

Women's Choices Within Market Constraints: Re-Visioning Access to and Participation in the Superintendency

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***Purpose:** In this article, the authors highlight three constraints—structural time crisis (Schor, 1991) ideal worker norms (Williams, 2000), and labor and occupational queues (Reskin & Roos, 1990; Strober, 1992)—on the decisions and choices of women seeking to advance to and hold positions in the superintendency.*

***Proposed Conceptual Argument:** The authors contribute to and extend the extant body of work by integrating a conceptual framework that emerges from feminist economics theory and feminist organizational theory. The authors use this framework to analyze the current access and representation of women in the superintendency.*

***Conclusions:** What exists today is an institutionalized, systemic pattern in the market that is robust and resistant to change. However, this discussion contributes to our understanding of women's experiences in advancing to administrative positions generally, and the superintendency particularly, and advances the way we organize administration and administrative work to be more representative of women and eliminate constraints on women's choices.*

***Keywords:** women in educational administration; gender barriers; feminist economics; feminist organizational theory*

In this article, we use feminist economics and feminist organizational theories, which specifically address the “persistence of male advantage in organizations” (Acker, 1992, p. 248), to argue that demand-side labor market conditions and structures—conditions and structures that generally privilege White males—constrain the decisions and choices of women in public school administration.¹ Specifically, these adaptive and constrained decisions restrict

*demand side
of market
constrains
women's
choices*

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advancement to and tenure in the superintendency for women—and ultimately economic rewards. Here, we highlight three of the constraints on the decisions and choices of women seeking to advance and hold positions in public school administration. First, we address the “structural time crisis” (Schor, 1991) and the dominant time structure that endorses “face time” and management by instant availability (Bailyn, 2000). Next, we consider the “ideal worker” norm (a term coined by Williams, 2000), which traditionally reflects the characteristics of a married male worker who remains rather immune from many of the family care responsibilities.² Finally, we focus on the labor queue (Reskin & Roos, 1990) in which “ideal workers” (J. Williams, 2000) occupy the front end and occupation queues in which occupations are ordered in terms of their relative job attractiveness (Strober, 1992).

3
constraints

As we discuss here, these constraints pose a double bind for women because these same market features ultimately influence school boards, particularly with regard to their decisions to hire individuals who fit what is considered market ideals. In fact, the observed outcome of these labor market influences is frequently sex-segregating patterns or “sexual divisions of labor” (Tallerico & Blount, 2004) across and within occupations, including within the superintendency. Pounder and Merrill (2001) noted this phenomenon with women in secondary principalship positions as well. They concluded that sex-segregating patterns “may be due to the popular perception that the high school principalship is a masculine role, creating the perception of sex-role incongruence for female applicants” (Pounder & Merrill, 2001, p. 49). Generally, these patterns represent structural discrimination. As Cleveland, Stockdale, and Murphy (2000) explained, structural discrimination exists because of “persistent patterns of discrimination that are the result of broad societal values, role definition, and socialization practices” (p. 183). As will be discussed here, women in education face this discrimination in the form of glass ceilings in contrast to glass escalators (C. Williams, 1992), shorter job ladders, and stunted career tracks.

Structural
discrimination

Research that addresses the androcentric bias, gender barriers, and masculine values, expectations, and culture that dominate the superintendency as well as educational administration in general has been profound (Björk, 2000; Blount, 1998; Brunner, 2000a; Chase & Bell, 1994; Grogan, 2000; Marshall, 1986; Shakeshaft, 1989; Skrla, Reyes & Scheurich, 2000; Tallerico, 2000a; Young & Skrla, 2003). In this article, we contribute to and extend the preceding body of work by integrating a conceptual framework that emerges from feminist economics theory and feminist organizational theory. We use this framework to analyze the current representation of women in the superintendency and consider implications for practice, policy, and research.³ Ferguson (1984) lends the following support for this framework:

Feminism and organizational theory need each other. In order for feminists to construct an adequate theory of domination and liberation, we must deal with bureaucratic modes of power; in order for analysts of modern organizations to develop an adequate critique of bureaucracy, they need to consider a feminist perspective. (p. 5)

Frequently, organizations, organizational theory, and economic theory are cited as gender neutral. Respectfully, we disagree and follow in the footsteps of other feminist scholars and argue that gender neutrality in organizations, including public schooling, does not exist (see Acker, 1992). Similar to others (Grogan & Brunner, 2005), we refute the proposition that women are not interested in the superintendency (Glass, Björk, & Brunner, 2000) and that the pathway to the superintendency is open to all qualified/certified applicants alike. Instead, as we illustrate here, although women are interested and qualified, they encounter constraints that limit their choices and decisions to enter and remain in the superintendency.

does not
gender
neutral

SEX SEGREGATION IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Public school teaching, which is considered by many to be accommodating of family needs and responsibilities that are generally assumed by women, remains predominantly female in the wake of the twenty-first century.⁴ According to Glass (2000), for instance, women represented approximately 72% of all K-12 teachers. Despite the overwhelming percentage of women in the teaching ranks, representation of women in administrative positions, particularly secondary principalships and superintendency positions, remains dismal, whereas men continue to ride a “glass escalator” (C. Williams, 1992). That is, although women dominate in number, men are courted and enter the higher administrative ranks that are deemed to have higher degrees of responsibility more quickly and more often. For example, 57% of central-office administration are women (American Educational Research Association [AERA], 1999), and 41% of those in the principalship are women (AERA, 1999). Yet nationally, women reportedly hold approximately 18% (Grogan & Brunner, 2005) of all superintendents’ positions. It is imperative to note that the issue of access to administrative positions is even starker for persons of color. Furthermore, when we consider the intersection of race and gender in the superintendency, the insufficient representation of women of color is even more disturbing. Approximately 10% of the superintendent positions in Hess’s (2002) sample ($n = 795$) of districts nationwide are held by persons of color. Grogan and Brunner (2005) reported that 8% of women superintendents identified as persons of

color, with only 1% identifying as Latina. The alarming differences between the representation of women generally, and women of color particularly, in the teaching and administrative ranks of public schools mirrors the representation of women in senior management and leadership positions in more male-dominated fields such as law, business, or academia.⁵ However, as Björk and Keedy (2001) noted, "the superintendency (the chief executive officer of our over 14,000 local school districts) [is] the most male-dominated executive position of any profession" (p. 406). The absence of women at senior levels of administration, particularly the superintendency, in K-12 education means that women's influence on policy changes, decisions, and practice in the field is limited.⁶

*superintendency
most male
dominated
executive
position*

Many contend that the lack of representation of women and women of color in the superintendency and secondary administrative positions reflects those interested. We have contrary evidence, however. That is, the representation of women and women of color in the superintendency and secondary administrative positions is grossly disproportional to those who are certified (Shakeshaft, 1998). In fact, women's representation in graduate programs in public school leadership has increased over time (Hodgkinson & Montenegro, 1999).⁷ For example, in 1998, women made up 63% of doctoral-degree recipients in the field of education (Diversity Web, 2000). However, in spite of this progress, the proportion of women in the superintendency remains low, as reported earlier. Similar comparisons can be made with other occupations. For instance, in the legal profession, women currently make up 49% of JD-degree recipients, but they account for only 17% of partners at law firms (Sahadi, 2004). In the business sector, women account for about 51% of managerial positions but only 16% of corporate officers (Sahadi, 2004). In academia, women made up 46% of postsecondary instructors in 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2004) but only 15% of chief academic officers in institutions of higher education (Berryman-Fink, LeMaster, & Nelson, 2003; Glazer-Raymo, 1999). Again, when we compare these statistics with the statistics in public school administration, we observe a similar phenomenon. Although women represent at least half or more of the work force in public school teaching, law, business, and academia, the proportions of women who occupy top leadership positions appear almost identical (i.e., 14% to 17%). Thus, women's leadership and advancement in public schools, a predominantly and typically considered "family-friendly" field,⁸ looks similar to male-dominated fields such as business and law. That is, access within the occupation does not lead to proportional advancement. This is further evidence of occupational and job sex segregation (Reskin, 1993), which constrains the choices of women in public schools to ascend to leadership positions.

