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UNCG educational administration doctoral graduates: A study of the factors affecting the women educational administrative candidates' career progress as compared to their male educational administrative cohorts

Poole, Katherine Patrick, Ed.D.

The University of North Carolina at Greensboro, 1991

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UNCG EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION DOCTORAL GRADUATES: A STUDY OF THE FACTORS AFFECTING THE WOMEN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE CANDIDATES' CAREER PROGRESS AS COMPARED TO THEIR MALE EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COHORTS

by

Katherine Patrick Poole

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

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1991

Approved by

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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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POOLE, KATHERINE PATRICK, Ed.D. UNCG Educational Administration Doctoral Graduates: A Study of the Factors Affecting the Women Educational Administrative Candidates' Career Progress as Compared to Their Male Educational Administrative Cohorts. (1991) Directed by Dr. David Reilly. 99 pp.

The purpose of this study was to investigate whether factors which have affected progress in the career development of the educational administrative doctoral graduates influenced males and females differently. The research questions which were addressed were: (1) Are there factors which positively affect a female educational administrator's career development differently from those of her male cohorts? and (2) Are there factors which negatively affect a female educational administrator's career development differently from those of her male cohorts?

Data were obtained from a questionnaire mailed to the male and female educational administrative doctoral graduates from The University of North Carolina at Greenboro for the years spanning 1971, the inception of the program, through 1988. The questionnaires surveyed those graduates who remained in North Carolina during their careers. The questionnaires were mailed to 45 females and an equal number of randomly selected male cohorts. From the total returned questionnaires, a follow-up interview with 5 male and 5 female randomly selected respondents was conducted.

The top five factors recorded for both male and female respondents which positively affected their career highlight that each gender views the role of educational administrator from a different perspective. The challenge to genderize

training program components still exists. The implications of the research on women administrators for training programs, for practice, and for theory are potentially wide-ranging. Women's perceptions of their experiences might provide data important for preparation program design.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Retrospective

The overwhelming experience of women in a society that is dominated by men is one of being silenced (Rich, 1979). If one listens to the voices of women as compared to those of men and observes the space that men allow themselves both physically and verbally, the faces of the silent are women and the faces of those who speak are men (Rich, 1979). For women, the terms of academic discourse are not her language; and in groping for language in which to express what is on her mind, she realizes the discourse was not intended for her (Rich, 1979).

Background of the Problem

It is passé to point out that the world of teaching has primarily been a female one, while the world of administration has almost always been populated by men (Shakeshaft, (1987). There have always been a few women school administrators, but men have dominated the field. Many speculate that this imbalance will come to an end in the next decade as more women assume formal educational leadership positions.

Currently, the number of women in administrative training programs nearly equals the number of men in those programs (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Shakeshaft (1987) says research on women administrators reveals differences between the ways men and women approach the tasks of administration. Women administrators more often are guided by what Gilligan (1982) describes as "an injunction to care, a responsibility to discern and alleviate the 'real and recognizable trouble' of this world," while male administrators are informed by "an injunction to respect the rights of others and thus to protect from interference the rights to life and self-fulfillment" (p. 100). These differences have implications for administrative training programs, which were developed by men primarily for men (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Although there are similarities in male and female managers' backgrounds and experiences, they also vary in important ways (Shakeshaft, 1987). The demographic profiles and history of women administrators are not the same as the profiles and history of men in administration (Shakeshaft, 1987). Few schools provide an equitable culture in which all students and faculty members can grow (Shakeshaft, 1986). Most offer white males more options in an environment that is hospitable to their needs (Shakeshaft, 1986). Females, on the other hand, must obtain their education in systems that are at best indifferent and at worst

hostile to them. Not only are the needs of female students ignored in discussions of excellence, but the contributions of women teachers and administrators to excellent schools are also invisible (Shakeshaft, 1986). Perhaps even more dangerous, the suggestions that have been made for upgrading the profession of teaching are aimed at the needs and values of male teachers and administrators, not female professionals.

Teaching is often acknowledged as the ideal profession for a female and was the first career profession opened to women. The unwelcoming environment that female students experience also surrounds female teachers and administrators (Shakeshaft, 1986). This same environment encourages women to remain as teachers and discourages them from seeking to become administrators. The sex-structuring of the career ladder in education harms women students, women educators, and the educational system at large. It leads to a system that teaches students that positions of formal leadership belong to men, and it deprives education of some of its most capable leaders (Shakeshaft, 1986).

There is overwhelming evidence in the research literature that women do not become school administrators because of sex discrimination that devalues women (Shakeshaft, 1986). The primary reason that women are not hired or promoted into administrative positions points to the fact that they are female. Literally hundreds of studies have documented direct

discrimination against women, whether from negative attitudes toward women or from behavior that is harmful to them (Shakeshaft, 1986). Further, the legacy of discrimination and exclusion has shaped a world in which women's experiences and behaviors are often unlike those of men (Shakeshaft, 1987).

Studies of men and women administrators reveal differences in ways they approach the job and in the climate they create (Shakeshaft, 1986). For example, in schools and districts with female administrators, the following things tend to occur: Relationships with others become central. Women spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are more concerned about other teachers and with marginal students, and are better motivators than men. Not surprisingly, the staffs of women administrators are more productive, have higher morale, and rate women higher. Students in schools with women principals also have higher morale and are more involved in student activities (Shakeshaft, 1986).

Teaching and learning are major interests of women teachers and administrators. Women teachers and administrators are more instrumental in instruction than are men, and they exhibit greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques. Women administrators know their teachers and are more likely to help new teachers while creating a climate

more conducive to learning than men. The building of a community is an essential part of a woman administrator's style. The staffs of female principals have higher job satisfaction and are more engaged in their work than those of male administrators (Shakeshaft, 1986). Greenberg describes the world of the female-administered school:

> Whatever its failures, it is more cooperative than competitive, it is more experiential than abstract, it takes a broad view of the curriculum and has always addressed the whole child. (Greenberg, 1985, p. 5)

Women administrators not only hold relatively few of the superintendencies, they get them later in life (Schuster & Foote, 1990, p. 18). Nearly 36% of the women were over 46 when they got the job, compared to only 14% of the men (p. 18). In addition, women work as teachers longer. More than three-fourths of the women superintendents, compared to nearly two-thirds of the male superintendents, had more than 5 years of teaching experience (p. 18). More women held a central office position (59% of the women, 41% of the men), while relatively fewer have been building principals (74% of the women compared to 85% of the men) (p. 18).

Thirty-seven percent of the females, compared to only 18% of the males, ranked their I.Q.'s in the top 5% of the population; 57% put their high school grades in that category, compared to 23% of the men; and more than 35% placed their college performance in the top 5%, compared to 11% of the men (Schuster & Foote, 1990, p. 19). Also, the females were more likely

to hold doctoral degrees (49%) than the males (39%) and said they read an average of nine professional books a year, compared to five for males (p. 19). If the higher self-ratings of women reflect true differences in these measures, it may mean the strength of cultural tradition, the slowness of institutional change, and the old boy network contribute to steeper barriers for highly qualified women seeking the superintendency (p. 19). The few women who succeed are, perhaps out of necessity, brighter, higher achievers (p. 19).

This women's world has important implications for theory and practice in the field. To be maximally useful, theory and practice need to take into account the experiences of all the participants (Shakeshaft, 1987). The field of educational administration, not unlike most other fields and disciplines, has not seen the world from a female perspective and, thus, presents only a partial picture (Shakeshaft, 1987, pp. 403-404).

Studies of women administrators tend to confirm the view that women occupy a world, in addition to the one in which white males live, that provides them with experiences and approaches to life that are different from those of men. The research on male and female administrators' responses in interviews led Shakeshaft to believe that although both male and female administrators use a similar range of behaviors

in their work, the patterns of use are different (Shakeshaft, 1987).

The research on male and female administrators and women administrators' responses in interviews show a range of patterns and behaviors that are different from males (Shakeshaft, 1987). Gilligan (1982) describes women administrators as guided by an injunction to care. Based on what is currently known of female work behavior in schools, the female world might be conceptualized in the following ways:

1. Relationships with others are central to all actions of women administrators. Women spend more time with people, communicate more, care more about individual differences, are concerned more with teachers and marginal students, and motivate more.
2. Teaching and learning is the major focus of administrators. Women administrators are more instrumental in instructional learning than men, and they exhibit greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques.
3. Building community is an essential part of a woman administrator's style. From speech patterns to decision-making styles, women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools.
4. Marginality overlays the daily work life of women administrators. Token status and sexist attitudes

> toward women combine to create a world in which the woman administrator is always on display and always vulnerable to attack (Gilligan, 1982).

What if a current profile of female educational administrators took into account certain key factors in a female world? Would the factors that affect all educational administrators be approached by women differently to adjust to a male hegemony?

Women have been advised by some current researchers in manuals described as survival skills for women in bureaucracies to "act like a man," "not cry," and "dress for success." What these reports fail to examine are the ways in which acting like a man may not be the best strategy for a woman and worse, may interfere with the goals of schooling by charting a course for women who are not true to themselves but an imitation of man (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 406).

In the 1970's women made professional advances in many fields, and the number of women in programs that certify school administrators increased dramatically; however, the number of women in major administrative positions in the public schools had not risen appreciably by 1980 (Shakeshaft, Gilligan, & Pierce, 1984). Are there factors holding back qualified women from attaining administrative positions of leadership in the public schools? Shakeshaft (1987) says that as a group white men don't face barriers to jobs just because they are men and therefore don't have to

negotiate such barriers. The literature on barriers and strategies for overcoming discrimination is silent in the research on male administrators. This suggests that the world of male administrators and the world of female administrators may be different, because sex discrimination and barriers to administration occur only for women as a group (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 79).

As Shakeshaft has demonstrated in her course at Hofstra, Women in Administration, once women acknowledge the presence of discrimination and stereotyping in their own lives, they can begin to change the effects of sexism in their careers and in the beliefs about themselves (Shakeshaft et al., 1984, p. 68). In order to cope in a basically male environment, women must be cognizant of the reality that discriminatory practices do exist in school districts despite affirmative action gains (Picker, 1980, p. 148). Consequently, there is a need for administrators to actively recruit and sponsor (mentor) capable young women in order to encourage them to enter administrative careers (Picker, 1980).

Statement of the Problem

This study focuses on educational administrators to ascertain whether factors which have affected progress in their career development have influenced males and females differently. In order to examine this issue, the following research questions will be addressed:

1. Are there factors which positively affect a female educational administrator's career development which are statistically different from those affecting a male educational administrator's career development?
2. Are there factors which negatively affect a female educational administrator's career development which are statistically different from those affecting a male educational administrator's career development?

Significance of the Study

If this investigation identifies certain factors as being significant, either as impediments or as enhancers to career development of women educational administrators, career path experiences can be designed to reduce the hindering factors and increase the enhancing factors.

