AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AS SECONDARY SCHOOL

ADMINISTRATORS: PERSPECTIVES THROUGH

THE LENS OF STIGMA

By

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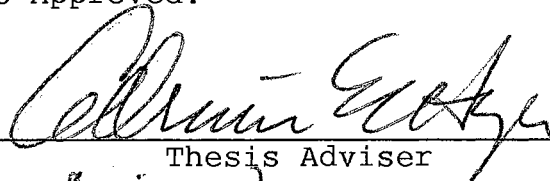University of Oklahoma
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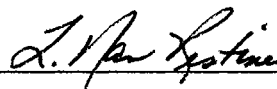the requirements for
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"I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me"

Philippians 4:13

The Lord has blessed me again with an opportunity to let my light shine. Thank you.

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CHAPTER ONE

DESIGN OF THE STUDY

> She is sapphire, sexy, brash, and callous with long
> fingernails that dig deep and leave scars.
> She is liberated, aggressive, and competitive.

Sara Lawrence Lightfoot (1976, p. 140)

"Sapphire" is one of many names given to African

American women. The dominant image depicted is that of

the African American woman as a person willing to use

her womanly wields to get what she wants. Carolyn

Jetter Greene (1973) further defines Sapphire in her

book 70 Soul Secrets of Sapphire as a...

> jive name used to refer to a black woman. In one
>
> sense it represents an insult. In quite another it
>
> refers to a collection of physical attributes,
>
> personality traits, mannerisms, feelings,
>
> attitudes, aspirations, and problems most peculiar
>
> to that unique group of super women who have
>
> weathered well the storm of the Black experience in
>
> America. (p. Introduction)

She is "stronger than any woman and definitely stronger

than the black man... (Doughty, 1980, p. 166). A

prominent African American newspaper recently ran an

editorial which referred to African American women as

"Sapphires" who are "taking over" (Black Chronicle, May,

1993).

In sum, the African American woman has been stereotyped positively as a truly remarkable creature who can make the best of the variety of situations in which she has been placed by society (Doughty, 1980). She has also been impacted by the negative stereotype of Sapphire as a vixen who dominates all (Green, 1973).

For the African American woman, these stereotypes have resulted in a double minority status (Warner, 1994: Warner & Seaberg, 1990) or "double bind" (Doughty, 1980). The first minority status is being African American; the second is being female. Ultimately, it is reported that this "double bind" or limit on the African American woman has hindered her "freedom of action and choice" (Doughty, 1980, p. 165).

Underrepresentation

African American women are dramatically missing from public school administration. Nationally during the 1980's, only 3.7% of superintendents were women, 22.5% of assistant superintendents were women, and 23.9% of principals were women. The representation of African American women in educational administration for the same period of time showed 1.6% were superintendents, 7.16% were assistant superintendents, and 10.26% were principals (Jones & Montenegro, 1985).

In a more recent study, Choy, Henke, Alt, and

Medrich (1991) detailed the distribution of principals
by sex, race/ethnicity, or percent of minority
principals in public schools; no data was given on race
and gender. Their findings indicate, 30% of public
school principals were women. In the central city,
20.8% of secondary principals were women versus 46.8% at
the elementary level. For the same period, there were
14.1% minority principals in public school
administration; African American principals account for
8.6% of that population. African Americans made up
20.9% of the elementary principals; at the secondary
level, 18.5% of the principals were African American.
In sum, the smaller the population, the smaller the
percentage of women principals. Similarly, the larger
the minority population, the larger the percentage of
African American principals.

Secondary school administration has typically been
a profession dominated by men; women have not made
much progress at this level of school administration,
especially in high schools (Estler, 1987).

In 1992, the National Association of Secondary
School Principals conducted a national survey of middle
level leaders and schools and found that the percentage
of African American female principals decreased during
the previous decade, 1981-91. In 1981, African American
females represented 12% of middle school principals;

that percentage had decreased to 9% by 1992 (Valentine, Clark, Irvin, Keefe, & Melton, 1993). Changes are occurring in a large city districts, but women in high school administration are still a relatively new phenomenon in suburban, medium city, and rural districts (Mertz & McNeely, 1987). There is also evidence of an increase in the number of women in high school assistant principal positions which has long been considered a "stepping stone to the high school principalship" (p. 5); but alternatively, Bagenstos (1987) reported that "the high school principalship is a major path to higher administrative positions and women have been deemed unequal to the demands for student discipline required at that level" (p. 4).

Shakeshaft (1989) noted that historical accounts of women in educational administration "detailed the experience of white women only or obfuscated the lives of women of color in general" (p. 21). Data indicating the numbers of minority women in school administration are difficult to find because the Office of Civil Rights of the U.S. Department of Education stopped collecting that information after 1980 (Bagenstos, 1987). In 1984- 85, 17% of school administrators were minority and 21% of those positions were held by minority women. Bagenstos (1987) believes that most of these minorities were African American.

Social and Organizational Barriers

Typically, the underrepresentation of women has been explained in terms of barriers for women in educational administration. Calabrese and Wallich (1989) defined two related sets of barriers: "social and organizational" (p. 105). Social barriers are attitudes and opinions of society which restrain, label, or hinder people; organizational barriers are orderly and systematic structures which reflect society's attitudes and beliefs.

Social Barriers

Social barriers are subjective, conscious or subconscious values and/or principles through which the socialization of an individual occurs. They include long held beliefs that are frequently referred to as "stereotypes or myths" (Calabrese & Wallich, 1989, p. 105). Calabrese and Wallich (1989) enumerate ten general social barriers for women: 1) fear of success, 2) inability to handle emotional or physical stress associated with administration, 3) high levels of emotions in conflict situations, 4) self limitations, 5) lack of desire, 6) sexuality, 7) lack of competence and 8) logic, 9) dependency, and 10) lower personal expectations. In general, social barriers result in a self-screening out of applying for positions. For

example, women do not apply for secondary principal positions because they second guess their abilities and experiences. Or women do not apply for principalships because they feel that they cannot handle the stress or, as Pyszkowski (1986) observed, women were perceived as incapable of handling discipline at the high school level, and were too emotional, therefore ill suited for assistant principalships.

Calabrese and Wallich (1989) credited male administrators maintenance of social barriers for this phenomenon, and concluded that if this continues "neither the organizations nor the individuals will grow" (p. 109). Male administrators must be willing to identify and change their social beliefs.

Role Conflict. Jones and Montenegro (1983b) reported that social barriers resulted from role conflict as theorized by the social scientists Parsons (1949) and Merton (1959). Role conflict occurs when individuals are acting in two or more contradictory roles. Those conflicts include mother-wife who are nurturing/providing care and professional woman who are career to achievement oriented (Abercrombie, Hill, & Turner 1988). Role conflict leads to personal anxiety, social sanctions, and withdrawing from one role (Darley, 1976), typically the role of professional.

Gender Socialization. Hennig and Jardim (1977)

identified feminine personal qualities as a the result

of gender socialization or social barriers.   Jones and

Montenegro (1983b) defined these feminine personal

qualities as a "lack of aggressiveness, reluctance of

taking on a task, lack of confidence" (p. 231). Both

self and other imposed, gender socialization results in

groups of people being seen as "wrong" for the job or

possessing qualities that conflict with job roles.

Organizational Barriers

Organizational barriers reflect society's

attitudes, systems, and structures, and include: lack of

encouragement, overt and covert sexual discrimination,

and subtle racial discrimination. Organizational

barriers are strategically and covertly placed within

the organizational structure (Calabrese & Wallich,

1989).

Lack of Encouragement. Lack of sponsorship, lack

of role models, and resentment by others were

organizational barriers found by Shakeshaft (1989). As

a result of these barriers, Haven, Adkinson, and Bagley

(1980) reported that women, in general, spent 15 years

as a teacher before seeking the principalship; and

minority females tended to teach 10 to 20 years before

becoming principals (Doughty, 1980).