*look at
systemic
structure*

With respect to earnings, a teacher whose experience falls within the middle range in a large unified school district in California, for example, made an average annual salary of \$56,244 in 2000-2001 (California Department of Education [CDE], 2004). In comparison, the average annual earnings for superintendents in similar districts in California was \$160,607. In considering the earnings ratio, it thus appears that superintendents make, on average, about 3 times more than teachers in California do. The earnings ratio between teachers and superintendents across the nation emulates this figure. Generally, superintendents make 2 times or more the annual earnings of teachers, although the earnings ratio between superintendents and preschool teachers is even larger. Preschool teaching contains the highest concentration of women relative to all other areas in the field of education. In fact, according to statistics published by the U.S. Census Bureau (2004), women made up 98% of preschool and kindergarten teachers nationwide in 2000. Again, because pay is associated with other types of rewards (e.g., promotions), power, and prestige, the fact that women make up 98% of those working in the lowest-paying positions and merely 18% of those working in the highest-paying positions illustrates that women have not made much progress in crossing the economic divide.

In the legal profession, comparatively, women are found in higher concentration in nonprofit and government work, whereas men are found in higher concentration in the private sector. In 2001, the earnings ratio between the private and the public/nonprofit sector is about 2.25, based on the median salaries of lawyers 6 months after graduation (U.S. Department of Labor, 2004). The point here is that the situation for women with regard to advancement and access to economic rewards (e.g., advancement, income), relative to that of men in the respective fields, is comparable between public school administration and traditionally male-dominated occupations. This illustrates that, despite improved access generally to diverse professional arenas, women continue to be limited in their access to positions of authority.

Human capital theorists have suggested that the concentration of women in the superintendency, as compared to teaching, and the female-male earning differentials result from women's educational attainment, labor force experiences, and women wanting to or devoting more time and energy to family care (Becker, 1985; Mincer & Polachek, 1974; Polachek, 1981, 1995). As we continue to argue in this article, a systemic structure, which includes a dominant time structure around which all workers are expected to organize their lives and a market structure that demands workers to be free of family and non-work responsibilities, permeates the labor market (Acker, 1990; Bailyn, 2000; Schor, 1991; J. Williams, 2000). These structures are

discriminatory against women, particularly women who want to participate in family care. As Acker (1992) explained,

The gendered substructure [of organizations] lies in the spatial and temporal arrangements of work, in the rules prescribing workplace behavior, and in the relations linking workplaces to living places. These practices and relations, encoded in arrangements and rules, are supported by assumptions that work is separate from the rest of life and that it has first claim on the worker. Many people, particularly women, have difficulty making their daily lives fit these expectations and assumptions. As a consequence, today, there are two types of workers, those mostly men, who, it is assumed, can adhere to organizational rules, arrangements, and assumptions, and those, mostly women, who, it is assumed, cannot because of other obligations to family and reproduction. (p. 255)

In the end, this structure constrains the choices of women to access the superintendency because they are not perceived to match the ascribed "ideal worker" norm. It also has led to a crisis of care—a contrary notion for many (Noddings, 1984)—in this country, as women who want to advance to a high-paying position of authority, prestige, influence, and power must subscribe to the dominant time structure and perceived market ideals that puts family care and career at odds, as illustrated in the following discussion.

MARKET CONSTRAINTS INFLUENCING WOMEN'S CHOICES

The Dominant Time Structure

In the national bestseller *The Overworked American*, Schor (1991) expounded the "structural time crisis" that has become prominent in the American workplace. According to Schor, not only are men and women working longer hours relative to 40 years ago, but also the number of work hours is steadily rising. Although employers in many cases have responded to work-family demands by providing child care, stress seminars, and time-management workshops, these remedies inadequately address the root issues. Instead, these remedies merely provide employers a way to make longer work hours tolerable for workers. As a result, we are living in a society that is "demanding too much from people" (Schor, 1991, p. xv). This demand on our time has varied effects. For instance, Schor quoted a 41-year-old public relations worker in a major corporation, as follows: "I can't imagine having a baby, which I want to do, and still keeping this job" (p. 69). This message resonates with women serving as public school superintendents

time at work increasing

and principals (Brunner, 2000a; Grogan, 1996; Marshall, 1986), who also experience extreme demands on their time.⁹

As Marshall (1986) indicated, female superintendents are keenly aware of the time demands of work and family as well as the constraints associated with these responsibilities. For instance, 12- to 15-hour workdays, which leave time for little else, have been noted as typical (Brunner, 2000a; Marshall, 1986). The experience of a participant from Grogan's (1996) study of women aspirants to the superintendency illustrated the deleterious conflicts and impact of juggling family and work. The participant commented on her experience in educational administration as a principal and a mother with young children,

It was terrible, and my advice now to principal trainers . . . and to administrative interns who are in the principal program, if they have young children, is to wait. Because I think it just tears you apart in terms of trying to commit to both, and I think something suffers; either the job suffers, or the family suffers, so I found that to be extremely challenging, and if I was to do it again, I wouldn't do it. (Grogan, 1996, p. 113)

According to the 2000 Study of the American School Superintendency conducted by the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), 294 women in their representative sample of 2,232 superintendents reported that caregiving roles conflict with the restraints imposed by extreme time demands and work pressures associated with the superintendency (Glass et al., 2000). This conflict continues to be a source of forced choice between family responsibilities and career advancement for many women regardless of the workforce sector.

Care giving roles vs. work-family demands

This conflict between commitment to job demands and commitment to family demands is problematic, particularly given the value placed on experiences of women rooted in an ethic of care (Noddings, 1984). Brunner (2000a) contributed to this line of reasoning, painting the metaphor of a warrior. She depicted superintendents as warriors who assume the feminine role of caring for and, as Noddings (2002) would add, caring *about* staff and students. She further illustrated that female superintendents maintain their position by meeting masculine expectations and going beyond such expectations in displaying a sense of ethics—namely, a caring image. Yet, in their jobs as warriors whose role is to care for and care about the school community, they find themselves struggling to balance the demands of the job with caring for their own families. Blount (1998) perhaps best highlighted the irony of contemporary structures that govern who gets advanced to administrative positions. In her historical account of the superintendency, she explained that administration continues to be a male profession,

removed from the female domain of teaching and care. As a result, these structures maintain the "tradition of gender-segregated spaces and gender-specific control" (Blount, 1998, p. 159).

As Bailyn (2000) suggested, one of the primary issues surrounding the "structural time crisis" extends beyond the fact that jobs in the market demand longer hours, which may deter from the balance of work and family. One of the larger consequences is that this demand is rigid and structured around "face time" (Bailyn, 2000). More specifically, it requires that workers be present during the "normal" hours of the workday regardless of the nature of work or workflow or in as long as they may be needed if something unexpected were to arise.

face time

Superintendents encounter diverse publics and conflicting forces. As a result, this job demands that they attend a multitude of events and meetings, all of which situate them as engaged in activities well beyond the typical workday or the day-to-day management and operational, fiscal, and instructional responsibilities typified in job descriptions. For instance, their visibility and attendance is often expected at ceremonial events, community luncheons, and district-wide extracurricular activities. They are also expected to meet personally with interest groups, including parent groups and other stakeholders, and to network with key community figures (Grogan, 2000). In these multiple venues, superintendents experience enormous pressure from various constituent groups, each with its own agenda, to frequently address issues and render decisions spontaneously. Consequently, they must process a breadth and depth of information to address various contexts of district operation, ranging from such topics as test scores and accountability measures to other topics including school violence (Grogan, 2000). Moreover, and perhaps most relevant to this discussion, superintendents are expected to be "expert [educators]" and "politically astute [entrepreneurs]" and are responsible for reassuring the public of their ability, commitment, knowledge, and skills (Grogan, 2000, p. 117).