The implications of the research on women administrators for training programs, for practice, and for theory and research in educational administration are potentially wide-ranging. Women's perception of their experiences might provide data important for preparation program design; theory and research would need to consider female perceptions in designing new or modified models of career development.

Limitations

This study will be limited to the Educational Administration Program at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. It will utilize all the female Ed.D. graduates from 1971, the inception of the program, to 1988 who have remained in North Carolina and an equal number of randomly selected male graduates from the same program during the years 1971 to 1988 who also have remained in North Carolina.

The implications of this study will also be limited to the state of North Carolina, and although the results may be generalizable to other Southern states, may not be generalizable to the nation at large.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

In the United States, professional school or graduate study is becoming necessary for positions of leadership and power. Consequently, those with the most education are likely to have the best opportunities to obtain positions of influence and to advance in their fields (Hite, 1985, p. 18).

A report from the Project on the Status and Education of Women (1982) noted that "women's educational experiences may differ considerably from those of men, even when they attend the same institutions, share the same classrooms, and work with the same graduate advisors" (pp. 1-2). By comparing the perceptions of male and female students, this study will identify factors that may contribute to the smaller number of women in educational administrative positions in North Carolina.

Women School Administrators

There is a need to assemble the research on women in school administration (Shakeshaft, 1987). Although there are numerous recent books focusing on the topic of women in management in the business world, there are very few books available on the topic of women in educational administration. It has been the dissertation, more than any other

source, that has provided research on women in administration (Shakeshaft, 1987). In the ideal form, the dissertation research reflects the newest directions and current interests within a field.

Although the bulk of teachers since 1905 have been women, they have primarily clustered in elementary schools, and over the past 80 years the only administrative position in which women have been dominant is the elementary principalship (Shakeshaft, 1987). It is not only difficult, but in some cases impossible, to find the number and percentage of women administrators or teachers for a particular year or geographic location (Hansot & Tyack, 1981). Amid proliferation of other kinds of statistical reporting in an age enamored of numbers--reports so detailed that one could give the precise salary of staff in every community across the country and exact information on all sorts of other variables--data by sex became strangely inaccessible (Hansot & Tyack, 1981, p. 13). A conspiracy of silence could hardly have been unintentional (Hansot & Tyack, 1981).

Accurate records of sex differentials in school administration are important for a number of reasons (Shakeshaft, 1987a, p. 21). Incomplete information on representation of women in school administration makes it easier for the belief that things are better for women to flourish; conversely, by not citing figures on the number of women in formal leadership positions in schools, it becomes more difficult to

identify and remedy the under-utilization of women in schools (1987a, p. 21).

Where administrators are not elected by popular vote, women seeking administrative positions still confront bias of local school board members, most of whom are men (Shakeshaft, 1987a, p. 22). Historically, as now, school men tend to hire those most like themselves, white middle-aged Protestant males (1987a, p. 40). Not surprisingly, they chose those with whom they felt most comfortable, and most members of school boards did not feel at ease with women as leaders (1987a, p. 40).

What is unique about the field of education is that the first step of the career ladder, teaching, is and has been dominated by women (Picker, 1980, p. 145). Thus, education has been traditionally characterized as a woman's profession. Far more men than women are selected for administrative positions and this bias has resulted in a steady decline in the number of female public school administrators over the past 40 years (Picker, 1980, p. 145).

Picker (1980) explored how well women in educational administration cope in this basically male environment compared to men. Picker's doctoral dissertation (1979) explored the conflict raised by the continuing trend of limiting women's careers in administration and the growing pressure to increase opportunities for women as a result of affirmative

action programs. Picker's study sample was drawn from the 100 female administrators and a matched sample (except for sex) of 100 male administrators in Los Angeles County.

Results showed four major areas that appeared to be significant for female administrators (Picker, 1980, p. 145). The four major areas included (a) differences between age groups, (b) differences in sponsorship, (c) differences in career aspirations, and (d) perceptions relating to discriminatory practices (Picker, 1980). Overall, female administrators were found to be older than male administrators at the time of their first administrative appointment (Picker, 1980). On the average, female administrators were appointed to their first administrative position at age 34 and their present position at age 39 (Walsh, 1975, p. 3323-A). Sponsorship (or mentorship) is an important factor in climbing the career ladder as it provides a critical service in helping to initiate and further a professional's career (Picker, 1980, p. 146). In addition, a sponsor (or mentor) can provide inside information to which the aspiring candidate may not have access (Picker, 1980). A strong cultural norm that encourages men to seek administrative positions discourages women from seeking these positions (Picker, 1980).

The fourth set of findings from Picker's (1979) research relates to female administrators' perceptions of discriminatory practices in their school districts. In terms of the qualifications that women administrators must possess in

order to be appointed, Picker found that women were required to be more highly qualified than their male counterparts (p. 148). The women administrators surveyed felt that females must have more education and greater dedication than comparable males who were in administration (Picker, 1980, p. 148). Women administrators at the high school level voiced particular concerns about discriminatory practices at this level of administration (Picker, 1980). Women who were assistant principals at the high school level considered promotion to principal virtually impossible (Picker, 1980). It was perceived that most senior high school positions were considered to be for males, while the elementary school principalship was considered to be more of a position for females (Picker, 1980).

The 1990 statistics still bear out this trend to place women in elementary positions, as the secondary school principalships are 12% female and 88% male, and elementary school principalships are 29% female and 71% male (Schuster & Foote, 1990, p. 15). One woman interviewed by Picker (1980) stated, "The day they put a woman in the position of business superintendent you will know we have arrived" (p. 148). Other positions listed as typically female included director of guidance, dean of women, director of elementary education, food services manager, and director of pupil personnel (Picker, 1980). Women who plan to enter administrative

careers and cope in a basically male environment must recognize and deal with the reality that they may encounter some degree of discrimination in the selection and promotion process (Picker, 1980). Women are frequently expected and most oftentimes do have superior qualifications in order to be selected for administrative positions, and even then women are often not considered seriously for high, district-level administrative positions (Picker, 1980).

As Picker (1980) indicated in her research that sponsors or mentors serving as role models to women educational administrative aspirants are vital, only 8% of the professors of educational administration are women (Educational Administration Directory, 1983). Women professors occupy lower-level positions, earn less money than men, are expected to serve on a plethora of committees representing women, are rewarded for giving service and for teaching, and have less collegial interaction than do male faculty members (Kaufman, 1978). In 1983, 56% of these women professors were in temporary, adjunct, instructor, or assistant professor positions (Marshall, 1984, p. 5). Such positions limit women professors' ability to provide support systems or to be models or mentors to women students. In addition, women professors must first break into the old-boy network in educational administration if they are to help students identify administrative job openings (Marshall, 1984, p. 5).

Even after identifying relevant job openings, the procedures for references and interviewing also may discriminate on the basis of sex while complying with the laws (Marshall & Grey, 1982, p. 256). Cecil, Paul, and Olins (1973) and Day and Stodgill (1972) have demonstrated that experiences, traits and behaviors, when displayed by a woman, are judged differently than when displayed by a man (Marshall & Grey, 1982, p. 256). Leadership behaviors thus may be valued more highly for men than women; at the same time, it will be difficult to prove in court that sex discrimination has occurred (Marshall & Grey, 1982, p. 256). Furthermore, legal requirements cannot guarantee equal access to job openings since incumbent administrators (usually male) frequently have prior knowledge of openings and groom their proteges for the positions (Marshall & Grey, 1982, p. 256).

Statistics on women who attain administrative positions in public schools continue to convey a discouraging picture, especially for those who believe that equity legislation and affirmative action programs of the past two decades would significantly alter the gender composition of public school leadership (Edson, 1988, p. 261).

The North Carolina 1989 statistics still present the trend of placing women educational administrative aspirants into the elementary schools, and few matriculate into the secondary administrative realm. In North Carolina in 1989, women held 32.8% or 344 principalships in elementary schools

compared to 67.2% or 704 male cohorts. The middle school realm showed 18.5% or 98 females in principalships compared to 81.5% or 431 male administrative positions. For the high school leadership positions, a more discouraging picture is presented, with 8.5% or 30 females in the high school principalship compared to 91.5% or 323 males occupying the administrative leadership position (North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, 1989). Based on the low number of women hired, many researchers and practitioners in the past concluded that women were uninterested in administrative careers and did not even aspire to leadership roles (Edson, 1988). In a study of male and female teachers, Diaz (1976) found a higher level of leadership drive among women than men and noted the difference between women's aspirations and their representation in administrative ranks. In an extensive case study of one female principal, Ortiz and Covel (1987) determined: "Women have the same competitive drive as men, but they do not have the same opportunities" (p. 214).

Comparisons in the Business Domain

Don't women have what it takes for senior management? Is sexism keeping women away from the top floor? (Morrison et al., 1987, p. 7). Is it just a matter of time until women in the pipeline break through the glass ceiling to the top? (p. 7). These were some of the questions that Ann Morrison, Randall White, and Ellen Van Velsor and the Center for Creative Leadership researched in a 3-year study of the top female

executives of Fortune 100-sized companies (p. 7). Why not Fortune 500 companies? Because it is very, very rare to find a woman at the top of America's largest corporations (p. 5). Only 1.7% of the corporate officers are women (Glinow, 1986, p. 5).

The Center's Executive Women Project began with five basic questions:

1. What does it take for women to enter the executive suite?
2. What factors propel women up?
3. What derails women?
4. Are success and derailment factors the same for women and men?
5. Do women need the same opportunities for development as men? (p. 9).

Morrison, Randall, and Van Velsor compiled an executive profile from their interviews at the Fortune 100 companies. "The average woman executive was forty-one years old, 1 in 4 was unmarried and half had at least one child" (p. 10). This profile correlates with the 1990 article in "The School Administrator" which cites that on the path to the top women educational administrators hold relatively few of the superintendencies and they get them much later in life (Schuster & Foote, 1990, p. 18). And for the women who did make it to superintendent, they were over 46 years of age when they got the job (p. 18).

According to Morrison et al. and the Center's research, women have paid their dues, even a premium, for a chance at a top position, only to find a glass ceiling btween them and their goal (p. 13). The glass ceiling is not simply a barrier for an individual, based on the person's inability to handle a higher-level job, but the glass ceiling applies to women as a group who are kept from advancing higher because they are women (p. 13).

All of the female executives interviewed by the Center for Creative Leadership differed from their male cohorts in one fundamental way (p. 15). During their careers the women had to operate at three pressure levels: (a) the job itself, (b) their pioneer role in the job, and (c) the strain placed on family obligations (p. 15). Harvard professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1986) elaborated on that pressure of the woman being where few women had ever been before, the "token" woman as a stand-in for all women (p. 17). Tokenism in any form is simply sophisticated bigotry (Thomas, 1986, p. 91). One female executive confided, "I feel that if I fail, it will be a long time before they hire another woman for the job" (p. 17).