Sexual Discrimination. Women are more often prey

to subtle forms of sexual discrimination than overt

acts. As women experience overt and covert sex discrimination, they must decide how to address the problem and protect their careers at the same time. Shakeshaft (1989) noted that "reasons given for not hiring or promoting women have only to do with the fact that they were female" (p. 96). She found that a second look at studies documenting barriers to women indicated that "prior practices or conditions ... hurt women only and not men" (p. 107). One example of this is the myth that women prefer working for men principals (Pyszkowski, 1986). Bonuso and Shakeshaft (1982), Marshall and Gray (1982), Schmuck and Schmuck (1986), Shapiro (1984), Thomas (1986), and Weber, Feldman, and Poling (1981) found that sexual discrimination was the organizational barrier identified most often as the one that hindered women's access to administration.

Sexual discrimination also exists as a cultural barrier. A cultural barrier is a customary belief, social form or material trait of a group that tends to restrict the free movement of an individual or group. Marshall (1985) reported that "women are less likely to have spouses, children, and community associates who tolerate, support, and reward them for immersing themselves in their careers" (p. 133). She concluded that a "woman's appearance and the traits, characteristics, attitudes, and behaviors attributed to

her because of her sex stigmatized her... Her job performance is discredited or seen as manly" (p. 132).

Sexual discrimination exists in organizations and women need to be aware of the different personal factors that affect how others perceive and interact with them as well as with other women. Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkinson (1986) pointed out that "token women who progress in administration are likely to be exceptional and are subject to constant public scrutiny" (p. 135).

Racial/Ethnic Discrimination. Doughty (1980) found that "blacks as a group, face significant discrimination in the administrative area, black women face more" (p. 167). Shakeshaft (1989) likewise confirmed that "racial and ethnic minority women find that barriers are compounded by their racial and ethnic identifications" (p. 116).

Male Dominance. The third barrier presented by Hansot and Tyack (1981) is male dominance. This barrier is defined as women living in a world that is male defined and male run. Hansot and Tyack (1981) contend that this barrier has kept women from moving into positions of authority and influence. Shakeshaft (1989) challenges the notion that social and organizational barriers are adequate explanations for the underrepresentation of women in school administration. She states that the male dominance concept is more

appropriate because "the cause of all barriers to women in school administration that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony" (p. 83). She proposes that white males hold domination and advantage over all other groups. The idea is that social barriers are an product of a social condition of which white males have control over. She goes on to state that social barriers are "seldom more prevalent for women than for men" (p. 83); and if they are, it is the result of the inequalities within the social structure of the society.

Summary

Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkison (1986), summarized that researchers' attention needs to be focused on organizational roles and structure because analyzing individuals attitudes and aspirations were not adequate explanations for the lack of women in educational administration. And as Shakeshaft (1989) has surmised, "once organizational and societal barriers are removed women begin applying for positions in school administration" (p. 92). As research efforts continue in the area of underrepresentation, new light will be shed on how women's perceptions and aspirations are affected by organizational roles and structures.

Statement of the Problem

Our educational system is in need of a diverse,
qualified pool of educational administrators to lead our
schools (Coursen, Mazzarella, Jeffress, & Hadderman,
1989) but nationally, the administration of public
education is dominated by white educators, more
specifically, white male educators (Bagenstos, 1987;
Choy, Henke, Alt, & Medrich, 1992; Shakeshaft, 1989).
Many groups (as members of a diversified staff) are
underrepresented, but African American females head that
list (Bagenstos, 1987; Coursen et al., 1989).

These realities co-exist yet conflict because
African American women have been twice stigmatized
(Goffman, 1963). They have been viewed by the
predominant members of public school administration
(white males) as deviating from the norm or societal
expectations.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to examine the
experiences of African American women who have achieved
administrative positions in secondary schools and test
the usefulness of Goffman's (1963) lens of stigma for
explaining those experiences. Specifically this study
will:

1. Examine ways in which the African American
    woman secondary school administrators

recognizes or explains her gender as stigma;

2.   Examine ways in which she recognizes or

explains her ethnicity as stigma;

3.   Describe the relationship or impact

among/between gender and ethnicity stigma; and

4.   Describe how she has managed each.

Theoretical Framework

In Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled

identify, Goffman (1963) defines stigma as "an attribute

that is deeply discrediting" (p. 3-4) and explains that

stigmatized individuals have a "differentness from what

we anticipated" (p. 5). He identifies three different

types of stigma: 1) abomination of the body (blemishes,

anomalies, or deformaties), 2) defect of individual

character (flaw of a quality that distinguishes a

person, e.g., thief or liar), and 3) tribal (social

group; race, nation, and religion). He believed that

people who shared a certain stigma may have similar

experiences "regarding their plight and similar changes

in collection of self-a similar 'moral career' that is

both cause and effect of commitment to a similar

sequence of personal adjustments" (Goffman, 1963, p.

32). There are four phases in the learning process of

the stigmatized person they were:

1.   learning the normal point of view

2. learning that she is disqualified according

to it

3. learning to cope

4. learning to pass

Goffman also theorized three techniques people used

to manage stigma:

1. denial and retreat

2. alienation and rebellion

3. coping with stigma

The denial and retreat technique may result in women

denying that they've experienced situations where they

were discriminated against but then give examples of how

they worked through the situation. Alienation and

rebellion technique may include individuals openly

confronting the organization and backing away from

participating on committees. Coping with stigma

involves the technique of developing an attitude and

behavior that compels individuals to make others feel

more comfortable.

In the mid 1980's Catherine Marshall (1985)

examined women's behaviors and attitudes using Goffman's

(1963) stigma theory. She found the framework useful in

exploring the ways in which women attempt to "achieve an

appropriate identity for a career in which they are

often viewed as deviating from societal expectations"

(p. 131).

In this study, two types of stigma were explored: gender and race. Women in school administration, particularly secondary school administration, are perceived as different in terms of their physical appearance when compared to men. In terms of public school administration, whites are normal; African-Americans are not.

Procedures for the Study

Procedures for the study included sections on the researcher, data sources, data collection strategies, and data analysis.

Researcher

I am an African American female high school assistant principal and the primary researcher for this study. I have been in the field of education for 18 years. For the past 13 years, I have been an assistant principal at the secondary level, six of those years as a high school assistant principal and seven years as a middle school assistant principal. Prior to that, I was a classroom teacher for five years. All of my experience has been in a urban public school setting.

My interest in this study comes from a desire to understand how African American women secondary principals are fairing in their professional as well as personal lives.

I believe I have been stigmatized because of my

gender and race. This study has helped me understand my own experiences as an anomaly or as the norm. As an African American woman secondary principal, I am especially concerned with the short term and long term effects of this profession on these women since these waters are relatively uncharted.

Data Sources

The population includes African American women identified as secondary school principals and assistant principals by their school districts in a southwestern state. Each year school districts submit the names of their school principals to the state department of education as part of their annual reports. Based on April, 1993 statistics, the population for this state was 21. Three women from three different and diverse school districts were asked to participate in this study.

Data Collection Strategies

The methods used for data collection will be interviews, observations, and documents and artifacts (Yin, 1994; Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993). Yin (1994) stated that "the case studies unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence-documents, artifacts, interviews and observations" (p. 8). Each strategy will be addressed separately.

Interview. Yin (1994) stated that "interviews are .

..essential sources of case study information" (p. 84).
Open ended questions were used to reveal reflections of
African American female secondary principals and
assistant principals. These questions allowed for
expanded answers. McCracken (1988) contends that the
"interviewer is a benign, accepting, curious (but not
inquisitive) individual who is prepared and eager to
listen to virtually any testimony with interest" (p.
38). Chronological, background, descriptive, feeling,
and value questions were asked to elicit different types
of information (McCracken, 1988).