Again, today's work culture, which endorses face time, expects workers to be present during workday hours as well as available and accessible beyond the regular work hours, particularly so if they hold high-paying positions and top executive jobs. This expectation extends to the superintendent whose efficiency, ability, capability, and commitment is gauged often by their visibility, accessibility, engagement, and responsiveness. Thus, regardless of the nature of the changing forces and demands on a superintendent's time, compressed work schedules, flex-time, and teleconferencing from home are currently not options for a superintendent—if they are going to be deemed successful.

alternatives to face time don't work

According to Bailyn (2000), the face-time norm contributes to the work-family crisis we currently observe because the dominant time structure is

founded on temporal norms that impede the integration of work and personal lives. Face-time norms include the "presumed linear relation between time put in and output" as well as the tendency to coordinate via instant accessibility (Bailyn, 2000, p. 6). This linear logic argument implies a predictable association between an additional hour devoted to a task and the amount of output one can expect from that time increment. Such a view of work time as "homogenous, linear and divisible" (Hassard, 1991, p. 116) is based on the industrial, machine-based function (Bailyn, 2000). Under the conditions imposed by this linear logic, time generally, and face time particularly, becomes a measure of performance. Interestingly, as Bailyn observed, however, face time may have little relevance to workers' actual occupational efficiency. Historically, the superintendency has been influenced heavily by scientific management ideologies and principles that were taken from the military, government, and business sectors—all of which adhere to norms of face time (Blount, 1998; Grogan, 2000; Tyack & Hansot, 1982). As illustrated above, given the current expectations and endorsement of face time, these historical influences continue to exert control and exist as pervading norms in organizing the work of superintendents today.

Time is measured by output

The linear logic addressed here and the resulting time structure also feeds the "structural time crisis" that Schor (1991) described. The structural time crisis exists when the conflict between long working hours and family commitments is considered normal. Acker (1992) described it this way: "The concept of the abstract worker, completely devoted to the job, also supports the idea that strong commitment to the organization over and above commitment to family and community are necessary and normal" (p. 258). Because of the structural time crisis, a culture has emerged in which the expectation is conflict rather than integration or balance. Again, such face-dependent time adds stress and interferes with work efficiency as it offers few incentives for a redesign of work to fit into a shorter and more flexible time block (Bailyn, 2000). Organizational tendencies to coordinate, communicate, and be accessible instantly—even in derivative forms such as e-mail and cell phones—feed the notion of the necessity of face time to get work done. These norms also perpetuate the idea that it is important to have people around all the time just in case they are needed. Although some may argue that this condition is required for speed and efficiency, as Bailyn (2000) argued, it breeds a culture that perpetuates reaction versus planning, coordination, collaboration, shared decision making, and alignment.¹⁰

crisis = conflict bet. work & family

conflict how people

tech of instant demand

The labor market is governed persistently by rigid time control. The time structure and the systemic conditions (e.g., norms) that it produces determine how individuals who desire market employment must organize their lives. Not only has this dominant conception of market time and the corresponding

way of organizing paid work proven difficult for women (Bailyn, 2000; Kanter, 1977; J. Williams, 2000), it may not fit all men either (Bailyn, 2000). Yet, although the time pressure of the superintendency affects male superintendents, the time pressure experienced by female superintendents is more extreme given the demand of their personal roles and responsibilities (Brunner, 2000a). To date, women have coped with market time demands in several ways. They have engaged in what is commonly referred to as the "second shift" (Hochschild, 1989).¹¹ Next, women have exercised "compressing" time (Brunner, 2000a) to survive the time crisis of balancing job and family needs and responsibilities. Compressing time—juggling different thoughts, decisions, and tasks simultaneously, or multitasking—permits women to accomplish more than one task at a time, including balancing job and family responsibilities. Admittedly, multitasking allows both women and men superintendents to respond to various demands and requests instantaneously. Again, these skills are necessary within the current structural time constraints. These skills are also consistent with current job expectations.

In addition to creating high levels of stress and burnout (as described by Schor, 1991), these norms and structures contribute to our current crisis of care, particularly the care of our children and elders. As many women strive to satisfy family demands, the constraints imposed by this dominant time structure may explain some of the occupational decisions that women make, including whether to pursue and/or remain in the superintendency.

The Influence of the "Ideal" Worker and "Ideal" Career Norm

The dominant structure of industrial time unsurprisingly feeds the observed market ideals that guide employers' perception of an individual's attractiveness as an employee. At a micro level, an "ideal" worker is one whose uninterrupted presence can be guaranteed on a daily basis and one who is immune from family responsibilities (Bailyn, 2000; J. Williams, 2000). At a macro level, an ideal employee is one whose career progress in the market is linear and uninterrupted by family or personal circumstances (Hochschild, 1975; Sirianni & Negrey, 2000). The structural separation of market work and private lives in and of itself disadvantages women and may not fit with all men (Acker, 1990; Bailyn, 2000; Sirianni & Negrey, 2000; Tallero & Blount, 2004; J. Williams, 2000). The linear, uninterrupted work ideals assume the two-person career relationship (i.e., one in which efforts are drawn from both the worker and her partner; Papanek, 1973; Sirianni & Negrey, 2000). The persistence of such market "ideals" is documented in the work of authors in the 1970s as well as those in the

current decade (Acker, 1990; Hochschild, 1975; Papanek, 1973; Sirianni & Negrey, 2000; J. Williams, 2000). A persistent theme within this research is that such ideal workers can compete, survive, and thrive in the market, where the system is built for the traditional married male workers who have the full-time domestic support such that they can be free of home and family responsibilities (Hochschild, 1975; J. Williams, 2000).

The separation of market and household labor is thus gender based despite the theoretical domain that presents organizational structures as abstract and gender neutral. Acker (1990) explained this succinctly, as follows:

In organizational logic, filling the abstract job is a disembodied worker who exists only for the work. Such a hypothetical worker cannot have other imperatives of existence that impinge upon the job. At the very least, outside imperatives cannot be included within the definition of the job. Too many obligations outside the boundaries of the job would make a worker unsuited for the position. The closest the disembodied worker doing the abstract job comes to a real worker is the male worker whose life centers on his full-time, life-long job, while his wife or another woman takes care of his personal needs and his children. (p. 149)

In line with this logic, we see that throughout history as well as in the present, researchers have documented that school boards and society as a whole expect the superintendent's position to be filled by men generally, and married men in particular (Björk & Keedy, 1991; Blount, 1998; Chase & Bell, 1994; Marshall, 1986; Tyack, 1976). In reference to the superintendency, Tyack and Hansot (1982), who depicted public school leadership between 1820 and 1980, commented,

In the cultural beliefs of [the] larger society, marriage operated with an opposite valence for men and women. For men, marriage was normally an asset if not a tacit requirement in upward mobility, whereas for women it was often a liability if not an actual barrier. Surveys of male school superintendents, as we have seen, have shown consistently that they were almost all married. There were numerous articles and books of advice telling "Mrs. Administrator" how to help her husband in his two-person career. (p. 191)

Although this observation was made in the context of the superintendency historically, more recent work shows that the situation has not changed dramatically. Research (Maienza, 1986; Riehl & Byrd, 1997) suggests that family responsibilities are among the factors that exert different degrees of influence on men and women's career development in educational administration. In their study examining a nationally representative sample of public school teachers on factors affecting career move from classroom teaching to school administration, Riehl and Byrd found that

the system is built for men

time crisis may explain women's decisions

ideal worker

being married, as well as having young children, was closely associated with limiting the chances of women moving from teaching to administration. A consultant in Chase and Bell's (1994) study on gatekeepers clearly illustrated the implications of limited at-home support for women by stating,

In a lot of instances, if [women] have children, they have a husband who has been the major breadwinner. Those kinds of historic reasons. So, therefore, they take themselves out of the running, whereas a male who is the breadwinner, whose wife is at home doing housewife work and [tending] two little kids, they're in the business to move up and up. (p. 37)

As implied in the above quote, the superintendent's position continues to be a two-person career and one that fits the traditional married male worker. In addition, it implies that women would be expected to reorganize their private lives if they were to take on the superintendency (Chase & Bell, 1994). In fact, a recent survey by Grogan and Brunner (2005) indicated that many superintendent respondents who were divorced cited lack of support from their partner as reason for their marital breakup. When the job demands that women rearrange their lives, it hides the organizational structures and market barriers that women encounter (Chase & Bell, 1994). Furthermore, as Acker (1990) asserted, "the concept of the universal worker, so common in talk about work organizations, excludes and marginalizes women who cannot, almost by definition, achieve the qualities of a real worker because to do so is to become like a man" (p. 150).