Women are still expected to take major responsibility for maintaining a household, raising children, even nurturing a relationship, and these time demands alone are ominous (p. 17).

The factors that The Center's research gleaned from their group of senior executives that they called "savvy insiders" were mentioned at least by two of the insiders. These savvy insiders made important decisions about the fate of the high-potential women in their companies (p. 24). The success factors most frequently mentioned by the insiders were help from above or mentors; a track record; the drive to succeed; the ability to manage subordinates; a willingness to take career risks; being tough, decisive, and demanding; smart; impressive image; working through others or delegating; adapting to the environment or the fit of employee to the tasks; and being easy to be with or intuitive in dealings with others (p. 187). Lillian Barna, a superintendent in Tacoma, Washington, stated, "Being a nurturer and supporter of others doesn't inhibit your career if you combine them with other leadership qualities, such as risk-taking and assertiveness" (1990, p. 18).

The statistics hold plenty of evidence in business and education that women have an easier, faster start on their career now than they did in the past (Morrison et al., 1987, p. 157). The problem is that getting women into corporations or schools is not the same as moving them up (p. 157). The top management ranks still seem to be nearly as forbidden to women as ever (p. 157). Attitudes change slowly, and women will be subjected to sex stereotypes for a long time to come

(p. 158). Change takes time--decades--and the kind of change necessary involves change in institutions, change in attitudes, and change in behaviors (p. 158).

The changing of attitudes and behavior directly involves another factor that affects women in their career progress. The factor is that of sexual harassment. Sexual harassment has received much attention in recent years (Kaufman & Wylie, 1983, p. 39). There has been increasing awareness of sexual harassment as a social problem, as a result of lawsuits, the establishment of grievance procedures, the development of organizational support for victims, government investigations, and mass media presentations (p. 39). Just what is sexual harassment? Sexual harassment is the unwanted imposition of sexual requirements in the context of a relationship of unequal power (Kaufman & Wylie, 1983, p. 39). Further defined, it can be verbal harassment or abuse; subtle pressure for sexual activity; sexist remarks about a woman's clothing, body, or sexual activity; unnecessary touching, pattings, or pinching; leering or ogling of a woman's body; demanding sexual favors accompanied by implied or overt threats concerning one's job, grades, or letters of recommendation (p. 39). These forms of offensive behavior become sexual harassment because of the situation of unequal power, in which a superior uses the authority of his or her position to engage in a sexual activity that would have been impossible without that authority (Kaufman & Wylie, 1983, p. 39).

This factor is particularly hindering for women aspirants seeking sound mentorship for their career progress. Often for the woman, the only alternative is to remove herself from the harassing situation which could mean changing jobs and thus jeopardizing her career development. Confrontation of the problem may put women aspirants on a networking blacklist, thereby limiting their options for alternative environments. Women students comprise a special target group, since they may later face sexual harassment on the job (Somers, 1983, p. 46). They need to understand the prevalence of the problem, their rights, and appropriate ways to confront harassment (p. 46). Doctoral programs may want to include this factor as part of an administrator's training on legal rights and responsibilities.

While many professional fields are showing increasing numbers of women in managerial and executive positions, the same cannot be said for public education (Whitaker & Lane, 1990, p. 8). The relevant data on equality of opportunity in educational administration reveals that sex--more than age, experience, background, or competence--determines the role an individual will hold in education (1990, p. 8). These inequalities in opportunity have resulted in too few women being hired for administrative positions at the local, state, and national levels, even though women always have held the majority of teaching positions (p. 8). In 1928, women constituted 55% of all elementary school principals, but by

1985 the proportion of elementary principalships occupied by women had fallen to 16.9%, according to research conducted by Charol Shakeshaft (p. 8). In the secondary principalship, women only held 7.9% of those positions in 1928, and by 1985 that small figure dropped even lower to 3.5% (p. 8). Because schools began in response to what males needed to know in order to become public people, the very nature of schooling is shaped in a male image (Shakeshaft, 1986, p. 500). Studies show women in education are subject to biased social attitudes regarding performance (Whitaker & Lane, 1990, p. 12). These social attitudes describe women as "too emotional, not task-oriented enough, too dependent on feedback and evaluation of others, and lacking independence" (p. 12). Even male mentors who support females for elementary principalships often show bias against females pursuing secondary administrative positions, according to a 1988 work by Edson (p. 12). Although both male and female principals perceived women to be more capable in school administration regardless of age, experience, grade level organization, or size of school, principals still recommended males for administrative positions to a greater extent than they did females (Hein, 1988, p. 11). So many of the men come fresh from the football field or the basketball court and are pushed right through administrative courses into leadership roles (Edson, 1988, p. 117). Yet, discrimination is as deceptively complex as it is

pervasively subtle (Yeakey et al., 1986, p. 111). Others have pointed to the fact that men historically have dominated the gatekeeping positions to publication in professional journals, to entry and advancement in academic positions, to policy-making positions in professional organizations, and to the definition of subject areas to be taught within departments (Yeakey et al., 1986, p. 116). Substantial evidence supports the position that sex-role stereotypes and sex-role socialization diminish the probability that women will actively seek managerial positions or that organizations will be receptive to those who do (Yeakey et al., 1986, p. 128). The sex-role socialization research supports the "women's place" model and thus highlights women's underrepresentation in educational administration (p. 128). Kanter argues that top management consists of white, Protestant men from elite schools and that managerial ideologies and organizational models reflect sexual status, class, and ethnicity (1986, p. 129). The acceptance of the "national man" model of organizations has been used to justify the absence of women--"the bearers of emotion"--from power as well as to justify exclusion of other emotional types, such as ethnic and racial minorities (1986, p. 129).

Despite legal mandates, organizational recruitment, and hiring and promotion policies, female candidates have continued to remain outside of the male administrative informal

network (Yeakey et al., 1986, p. 133). While the lack of role models creates obstacles to women's anticipatory socialization, research has shown that women holding administrative positions are more likely than men to cite the importance of encouragement from superordinates as a major factor in career progression (p. 134). Marshall (1986) related that limited opportunities for socialization into administrative roles makes the transition into administration particularly difficult for women (p. 134). Wheatley claimed that the informal system functions to exclude women from opportunities to gain administrative skills, visibility, and information about future opportunities (1986, p. 134).

While male mobility is vertical through a series of line positions involving the administration of adults, women, on the other hand, move among those positions involving instruction and interaction with youngsters from which vertical movement is rare (Yeakey et al., 1986, p. 135). Clearly, laws alone will not bring about meaningful change (p. 139). Future research could shed light on programmatic thrusts that go beyond the prohibition of discrimination to the active promotion of equality of opportunity and upward mobility (p. 139). Hopefully educational administrators in 2020 will more adequately reflect the total population of the educational machine.

The Network Factor and Women

Aspiring women administrators learn that being isolated or trying to operate as a separate entity essentially undermines their ability to manage and lead within an educational infrastructure. Rosser (1980) notes that the network among administrators is important for advancement in administration and that men establish them and use them to their advantage. This interpersonal network seems to be established out of need and is a critical function of educational leadership advanced positions (Morris, 1979).

Since many disciplines contain existing networks, this study shall only focus on the process of networking in the field of education, especially that of educational administration, utilizing Armstrong's (1988) work on networks. In order to better understand the field of network study, a few definitions are presented. Goodlad (1988) defines network as a very useful arrangement of exchanging information and ideas as among persons of like backgrounds and interests or jobs and camaraderie. Similar to this is Miles' (1977) broad definition of network as a connected set of social actors exchanging socially relevant material. Socially relevant material can also be interpreted as current trends, information or innovations within the field. Tegart's (1985) broad definition which applies to career development explains networking as a process to pursue to develop a career using all social or professional contacts for information, advice,

moral support, and job search skills. Schon (1977) has a more formal approach to the network phenomenon by saying that networking involves patterns of relationship and interaction among persons or collectives. These patterns are regular and persistent and, in that sense, law-like, but they are not governed by formal rules. They lie outside the boundaries of formal contact, formal regulation, and formal organization. This informality is the very barrier that women face in gaining entry to a network. Smith (1977) defines the nature of networks as those interrelated members separated in space so that direct face-to-face interactions tend to be sporadic rather than regular or frequent. As such, a network can be roughly distinguished from a group because it is more diffuse, less hierarchical, and less goal-centered than a formal organization (p. 4).

Another specific type of network addressed in the literature by Moody (1983) defines this as the activities of encouragers, advisors, nominators, and sponsors transmitted by way of networks . . . a private club with entry controlled by a system of 'old boy network' . . . refers to the informal alliance between men in organizations, whereby they help each other to the top [of the organization] (p. 389). The "old boy" network terminology appears in the literature as understood and accepted jargon for describing personal contacts and connections of influence (Armstrong, 1988). Occasionally referred to as "kingmakers," "the inner circle,"

"proteges," and "informal contacts" (Rosser, 1980), there is an attempt to describe a group of decision-makers or movers and shakers within the profession. Research that specifically describes and explains the so-called "old boy" network is sparse. Heald (1983), one of the few who ventures a description of the "old boy" network, refers to it as a "peculiar British development" tied closely to family tradition and well established school contacts. Knowledge is limited on the actual development of networks; however, Clark (1988) notes the historical importance of networking by stating:

> Within the field of education, informal networking has had a long history of significant impact . . . it may have had more influence on the development of the current system of schooling than any of the constituted networks spawned by federal agencies or colleges in recent years. (p. 37)

The "old boy" network closely follows family lines and passes along school contacts as generations of families continue to attend the same schools. As such, Heald (1983) describes the network as a "black economy of British society . . . a system whereby rewards of every kind are apportioned according to who you know and how you use your contacts and friendships" (p. 16). Heald sees networking as a process of by-passing bureaucracy, providing special favors to preferred individuals.

Among early school superintendents, networks were established not by family connections but in part by

corresponding with each other by exchanging practices and ideas and by friendship circles established during graduate studies at common colleges and universities (Armstrong, 1988). As early as 1844 superintendents began meeting together at a convention site where they were able to meet with professors, state and rural school leaders, and big-city superintendents to discuss educational ideas and difficult questions (Cuban, 1976). Women were not among these early school leaders since their position was relegated to the classroom arena only. Superintendents began linking themselves to one another in a common bond as an outgrowth of these multiple day conventions with roundtable meetings, informal evening sessions, and discussions concerning career promotions (Cuban, 1976).

An additional practice which helped establish superintendent networks was an efficient system of placing known individuals into school district superintendent openings by professors of educational administration (Armstrong, 1988). This network of graduate students, superintendents, and professors allowed certain professors to become "placement barons" within their area of influence (Tyack & Hansot, 1982).