Observations. Observations gave insight into how
the participants in the study fit into their
environment. This provided an opportunity for direct
observations of the case study sites. Using Merriam's
(1988) checklist of elements of an observation, I noted
setting, participants, activities and interactions,
frequency and duration, and subtle factors. "Those
occasions during which other evidence, such as that from
interviews, is being collected" (Yin, 1994, p. 87)
is an appropriate time to make observations.

Documents/Artifacts. Documents and artifacts
included items such as school newsletters and brochures,
evaluation results, school and district newspapers,
yearbooks, and pictures. By exploring this way, I was

able to look into the culture's technology, social interaction, and physical environment (Erlandson et al., 1993). The intent was to look at the relationship between individuals and their environment.

Data Analysis

The data were first unitized and then categorized. Unitizing data involves breaking the data down into small pieces of information which can be understood as independent thoughts. Category designation occurred when the unitized data was sorted into categories. These categories were formed by the researcher using the theoretical framework as a guide. Data categories were then sorted according to Goffman (1963) and Marshall's (1985) theoretical notions of stigma.

Significance

Stigma provides a theoretical framework through which the experiences of African American women in secondary school administration can be examined. It is a popular belief that "all practice is based on theory" (Hoy & Miskel, 1991 p. 26) and theory "provides a general mode of analysis of practical events" (Hoy & Miskel, 1991 p. 7). The usefulness of Goffman's theory of stigma as it relates to African American women secondary principals were explored. Limited research is being conducted in the field of educational

administration that addresses the plight of the African American female at the secondary level. This study will contribute the perspectives of the African American female secondary principal to the existing body of research.

This research could assist practitioners in the recruitment and maintenance of African American women in secondary school administration by providing a base of knowledge. It will also help the African American woman secondary school principal and others understand how stigma affects their status in regard to gender and race; and how that status may hinder their effectiveness. The information will provide a context for examining African American women's' attitudes and beliefs regarding themselves and their roles as secondary school principals.

<div align="center">Summary</div>

This chapter has introduced the issue of gender and racial status of African American women principals in secondary schools through the lens of stigma. It has also introduced social and organizational barriers that hinder women as they aspire to these administrative positions and as they carried out their duties and responsibilities while in those positions. The underrepresentation of women in school administration and the underrepresentation of African American women in

secondary school administration were also introduced.

This chapter also presented the study design. The identification of a problem and the purpose of the study were outlined. The theoretical framework of stigma (Goffman, 1963) provided boundaries within which the study would operate.

Reporting

Chapter Two will present an focused review of the literature on women and African American women in the areas of secondary school administration, stigma and stereotypes, gender and ethnicity (race), and social, organizational and male dominance barriers as they affect African American women in positions as secondary principals. Chapter Three will present the collected case data or case data reports individually and collectively. Chapter Four will present the analysis of these data. Chapter Five will contain the study summary, discussion, conclusions, and recommendations.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This review of the literature will address the underrepresentation of all women in secondary school administration as well as the underrepresentation of minority women. It will also present social and organizational barriers that affect women who chose this career path. The literature review will conclude with research findings on stigma, and ethnicity (race) and gender as well as stereotypes and their relationships to stigma as a barrier for minority women.

Underrepresentation in Administration

Women have always played a role in supervising schools, but there have been few opportunities for women as secondary school principals. Shakeshaft (1987) provided data from 1905-1985 reflecting a significant decline in females as secondary school principals from a high of 7.0% in 1928 to a low of 1.4% in 1972-73. Current statistics (Montenegro, 1993) indicate that at the secondary level, women are in 16% of the principalships.

The National Association of Secondary Schools Principals in its national survey of secondary middle level leaders and schools in 1992 indicated that only

20

20% of secondary middle level principals were women,
increasing from the mid 1980's. Gotwalt and Towns
(1986) reported that "fewer than two percent of today's
high school principals are women" (p. 13), and three per
cent are middle school principals.

Women

Historical factors have contributed to this
difficulty (Shakeshaft, 1987). The Equal Pay Law of
1894 brought the bitter with the sweet for women
educators; the laws were enforced sometimes and at other
times they were ignored. Women were not viewed as the
primary wage earners in the home, so when the decision
of hiring a woman or a man occurred, the man was
normally hired. This resulted in a hiring preference of
male administrators. The depression of the 1930's
caused this perception of a preference of male educators
to continued despite the situation for single women who
had to support themselves and often had the
responsibility of supporting their parents and/or
younger siblings (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Women continued to have difficulty obtaining
positions as secondary principals in the past was due,
in part, to the increase of men receiving college
degrees after World War II. Men who were returning from
World War II took advantage of the G.I. Bill which
allowed them to obtain a college education. As these

men entered the field of education, the number of women teachers began to decline. Women were pressured to stay at home while men were encouraged to enter the field of education. This also had an impact on the number of women entering the principalship. As these men moved into the principalship, their salaries began to increase significantly over women (Shakeshaft, 1989).

Another factor was the move in the 1950's to consolidate school districts. As small districts were consolidated, women lost their positions as principals. (Shakeshaft, 1989). Consequently, a change in the perception of women's role in educational administration occurred. "Scientific management and, specially bureaucratization, then, helped keep women out of administrative roles because of the belief in male dominance that made it easier for both males and females to view women as natural followers and men as their leaders" (Shakeshaft, 1987, p. 31). Schools reflect

> the values of a gender-stratified society in their
> organization, curriculum, policies, and practices;
> values in which the male experience is
> superordinate and normative" (Lee, Marks & Byrd,
> 1994, p. 93).

Minority Women

African American women have a long history of

providing leadership and founding educational
institutions for their children (Davis, 1982).
Historical accounts document African American women
slaves and free women who risked their personal safety
to learn how to read and write (Kerber, 1983). These
women also felt the need to teach others even though
laws forbade teaching African American how to read and
write (Lerner, 1972). Like majority women, African

American women have experienced difficulty
obtaining positions as secondary school principals.
Shakeshaft (1989) reported that studies have
indicated that the "attitudes of important gatekeepers
in schools are still not altogether positive to
women..." and minority women "suffer doubly from these
attitudes" (p. 105).

Crain (1985) concluded that minority women are
still behind their colleagues when climbing the
career ladder in schools. Bagenstos (1987) also found
that there was an underrepresentation of African
American women in secondary school administration.
"Rarely can she be found in the high school
principalship or the superintendency" (Doughty, 1980, p.
167). Doughty (1980) attributed part of the problem to
lack of support; "black women need a coach, not a
mentor" (p. 171). She expressed the concern that some

African American women and men who are in positions to help are preoccupied with their own careers. Also, Shakeshaft (1989) noted that "sponsors and mentors, who have traditionally been white males, tend to promote other white males" (p. 116).

African American women principals tend to have more teaching experience than their male counterparts. The average woman spends 15 years as a teacher before pursuing a principalship; the average male seeks out the principalship much earlier in his career (Haven, Adkinson & Bagley, 1980). Minority women spend from 12 to 20 years in the classroom before becoming principals (Doughty, 1980).

Summary

Both majority and minority women have experienced underrepresentation in school administration. This underrepresentation has been and continues to be more prevalent in the secondary principalship. The research has shown that historical factors have contributed to the absence of women at this level of educational administration.

Barriers

Social and organizational barriers have contributed to the underrepresentation of women as secondary school principals. Social barriers are attitudes and opinions

of individuals which restrain, label, or hinder others
(Calabrese & Wallich, 1989; Jones & Montenegro, 1983a);
organizational barriers are orderly and systematic
structures which reflect society's attitudes and beliefs
(Calabrese & Wallich, 1989; Jones & Montenegro, 1983a).
Social

Generally, social barriers result in a self or
other screening out of administrations positions.
Calabrese and Wallich (1989) cited ten typical social
barriers for women. They are: fear of success;
inability to handle emotional or physical stress
associated with administration and high levels of
emotions in conflict situations; self-limitations and
lack of desire; and lower personal exceptions; lack of
competence and logic, and dependency. Role conflict,
gender socialization, ability conflict, and male
dominance were also identified as social barriers.