Similar to the abstract concept of an ideal worker and ideal job, the concept of a career is largely androcentric and requires linear progress and long-range continuity (Sirianni & Negrey, 2000). These conditions are still seen as the primary path to career opportunities and occupational success. Under the assumptions of the career ideal, those who disrupt the linear structure for child or dependent care purposes—primarily women—pay significant penalties in the labor market (Sirianni & Negrey, 2000; J. Williams, 2000). The penalties associated with these disruptions may be short and/or long term (Ferber & Waldfogel, 2000; Schor, 1991; J. Williams, 2000).

Key promotion stages in the labor market generally occur early in the career path and at a time when many people may plan to have, or are already having, children.¹² To the extent that women encounter career ladders that are structured around the "ideal" career norm, the stages toward positions of high pay, authority, and prestige then may coincide with a woman's typical childbearing and child-rearing years. Because women are expected to and tend to take on a greater share of caretaking responsibilities, it is not surprising that we tend to experience more work-family conflicts, particularly if we attempt to advance. Prominent examples include

the tenure track in academia, the partner track in corporate law, and residency training in some medical specialties. The route for women toward the superintendency looks similar. For example, the typical route to the superintendency for women starts at the classroom, after which she moves from the teaching role into the assistant principalship, to the principalship, then to district administration (e.g., coordinator's position, director, assistant superintendent for curriculum and instruction) and finally, the superintendency (Björk & Keedy, 2001; Brunner, 2000; Glass, 2000). On average, women administrators spend 7 to 10 years in the classroom, whereas their male counterparts spend 5 to 6 years in the classroom (Glass, 2000). Consequently, the ladder toward the superintendency for women from point of entry takes longer and requires more detours to the superintendency than it does for their male counterparts. This situation in the superintendency is particularly telling because women make up more than 70% of all teachers, which is the pool from which superintendents are derived generally (Chase & Bell, 1994). This reality runs against the assumption that public school teaching is more family-friendly relative to the rest of the industries in the labor market. Instead, it illustrates how labor market demands, such as the ideal-career and ideal-worker norms, permeate education.

When we compare statistics on the marriage and family status of senior corporate managers with those of superintendents, we see that the figures do not look very different. In their study of superintendents in New York State, Tallerico and O'Connell (2001) found that among a sample of 416 male superintendents and 62 female superintendents, about 33% of the female superintendents were single compared to 4% of their male counterparts. The authors also found that about half of the male superintendents had young children relative to, again, about 33% of women superintendents. Comparatively, according to J. Williams (2000), about 90% of men in upper-level corporate management jobs have children and work-at-home partners, whereas about 33% of women in senior management positions are single and/or have children.

Beyond demographics, there are other differences in the experiences of men and women in educational administration. These differences, however, mirror the experiences of women in professions and or job queues occupied predominantly by men. One commonality is that positions that are prestigious and have a degree of power and authority are designed currently for individuals with partners who are able to attend to areas such as family and household care as well as provide support. Consider the description of a woman surgical resident (Cassell, 1998) compared to that of a woman superintendent (Grogan, 1996). Cassell (1998) quoted her surgical resident participant as follows:

Women don't fit ideal worker

disruptions of linear path are punished

addresses stages conflict w/ child-rearing

diffs in marriage + children

Female trainees often put their social life on hold for the duration. . . . Married men have the same punishing schedule, but it is taken for granted that a resident's wife will be patient and understanding, care for the children, send his clothes to the cleaners, see that the house is clean, and have dinner waiting when he comes home ready to crash. . . . In other words, male residents frequently have someone to take up the slack; female residents rarely have such a person. (p. 111)

Comparatively, Grogan provided the following quote from a woman in educational administration:

I remember for years I just longed to have a wife—I would be here on Monday nights, and I would have my children taken care of, and I would call my children to see how they were—had they done their homework. I'd probably call them twice, but I would work straight through the board meetings, and I would just be here all by myself. The men would go home—their wives would have fixed dinner. They would shower and shave and come back fresh, and I would have been up since four-thirty. (p. 118)

The message is similar: The experiences of men and women who fill these positions are different. In particular, women tend to go without the same kind of domestic support that married men have.

Women sometimes pause their labor-market participation as a result of their demands at home, including child rearing or dependent care (Glass et al., 2000). This too has implications for their career path. Because of current structures and norms, this pause in their labor-market participation deviates them, in part, from the direct path toward the superintendency. In addition, this pause in market participation compounds the already extended amount of time currently necessary for women to advance through the administrative ranks toward the superintendency. Thus, within the current structure, a woman with young children who wants to have the option of working part-time is unlikely still to be on the track toward the superintendency until her children are grown. Yet based on the current promotion patterns to the superintendency, approaching retirements may dissuade some women from considering the superintendency, according to Glass et al. (2000). Moreover, if a woman suspends her participation in the labor market for dependent care with a return on a part-time basis, supervisors (e.g., school boards, superintendents) may perceive her as not as committed. In these instances, a woman is unlikely to be considered for promotion to a department head or assistant principal—again, part of the long pathway to the superintendency for women.

In an environment that separates market and family work, women, according to J. Williams (2000), have to organize themselves around two

alternatives: "They can perform as ideal workers without the flow of family work and other privileges male ideal workers enjoy . . . or they can take dead-end mommy-track jobs or 'women's work'" (p. 39). Many women in education opt for the teacher's job rather than the superintendent's job or even the principal's (Glass et al., 2000) because of this forced choice. The discriminatory nature of the market system, which is steeped in values, structures, and "ideals" that primarily benefit men generally and White men particularly, requires women to participate in the market based on existing constraints. As such, women's choices are only choices in the sense that they are pathways through which women adjust within the limits that are set by the market structure and adapt to the larger market system. For choices to be truly free and independent of constraints set by the market, women would be able to choose from among multiple options, similar to J. Williams's (2000) analogy of people choosing Mars Bars over Baby Ruths.

Labor Queues and Occupation Queues

In the previous sections, we examined how the dominant time structure and market "ideals" constrain women's market participation by limiting decisions and career choices. In this section, we explore how these factors interplay with other market conditions to influence employers' decisions on who to hire. We examine this in the context of relational norms that can be understood through the labor queuing metaphor developed by Reskin and Roos (1990) and Strober's (1992) relative job attractiveness theory. More specifically, relative job attractiveness is conceptualized via the queuing metaphor. Here, the labor market consists of two queues, the labor queue and the occupation queue. The labor queue contains "preferred" employees who occupy the front end. Preferred workers can be defined as those that fit within the "ideal" worker norm, as described earlier. The occupation queue orders occupations in terms of their relative job attractiveness (Strober, 1992). Attractive occupations include those that yield high financial returns to workers' human capital investment and those that offer autonomy, power, prestige, status, and opportunities for promotion.