Today there are varied opinions of the value of sponsorship and use of the "old boy" network for job placement (Armstrong, 1988). Fuqua (1983) reports that male

administrators believe that support from the "old boys" is important to their advancement. Maienza (1986) agrees and states that superintendents are

> highly skilled at using resources and sponsorship of significant others in their environments, . . . being sponsored by informal coalitions of university professors and professionals in public education on the state level. (p. 69)

But where does this networking leave female administrative aspirants who also need and want this valued connection? Socolow (1978), Pacheco (1982) and Maienza (1986) believe sponsorship and the "old boys" network create barriers to open access to certain positions for individuals not in favor. It was not known if the support available to men and women differs significantly (although that would appear to be the case), so it was instructive to document the support available to both men and women and if that support is of the same or different gender from the aspirant. As the number of women is so limited in administrative positions, it would be necessary for males to mentor both men and women (Pavan, 1987). Present administrators may be unaware of their mentoring behaviors or selection of proteges (Pavan, 1987). Literature reviews (Addison, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1979) and surveys of women (Diaz, 1976; Edson, 1980; Jones & Montenegro, 1983; Ortiz, 1982; Rometo, 1982; Schmuck et al., 1981) trying to ascertain why more women weren't school administrators will mention the lack of mentors or sponsors as a possible factor:

The decade of the eighties found most of the networking literature focused upon female networking (Kleiman, 1980). This new focus could be a reaction to the longstanding and perceived damaging impact the old boy network has had on the field of education, or possibly due to the growing social emphasis for women to become more assertive and directing in their career development.

Edson (1988) and others (Marshall, 1986; Pacheco, 1982) believe the concept of women banding together into networks is not new to administrative circles except in education where females have been restricted from leadership positions through the existing collegial network among male administrators. Edson recommends that female administrative aspirants band together to form networks enabling them to support one another and dispel the myth that women do not desire educational administrative positions. From the corporate perspective, Kanter (1977) advocates the establishment of closed inner circles of supportive females in which trust among these females can develop and empower each to provide mutual aid in the workplace and support in the progress in their individual careers.

A key element in the development of a new girl network (Rosser, 1980; Stent, 1978) is the intention of increasing sponsorship for aspiring female school administrators (Welch, 1980). Shakeshaft (1987) speaks of the need for women to

have access to a female network which provides information of position openings and visibility within a support group. She advocates that this network compete with the old boys club to provide women administrators an avenue to compete for existing jobs and to provide needed feedback and moral support. Picker (1980) disagrees, advocating that females continue to seek sponsorship support for professional advancement from males. This approach takes the practical avenue since statistics from research on the presence of women in school administration in 1990 shows that local school superintendents are 4% female compared to 96% male; the deputy or assistant superintendencies are 23% female compared to 77% males; secondary school principalships are 12% female and 88% male, and the elementary school principalships are 29% female and 71% male (Schuster & Foote, 1990, p. 15). To reiterate on the historical references, this is the first professional career option that was opened for women and is presently populated with more women than men, but the statistics stand as proof of who is in the authority-decision-making positions after 85 years.

One significant difference between the formation of male and female networks is the deliberate, mechanical development of female networks (Armstrong, 1988). Male networks are well established and appear to be operating naturally, without open awareness; the female networks seem to be planned and deliberately orchestrated (Armstrong, 1988). Some

believe that examining a network jeopardizes its existence (Mueller, 1986). Where it is acknowledged that networks exist within the field of educational administration, there is little research that clearly describes what it looks like, how extensive it is, and how it occurs (Armstrong, 1988). Asking individuals within or near a network to talk about or describe it may result in only limited acknowledgment of its existence and an attempt to uncover the pattern of the network may remove its mystical quality and weaken its apparent power and influence (Armstrong, 1988). In part, a network is influential because it circumvents the existing bureaucratic system and allows additional individuals to become a part of the information cycle or decision-making inner circle (Armstrong, 1988). Including women in these inner circles over time may enhance the number of female administrative aspirants given opportunity to advance in the field of educational administration.

Summary

"If there's nothing more powerful than an idea whose time has come, there is nothing more ubiquitously pervasive than an idea whose time won't go" (Janeway, 1971, p. 2). It is perplexing that the profession traditionally open to women has been sluggish when it comes to research about the

role of women in its policy and management. The vast majority of women believe that there is a need to be far more qualified than men if they are ever to attain management positions (Schmuck, 1981, p. 178).

Clearly many women aspirants are searching for reasons to explain why they do not get hired or promoted even though they have the necessary credentials and experience to qualify for many positions in administration (Schmuck, 1981, p. 179). This study will attempt to identify the factors that may affect female aspirants differently from their male cohorts in their administrative appointments in educational institutions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Research Questions

1. Are there factors which positively affect a female educational administrator's career development which are statistically different from those affecting a male educational administrator's career development?
2. Are there factors which negatively affect a female educational administrator's career development which are statistically different from those affecting a male educational administrator's career development?

Subjects

The subjects for this study will consist of selected educational administration doctoral graduates from The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. The study will survey all the female doctoral graduates and a randomly selected sample of the male doctoral graduates in educational administration from the classes of 1971, which constituted the inception of the educational administration doctoral program at UNCG through 1988. The study will survey only those graduates who have remained in the state of North Carolina during their career, which excludes three female

doctoral graduates. A total of 45 females were identified for this study. The study shall also survey an equal number of randomly selected male educational administration doctoral graduates from the classes of 1971 through 1988. The survey also will include only those randomly selected male graduates who have remained in North Carolina. There was one male graduate in the educational administration program in 1971, which was the inception of the program. There were no graduates from the program in 1973. From 1971 through 1988, a count from 1 through 9 for every two years determined the amount of respondents for each 2-year period, as there were increasing male doctoral candidates from the '70's into the '80's. From the designated amount of respondents for each 2-year period, names of male candidates were placed in a box and chosen at random and mailed the survey. The mathematical sum of the numbers from 1 through 9 equals 45, and the total number of questionnaires sent to male respondents corresponds with the total number of females (45) in the educational administration program from 1971 through 1988 (see Figure 1).

The male respondents were chosen at random since they represented a much larger percentage of the total candidates within the educational administration program at UNCG.

Five women doctoral graduates from those respondents who returned the survey were randomly selected for follow-up interviews to further the discussion of the factors they viewed as affecting their career development.

Inception of Program at UNCG	71	1 graduate	
	72		
	73	- -no graduates in 1973	
	74	2	
	75	3	
	76		
	77	4	
	78		
	79	5	
	80		
	81	6	
	82		
	83	7	
	84		
	85	8	
	86		
	87	9	
	88		
		45	Total questionnaires sent to males equaling the number of females

Figure 1. Numerical determination of random male survey respondents.

Five women were chosen for interviews representing 11% of the total population surveyed, and the five were identified from the questionnaire respondents. Each returned questionnaire was numbered and placed in a box and five chosen at random until all five questionnaires were counted.

Procedure

After appropriate approval by the UNCG Human Subjects Review Committee, each selected participant was mailed a questionnaire for the purpose of ascertaining information on the factors perceived to be affecting career progress in educational administration. A cover letter identifying the researcher and purpose of the study was included, along with a return envelope.

The questionnaire was sent to all of the women who have doctoral degrees in educational administration from UNCG who have remained in the state of North Carolina, totalling 45 educational administrative graduates from the classes of 1971 through 1988. The researcher selected the male subjects who have doctoral degrees in educational administration from UNCG and who have remained in the state of North Carolina from the classes of 1971 through 1988, by a random number method, since males constituted a larger percentage of each class than did the women doctoral graduates.

Each questionnaire was coded so that information revealed by the respondent could be kept confidential. A follow-up postcard was mailed to increase the return rate (see Appendix C).

Instruments

The Questionnaire

The first instrument used to collect data for this study was a researcher-designed questionnaire (see Appendix A) designed to identify factors that administrators in North Carolina perceive as barriers or enhancers to their career progress.

The questionnaire was selected as an effective tool for eliciting information because of the wide geographic area involved with the respondents and the number of factors to be considered by each respondent. For issues that evoke subjective answers, the questionnaire provides a conduit so the benefit was from the collective information received and not a reflection of one person's perceptions.

The factors contained in the questionnaire were derived primarily from research conducted at the Center for Creative Leadership, Greensboro, North Carolina, through the work of Morrison, White, and Van Velsor (1987) in "Breaking the Glass Ceiling." Other factors utilized were attained from Shakeshaft's (1987) work on women in educational administration, which highlights factors affecting women who aspire for positions of authority and from a review of related literature.

The survey instrument utilized a Likert-type structure which elicits responses from "strongly affected positively," "mildly affected positively," "did not affect" to "mildly affected negatively" and "strongly affected negatively."

A section of the questionnaire allowed for volunteered qualitative information which was used to enrich the results section. A follow-up interview was scheduled with five randomly selected male and female respondents who indicated an interest in expressing more information than space allowed in the questionnaire.

The Interview

The rationale for utilizing the follow-up interview for selected questionnaire respondents was strengthened by a work by Zinsser (1986) that espoused that documents can never tell the whole story; one has to go to the territory. The act of giving coherence to what would otherwise be only quantitative data often means dismantling the story that already exists and telling the complete story (Zinsser, 1986). In using an interview, the researcher must know the subject as if it were second nature because people are more complicated than appearances show.

A field test was conducted with a randomly selected respondent to the questionnaire to determine the validity of the standard interview questions (see Appendix B). The field test responses were evaluated by a member of the dissertation committee who is a woman administrator for omissions or corrections and relevance of predetermined standard questions. With permission, notes were taken from each person interviewed, but comments were confidential.

Validity

Validity for the factors contained in the instrument was established through a field test of responses attained from a panel of five competent judges. The judges were chosen from the UNCG faculty members of the Department of Educational Administration. There were five judges, each of whom has many years of experience and scholarship in the preparation and training of educational administration aspirants. The panel of judges reviewed the validity of the factors in the administrative profile by personally responding to the factors in the Administrative Factors Profile to be sent to the respondents. Modifications in the factors were made after this field test.

Validity was established by administering the questionnaire to 15 respondents in a pilot study. The pilot study sample included practicing administrators as well as doctoral students in preparation for administrative positions and professors who were responsible for the training program.

Limitations

This study will be limited to the graduates of the Educational Administration Program at The University of North Carolina at Greensboro. It will utilize all the female Ed.D. graduates from 1971, the inception of the program, through 1988 who have remained in North Carolina and an equal number of randomly selected male graduates from the same program

during the years 1971 to 1988 who also have remained in North Carolina.

The study will also be limited to the state of North Carolina, and although the results may be generalizable to other Southern states, may not be generalizable to the nation at large.