Fear of success. Researchers cited fear of success
as a social barrier (O'Leary, 1974; Pyszkowski, 1986;
Metzger, 1985). O'Leary (1974) reported anxiety and
self esteem as negative factors related to success.

Pyszkowski (1986) reported that women perceived
their chances for obtaining a principalship as miniscule
and "would rather not subject themselves to a
demoralizing rejection" (p. 12). Metzger (1985) found
that women had several concerns when pursuing

administrative positions.

Emotionalism. Emotionalism is viewed as a result of conflict and stress issues. It is a regularly cited undesirable trait associated with women which lends to the notion that women are not competent in leadership roles (Pyszkowski, 1986).

Self-limitations. Women also impose self-limitations due to low personal expectations, low self image, lack of confidence, and lack of desire (Schmuck, 1975; Bonuso & Shakeshaft, 1982; Shakeshaft, Gilligan, & Pierce 1984; Metzger, 1985).

When examining low self confidence, Shakeshaft noted that "any human will have lower self-confidence in areas where he or she's not experienced than would an individual who has experience" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 84). She suggested that low self-confidence is "a product of a system that keeps women separated from experiences that would help build confidence in the public sphere" (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 84).

Lack of desire. Bowker, Hinkle, & Worner (1983) reported that female secondary school teachers have lower aspirations for administrative positions than male teachers.

Ability conflict. Women are faced with the issue of a lack of competence in their administrative abilities even though researchers have documented that

women are just as competent as men in performing their duties and responsibilities (Pyszkowski, 1986). Women are therefore perceived by others to have poor leadership qualities and are poor disciplinarians (Pyszkowski, 1986; Jones & Montenegro, 1983b).

Role conflict. Role conflict occurs when individuals are acting in two or more contradictory roles. Jones and Montenegro (1983a) reported that social barriers resulted from role conflict as theorized by the social scientists Parsons (1949) and Merton (1959). Those conflicts include mother-wife who are nurturing/providing care and professional woman who are career to achievement oriented (Ambercrombie, Hill, & Turner 1988). Role conflict leads to personal anxiety, social sanctions, and withdrawing from one role (Darley, 1976), typically the role is the professional.

Gender socialization. A "lack of aggressiveness, reluctance if taking on a task, lack of confidence" (Hennig & Jardim, 1977, p. 231) were listed as feminine personal qualities by Jones and Montenegro (1983b). They reported that both self and other imposed gender socialization results in groups of people being seen as "wrong" for the job or possessing qualities that conflict with job roles. Hansot and Tyack (1981) discussed internal (social) barriers that hinder women from advancement. Socialization and sex (gender)

discrimination were seen as factors affecting their behavior. These researchers reported that social barriers are those that can be affected by changes in the individual.

Male dominance. Hansot and Tyack (1981) examined the concept of male dominance as a barrier contributing to the lack of advancement of women. They discussed the concept of male dominance as a world defined and run by males. Men set the boundaries and made the decisions. This dominance has produced an environment whereby women are not given easy access into positions of authority and recognition. Shakeshaft (1989) determined that this was the "most satisfactory explanation for the limits imposed upon women in school administration", because "all barriers that have been identified in the social science literature can be traced to male hegemony" (p. 83). She cites the example of continuing to blame the victim or the woman's inadequacy for women's lack of achievement in administration; of the need to change "the social structure of society; that is the root of inequalities" (p. 83).

Organizational

Organizational barriers have been defined as reflecting society's and organizational attitudes, systems, and structures, and include: lack of encouragement, overt and covert sexual discrimination,

subtle racial/ethnic discrimination (Metzger, 1985;
Bonuso and Shakeshaft, 1983; Calabrese & Wallich, 1989).

Lack of encouragement. Resentment by others, lack
of role models, and lack of sponsorship result in
organizational barriers reported by Shakeshaft (1980).
As a result of women facing these barriers, Haven,
Adkinson, and Bagley (1980) reported that women, in
general, spend 15 years as teachers before seeking the
principalship; and minority females tended to teach 10
to 20 years before becoming principals (Doughty, 1980).
Other organizational barriers which have been identified
as a result of lack of encouragement are lack of
finances for training, too few role models, lack of
sponsorship or mentors, lack of a network, and sex
discrimination in hiring and promotion (Jones &
Montenegro, 1985).

Sexual discrimination. As women experience overt
and covert sex discrimination, they must decide how to
address the problem and protect their careers at the
same time (Bonuso & Shakeshaft, 1983; Metzger, 1985).
After reviewing the literature Shakeshaft (1989) found
that studies documenting barriers to women indicated
that "prior practices or conditions... hurt women only
and not men" (p. 107).

Shakeshaft (1989) argued that the literature and

press suggested that the lack of achievement experienced by women has "centered on women's inadequacy" (p. 83). This belief, Shakeshaft states is "reinforced by an organizational system that prevents women from developing confidence in public sphere activities through lack of opportunity and lack of positive feedback" (p. 85). Consequently, women are denied these opportunities because of gender.

Shakeshaft (1989) felt that the structure and operations of organizations shape the behavior of its members. Hansot and Tyack (1981) examined external (organizational) barriers that require institutional and social change. They found that "women behave in self-limiting ways not because they were socialized as females but because they are locked into low-power, low-visibility, dead-end jobs" (p. 7).

Funk (1986) reported responses of female school administrators to what they perceived as specific problems. Her research presented specific problems that are related to sexual discrimination. Specifically, Funk (1986) examined female executives in school administration focusing on advantages and disadvantages. The problems these female school executives generally cited in school organizations were:

    a.   difficulty in gaining male respect,

    b.   no entry to the male network,

    c.   not being seen as an authority figure,

    d.   not being trusted by female employees,

    e.   difficulties with males on-the-job,

    f.   employment discrimination, and

    g.   being seen as a threat by men in higher-level positions.

Subtle racial/ethnic discrimination. Timpano and Knight (1976) cited "filtering methods" as one of the more subtle techniques used to limit access to women and minorities. This technique is a process that occurs during the application and interview process. Rosener (1995) reported that "while all women share some experiences by virtue of being female, women of color have very different stories to tell" (p. 116).

Summary

Social and organizational barriers have been a deterrent to women entering educational administration. The literature has identified several of these barriers. Some of these barriers have been more overwhelming than others. A plethora of other researchers have found that sexual discrimination was the organizational barrier identified most often as the one that hindered women's access to administration.

Calabrese and Wallich (1989) suggested several strategies to improve the status of women administrators. These researchers recommended ethical

training at the university level, establishing a hiring

review board, federal and state policies requiring

parity in administrative positions, and retraining for

male administrators to making them aware of their

personal biases and how it affects hiring decisions.

<div align="center">Stigma</div>

The theory of stigma, with the supporting concepts

of gender and ethnic status (double bind, double

jeopardy, or double negative status), and stereotypes

have been identified by researchers as playing

distinctive roles in the success and/or effectiveness of

African American females (Doughty, 1980; Clement 1980).

Stigma is defined by Erving Goffman as "an

attribute that is deeply discrediting; a special kind of

relationship between attribute and stereotype" (p. 4).

Goffman described three types or possible components of

stigma. It can be a physical difference from what is

normally expected. Another component of stigma can be a

individual characteristic that deviates from the norm.

This could include "unnatural passions" or "domineering"

(p. 4). The third component is stigma that can be

passed through ancestry and it affects all of the family

members.

Ethnicity

Goffman (1963) presented the learning process of

the stigmatized person as learning the normal point of

view. The person was aware of how the normal viewed

her. After that awareness, the individual learns that

she is disqualified based on the stigma she possesses.

The next phase is learning to cope with the stigma and

finally, learning to pass.