In the presence of such market queues and relational norms, employers more likely hire men than women to fill relatively attractive occupations. As such, men, and in particular married men who fit within the ideal worker norm, maximize their utility by having the first pick of relatively attractive occupations (Strober, 1992) and jobs within occupations. Women may attempt to maximize their utility in a similar way, but "they make occupational choices subject to the constraint that [married men] have been permitted to choose first" (Strober, 1992, p. 44). As a result, women with

women's options

choices are limited by having to "do just"

men's domestic support

labor queue
occupation queue

men get 1st pick of attractive occupations

comparable skills and certification still experience differential occupational decisions and career outcomes because they encounter separate relational conditions under which they organize their market choices. Consequently, as Tallerico and Blount (2004) concluded by drawing on the 1990 work of Reskin and Roos, "labor queues operate fundamentally as gender queues, with males at the highest end of the hierarchical ordering and women at the lowest" (p. 635). For instance, in her investigation of the superintendent search process, Tallerico (2000a) found evidence of such gender biases in consultants' search practice. The strong preference for married male candidates, who can perform as ideal workers, is clearly conveyed by a consultant who participated in her study.

Normally, when I sit down with a board, if the board has anything to say about gender, it comes across as if it's almost axiomatic that we're going to hire a male, who is going to be married, and who is going to have kids. . . . So they have this stereotypic notion about what the candidate will look like. (p. 33)

The AASA survey results indicated that women superintendents are more aware than their male peers of the forces working against their being hired by school boards. Again, marriage and family appear to make men even more attractive to school boards, allowing them to be positioned in the front of the labor queue. In fact, marriage, with the accompanying domestic support, gives male candidates additional leverage as boards associate marital status with stability, which is a "preferred" quality for superintendent candidates (Blount, 1998; Tallerico & O'Connell, 2001). On the other hand, marriage and family for female candidates becomes a liability as boards associate this marital status with domestic responsibilities and dependent-care roles, and as previously discussed, these are qualities that make women less preferred candidates to school boards. As scholars have documented, school boards assume that these responsibilities create conflicts that will interfere with the time demands of the superintendents' role (Chase & Bell, 1994; Tallerico & O'Connell, 2001). As Sheppard (1992) related, "Thus the asymmetrical character of women's and men's work-family boundaries . . . is carried over from the family to the work world as well, with assumptions of separation for men and of permeability for women" (p. 165).

F. Schwartz (1989) referred to "career-primary" women and "career and family" women.¹³ Although F. Schwartz captured a common characterization and stereotype—the mommy track—this binary view evades the issue of how do organizations, such as school districts, advance women who would be identified as, or identify with, the career and family woman into administrative positions such as the principalship and the superintendency.

As D. Schwartz (1994) highlighted, F. Schwartz "casts the issue in a polarized manner that seems to imply making it to the top and using family-friendly policies are mutually exclusive choices for women" (p. 24). Furthermore, F. Schwartz's categorization, which applauds companies who are able to accommodate women who would be described as "career-family,"¹⁴ accents the detrimental effect of this two-tiered assessment of women in the labor force: that is, the frequency of women in the career-family category to not ascend beyond middle-management positions.

The labor queue and relative job attractiveness theories provide insight into how institutionalized practices benefit men. In particular, these theories illustrate the tendency for men to be employed in positions in the labor market in which formal bidding arrangements exist, whereas women tend to be found in positions that have shorter career ladders, with promotion opportunities that seldom extend more than a step or two beyond entry level (Bielby & Baron, 1986). In public school administration, this can be seen when we compare access to the superintendency via the route of preschool, elementary, and secondary teaching. For instance, 25% of superintendents in a nationwide sample came from an elementary education background (Glass et al., 2000), which is the segment of public education with the largest proportion of women and generally the least-paid positions. Given current queues in administration, those who enter the field as preschool and elementary school teachers have fewer opportunities to enter more prestigious administrative positions. Secondary school teaching, a common background among male superintendents, contains a larger share of men relative to elementary school teaching.

A similar phenomenon exists when considering candidates from elementary and secondary principalship. The labor and occupation queuing theory is related to Lewin's (1947) gatekeeping theory that Tallerico (2000a) used in explaining women's access to the superintendency. Tallerico stated that at each point in the superintendent search process, there are gates that filter the candidate in or out. These gates are often controlled by rules that are perceived impartially and by decision makers who are constrained by forces such as norms attached to educational administration positions, ideologies and sociocultural values, and the application of such forces in the analysis of the candidates' qualifications. As described by Tallerico, gates to the superintendency are likely to be closed or only partially open to candidates whose experience consists primarily of elementary principalships. The gates are open wide, however, to candidates who had prior experience as high school principals or who have been formerly hired as superintendents—again, primarily males. As a result, women tend to not have access to the superintendency by way of their initial position in the queue, and men move

grade school vs. high school teaching

marriage an asset for men, but a liability for women

further and further ahead in the queue once they get on the high-school-principal track, a step that opens the door to the superintendency (Shakeshaft, 1989). Thus, within public school teaching and administration, we see that men are concentrated in positions that put them on "glass escalators" (J. Williams, 1992) that ride to the superintendency more often than women are. That is, C. Williams (1995) contended, "Often, despite their intentions, [men] face invisible pressures to move up in their professions. Like being on a moving escalator, they have to work to stay in place" (p. 87). This is in opposition to women who, despite their efforts to ascend to the administrative positions, particularly the superintendency, continue to have constrained choices.

As discussed here, those workers that best fit the ideal-worker norm—White, male, married, and heterosexual—are perceived as the more attractive worker and are positioned higher in the labor queue. In addition, the preferred worker is more highly priced in the labor market. Consequently, workers who, according to current conceptions of the ideal, do not fit the norm, including women and persons of color, tend to be priced lower in the labor market. This market condition is evident in the pay of positions with larger clusters of women, such as elementary school teaching and administration.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE PRACTICE, POLICY, AND RESEARCH

An analysis of women's participation in the superintendency given dominant time structures, ideal worker norms, and labor queues indicates that current practices to recruit, advance, and sustain women in the superintendency are inadequate. Yet, as this analysis illustrates, neither recognition of the impact of the dominant time structure and ideal-worker norms on women in educational administration nor, as Blount (1998) stated, hiring more women superintendents is sufficient to abolish the sex segregation in public school administration that results from market-force, institutionalized constraints.¹⁵ Change to the current system will only be possible if, as Blount further argued, we alter the structures that are deeply rooted in the school system, including the social construct and the structure behind the power and control. To that end, here we heed Revere's (1987) recommendation, "Even though sex and race discrimination exist, alternatives to counteract the negative impact they could have to thwart progress should be developed" (p. 520). Therefore, we offer a few recommendations for practice, policy, and future research that are informed by the previous discussion and a feminist economics and feminist organizational perspective. The

following discussion contributes to our understanding of women's experiences in advancing to administrative positions generally, and the superintendency particularly; while advancing the way we organize administration and administrative work to be more representative of women and eliminating constraints on women's choices. The fact that some of these recommendations reverberate earlier conclusions drawn in research with women in the superintendency only affirms that, despite efforts to date, insufficient progress has been made.¹⁶ Thus, although many scholars (see Ortíz, 2001 for overview) have addressed ways to increase access and advancement to the superintendency for women and persons of color generally, the recommendations made here focus on how to achieve this goal in light of dominant time structures, ideal worker norms, and labor queues.

Practice Implications

If the superintendent's job demands that the person who fills it conform to the dominant time structure, perhaps a clear implication is that the superintendency needs to be restructured and reorganized such that those who desire a balanced life can participate in the position, men included. Perhaps, the redesign of educational leadership positions to rely more heavily on collaborative effort and collaborative leadership is one such way for women and men to attain a balance between work and family lives (see Brunner, 2000b; Grogan, 1996, 2000; Pounder & Merrill, 2001). We cautiously proceeded with this recommendation, particularly because it is sometimes framed from a deficit perspective. That is, consideration of this suggestion is accompanied by a belief that the individual participating or hired under such conditions is less qualified, less committed, and/or less able to perform the range of duties and responsibilities associated with the superintendency.