Data Interpretation

Upon receipt of the questionnaires, the researcher cataloged the responses to each selected factor according to their frequency within the Likert-type response chart on the survey instrument. A comparison of the responses to the factors was made, highlighting the frequency of gender differences.

The data were charted according to number and percentage of response of the female and male sample in their perceptions of the affect of each factor.

CHAPTER IV

DATA INTERPRETATION

Introduction

This chapter presents data obtained from the questionnaires mailed to the male and female educational administration doctoral graduates from The University of North Carolina at Greensboro for the years spanning 1971, the inception of the doctoral program, through 1988. The questionnaires surveyed those graduates who remained in North Carolina during their career. The questionnaires were mailed to 45 females constituting all but 3 female doctoral graduates and an equal number of randomly selected male educational administration doctoral graduates from the classes of 1971 through 1988. The male respondents were graduates who have also remained in the state of North Carolina for their career development.

From the 45 female respondents, 35 surveys were returned, representing a 78% response of the total number sampled. From the 45 male respondents, 38 surveys were returned, representing an 84% response of the total number sampled.

From the total returned questionnaires, a follow-up interview with 5 male and 5 female randomly selected respondents was conducted. The researcher-designed questionnaire

included 24 objective questions and 4 subjective questions. The follow-up interviews included questions constructed from the questionnaire weighing overwhelmingly on broad commonalities or glaring incongruences from the respondents. Findings were summarized and tables were constructed using frequency distributions and percentages pertaining to each of the questions. These are provided below.

The Questionnaires

Demographics of the Female Respondents

Nineteen women or 54% of those who responded to the questionnaire categorized themselves as the eldest child, which supports the literature indicating that the eldest female is still the sibling who is found most often among the ranks of aspiring administrators. The middle and youngest female respondents both registered 6 responses or 17% of the total sample. Females who were only children occupied 2 positions or 5% of the total sample.

The demographic profile for the women respondents in the marital category contradicted the myth in relation to the saying that the degree equals divorce statistics. Twenty-six (74%) of those who responded to this question were women who categorized themselves as married, while 2 registered as divorced or 5% of the sample, and 5 women indicated single status or 14% of the total returned. None of the respondents were separated.

Child-bearing statistics were divided among the categories on the questionnaire. Fourteen women (40%) listed themselves as having 2 children; six women (17%) had more than two. Three women (8%) indicated one child, and eight women (22%) listed that they had no children.

The age demographics revealed that the women respondents were in their middle years with 14 women (40%) in the 35-44 years of age bracket. Thirteen women (37%) were 45-54 years of age. Women who were 55-64 represented 4 respondents (11%), and only one respondent listed herself as 25-34 years of age (2% of the sample). This portion of the demographics also supports the literature by highlighting the fact that the majority of women in educational administration hold advanced degrees later in life as compared with their male counterparts in educational administration.

The final demographic of ethnicity revealed an overwhelmingly weighted Caucasian response of 31 women, or 86% of the total sample returned; 1 black respondent represented 2% of the sample returned. See Table 1.

Demographics of the Male Respondents

Five men categorized themselves as the eldest child, or 13% of the sample returned. The middle child recorded 9 men or 24% of those returning the survey. The largest group of males registered as the youngest sibling, with

Table 1

Demographics of Male and Female Respondents

Demographics	Male (n=38)	Male Percent	Female (n=35)	Female Percent
Eldest child	5	13	19	54
Middle child	9	24	6	17
Youngest	11	29	6	17
Only child	3	8	2	5
Single	1	2	5	14
Married	26	68	26	74
Separated	0	0	0	0
Divorced	0	0	2	5
One child	3	8	3	8
Two children	23	61	14	40
More than two children	3	8	6	17
No children	0	0	8	22
25-34 years of age	0	0	1	2
35-44 years of age	8	21	14	40
45-54 years of age	13	34	13	37
55-64 years of age	5	13	4	11
Caucasian	27	71	31	86
Black	2	5	1	2
Native American	0	0	0	0
Hispanic	0	0	0	0
Oriental	0	0	0	0

*Note: Not all respondents answered all questions.

11 men or 29% of the sample, and 3 men listed themselves as the only child or 8% of the respondents.

The marital demographic for the male respondents was overwhelmingly recorded in the married bracket, with 26 men or 68% of the sample. One man registered as single, or 2% of the sample, and none were listed as separated or divorced.

The male respondents having two children represented the largest group, with 23 sampled or 61% of the total returned. The male respondents with one child were three, or 8% of the sample, and those having more than two children also registered in at three or 8% of those questionnaires returned.

Age distribution of the male respondents was recorded with 8 men listing their ages at 35-44, which was 21% of the sample returned. Thirteen male respondents represented the 45-54 age bracket, or 34% of the sample; and 5 men listed their ages between 55-64, or 13% of the sample returned.

Ethnicity of the sample males was represented by 71% Caucasian, or 27 respondents, and 5% black with 2 male respondents. There were no native Americans, Hispanics, or Orientals represented. See Table 1.

Present Career Title of Female Respondents

Almost two-thirds of the women doctoral graduates responding to the questionnaire listed their present career title as director or supervisor; 21 (60%) are working as

directors in the educational setting. The next highest career title from the responding sample registered themselves as principal (9/25%). Two women (5%) listed themselves as teachers; two (5%) described their position as non-educational in nature. One female respondent, or 2% of the total responding, listed her present position as professor. See Table 2.

Present Career Title of Male Respondents

The male respondents recorded seven different administrative positions as their present career titles. The largest group of the male sample was 9, or 24% of the respondents, at the director level, following with 6 or 16% of the male respondents checking the principalship. Five men, or 13% of the sample returned, listed themselves at the associate superintendent level. The superintendency position logged 5 respondents, or 13% of the sample. Four men, or 11%, represented the vice chancellor level of administration. The professorship held 3 of the sample, or 8% of the total returned. Two male respondents, or 5% of the sample, listed themselves as deans. See Table 3.

Highest Career Goal of Female Respondents

Thirteen women, or 37% of the sample, supported the literature by not formulating a higher goal for their career, as compared to 38 or 100% of their male counterparts who had a specific higher goal in mind in their career

Table 2

Present Career Title of Female Respondents

Title	Number (n=35)	Percent
Superintendent	0	0
Associate Superintendent	0	0
Director	21	60
Principal	9	25
Teacher	2	5
Professor	1	2
Dean	0	0
Vice Chancellor	0	0
Non-educational	2	5

Table 3

Present Career Title of Male Respondents*

Title	Number (n=38)	Percent
Superintendent	5	13
Associate Superintendent	5	13
Director	9	24
Principal	6	16
Teacher	0	0
Professor	3	8
Dean	2	5
Vice Chancellor	4	11
Non-educational	0	0

*Note: Not all respondents answered all questions.

development. Those female respondents listing a higher career goal recorded dean as the next step for 7 women, or 20% of the sample. Six women (17%) registered their highest goal as superintendent. Six women (17%) listed their highest goal in their career advancement was to the associate superintendent level. The principalship was the highest career goal for three women in the survey, or 8%. See Table 4.

Highest Career Goal of Male Respondents

All of the male respondents returning the questionnaire had specific higher career goals as compared to 37% of their female cohorts who left this section blank. The largest percentage of the male sample, or 63% representing 24 respondents, listed the superintendency as their highest career goal. Eight men, or 21% of the sample returned, recorded chancellor as their highest career goal. Four men, or 11%, listed vice chancellor to be their highest career goal. The positions of associate superintendent and professor represented one response each, or 2% of the sample returned. See Table 5.

Factors Affecting Career Progress of Female Respondents

Table 6 presents the factors which were identified by the female respondents as positively affecting their career, negatively affecting their career, or presenting no effect on their career progression. The factors recorded as highly positive in the careers of the women respondents were those of mentors, leadership, decisiveness, objectivity,

Table 4

Highest Career Goal of Female Respondents

Title	Number (n=35)	Percent
Superintendent	6	17
Associate Superintendent	6	17
Principalship	3	8
Dean	7	20
Professor	0	0
Vice Chancellor	0	0
Chancellor	0	0
None/uncertain	13	37

Table 5

Highest Career Goal of Male Respondents

Title	Number (n=38)	Percent
Superintendent	24	47
Associate Superintendent	1	2
Principalship	0	0
Dean	0	0
Professor	1	2
Vice Chancellor	4	11
Chancellor	8	21
None/uncertain	0	0

Table 6

Factors Affecting Career Progress of Male and Female Respondents*

Factor	Males (n=38) Positively Affected	Males (n=38) Negatively Affected	Males (n=38) No Effect	Females (n=35) Positively Affected	Females (n=35) Negatively Affected	Females (n=35) No Effect
Decisiveness	33	1	2	32	1	1
Track record	31	1	1	32	1	2
Image	31	1	1	32	2	0
Adapt to environment	30	1	2	32	1	1
Logical/analytical	28	3	2	32	0	1
Leadership drive	35	1	0	31	2	2
Rationality	34	2	2	31	1	2
Intuition	31	1	4	31	2	1
Mentors	29	1	7	30	4	1
Objectivity	34	1	1	30	2	3
Courageousness	32	3	2	30	4	0
Assertiveness	28	3	2	28	3	2
Managing subordinates	31	1	3	27	2	6
Competitive drive	25	2	6	22	5	6
Networking	23	0	14	20	4	11
Delegating	26	1	9	20	3	12
Old boy network	17	5	13	5	18	11
Sexual harassment	0	0	36	0	13	21

*Note; Not all respondents answered all questions.

rationality, courageousness, intuition, track record, image, adaptation to the environment, assertiveness, and the ability to be logical and analytical. Other positive factors but less affecting were networking, delegating, managing subordinates, and competitive drive.

The literature found that women surpassed men in ability to work with teachers and the community (Tibbetts, 1980). Studies reported that women principals displayed greater respect for the dignity of the teachers in their schools, had better and closer communication with the teachers, maintained a more closely knit organization, were more effective at resolving conflicts with staff members, were better at reconciling conflicting demands, exercised stronger leadership, and generally exhibited more effective administrative techniques (Tibbetts, 1980). As concluded, then, there is no reason to prefer men over women as principals or leaders in the educational domain; and knowing this, women should no longer be satisfied to view the administrator's position as a "man's job" but should feel that it is also a position appropriate for women (Tibbetts, 1980).

The factors presenting themselves as negatively affecting a woman's career progress were recorded as the old boy network and sexual harassment. Whether these two factors have some correlation was not surveyed in this questionnaire. Four factors which had no direct effect on the career

progress of the female respondents were listed as managing subordinates, competitive drive, networking, delegating, old boy network, and sexual harassment. See Table 6.