Anilay, Becker, and Coleman (1986) found that

"social inequality may be directly related to stigma, or

it may be indirect" (p. 46). They found that people who

have certain attributes which may include race, age,

sex, and class can experience stigma. They go on to

reaffirm the fact that discrimination and oppression

significantly effect the "opportunities and life

expectancy of individuals in the stigmatized groups"

(Anilay, Becker, & Coleman, 1986, p. 47). These

researchers emphasize that individual and group

perceptions of stigma are molded by socio-cultural and

historical factors which also has an affect on how the

social group responds. Ainlay, Becker, and Coleman

(1986) concluded that "black men and women who are

excluded on the basis of race... experience a lifetime

of stigma" (p. 49).

Gender

In reviewing the process of selecting elementary

and secondary principals, Reed (1989) found physical

traits (gender) as immutable characteristics (stigma)

that candidates may or may not possess to be very

important in the process of selecting principals. He

determined that these superintendents looked for

"physical and character image (neat, 30 to 40 years old,

good health, <u>family man,</u> outgoing)," when considering

criteria for selection (p. 14).

Estler (1987) researched gender differences from

the viewpoint of administrative role demands using

Kanter's (1977) theory that "the structure of power,

opportunity, and social proportions in organizations

strongly influence individual behavior" (p. 2). She

notes that "those low in numbers ... are more visible

in their roles and that they must work harder to prove

their competence" (p. 2). Estler looked at an

alternative explanation, homogeneity, where "the women

passing through each successive filter would be more

similar in values and background to those above them

than women not selected" for administrative positions

(p. 9). With each movement, the stigmatizing

characteristic is less noticeable. Estler (1977)

summaries by stating that "numerical minorities--those

who look different from the norm---may often be assumed

less competent until they prove otherwise" (p. 2).

<u>Gender and Ethnicity</u>

Bell (1992) and Nkomo (1992) have researched

ethnicity and gender issues. They reported that both

ethnicity and gender contribute to the underutilization

of minority women. They go on to establish that many African American women are not being offered the same positions as white women. They conclude that no matter what the position, African American women still feel that they are "tokens under a microscope".

Double minority status is a concept which addresses gender and ethnicity. The status of these individuals in various contexts are usually affected in some way because of this. Cruikshank, Sidney, Smith, and Ned (1990) defined minority women as "doubly marginalized" first by male centered conventions defining what events are significant enough to describe in writing and second by the position these women have as members of a minority culture. One concern is "whether those who identify in both categories at once experience more color or sex-role discrimination in a leadership role" (Warner, 1994, p. 12).

Schur (1984) reported that being African American and female in a male-dominated culture is considered deviant. Ainlay, Becker, and Coleman (1986) stated that "such individuals experience multiple stigmas" (p. 47). Consequently, these individuals' perceived attributes are compounded.

Stereotypes

Stereotyping is the depicting of a one-sided, unrealistic portrayal of a group, tribe, or class of

people (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 1988). Stereotypes
are normally associated with a attribute that is not
associated with the norm. This stereotyping is
typically an exaggeration of that attribute which is
viewed negatively.

Ainlay, Becker, and Coleman, (1986) defined
stereotypes as generalizations which have no
"justification beyond a citation either of direct or of
some external authority" (p. 155). These researchers
concluded that people who use stereotypes have...
"ulterior motives, to justify the inequitable treatment
of individuals on the basis of assumed group
characteristics that neither they nor the group in fact
possess." (p. 156)

Jones (1984) believed that stereotypes acquire
their strength from a lack of acceptance of "unexplained
and unjustified negative affect" (p. 10). These
negative affects allowed people to explain their
uneasiness and intolerance in terms of negative
characteristics and attributes. Social influences and
social consensus determine the level of "accepted
deviance in appearance and behavior" (p. 10) which is
present during stigma and stereotype.

Amodeo and Emslie (1985) researched career paths of
minority women in administration. They reported that
"sex role stereotypes... differences between the sexes

in the outside world are reflected by the organizations"
and that "all of these influence can inhibit the natural
or learned abilities of women in administration" (p.
16). They stigmatize those who are stereotyped.
Pyskowski (1986) summarized by stating that "clearly
women educators, conditioned for years by negative
stereotypes, have developed internal [social] barriers
regarding their ability to obtain administrative
positions" (p. 10).

Single and married women have also been stigmatized
because of their marital status. Shakeshaft (1989)
pointed out that single and married women have had
limited participation in school administration because
of "forcing them into extreme cultural stereotypes" (p.
47). She cites examples which include a single woman
who has no life outside of her job; the prissy school
marm no one wants to marry; or the school marm who chose
her profession over marriage deciding that she could not
handle both.

Funk (1986) researched the female executive in
school administration. In her study, she cited
responses from women in administration regarding problem
areas that can be related to stigma. One of the
comments cited during the interviews was the "victim of
visual stereotyping—not being perceived as the boss
when someone walks into the office" (p. 7).

African American women have been labeled with numerous stigmatizing depictions. A prominent African American newspaper recently ran an editorial which referred to African American women as "Sapphires" who are "taking over" (Black Chronicle, May 1993). The dominant image depicted is that of the African American woman as a person willing to use her womanly wields to get what she wants.

Rosener (1995) concluded that it is "often difficult for black women to know if they are being devalued because of their skin color or their sex" (p. 116). Doughty (1980) cited several stereotypical characteristics of the African American woman. She is 1) superhuman, 2) capable of solving any problem, and 3) can deal with any crisis. The African American woman is "stronger than any woman and definitely stronger the black man" (p. 166). Doughty (1980) sarcastically states; "she is the classic example of blaming the victim" (p. 166).

> Leonard and Papa-Lewis (1987) suggested that...
> "racial discrimination and the psychological
> correlates of second-class citizenship may
> adversely affect the minority educators'
> opportunities for advancement and produce within
> them perceptual/attitudinal structures that are
> antithetical to aspiration and success (p. 194).

Summary

This review of the literature has addressed issues of underrepresentation of all women in secondary school administration. It also presented research on social, organizational barriers that affected women, in general, and African American women in particular. The literature review presented research on stigma, focusing on the area of race (ethnicity), gender (sex), race and gender, and stereotypes and their relationship to stigma. Research was presented addressing how these factors impacted the success of African American women in secondary school administration.

CHAPTER THREE

PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

The purpose of this study was to examine the
experiences of African American women who have achieved
administrative positions in secondary schools and test
the usefulness of Goffman's (1963) lens of stigma for
explaining those experiences. The explanatory case
study was the method of choice. This chapter includes:
1) data sources: population and participants; 2) data
collection strategies (interviews, observations,
documents/artifacts), categorization, and unitization;
and 3) the case study reports.

Data Sources

Data sources presented in this section will include
data regarding the population selected and the
participants identified for the case study.

Population

The population included 21 African American women
identified as secondary school principals and assistant
principals by their school districts as part of their
annual report to the state department of education in a
southwestern state.

Participants

Letters were sent to African American female

secondary principals and assistants in one southwestern state encouraging them to participate in the study. Three African American women secondary school principals agreed to participate: Kim Walker, a high school principal, Carole Cook, a middle school principal, and Cynthia Thomas, a high school assistant principal. The selected participants were from across the state. The final participants were selected based on location and availability.

To protect confidentiality and provide anonymity, these women will be referred to by their pseudonyms. A fictitious name will be used for their schools and any individuals mentioned.

These African American women secondary principals have similar backgrounds and experiences, especially in years of teaching experience. Table 1 details these data. All three women came from a rural/suburban background. Their husbands are professionals and they have children. Table 2 summarizes these data. They began teaching while in their early twenties. They all became secondary principals or assistant principals while in their late thirties or forties. They have less than ten years of experience as a principal. These women also attended public schools and universities. Table 3 summarizes these data. Strong ties with community, professional and religious groups were also

evident. These women were poised, congenial, and appeared comfortable in their respective environments.