As Bailyn (2000) suggested, the ideal situation would be a job design that permits an integration of work and family lives. A relational style of leadership, which is consistent with the collaborative style mentioned here, is advantageous for a number of reasons, including eliminating isolation and increasing efficiency, time flexibility, innovativeness in planning, and opportunity for increased coordination and alignment. For example, creative coordination within the superintendency team provides options for compressed work schedules, paid maternity leaves, alternate attendance at meetings, or telecommuting during certain times. This design relies more on collaborative effort rather than on the instant and continuous availability of the individual filling the superintendent's position, on whom generally major decisions hinge. Moreover, as Quilantán and Menchaca-Ochoa (2004) concluded in their study of Latina superintendents, the collaboration alleviates

*Now
relational
leadership
would be!*

both the isolation of the job, and "foster[s] a sense of trust and confidence in these superintendents" (p. 127). As previously noted in the framing of the advancement of women to the superintendency, trust and confidence in superintendents is imperative to their legitimacy.

A collaborative type of leadership approach would include partnerships among administrators that would enable the workload to be distributed through shared decision making, shared power, shared management, and shared availability.¹⁷ This suggestion seemingly echoes the recommendation of Glass (2000), who proposed that the workload of the superintendent be distributed among a team of high-caliber central-office administrators, each team member assuming some of the responsibilities generally vested in the individual formally holding the superintendent's position. In this model, some individuals could participate in the leadership of districts on a part-time basis while developing and maintaining their status as viable candidates for future advancement. Moreover, this redesign may also provide opportunities for experientially based training and paid internships (Björk & Keedy, 2001; Revere, 1987) that could provide women with access to the experiences and training valued by hiring boards seeking to fulfill the superintendent's position.

Again, a collaborative model of leadership may be appealing in addressing the needs of individuals who want or need to address family care issues or who choose to partake in training, pursue advanced degrees and certifications or even sabbaticals, which we will return to briefly. However, we recognize some of the barriers and concerns associated with implementing such a model. It is legitimate to ask whether such a model could continue to limit the advancement of women to leadership positions by the existence of a participatory bureaucracy in which some division of labor exists along with structured input from larger staff but with ultimate authority resting with a few who generally hold formal positions (Thomas, 1999). If so, could this compound existing deficit views of women and further relegate women to "worker" positions without leadership or advancement opportunities?

Obviously, an effective collaborative arrangement requires a high degree of coordination with overlapping membership to facilitate communication, coherence, and alignment among the leadership team. Moreover, a collaborative, shared model of leadership that leads to the advancement of women and persons of color demands a reconceptualization of how power, authority, and influence are distributed and used. By its very nature, this model of leadership disrupts the sole-authority—mythical, if not ideal—depiction we have of individuals in the superintendency. Thus, for women to not be marginalized or incur further career status and career advancement penalties because of this arrangement, beliefs about and norms governing who

holds leadership positions, what qualities they are expected to have, and how they will "lead" need further consideration. In part, these changes require the reframing of leadership to include conversations about the "value-added" nature of women and persons of color in leadership generally (Ortiz, 2004) and the nature of a varied leadership arrangement more specifically. In fact, this would also be an area worthy of continued research.

From the collection of recommendations available from previous research on women in the superintendency, we are reminded that isolated efforts may have minimal effect on eliminating the segregation in leadership positions between women and people of color and their White, male peers. Thus, our second recommendation, which substantiates our previous practice recommendation and our upcoming policy recommendations, focuses on an organizational-level response. For instance, the U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission, following their 1991 report on the persistence of the glass ceiling, published *A Solid Investment: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital*. In this report, the commission made the following 12 recommendations to eliminate the glass ceiling: demonstrate CEO commitment; include diversity in all strategic business plans and hold line managers accountable for progress; use affirmative action as a tool; select, promote and retain qualified individuals; prepare persons of color and women for senior positions; educate corporate ranks; initiate work-/life- and family-friendly policies; adopt high-performance workplace practices; lead by example; strengthen enforcement of antidiscrimination laws; improve data collection; increase disclosure of diversity data (U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995, pp. 13-15). From this array of recommendations, we glean that an integrated, comprehensive, and systemic approach is necessary to alter the status and career advancement of women and persons of color in executive-level positions.¹⁸ We contend that a similar approach is needed to create the infrastructure in public education to increase the representation of women in the superintendency.

Thus, we suggest that additional changes in practice relative to recruiting, advancing, and sustaining women in the superintendency should be considered. For instance, stronger collaboration and partnerships between universities and districts (Alston, 2000; Björk & Keedy, 2001; Revere, 1987) is needed. A collaboration of this type should serve as a formal mechanism for ensuring that women are identified, recruited, and supported through graduate work, certification, and induction (Revere, 1987). Many educational leadership/administration and policy programs have liaisons or outreach components that connect the program to the districts by way of internships and field experiences. However, we are struck by the continued absence of women in the superintendency, particularly given their representation in the

comprehensive
systemic
changes
needed

teaching ranks and graduate and certification programs. Given labor-queue selection, particularly around what is perceived as ideal-worker norms within a dominant time structure, supports for women would include a closely integrated system of mentoring (Alston, 2000; Mendéz-Morse, 2004; Revere, 1987) and an alternative form of "sponsored mobility" (Moody, 1983; Turner, 1960).¹⁹

The rationale for an alternative form of sponsored mobility, one in which women and persons of color are the beneficiaries, springs from a closer examination of the nature of how this practice has been executed to date. For instance, as Ortíz (2001) noted, sponsored mobility has been a "practice [that] serves to effectively exclude others when most senior administrators are male and European American, and are likely to sponsor those most like themselves" (Glass, 1992; Valverde, 1974) (p. 67). Another recommendation is for the district, state, and university programs to provide organized group support for women and persons of color. Bailey, Wolfe, and Wolfe (1996), who studied the psychosocial support available for African American women, advocated group support for individuals who shared similar experiences and backgrounds. Group support, they noted, provides "both affective and instrumental support in the workplace. Group meetings may also focus on ways to better acquaint and educate home supports about the challenges of the workplace" (Bailey et al., 1996, p. 304). As they emphasized, group support provided benefits consistent with overcoming the constraints that influence the choices available to women currently seeking or serving in the superintendency. This further expands the scope and purpose of professional networks (Grogan & Brunner, 2005) and currently existing informal networks (Tallerico, 2000b) to increase representation of women on school boards and current administrative positions. These recommendations are aligned with our policy recommendations, which are outlined further below. A necessary component of these recommendations will be the guarantee of time and fiscal resources to support their implementation.

Policy Implications

Sufficient evidence indicates that despite the protections ostensibly afforded by antidiscrimination policies, including the 1978 Pregnancy Discrimination Act—an amendment to Title VII of the Civil Rights Act—and the Family and Medical Leave Act of 1993, women continue to have constrained choices in labor-market participation and career advancement. Current perceptions, norms, and institutionalized practices and policies render women as less attractive candidates for promotion and truncate their

advancement possibilities. It is here that we turn our attention toward policies that may contribute to unlocking the constraints currently imposed on women's choices and possibilities to enter the superintendency.

It is easily observable that school boards tend to be male-dominant, as well as often dominated by males, and are more reluctant to hire women and persons of color for the superintendency (Björk & Keedy, 2001; Glass et al., 2000; Hess, 2002).²⁰ Evidence supports that more diverse boards are likely to hire diverse candidates (Grogan & Brunner, 2005). Thus, serious attention needs to be given to the representation on school boards (Falk & Grizard, 2003; Kalbus, 2000; Ortíz, 2004) to be more inclusive of women and persons of color. The same proposition holds for the hiring of administrators for higher-level leadership positions, particularly because these individuals serve in roles that tap others for future formal leadership positions, which are pathways to the superintendency. Furthermore, the reported superintendency crisis (Cooper, Fusarelli, & Carella, 2000) provides another opportunity for the advancement of women into higher levels of the organizational hierarchy. Although a "crisis" exists, it is not in the available reserve of candidates for future superintendent positions. The current construction of the "crisis" is dependent on the faulty perception that insufficient qualified candidates exist. Yet, as we and others have illustrated, sufficient numbers of women and persons of color already have the knowledge, skills, and credentials for the superintendency, although they have to date been limited in their access to the role. Instead, it appears that the real crisis is comprised of ideal-worker norms, labor queues, and dominant time structures as well as the underlying assumptions of who should hold positions of authority.