Factors Affecting Career Progress of Male Respondents

Table 6 presents the factors which were identified by the male respondents as positively affecting their career, negatively affecting their career, or having no effect on their career in educational administration. The factors that were perceived by the male respondents to be highly positive in their careers were managing subordinates, leadership drive, decisiveness, objectivity, rationality, courageousness, intuition, track record, image, adaptation to the environment, assertiveness, competitive drive, and being logical and analytical. Other positive factors but less affecting were mentors, networking, delegating, and the old boy network. The factor that all of the returning male sample listed as having no effect at all on their career was sexual harassment.

The Interviews

The rationale for utilizing the follow-up interview for selected questionnaire respondents was strengthened by a work by Zinsser (1986) that espoused that documents can never tell the whole story; one has to go to the territory. The act of giving coherence to what would otherwise be only data

often means dismantling the story that already exists and telling the complete story (Zinsser, 1986). In using the interview, the researcher must know the subject as if it were second nature because people are more complicated than outward appearances show (Zinsser, 1986).

It is much more important to listen when you are interviewing people than to worry about what questions you are going to ask, because if the interviewee leaves something out, it is probably very important (Zinsser, 1986).

Each interview was constructed around the objective and subjective responses indicated by the male and female respondents to the questionnaire.

Five female respondents and five male respondents were randomly selected from the sample returning the questionnaire. Demographically, the random interviewees ranged in age from 35-63, with an ethnicity of one black and nine Caucasians. Geographically, the interviewees spanned across differing locales within the state of North Carolina from large metropolitan areas to small rural entities.

The Interview Questions

1. (a) Has your career been enhanced by either a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

   (b) Has your career been blocked or in any way hindered by a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

2. (a) Did you have a mentor or role model in your career development?

   (b) If you did not have a mentor, why do you think this did not happen?

3. (a) Do you have a specific career goal or goals that you would like to achieve?

   (b) If not, were there gaps in your educational administration program that could have helped you to develop such goals?

4. (a) Have you known any women who have experienced sexual harassment in their educational administrative career?

   (b) If so, what was the long- and short-term outcome?

5. (a) Overall, has your gender been a positive or negative influence on your career development in the educational administrative field?

6. Are there any other concerns you would like to share at this time?

The Interview Responses

Question 1--Female Respondents

Has your career been blocked or enhanced by either a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

Female 1: "I am making it in spite of the network." "It is an invisible block, subtle, and hard to pin down but definitely there."

Female 2: "I am always aware of the old boy network, even from my teaching days." "It [old boy network] is everywhere, so it bleeds into everything else."

Female 3: "The men in the old boy network are always wheeling and dealing, where women play it straight; one of these days they are going to find themselves behind the eight ball." "The old boy network doesn't recognize women's hard work and contributions."

Female 4: "I recently applied for a high school principalship." "The person hired had only been an assistant for three months." "My qualifications were far superior but the superintendent said I did not 'fit' the position." "The reason was female."

Female 5: "The good old boys promote females who play their 'games.'" "A principal was actually told not to give me any responsibility or credit for any achievement; it had to be given to a selected person."

Question 1--Male Respondents

Has your career been blocked or enhanced by either a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

Male 1: "My career has been enhanced by my informal contacts and other men I've worked with where we had mutual respect for each other." "Women in the 1950's and 1960's were looked upon in education as only working to supplement a husband's income, not for a career." "In the 1960's and 1970's women were not accepted in administration and those that were there, were a rarity." "The last five years have been a benchmark for women in educational administration." "Females, though, still have to hurdle society and community, the perception that females have no discipline, that females are not decisive and that they hurt the family unit by working."

Male 2: "The old boy network is fading somewhat, but they are still wielding power." "My informal contacts in administrative positions have brought me along." "Women have proven their merit but they still have to work harder than males." "North Carolina is coming out of the dark ages but women will have to become more mobile before the network will help them." "Some women are high fliers and performance should be the question, not gender."

Male 3: "My network has helped me get jobs in the past that would not have been accepted by females except in rare instances." "These jobs were the kind that involved

evening and night hours (after the working day) and dealing with all male staffs." "In the past several years, some females have risen in the administrative ranks due to their gender combined with ability." "At least once, I have been relegated to a lower level to allow a female to fill a position."

Male 4: "My areas of responsibility are maintenance, transportation, and buildings and grounds." "Driving on icy roads, flooded boiler rooms, and leaking roofs are daily problems that I deal with and I think if a female had applied for my job I would have gotten it."

Male 5: "The superintendents for whom I have worked not only taught me my job but were also in the best position to be an influential reference for this particular job (superintendent)."

Question 2--Female Respondents

Did you have a mentor or role model in your career development and if you did not, why do you think this did not happen?

Female 1: "I had a male mentor but the relationship turned sour and affected my career."

Female 2: "My mother was a strong mentor." "I also had an older colleague who helped mold my career."

Female 3: "My mother was a single parent who was my mentor as well as a professor who respected ability."

Female 4: "A former associate superintendent believed in letting supervisors take responsibility and self-actualizing." "He helped me develop confidence in myself and my leadership ability."

Female 5: "My career has been most affected by a former superintendent who encouraged me to continue my education and apply for positions."

Question 2: Male Respondents

Did you have a mentor or role model in your career development and if you did not, why do you think this did not happen?

Male 1: "The president [college] knew my strengths and then delegated an opportunity for me to use them."

Male 2: "I was an assistant principal and I guess that my superintendent felt like I was doing a good job and consequently he moved me into the central office." "I was made an associate superintendent."

Male 3: "My mentors were a superintendent, a high school principal, and three community college presidents."

Male 4: "Older males in leadership roles provided role models by reflecting their philosophy and helping other men succeed which just naturally helped me advance in my career."

Male 5: "First of all, a strong work ethic was instilled by my parents." "I was given the opportunity to succeed by the first president (community college) for whom I worked and I had free rein to do my job."

Question 3--Female Respondents

Do you have specific career goals? If not, were there gaps in the educational administration program that could have helped develop goals?

Female 1: "I set my own goals, no one really helped me."

Female 2: "I live day by day and let the Lord decide what is in store for me."

Female 3: "I am at a dead end because of a network consisting of men who are transferring in and out of the system." "Females often say yes to tasks that men reject."

Female 4: "Career goals [laugh]?" "You need experience in administration to get a job in administration, but where do you get the experience if no one will take a chance?" "Men have that edge."

Female 5: "Being a single parent of four children has encouraged me to strive toward goals that went beyond classroom teaching."

Question 3--Male Respondents

Do you have specific career goals? If not, were there gaps in the educational administration program that could have helped develop goals?

Male 1: "Same job (superintendent) but in a larger system."

Male 2: "My goals are to head up a larger school system (superintendent) and then to teach at a university." "Teaching institutions need revamping."

Male 3: "My goals are after I leave the superintendency to become president of a community college or college." "I have received reliable advice from former superintendents and professional colleagues regarding my strengths and weaknesses and the related professional fields that might effectively use my strengths while giving me assistance in eradicating my weaknesses."

Male 4: "A comfortable retirement provision by age 55."

Male 5: "Vice-chancellor is my goal." "I feel that my doctorate and ethnicity will enhance my position."

Question 4--Female Respondents

Have you known any women who have experienced sexual harassment in their educational administrative career and if so, what was the outcome?

Female 1: "Yes, I have and I know women who have experienced it but it is not a good move politically to talk about it."

Female 2: "Yes, and I was black-listed in my system because I reported it."

Female 3: "I was asked why women who aspired to administrative positions all had problems in their marriages and specific women were then named." "I have been advised to speak in an emotionless voice and not reveal my convictions in any public meeting in which the superintendent and board members were present."

Female 4: "Nobody will take you seriously because of your looks and the fact that you are not married."

Female 5: "No comment."

Question 4--Male Respondents

Have you known any women who have experienced sexual harassment in their educational administrative career and if so, what was the outcome?

Male 1: "Not to my knowledge."

Male 2: "I've not heard of any."

Male 3: "Not in this system."

Male 4: "No."

Male 5: "There haven't been any reported."

Question 5--Female Respondents

Overall, has your gender been a positive or negative influence on your career development in the educational administrative field?

Female 1: "Unethical behavior is overlooked in males." "Male arrogance and the Richard Nixon syndrome of being above reproach hurts everyone."

Female 2: "I made straight A';s and a GPA of 4.0 and I have never had a male write a letter of recommendation for me as a female."

Female 3: "Women never get their contributions recognized unless they have that higher degree and then sometimes there is no recognition."

Female 4: "I am a good organizer and I sometimes think my ability to plan is strongly gender related." "Gender has definitely been a barrier as we have no women in our top leadership positions." "I am one of two women serving as Director in the third largest system in the state."

Female 5: "There is a general perception that female administrators belong in the elementary school." "I was finally successful in getting a high school principalship but I feel that I am constantly having to prove that a female can handle the job."

Question 5--Male Respondents

Overall, has your gender been a positive or negative influence on your career development in the educational administrative field?

Male 1: "The private sector of society still holds onto traditional values and contains more older Americans, so being male helps." "The public sector seems to be more democratic, but this may be possibly due to legal pressure to hire more females."

Male 2: "People my age did not, in our early career, have to compete with women and blacks for career advancements." "However, those several cohorts younger than I view affirmative action in an entirely different light because gender did make a difference."

Male 3: "In many ways, my career path has been subject to being in the right place at the right time." "At the risk of vanity, I believe that my career launched itself early from being a young male in a female world and by stereotype, women deferred to males in school leadership roles."

Male 4: "Being a white male seemed to be an enhancing characteristic as I began but now I think it is less helpful."

Male 5: "My gender has probably enhanced my career progress." "The positions I have held in the past have not been in career fields that have attracted large numbers of females, for whatever societal reason." "Even administration in higher education is male dominated, although there is no rational reason for this situation to exist in today's unisex marketplace."

Question 6--Female Respondents

Are there any other concerns you would like to share at this time?

Female 1: "There needs to be women professors in educational administration to mold female students." "There needs to be less personal agendas for their own glory and a more reciprocal exchange of ideas."

Female 2: "Tenure is a problem, because enthusiasm dies in the program."

Female 3: "I have an impressive rejection file for the principalship and I'd like to see that change."

Female 4: "I was part of a system for several years whose Board of Education directly said in an unwritten, but well known fact transacted in 1954 that no woman would be made principal." "This was fact until 1979 when one woman was named principal."

Female 5: "I was a teacher in a traditional school setting for thirteen years where the predominant administrative figure was male." "When I became acting principal for a semester in the same school, the kindergarten students referred to me as 'Mister.'"

Question 6--Male Respondents

Are there any other concerns you would like to share at this time?

Male 1: "Communication skills should be a heavy component of any educational administration program because the Board of Education is mostly made up of business people, farmers, and lay people, not educators." "Negotiation skills should also be vital to the program."

Male 2: "Golden parachutes (like business uses) should be given to older faculty members to keep the program from dying a slow death."

Male 3: "The educational administration program could be more practical with less theory." "But I have no regrets."