Respondent Demographics

	Kim Jones #1	Cynthia Thomas #2	Carole Cook #3

Table 1

Educational Experience

	Kim Jones #1	Cynthia Thomas #2	Carole Cook #3
Years of teaching experience	22	21	25
Starting age	21	22	22
Years as asst. principal	7 1/2	1/2	5
Starting age	37	42	36
Years as principal	1 1/2	n/a	7
Other admin. experience	n/a	3 1/2 (central office)	n/a

Table 2

Participant	#1	#2	#3
Personal Data			
Age	44	43	47
Martial status	M	M	M

Order of birth	1	1	7
Place of birth	suburban	rural	rural
Husband's occup.	policeman	principal	teacher/ coach

Table 3

Participant	#1	#2	#3
Educational Background			
High school	public	public	public
	suburban	urban	rural
Racially diverse (20-30% minority)	yes	yes	yes
Higher education	public	public	public
Local	suburban	urban	rural
Highest degree completed	Masters	ABD	Masters

Table 4

Participant	#1	#2	#3
Associations/Affiliations			
# of Community Affiliations	1	3	4
# of Professional Affiliations	2	7	3

Religious Affiliations	Baptist	Methodist	Baptist

Summary

The participants possessed similar demographic characteristics. The categories included: educational experience, personal data, and associations/affiliation participation.

Data Collection

The data collection strategies included interviews, site observations, and documents and artifacts.

Interviews

Interviews were the dominant mode of data collection, conducted at the convenience of the participants. Kim Jones, the high school principal, was interviewed at her school; Carole Cook, middle school principal was interviewed at her summer school site; and Cynthia Thomas, high school assistant principal was interviewed in a hotel restaurant.

Open ended questions allowed the participants to expand on their responses. (The protocol is included in Appendix A.) Each interview was less than two hours long. The participants were contacted later for follow up for points of clarification. Two interviews were audio recorded and transcribed later. One interview was recorded by notes and transcribed later.

Documents and Artifacts

The document and artifact data were gathered for the case studies included items such as biographical information from a respondent profile sheet, school and district profile sheets, curriculum handbooks, school discipline plan, accreditation supporting documents, certificates, plaques, yearbooks, district and school policy handbooks. Each respondent was also asked to complete a biographical information data sheet. The sheet detailed information regarding personal data such as age, marital status, order of birth, place of birth, and husband's occupation. The next category of information asked for (professional and educational experiences) included: years of teaching experience, starting age, years as assistant principal, years as principal, and starting age. The third category included information regarding high school and college educational background. Public or private high schools and universities in urban, suburban, or rural locations were included. The final questions addressed community and religious affiliations.

Unitization

The purpose of unitizing data was to divide the data obtained into small pieces of information so that it could be understood as independent thoughts (Erlandson, Harris, Skipper, & Allen, 1993).

As the data goes through this process, category designations were formed which allowed the unitized data to be sorted by categories using the theoretical framework as a guide (Erlandson et al., 1993). The three transcripts were read carefully and notations made to identify the category of each piece of information.

Explanatory Case Study Report

This multiple explanatory case study design presented each individual case. The three case studies included data collection strategies such as interviews, site observations, and documents and artifacts. These strategies make the "process as explicit as possible" (Yin, 1994, p. 100).

Merriam's (1988) checklist of elements of an observation includes: 1) setting, 2) participants, 3) activities, 4) interactions, 5) frequency and duration, and 6) subtle factors. With these elements in mind, site observations were made and data were recorded in field notes.

The case studies included sections on the school mission/philosophy statement, community and school descriptions, personal background, and professional experiences. Within the framework of professional experiences, the issues of development of self for self and the development of self for the organization were explored.

<u>Kim Jones, Principal</u>

<u>Desert Sands High School</u>

Believing that all students can and will learn, the
Desert Sands High family is committed to providing
a safe, positive learning atmosphere that will
challenge young people to strive for the academic
and technological excellence that will open the
door for a successful and productive future. We
encourage the development of responsibility, self-
reliance, self-respect, and respect for others.

This statement was developed to show the
administration and faculty's commitment to the community
and school by providing their students the education
needed for success in today's society.

<u>Community and School</u>

Desert Sands is a town of approximately 80,000
people. A military outpost was established there and
the town grew around the military installation. The
army post serves as the major source of revenue for the
city as well as the town's largest employer. Based on
1990 census records, government workers (local, state,
and federal) makeup 29% of the labor force, while jobs
in manufacturing industries totaled almost 10% percent.
The unemployment rate was 11%.

The first Desert Sands High School was built in

1910 and is still in use today as a junior high school. The new Desert Sands High School was built in the 1954 in response to a significant increase in enrollment caused by the growth of the local military facility. As the population grew, two additional high schools were built in different parts of the town. The school district serves approximately 18,300 students. Because Desert Sands High School is located in the vicinity of a military facility, the diverse student body is 6% American Indian, 3% Asian, 31% African American, 51% Caucasian, and 9% Hispanic. The percentage of the students participating in the free lunch program is 46. The district has a 42% minority population rate. Nine percent of the student population receives special education services.

The grade configuration of the building is 10 through 12. The student body totals 1,230 with 515 sophomores, 421 juniors, and 294 seniors. There are over 80 faculty members. The ratio of students to teachers is 15 to 1. The guidance and counseling department has four counselors. The administrative staff includes three assistant principals.

Desert Sands offers a comprehensive curriculum which includes a plethora of course offerings: co-curricular and extra-curricular classes; fine arts, physical education, vocal and instrumental music,

foreign languages, military science, standard courses in English, math, social studies, and science; honors and advancement courses in English, math, social studies, and science; and vocational courses. The 40 year old building has been well maintained. It was clean and bright. The walls were painted white. The ceilings were high but the halls were well lighted. Overall, it was cheerful and attractive. There were certificates, plaques, and trophies in the front hallway showcase. These awards were for band, choir, football, drama, and academics. The school mascot was on display in the front hallway and as students passed by, they rubbed its nose. This appears to be a practice that has gone on for years because the nose of the mascot was well worn. The main office, located to your left just as you enter the front of the building, was small and compartmentalized. There was a long bench along the wall that faced the counter. Three secretaries were stationed behind the counter at their desks.

The principal's office and the mailroom were located right next to each other. Mrs. Jones office had an odor of newness about it. She explained to me that it had been recently remodeled. The walls were freshly painted and a restroom was added. The furniture was new. There was a executive desk with a matching desk

chair and two visitor chairs. They were light burgundy with oak accents. There was a small work table located in the office just as you walked in the door. The carpet was also new and the windows were covered with color coordinated blinds. There were no personal items such as family pictures on her desk. Kim indicated that everything was not exactly were she wanted it.

There was a inner hallway that connected the main office, the assistant principals' offices and the attendance office. You could continue to weave your way through these areas and finally end up in the guidance offices, a suite of offices with four full time counselors and a small waiting area.

During the site observation, a concerned parent wanted to speak to her regarding their student. Mrs. Jones had the impromptu parent conference. She made it a point to be available to people. She was visible in the hall ways supervising and talking to students. Faculty members approached in the hall with concerns regarding up coming activities and other daily issues and/or events. As the day progressed, Mrs. Jones dealt with other responsibilities which included cafeteria duty. The cafeteria was not crowded because students are allowed to leave campus during lunch. After lunch, the students went promptly to their classrooms. Teachers were standing at their doors and there were

very few students in the hallway after the tardy bell rang.

Personal Background

Mrs. Jones was especially proud of the fact that she was principal of Desert Sands High School because she graduated from Desert Sands more than 25 years ago. Her family had been connected with the community through military service and employment. Kim's husband was a retired police officer who was, at that time, working in another state. Both of her children were grown. She and her husband talked frequently on the phone and saw each other every other weekend. Sometimes they meet each other half way, other times they meet in different cities to relax and enjoy each other. Kim stated that when her husband retired He did not want me to leave; he said you're too close to retirement. I have seven years, probably six, if I use my sick leave and he wanted me to stay; I was in line one day for the head principal and anywhere I would have moved, I would have started at the bottom.