In her book, Schor (1991) noted that full-time workers, especially corporate employees, are most often rewarded by pay raises rather than time off in the form of extended vacations or longer parental leave. Similarly, many superintendents now negotiate for rewards such as bonuses or other forms of additional pay as the availability of extended leave is limited. Thus, our next policy recommendation pertains to compensation and benefits. Considerations of alternative pay structures and comparable-worth pay (Rothschild, 2000) are needed, including scholarships and stipends for women seeking advanced degrees/certification, additional pay and/or signing bonuses for women interested in the superintendency but unable to easily relocate because of family responsibilities, and significant pay increases relative to current job responsibilities. Such considerations are necessary, for example, because reportedly two thirds of superintendents are chosen from outside of the district (Hess, 2002). Yet, as Grogan and Brunner (2005) found, 88% of the women in their survey cited relocation as a reason not to pursue the superintendency.

group support + networks

work at school board committees

Although the significance of salary compensation and benefits for women aspiring to and serving in the superintendency is undeniable (Grogan & Brunner, 2005), additional attention needs to be given to other factors that will complement the previous recommendations and contribute to alleviating current constraints on women's choices. Therefore, next, we suggest that policy makers at the local, state, and federal level consciously and deliberately redesign work-family policies in teaching and administration.²¹ Schwartz (1994) revealed the importance of this recommendation: "Although work-family policies may be recognized conceptually as an important support for women's careers, the facilitation of career advancement is rarely a stated objective underlying the implementation of work-family policies" (p. 5). Generally speaking, these policies will either align in job-design-oriented or benefit-oriented policies. Work-family policies that are job-design oriented include flextime, telecommuting, part-time, and job sharing (Falk & Grizard, 2003).²² Work-family policies that are benefit oriented include early education centers on site; sick days to care for sick children or dependents; pre-tax account for early education; coverage for annual gynecology exams, mammograms, and infertility; paid maternity leave; and benefits for same-sex partners (Falk & Grizard, 2003, p. 21). These recommendations illustrate that future work-family policies need to be designed to specifically provide support in areas relative to dominant time structures, ideal-worker norms, and labor queue that to date have constrained women's choices to advance to the superintendency.

Based on our analysis, we further recommend that state- and local-level policy makers consider policies that hold school boards and districts responsible for ensuring access to women and persons of color in administrative and school board positions to avoid either the glass-ceiling or plateau effect currently seen. That is, more concerted efforts are needed to ensure occupational- and job-level integration of women and persons of color, rather than segregation (Reskin, 1993), into administration generally and the superintendency specifically. This institutional-level accountability would require districts and school boards to recruit, place, advance, and retain more diverse administrators (and teachers). As Alston (2000) reminded us, "Many times, women are identified and trained for the principalship; however, encouragement toward the superintendency must be intentional and purposeful" (p. 530).

Moreover, it is important that additional attention be given to the overarching role of gatekeepers. We have ample evidence that gatekeepers serve an influential role in determining who ascends to leadership positions, including the superintendency (Turner, 1960). As Chase and Bell (1994) concluded,

When gatekeepers hold positions of power, then they may be helpful to individual women and at the same time participate in processes that reproduce men's dominance . . . gatekeepers' speech about women's actions and situations is itself one of the processes that contributes to this dominance. (p. 174)

Reskin (1993) further provides cautions associated with relying on gatekeepers, particularly in light of the existence of dominant time structures, ideal worker norms, and labor queues. She affirmed, "Gatekeepers discriminate when they treat people unequally based on an aversion toward one group or an affinity toward another that is unrelated to individual performance" (p. 248). To this end, we must be mindful and purposeful about how gatekeepers—consultants, boards, current administrators, constituents, and university program-based sponsors—impede or expand the participation and power of women in the superintendency. Thus, we recommend that school boards use search firms and consultants that value, recruit, and place women and persons of color into the superintendency and other administrative positions (Moody, 1983).

Research Implications

The discussion presented thus far illustrates how membership of the "ideal" worker club has parlayed into entry for some and denied access for others. Now we turn our attention to the need for further research on the restructuring of the superintendency. More specifically, further research on the innovative redesign of work that allows flexible work options without career-status or advancement penalties is imperative to provide guidance for practice and policy that will advance women into the superintendency. A research agenda would include exploring what the restructured superintendency looks like in practice. How power and authority are distributed, how it serves the organization, and who benefits remain largely unknown. Furthermore, we know very little about how the supposed "crisis" in superintendency and secondary leadership results in school boards drawing from other segments of the labor queue, previously underrepresented in the top-tier, hierarchical jobs. Also, we suggest that future research on the superintendency continue to focus on the intersectionality of gender and race (Alston, 2000; Ortíz, 2001; Revere, 1987) to better understand and work toward eradicating inequalities in advancement, hiring, and retainment. Reskin (1993) highlighted the importance of considering this intersectionality through the feminist economics framework and the need to consider longer-term implications, as ignoring the issue of race "distorts our understanding of sex segregation and its role in social inequality" (p. 245).

Work-family policies

In addition to giving voice to the experiences of women and people of color, it is imperative that a primary focus of future research be on the organization. For instance, given the lack of research on work-family benefits and their influence on women (Schwartz, 1994), more information is needed on this topic. Further research on the experiences of women in the superintendency (and other positions such as the principalship) would benefit both practitioners and policy makers. As Skrla et al. (2000) suggested,

What is needed, however, for the profession to move in [pro-equity] direction is for the conversation among and about women superintendents to increase in numbers, to widen in scope, and to escalate in volume so that neither the women themselves nor the education profession in general continue to remain silent. (p. 71)

Specifically, we suggest that future research within this dimension should explore the experiences of women who have used work-family policies and the effects of this use on their career advancement; how current policies address the needs of women in these positions; and what types of support are necessary, but missing, to maintain a career trajectory toward leadership positions as well as to sustain these positions once attained.

We realize that the practice and policy suggestions made here are likely to meet staunch resistance, particularly among those who wish to maintain the status quo of who has power, authority, and primary influence with regard to public schools. Kanter's (1985) explanation of the type of resistance associated with routine changes helps frame our discussion here. She emphasized that "routine" changes can be accompanied by tensions, stress, squabbling, sabotage, turnover, subtle undermining, behind-the-scenes foot dragging, work slowdowns, needless political battles, and a drain on money and time—in short, symptoms of that ever-present bugaboo, resistance to change" (p. 52). And she adds, "If even small and expected changes can be the occasion for decrease in organizational effectiveness, imagine the potential for disaster when organizations try to make big changes" (Kanter, 1985, p. 52). Changes of the nature and magnitude that we have suggested pose particular challenges for educational organizations. As Reskin (1993) noted, "[The fact that] most women work in jobs that pay less than men's jobs pay and do not lead to authority over men is fundamental for maintaining a system of sex inequality in which many men have a stake (Hartmann, 1976, Reskin 1988, Cockburn, 1991)" (p. 265). The current system of career advancement to the superintendency has overwhelmingly benefited White, heterosexual men. This structure of inequity has evolved and has been endorsed as those maintaining the lion's share of the superintendency and school board continue to serve in roles that influence subsequent hiring.

For instance, Turner (1960) adequately described how this structure is maintained: "Ultimately the members grant or deny upward mobility on the basis of whether they judge the candidate to have those qualities they wish to see in fellow members" (p. 856). Thus, a critical aspect of increasing the scope of choices for women is determining strategies that help overcome active and passive resistance to their access and participation in the superintendency.