Male 4: "Academic mentors have probably influenced my career progress to the largest extent."

Male 5: "Competence and a sincere desire to help all children have helped me as well as being as polite and as nice as possible to all people."

Factors Compared

The top five factors recorded for both the male and female respondents which positively affected their careers highlight that each gender views the role of educational

administrator from a different perspective. The challenge to genderize program components still exists. Of the top five factors, the male sample perceived more internal factors were positively affecting their career development as compared to the female response of perceiving that external factors such as one's image or a visible track record or showing how one adapts to a given environment affect a career in educational administration more positively. See Table 7.

Goal setting for doctoral graduates would be perceived by many as a standard function of the professional degree. A disturbingly large percentage of the female respondents left that portion of the questionnaire blank. Sexual harassment was recorded by 13 female respondents as negatively affecting their career progress, but none of the five randomly selected male interviewees had even heard of any such incidences in their system or others. The old boy network seems to be in the words of one male interviewee "fading." While that factor is still negatively affecting some women and men, other positive factors such as one's track record of achievements creates a neutralizing effect of the informal network. See Table 8.

Table 7

Top Five Positive Factors of Male and Female Respondents

Positive Factors Male	Positive Factors Female
Leadership drive	Decisiveness
Objectivity	Track record
Rationality	Image
Decisiveness	Adaptation to environment
Courageousness	Logical/analytical

Table 8

Top Three Negative Factors of Male and Female Respondents

Negative Factors	Negative Factors
Male	Female
Old boy network	Old boy network
Assertiveness	Sexual harassment
Logical/analytical	Competitive drive

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

Introduction

This study focused on the factors that affect women educational administrators in their career development. All female doctoral graduates of the Department of Educational Administration at UNCG were surveyed to determine their perceptions of those factors which enhanced their progress in their career and those factors which they perceived as barriers to their career development. An equal number of randomly selected male doctoral educational administration graduates were surveyed to identify any differences of perception in the career factors. This chapter provides a summary of the study, conclusions, and implications for further study.

Summary

One fundamental paradox in education is that women represent a majority within the profession while failing to emerge as leaders of that same profession. When a profession such as education has a large pool of female employees at the lower levels, logic would suggest that a representative portion of those qualified and experienced women would move up into the managerial ranks, but the fact is they do not (Edson, 1988).

The surveyed female doctoral educational administration graduates at UNCG answered 24 objective and 4 subjective questions confidentially on their perceptions of what has enhanced or hindered their career development in the state of North Carolina. An equal number of male doctoral graduates in the same educational administration program at UNCG responded to the same questions.

Summary data provided a tapestry of perceptions woven by gender and unraveled by insecurities and misunderstandings by both sexes. Two factors which the female respondents indicated were still problem areas in their career development, the old boy network and sexual harassment, were mildly addressed by the male respondents. The factor of sexual harassment was totally dismissed by the male sample. This factor, though, was represented by 13 (21%) female respondents as negatively affecting their career progress. This represents a misunderstanding and a misinterpretation of the administrative hurdles approached by each of the candidates on a gender basis.

The factors listed as having no effect on the male respondents' career progression were networking, delegating, old boy network, and sexual harassment. The literature has stated that since networking among men, over time, has become a system of friendships and acquaintances, it is now a natural empowering mutual aid in the workplace. This could

account for the male respondents not being conscious of the apparent power of networking to make them a part of a decision-making inner circle.

The factors having no effect on careers as perceived by the female respondents were listed as networking, delegating, old boy network, and sexual harassment. According to the literature, that while male networks are well established and appear to be operating naturally, without open awareness, the female networks, if they exist at all, are mechanically developed and deliberately orchestrated (Armstrong, 1988).

When the five most positive factors of both the male and female respondents were compared, the males listed more personality characteristics (e.g., objectivity, rationality, decisiveness, courageousness, and leadership drive), versus the females who listed more learned skills (e.g., track record, image, adaptation to the environment, being logical and analytical, and decisiveness). Was this a product of gender reinforcement? As indicated in the literature, the factors listed by the male respondents (objectivity, rationality, decisiveness, courageousness, and leadership drive) have traditionally been valued in our society for the male sector and inculcated as part of the male culture. By gender, then, the respondents were unconsciously stating that males are inherently inculcated with certain factors, while

females have been acculturated to rely on their learned skills being largely visual or external skills. The lack of networks and the work environment where female administrators represent a minority status or are the only woman administrator (tokenism) breed in women the independent characteristic in management. A concern among many of the respondents was that other female educators frequently failed to support female administrative aspirants. A sizable body of literature exists to support the hypothesis that women who have succeeded to the top are Queen Bees (Marshall, 1986). The Queen Bee is described as a woman who has succeeded professionally and is, therefore, in a position to recruit, support, and recommend other qualified women but is not inclined to do so (Marshall, 1986). Instead of providing a network for other female administrative aspirants, the Queen Bee prefers to denigrate the efforts of other women and protect her own image of superwoman (Marshall, 1986). Supportive networks are vitally needed for women to maintain their self-confidence and aspiration when workplace role ambiguity tests an administrator's psyche. Women administrators can go a long way in alleviating their own discomforts by becoming supportive, accessible role models for upcoming administrative aspirants.

The results of the interview section indicated that dialogue between male and female doctoral aspirants on goal-setting and the future pitfalls awaiting each educational

administrator could bridge the chasm caused by gender disparity in educational administrative programs.

Conclusions

> The gender-defined parameters of the male and female experience are equally cultural products; similarly, both dimensions of women's role, that of caretaker and that of subordinate, are socially created and maintained, not ordained by biology or by some metaphysical invisible hand. (Ferguson, 1984, p. 28)

Entry into the public world, now almost exclusively a bureaucratic world, is necessary to some extent, if for no other reason than to be able to speak against it; in order to articulate the virtues of female experience, women have to transcend its constraints (Ferguson, 1984). The male respondents participating in the interviews all addressed the problem of bureaucracy within elected school boards. These men who were superintendents voiced concern about promoting women and reiterated the reality of convincing an elected school board of post World War II veterans that competent women candidates are beneficial to education was futile.

The styles of interaction and patterns of thinking and speaking that are generally associated with feminine attributes have little to do with being biologically female, as the literature from anthropology and from studies of gender misassignment shows; but they have a great deal to do with being politically powerless (Ferguson, 1984). The traits of femininity are related to politics, not biology, and one

would find similar sets of traits in other subordinate populations since the weak are the second sex (Janeway, 1979). Men interrupt others more often in conversations than do women, while it is a woman who is most likely to be interrupted (Ferguson, 1984). Janeway (1979) noted that many women are well skilled in the art of pleasing, and this powerful need does not enhance a woman's leadership skill. It is subordinates who are expected to please and blamed if they don't.

Any subordinates who are in frequent or constant contact with superiors who have power have need of the skills of femininity as in regard to the "Uncle Tom" role for blacks (Ferguson, 1984). Women will not be promoted or advanced by becoming "like men" but rather by abolishing the entire system that allocates human potential according to gender (Ferguson, 1984). As one male interviewee stated. "There is no rational reason in this unisex market that women have not advanced in educational administration." Women have largely been spectators rather than participants in public life; therefore, women are not powerless because they are feminine. Rather, they are feminine because they are powerless, because it is a way of dealing with the requirements of subordination (Ferguson, 1984). As evidenced in the interview comments recorded, the men talked more often and at greater length than did the women, reinforcing the

literature that males make direct assertions, never leaving decisions open (Ferguson, 1984).

Recent research by Krupnick (1990), a researcher at the Harvard Graduate School of Education, found through thousands of hours of videotapes of college classrooms that faculty members consistently take male students and their contributions more seriously than females and their ideas. Krupnick's findings are among the latest in a steady stream of research over the last two decades which shows men receive preferential treatment in college classes. With females at a deficit position in educational administration positions, those actively attempting to secure school management positions and who may have untapped potential as school executives are facing persistent discrimination in the training for their administrative careers.

The patterns of preferential treatment, according to Myra and David Sadker in their research as professors of education at American University, begin in elementary school. During classroom discussions, teachers in their study reacted to boys' answers with dynamic, precise, and effective responses, while they often gave girls bland and diffuse reactions (Sadker & Sadker, 1985). Women being short-changed in educational classrooms encourages the formation of patterns such as participating less actively in conversation, doing more smiling and gazing, and using tentative

comments such as "I guess" rather than declarative statements. These patterns equate to less power and dominance in the working world for women. When men fail to hear women's voices, it is not only because they are not listening but because they do not have to listen (Ferguson, 1984). Men are insulated from women's voices by the dominant linguistic and institutional practices that enshrine male experience as absolute and fail to call attention to or even allow recognition of its limits (Ferguson, 1984). The ability to take advantage of equal opportunity is the critical starting point, and it has less to do with technical knowledge and much more to do with fundamental differences in perception which stand in the way of acquiring new and necessarily very different skills--differences which have left women trapped in supervisory positions and too often branded as lacking in management potential. As recorded in the response sample of the questionnaire sent to women educational administrative doctoral graduates of UNCG, many more women have remained at the supervisory or director level than have moved into true decision-making line positions in the state of North Carolina. In fact, the naivete of many women in believing that ability and achievement are the bases for reward is one of the important objects under attack by those attempting to move ahead. Not only women, but blacks and Hispanics as well, are excluded from the informal network

and thus from participation in the flow of information through which alliances are created and important bureaucratic resources are exchanged (Ferguson, 1984).

As evidenced by the poor responses of the female sample to any reference to goal setting and higher career/goal attainment, the respondents highlighted the current literature and research regarding this topic. Women's failings in this regard are said to stem from their unwillingness or inability to view their activity as a means to an end rather than an end in itself (Ferguson, 1984). Women see a career as personal growth, as self-fulfillment, as satisfaction, as making a contribution to others, as doing what one wants to do. Men want these things too, but when they visualize a career they see it as a series of jobs, a progression of jobs, as a path leading upward with recognition and reward implied.

Whenever a woman achieves a new status, others are convinced that at last and at least she is now immune from second-sexism, but then it turns out that she is just an outsider in an ever-more-inner circle and a newcomer in an ever-more-inner sanctum (Goodman, 1990). The treatment may be more subtle, more difficult to assess or to admit, but it is there. Women can see the top, some can almost touch it, but even the most powerful female voices are still bouncing off the glass ceiling (Goodman, 1990).