Most of Kim's relatives have moved away, but she did have in-laws around her. At the time, she was living in a trailer across the street from her mother and father in-law while her house was under construction.

In describing some of her personal qualities, Kim

stated that she is a very religious person.

> I've had several friends who have tried to go into
> administration and they've had problems; they want
> to chalk it up to racial. But one of my friends
> responded, they haven't turned you down like
> they've turned me down; but I think that it's your
> attitude; on how you are. I told them that I just
> pray over it because I believe in what the Lord has
> in store for you; I don't care who is around. They
> can't stop those promotions.

Professional Background

Mrs. Jones had been in education for more than 20 years, all in the same school district. Kim began her career as a math teacher at a junior high school; She was there for 12 years. She was also a counselor in that same building for two years. Her administrative experience totaled nine years. She was at Desert Sands High School as assistant principal three years. She was transferred to another district high school and served there for four and a half years as assistant principal. Kim was then appointed principal at Desert Sands High School in the middle of that school year.

Kim planned to remain with her present school district until she retired. "I like being with the kids." Before retirement, she wanted to return to school, obtain a doctorate and become a superintendent.

Professional Experiences

Kim reflected on her past experiences in educational administration in two ways: as they related to her development of self for herself and the development of herself for the organization. Developing self for self was defined as doing things that promoted personal growth. Development of self for organization was defined as doing things that promoted growth for the organization.

Development of Self for Self. Throughout her career, Kim had continued to develop herself for herself. This included a variety of experiences in learning how to deal with discipline and decision making skills, obtaining certifications, as well as personal goals and hobbies. Kim chose to develop her philosophy and technique in dealing with student discipline because of her experiences in the classroom. These experiences motivated her to develop her interpersonal skills, which resulted in her personal growth. "I didn't like what I saw as a classroom teacher. When the students were coming down to the office... to be disciplined and they come back to the classroom with these nice smiles on their faces... I can darn sure do a better job than that." So Kim decided to go back to school and work on a masters in math and principal certification. Kim explained her most challenging professional experiences

during her first four years as assistant principal. She had worked hard at cultivating her personal growth so that she would be able to promote herself. The district fired the principal and transferred one of the three assistants to another high school at the beginning of the second semester. "I [was] handling all the attendance and discipline by myself... so I handled it the best way I could. I pride myself on being a darn good disciplinarian." She felt that she had to present herself as a woman who could handle disciplining students at the high school level.

Again developing herself for self, Kim felt that she had to develop her disciplinary and decision making skills in order to satisfy her personal needs for growth. Kim wanted to be an effective principal. She cited one example of her astute disciplinary skills in the school. As principal at Desert Sands High, some students were concerned about their school and felt comfortable enough with Kim to approach her regarding two young males who were going to enroll in school. They were reportedly involved in previous gang related activities that resulted in the death of a young person. Kim commented "they were just going to class, but I could just feel the tension in the building" that day and "different kids were coming in telling us they heard these two boys were coming to enroll." She told the

young men that they could not enroll in her school and sent them back over to the district level administration building to enroll at the alternative school.

Kim felt that she had to develop her leadership skills by making critical decisions on her own. She had to walk her own path even though it was difficult and not popular. She cited her most challenging responsibility, and test of her decision making skills: picking the head football coach. She had been in the building, as principal only two weeks. Basically, it came down to two people. There was enormous pressure coming from everywhere: district level administrators, students, parents, and even some political leaders. One day during this turmoil, she became ill. "I couldn't get my head off the pillow." Her district level supervisor conferenced with her regarding the situation. He wanted her to chose a particular candidate. Her response was, "I don't understand this... they let Mr. Long and Ms. Berry (two other high school principals) pick their head football coaches. All of a sudden I'm being told who I will and will not pick as head football coach." There were phone calls, petitions, people in and out of her office trying to persuade her to choose a particular assistant coach. "I had senators [and] on down and I thought `okay'. I was going through a battle; they wanted to force me to name a guy as head

football coach who doesn't even say good morning [to me]." Kim felt that this decision was too important to her status as principal in her building. "My first major decision in this building has to be mine, otherwise, I can chalk up my career as principal." She chose the other candidate.

The development of self for self also included intrinsic rewards. Kim talked about what she liked to do for herself. She had more time for herself now. She liked to sing and she was taking private voice and piano lessons. Sewing was her favorite hobby, but she also enjoyed doing "just things for me." She also stated that she was exercising more. She puts her sweats and tennis shoes on and walked the track after school. She was proud that she has lost 30 pounds; her goal was to lose 30 more.

In sum, Kim Jones was a woman who saw a need to address the personal growth issues that faced her from the beginning of her career: dealing with discipline, decision making, and enjoyment of self.

Development of Self for Organization. At the same time, throughout her career she was asked to develop herself for the school or the district. This included career path changes, professional relationships, student/faculty interactions, and professional growth.

Throughout her career, Kim found that her career

path was not going exactly as she had planned. She

wanted to become a principal. The organization wanted

her to become a counselor. "The principal came to me

and asked if I was interested in a counseling vacancy

that was about to come up. I wasn't interested. I

didn't pay it any attention." The retiring counselor and

the principal, Mr. Harris, asked her several more times

if she would consider applying for the position. She

finally did with encouragement from her husband. Kim

had to get special permission to enroll in the classes

she needed for certification. She called the Dean at

the university where she had been attending and he

advised her what to do. When she accepted the position

she was not certified as a counselor but received it

within two months.

Mr. Harris, a white middle aged junior high school

principal she had previously worked for, as a teacher

and counselor, provided moral support for Kim as she

applied for her first position in administration. "Mr.

Harris did a lot of promoting and encouragement... None

of them at that time knew who I was; it was just a name

that the head principal had recommended... I always

thought that [it] was prestige and you had to know

somebody to get it and all that I thought I'll never get

that job so I didn't think anything of it". "Without

him speaking up for me at that particular time; nobody

knew who I was and I didn't have any prestigious friends or knew anyone". Kim had not considered the impact of having the support of a longtime, well established principal. With Mr. Harris's help, her career was started.

Kim also explained her disappointment in a longtime district level administrator and family acquaintance while going through the process of becoming an assistant principal, "Mr. Jackson, an African-American, said that he has always been hesitant to recommend black people because they get up [there] and they sometimes don't fulfill his exceptions. It was almost like I had to prove myself before he would even recommend me...". Kim stated that after she obtained the position, Mr. Jackson worked with her on other projects. She had a private conservation with Mr. Jackson regarding his lack of support. "Mr. Jackson, I said, it doesn't have to come down to whether we're black or white [if] somebody has to step their foot in the hole and if we stumble and fall we stumble... it doesn't have to be racial." She summarized by stating that "Mr. Harris did a lot of promoting [supporting me]..." Kim felt that she would never get the level of support from Mr. Jackson such as she received from Mr. Harris. "It was not [going to] come from a minority."

Kim had two years of experience as assistant

principal when she applied for the principalship at
Desert Sands High School. The other assistant principal
who worked with her when they did not have a head
principal was a white male, Larry Johnson. He had also
applied for the principalship. Larry was selected and
Kim worked with him for the next two years.

Poor student and faculty interactions prompted her
job reassignment as assistant principal from Desert
Sands to Edison High School. Kim believes that her job
reassignment to another high school probably occurred
because of her ethnicity. "There was a lot of subtle
prejudices when I went in... very blatant and very
obvious that there are a lot of racial problems in the
building." She realized that she was the one who needed
to be sent there. Again, she went where she was needed,
which helped the district.

