an Administrative Assistant for Business Services at Broken Arrow High School; currently Assistant Principal at Broken Arrow High School.

Professional Memberships: Oklahoma Association of Secondary School Principals, National Association of Secondary School Principals, Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development.