To this end, we suggest that further feminist analyses on women's access to, and participation in, the superintendency and resistance to this access and participation is needed, particularly with women and persons of color and districts that have made progress in creating organizations that support their ascendancy to the superintendency.²³ The following areas are of interest. First, further exploration is needed into how educational organizations (e.g., districts and higher-education training programs) strategically increase women and persons of color in leadership positions, such as the superintendency, and the resistance encountered to these efforts. In part, how do these organizations develop, communicate, and maintain clear expectations for their inclusion in the superintendency amid active and passive opposition? Furthermore, how are allies (Tatum, 1994) encouraged and developed to support their ascent to and participation in the superintendency?²⁴ Next, how do these organizations increase the awareness and knowledge of the importance and value-added nature of women and persons of color who ascend to leadership positions? Third, how is resistance and conflict addressed in ways that do not devalue the contributions of women and persons of color who ascend to or participate in the superintendency nor impose or privilege masculine norms of leadership?²⁵ Assuredly, organizational effectiveness is at stake when the choices available to women and persons of color are constrained and resistance to changes in their access and participation is mounted. Understanding strategies that can overcome resistance provides a glimpse of the disruption of and liberation from current structures of power and control (Blount, 1998; Ferguson, 1984; Revere, 1987) that maintain constraints on women's choices within the labor market.

CONCLUSION

From our analysis, it is apparent that all educational institutions, districts, school boards, states, and universities have a role in changing the current time structures, ideal worker norms, and discriminatory selection from the labor queue. Yet although the recommendations for practice, research,

and policy suggested here can make a difference in the representation of women and persons of color in the superintendency and other leadership positions within a district, we realize that this issue is not contained within educational institutions. Instead, there is a need to recognize and address this as a societal problem and not simply a problem within educational administration. For instance, as a society, we need to understand and support caregiving as a collective responsibility and a social duty, for which we all share the cost and reap the benefits. Furthermore, the standing regime must acknowledge and develop an appreciation for the valued attributes of women in society as well as in the superintendency. Grogan and Brunner's (2005) description of what women in their study brought to the superintendency illustrates this point. They explained,

Women superintendents in this study emerge as community builders, grounded in knowledge of curriculum and instruction and prepared to stay the course of leading school districts across the country. There is no doubt they have the expertise to lead systems in challenging times. (Grogan & Brunner, 2005, par. 44)

Although the conclusion that women are underrepresented in the superintendency is well known, consideration of why this underrepresentation occurs and what to do about it from a feminist economics and feminist organizational perspective is less prevalent. Taken as a whole, the theories discussed in this article suggest that women's market decisions or choices are not independent of conditions, such as the dominant time structure and the ideal-worker and ideal-career norms that frame the market system. These structures and norms within the market environment influence where women are positioned in job queues and force women to adapt and exercise constrained choices and decisions.

The control within the market environment is distributed subtly over the entire integrated system of employers and employees, whereby the stabilizing effects of the feedback loops between market structures and women's choices reinforces the established order. What exists today is an institutionalized, systemic pattern in the market that is robust and resistant to change. As such, not only are sex-segregated patterns observed across fields, but such patterns are also observed within fields, including public school administration. In part, as we have presented here, the proposed changes for practice and policy will require alterations of conventional time structures, which are institutionalized in the control mechanisms of public schools, as well as the corresponding notions of and demand for an "ideal" worker, which is based on an obsolete conception of where our capacity for educational leadership is vested.

NOTES

1. Similar restraints exist for women in law, medicine, business, and academia.
2. For the purpose of our discussion, *family care* refers to dependent care, which should be considered inclusive of both child care and elder care (Schwartz, 1994).
3. Although we believe that similar constraints exist for women in the high school principalship, for the purpose of this discussion we primarily address women in the superintendency. When appropriate, references to the high school principalship have been included.
4. Here we concur with a reviewer for this article who noted, "Females do not tend to dominate the decision making and control. They do predominate numerically, though. A subtle, but telling difference."
5. The U.S. Glass Ceiling Commission (1995) wrote that 97% of senior management in Fortune 100 Industrial and Fortune 500 companies are White and about 97% of those in senior management are male.
6. Again, to the extent that women do not have access to such authority, public school administration may not significantly differ from male-dominated industries such as business or law.
7. Although some may argue that participation in a graduate program is insufficient to gauge career aspirations, we believe that it serves as a proxy for interest in formal administrative and leadership positions.
8. Here we use the term *family-friendly* to indicate those environments that are perceived generally to be supportive of both career and family. We agree with Schwartz (1994) that *family-friendly* can be used interchangeably with *family supportive* and *work-family*.
9. Armenti (2003) has illustrated that a similar situation exists for women in academia.
10. Despite the current flexibility afforded by technological provisions, tension remains about what is allowed when workers telecommute from home (Bailyn, 2000). Workers are still expected to be accessible during the "normal" work hours, all of which seems to defeat the organizational and personal advantages that can be gained from asynchronous communication.
11. Hochschild (1989) noted,

"Most women without children spend much more time than men on housework; with children, they devote more time to both housework and child care. Just as there is a wage gap between men and women in the workplace, there is a 'leisure gap' between them at home. Most women work one shift at the office or factory and a 'second shift' at home" (pp. 3-4).
12. See Armenti (2003) for a feminist analysis of tenure-track policies and the implications of these policies on issues such as career paths and fertility.
13. F. Schwartz (1989) recommended four strategies for companies to maintain women she categorized as "career-primary." Her recommendations included:

Identify[ing] these women early in their careers; give[ing] them the same opportunities as you give to talented men to grow and develop and contribute to the company profitability [which she included level of responsibility, travel, relocation]; accept them as valued members of your management team. Include them in every kind of communication. Listen to them; and recognize that the business environment is more difficult and stressful for them than their male peers. (p. 70)
14. In this case, F. Schwartz (1989) noted that companies that accommodate women in this category generally experience better retention rates, improved performance, and increased

satisfaction, particularly among middle managers, which is where women in this category tend to accumulate.

15. Yet consider, for example, Konrad and Pfeffer's (1991) finding that women and persons of color are more likely to be hired for vacant positions when the incumbent was a female and/or person of color.

16. Also worth considering is the parallel between Pounder and Merrill's (2001) recommendations (professional development incentives, paid administrative internships and field experiences, workload management; p. 50) to improve the attractiveness of the high school principalship.

17. This resembles the partnership arrangement among medical professionals who share patient-care duties through rotating their "on-call" schedules.

18. See also Taylor Cox's (2001) change model in *Creating a Multicultural Organization* for a similar alternative that could be used to improve the status and representation of women in the superintendency.

19. Although characterizations of contest and sponsored mobility vary, Turner (1960) defined *contest mobility* as "a system in which elite status is the prize in an open contest and is taken by the aspirants' own efforts" (p. 856). He defined *sponsored mobility* as "elite recruits are chosen by the established elite or their agents, and elite status is given on the basis of some criterion of supposed merit and cannot be taken by any amount of effort or strategy" (p. 856).

20. Hess (2002), who surveyed boards in 2000 districts with 795 responding, reported that 61% of the board membership was male and 86% of the boards were White, 8% of board members were African American, and 4% were Hispanic. As size of the district increases, diversity in gender and race increases.

21. Eckman (2004) noted the need for family-oriented policies to "allow high school principals, regardless of gender, to balance their personal and professional roles" (p. 384).

22. Falk and Grizard (2003), as part of their ongoing work at the Annenberg Public Policy Center, continued their study of women in executing positions and on boards of directors for the nation's largest telecommunications, publishing and printing, advertising and entertainment companies. In 2003, they added consideration of human resource policies in promoting women to leadership positions.

23. As previously indicated, persons of color hold significantly fewer superintendent positions nationwide. For this reason, we suggest that the proposed lines of research on strategies to overcome resistance are needed with regard to their choice to access and participate in the superintendency as well.

24. The intent of the use of the term *allies* here is informed by the work of scholars who have considered the role of allies in fighting oppression. For instance, in addition to Tatum's work, see Love (1998), who discusses allies of lesbian, gay, and bisexual students on a college campus and Schniedewind and Cathers (2003), who consider the work of students and staff as allies who confront heterosexism in schools.

25. Further consideration is also needed into how current market constraints privilege those who are White and/or heterosexual.

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