Implications for Further Study

While the best avenue of resistance to bureaucracy is the formation of alternative organizations, this is not an option readily available to everyone (Ferguson, 1984). People have to resist from where they are, not from where they would like to be; since most people find themselves inside bureaucracies, it is toward their own organizational environment that they can direct their protests. If people act collectively to challenge what exists in an effort to change the monopolization of information given to educational administration doctoral candidates, the UNCG program can enter a new phase of responsible mentoring for the educational leaders of tomorrow. This cannot be done by individuals in isolation, because they are too vulnerable to organizational retribution and they lack the base for mutual support that gives energy to sentiments of resistance of change (Ferguson, 1984). North Carolina has one of the most deplorable school systems in the country (1990, A8). North Carolina has fallen further and further behind the rest of the nation, and if we don't want to stay on the bottom in SAT scores and we want a better situation for our state, then the time has come for a change.

Studies indicate that when female values, attributes, and behaviors are allowed as the dominant modality within schools, teachers, administrators, and students benefit

(Shakeshaft, 1986). Research also shows that achievement in reading and math is higher in school districts with female administrators (Shakeshaft, 1986). For a female to attain an administrative position, she has taught for more years than the male applicants and has gained more experience in curriculum development as well (Woo, 1985). This knowledge translates into successful and excellent schools.

According to the randomly selected interviewees, the educational administration program at UNCG needs upgrading in several areas. One area mentioned by the male interviewees was the need for better communication skills and public speaking. Leadership positions require one to address school boards, parent groups, and various community agencies. As the interviewees stated, the groups an educational leader must relate to are not always education-trained personnel and, therefore, there is a dire need for a doctoral candidate to possess the skills of negotiating and bargaining as part of their standard operating procedure as leaders.

Another factor listed among the interviewees was the absence in the educational administrative program of women professors who could serve as role models and mentors for the women doctoral candidates. A concern for minority representation, such as Asian and Hispanic, was also voiced. Our educational institutions today are multicultural and multiethnic entities, and administrative leadership should be reflective of that population.

The male respondents to the questionnaire and to the interview reiterated the importance to their career development of a mentor, who had helped sculpt their program, to best identify the candidate's own strengths and weaknesses as well as help project the future needs of the educational system as a whole and where they might be utilized. The concept of mentoring as part of one's job description could be a viable response to the educational administrative program to ensure that female administrative aspirants who choose to matriculate to higher levels of leadership would not be isolated from the mentoring process. Sponsorship is an important factor for aspiring administrators, and studies indicate that the implication for women is that men only like competent women from a distance (Edson, 1985). When given a choice of who not to mentor, research shows that a competent woman is more likely to be excluded than a competent man (Edson, 1985). Thus, the implications for competent educational administrative aspirants are not pleasant.

Also, a longitudinal study of males and females, those having mentoring professors and those without, could be followed through the educational administration program and five years after program completion to study the effects of mentoring on career development.

Another topic brought out by the interviewees was the concern over elected school boards versus appointed school

boards. The argument was that too many elected school boards have no educationally trained personnel among their ranks. This highlighted the problem and reluctance of some superintendents to promote women's advancement in education due to the strict traditionalist attitudes of many elected boards. Future studies may enlighten the community at large of the pros and cons of the elected versus the appointed school board and its effect on future educational progress.

Methods must be sought to adjust to the differences among the individuals who comprise the educational administration program and attempts made to build bridges between the fantasy and the reality of future administrative aspirants in the quest to raise the state of North Carolina out of the nation's educational cellar.

Recommendations for Further Research

The recommendations for continuing research include reconceptualizing the basis of educational administration training programs to include women's experiences. Utilization of the case study method of various women administrators could be developed for presentation in administration classes. Further research on the styles of women administrators as compared to male cohorts and the achievement level of each style needs to be addressed to discern that while the approach may be gender based, the results should solve the same problems. Women speakers could be brought in to

speak to aspiring administrative candidates to discuss any relevant issues in educational leadership. Whenever it would be possible, women doctoral students could intern with available women administrators for support and role model encouragement.

Ramifications

The implications of revamping an educational administration training program must begin in a revision of the model utilized which would affect the behaviors and interactions of those involved in the program itself. Educational administration, as institutionalized in a university setting, is based on a traditional model of socialization which values a family framework with a hierarchical form of organization. Paternalism reduces the professional trainee to a child's status with the professors acting as the parental component of the family model.

The training program should be based on modernism which is comprised of rationality and egalitarian types of social organization. This would allow a more holistic processing of the trainees. A more equitable model would be one of a team approach. The team model would focus on the individual as a player with specific talents. The professors as coaches within the team model would focus on developing the skills and talents of the professional players (trainees). The

overall direction of the program would focus on making the trainees more productive as individuals but also as a benefit to the whole team. With this model, the professor as coach could not pick one trainee to guide or mentor without it being detrimental to the whole team. The team, as an entity and oblivious to age, sex, or ethnic distinctions, could include all the participants in the educational administration program.

Further ramifications for a training program echo the writers who are strong researchers in the field of educational administration such as Gilligan, Edson, and Shakeshaft. These writers have shown that the training texts generally utilized in educational administration programs are texts written for the needs of the white male administrative trainee. Minorities and women are not addressed. Heretofore, the pedagogical practice has been to exclude from conversation and community those heroes or heroines who are different from the dominant group in educational administration. If a rainbow coalition would be accepted, then training programs would exist where no voices would be omitted from the conversation and the shape of the curriculum would be inclusive rather than exclusive.

The traditional lecture and examination methods tend to reinforce the single authoritative point of view and the notion that there is only one correct answer to a given

question. If a team model approach were instituted, there would be opportunities for debates among specialists to discern that there may be several alternative answers to a question. The concept of relatedness in the team model would integrate the issues of race, class, and gender into the mainstream curriculum. It would be less difficult for women and minorities to find role models which are now excluded from the traditional canon in educational administration. The options for an inclusive curriculum in educational administration programs are as boundless and varied as the participants constituting these training programs.

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APPENDIX A

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS PROFILE

Dear: _____,

Certain factors have been identified through research as acting as enhancers to career progress or creating barriers to career progress.

In an effort to further examine these factors, I am conducting a study of some of the Educational Administration Doctoral Graduates from UNCG's classes from 1971 to 1988.

I would appreciate you taking a few minutes to check the factors in the administrative profile according to your perception of their affect on your career development.

Confidentiality is most assuredly guaranteed and a copy of the results will be sent gladly if you desire.

Sincerely,

Katherine P. Poole
209 Travis Lane
Gibsonville, N.C. 27249

I would like a copy of the results. Yes _____ No _____

ADMINISTRATIVE FACTORS PROFILE

What is your present career title?_____

What is your highest career goal? _____

Has your gender been a factor in enhancing or acting as a barrier in your career progress?

Gender Enhanced: yes_____ no_____
Gender constituted a barrier: yes _____ no_____

Please explain.

What other factors or people (including names, job titles) affected your career progress, please give examples of those that influenced you the strongest and why.

A follow-up interview with randomly selected respondents will follow to explore more thoroughly your experience in career progressions as viewed from the questionnaires' factor analysis.

_____Yes, I would be interested in expanding on my career progress in relation to the factors.

_____No, I would not be interested in exploring further the relationship of the factors to my career progress.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE

Please check one:

Are you:	The Eldest Child	_____
	The Middle Child	_____
	The Youngest Child	_____
	An Only Child	_____
Are you:	Single	_____
	Married	_____
	Separated	_____
	Divorced	_____
Do you have:	No Children	_____
	One Child	_____
	Two Children	_____
	More Than Two	_____
Are you between:	25-34	_____
	35-44	_____
	45-54	_____
	55-64	_____
	65-Over	_____
Are you classified as:	Caucasian	_____
	Black	_____
	Native American	_____
	Hispanic	_____
	Oriental	_____
Is your gender:	Male	_____
	Female	_____

Thank you for your participation in the Administrative Factors Profile. Your input will be tabulated and the results will be forwarded according to your request.

Katherine P. Poole

Administrative Factors Profile

Directions:

Current research has indicated that a person's career progress is affected to a greater or lesser degree by factors stemming from external and internal sources. As an educational administrator, how do you view the following factors as influencing your career progression toward your goals?

Please mark all factors with a check mark to signify how the following factors have had an affect on your career progress.

	Strongly Affected Positively	Mildly Affected Positively	Did Not Affect	Mildly Affected Negatively	Strongly Affected Negatively
MENTORS People who served as coach, counselor, and friend in promoting you in your career. Help from above in your organization.					
NETWORKING An interconnected group of career cohorts firmly in place to assist in your career goals.					
DELEGATING The ability to designate and entrust a subordinate with tasks to free you for broader areas of concern.					
MANAGING SUBORDINATES Creating an environment where subordinates are rewarded for accomplishment of group and individual goals.					
OLD BOY NETWORK An informal association where information is exchanged where an outsider is otherwise unable to access it.					
LEADERSHIP DRIVE The need to have charge; having a vision to take others along.					
DECISIVENESS Ability to think on your feet, no rambling or tedious explanations.					
OBJECTIVITY Not relying on subjective data to influence decisions; examining the facts.					
RATIONALITY Nonemotional; the ability to remain calm and businesslike.					
COURAGEOUSNESS Ability to take a stand; ability to take risks.					
INTUITION Impressions and feelings about situations and people that are usually correct.					

	Strongly Affected Positively	Mildly Affected Positively	Did Not Affect	Mildly Affected Negatively	Strongly Affected Negatively
TRACK RECORD Displaying the knowledge and skills needed to do the job well and successfully.					
IMAGE Encompassing an overall impression, including being articulate, commanding, and professional					
ADAPTION TO ENVIRONMENT Responding appropriately and competently to the demands of work challenges. Is ther a "fit" between you and your career					
SEXUAL HARASSMENT Any conduct of a sexual nature that is unwelcomed and makes a reasonable person feel uncomfortable; resulting in a decision to leave a job.					
ASSERTIVENESS Ability to be concise, specific, to the point.					
COMPETITIVE DRIVE The need to achieve authority and power in your career.					
LOGICAL ANALYTICAL SKILL Deductive reasoning; listing step by step and then following through.					

APPENDIX B

THE INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

The Interview Questions

1. (a) Has your career been enhanced by either a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

   (b) Has your career been blocked or in any way hindered by a good old boy or good old girl network or informal contact system?

2. (a) Did you have a mentor or role model in your career development?

   (b) If you did not have a mentor, why do you think this did not happen?

3. (a) Do you have a specific career goal or goals that you would like to achieve?

   (b) If not, were there gaps in your educational administration program that could have helped you to develop such goals?

4. (a) Have you known any women who have experienced sexual harassment in their educational administrative career?

   (b) If so, what was the long- and short-term outcome?

5. (a) Overall, has your gender been a positive or negative influence on your career development in the educational administrative field?

6. Are there any other concerns you would like to share at this time?

APPENDIX C

THE FOLLOW-UP POSTCARD

Recently you received a questionnaire seeking your opinion on factors affecting women administrators. Because it was sent to a small sample, your response is extremely important. If by chance it got misplaced please call collect (449-5411) and I will get another one in the mail to you today.

Sincerely,

Research Associate