Positions began to open up for junior high
principal. Kim received a call from her previous
principal asking her if she were interested in the
position. Her response was "Mr. Harris, I love you
dearly, but junior high school was never for me. I said
`I've done my dues, I've paid my debts, junior high
school is not for me; I always wanted to be in high
school.' Several people from the board called me to see
if I was going to apply for the job and I told them no."
I told the high school superintendent when they

transferred me out of Desert Sands as assistant

principal, that I do want a head principal's job and I

want a secondary school not a junior high." They told

me, you'll probably have to wait a long time. I said,

`I guess I'll have to wait a long time."

The principal at Desert Sands notified the board

that he was retiring. Kim had been an assistant

principal at the high school level for seven and a half

years. The last three and a half years was at another

high school. Kim applied for the job. Kim recalled

comments made to her such as, "You know you have this

school!" Her reply was always, "No, I don't know that I

have it! I didn't even stay at home to watch the board

meeting [on t.v.]... my mother-in-law called me after I

got back home that night to tell me I had the job... I

was happy to come here."

Her position as high school principal at Desert

Sands had affected her professional growth again. The

district knew what they needed.

It's been trying coming back here because of the

two assistant principals Ms. Neal and Mr. Ellis.

Both of them applied for the position. There was

some friction because being a white male coming in

with a black female... The superintendent

discussed it and asked `do you think you can handle

it or do you need to transfer him out of the

building?   I said no.

The faculty was very supportive of Kim returning to Desert Sands High School. "About 85 to 90% of the staff wanted me to come back... They did not like, in fact, they protested when they moved me out of the building so they were happy for me to come back... They know that I'm fair and straight-up."

The district required that all of the high schools remain accredited. Desert Sands had been preparing for their accreditation visit for the last four months. The teachers had been extremely helpful during this regional school evaluation process.

> I'm very proud of them for pulling together to
>
> pull this off in less than four months; the
>
> teachers were great. The teachers attitudes were
>
> whatever you want us to do; whatever you say, write
>
> reports even if we're not on committees.

The stress was great. Her supervisor, the assistant superintendent, was "kind of nervous too. He didn't know if we were going to be able to do it. He said, you did a great job."

Kim recalled a conversation she had with Mr. Ellis her assistant principal after her return to Desert Sands High School. She wanted the school to continue to be recognized for academic excellence and outstanding co-curricular and extra-curricular programs. Kim felt that

he had labeled the students as...

>the traditional stereotype of the students we have here: A large black population, a lot of projects, and inner city teen type teen... I said, I refuse to accept that, I said, that is all a mind set. Kim stated that the comments made to her were "the kind of kids we have; that is racial stigma." Kim said that he replied, "well, you're expecting too much." She was concerned that attitudes had changed in such a short period of time.

It was very stressful. Mr. Ellis was used to doing his own thing because he and the other principal were personal friends. He tried to sabotage my regional accreditation. I pride myself to be able to work with all people and that has nothing to do with your work, you work over the barriers or the pitfalls that will follow. He did not like me. We are somewhat friends; I know that male ego got in the way of a lot of things. He finally decided to retire.

Summary

Being presented with the unique opportunity of returning to a place where some of the most important years of your life were spent, Kim Jones strived to fulfill those personal and professional goals she set for herself and for the schools she worked in.

Cynthia Thomas, Assistant Principal

Thomas Jefferson High School

The faces change, the method of teaching
changes, but the purpose of Thomas Jefferson High
School is as noble today as it was over 50 years
ago-- to provide a world class education for young
people.

The previous statement was taken from a handout
given to student, parents and the community to
communicate the beliefs of the administration and
faculty of Thomas Jefferson High School.

Community and School

Thomas Jefferson High School is located in the
second largest city in the state with more than 360,000
people, according to the 1990 census. A summary of the
1990 census labor force showed almost 35% of employed
persons in technical sales and administrative support
occupations. A little over 30% of employed persons were
managerial and professional specialty occupations while
9.2% of employed persons as government workers (local,
state, and federal). Manufacturing industries employed
14.2% of persons 16 years and older. The unemployment
rate was 6.1% The median household income in 1989 was
$25,708.

The school district is the largest in the city and

the state, with more than 41,000 students. The percentage of students district wide participating in the free lunch program was 53.6% The district had a 43% minority population and almost 16% of its students receive special education services.

Thomas Jefferson High School was built in the 1939 by Works Progress Administration (WPA) and sits on 27 acres. The moment you enter the building, you see pictures of Thomas Jefferson. The building is full of artifacts, documents, and pictures depicting the life of Thomas Jefferson. As you continue through the first floor of the building, there are displays showings scenes at historic events during his life time.

A total of 1,369 students attend Thomas Jefferson High School. There is a 51% student mobility rate and 42% of the students are eligible for free lunch. A little more than 53% of the student population participates in the district free lunch program. The student population is 43% minority: 25% African American, 13% American Indian, 5% Hispanic, 1% Asian, and 56% Caucasian, totalling 1369 students. Special education services are received by 16% of the district population. The ratio of students to teachers is 16 to 1. Thomas Jefferson High School has a large faculty. There are approximately 85 teachers and three counselors on staff. The curriculum offers basic core classes in

English, math, science and social studies. College directed education or CODE provides an integrated interdisciplinary program which includes science, history, and English. The math classes are networked to a computer lab for computer assisted instruction. Vocational and industrial arts, physical education, business, fine arts, and Junior R.O.T.C. classes provide a wide variety of elective courses.

As we walked through the building during the site observation, the halls were clean and spacious. There was ornate woodwork trimmed the hallways in the main building. Mrs. Thomas would remind the students that they "needed to be on their way to class." Most of the students were about the business of getting to class or running errands. The students were amused and attracted to Mrs. Thomas's unique hose. They were very decorative for the upcoming holiday, Halloween.

We walked from the main building to an adjacent two story classroom building. On the second floor, there was a large common area that was used for meetings. At times, the only sounds we could hear were the transmissions which were coming across her walkie-talkie. These transmissions were between individuals such as the campus security, main office personnel, and the other assistant principal.

As we passed one classroom, the teacher called out

to Mrs. Thomas. The teacher was concerned about a student she had been having problems with and they were having difficulty contacting the parents. Mrs. Thomas assured her that she would remind the other assistant principal of the dilemma as soon as possible so that she could get some feedback. We turned the corner to leave the area as a student was coming around the corner. She seemed startled to see us. She was on her way to the vending machine. She reacted as if she was caught doing something that she should not have been doing. Mrs. Thomas asked me to wait a moment while she spoke to the young lady privately. Her tone of voice was low but stern. The young lady went back to class. Cynthia greeted everyone with a pleasant attitude and a positive comment.

Cynthia's office is not quite her yet. At least that's how she explains it. She has two bookcases along the wall behind her desk. They are filled with books, pictures, a graduation cap, two framed certificates, a lefty clock, journals, and magazines. There was a computer located to the left of her desk. The south wall of her office was made up of windows with mini blinds gently filtering the light. She had a couple of artificial plants in her office as well.

Personal Background

Cynthia was married with two teenage children. Her

husband was also in the field of education, a principal.
She was currently working on a graduate degree. Her
doctorate is in school administration.

Cynthia says that she is happy and is progressing
toward her goals both professionally and personally.
She stated that she "relates well with people" and it is
important to "like yourself." Cynthia finds support and
encouragement through her social relationships and her
church membership; "I value that relationship."

Looking at her long term goals, Cynthia wants to
"work with and for children for the next five years."
She plans to complete her doctoral program soon. She
would like to eventually work at a university. Cynthia
says that she just wants to "be a successful person."

Professional Background

Cynthia was a special education teacher. She left
the classroom after 17 years to become a district level
special education supervisor. She held that position
for three and a half years. She was appointed assistant
principal at Jefferson High School during the middle of
the current school year.

As one of three assistant principals at Thomas
Jefferson High School, Cynthia's primary duties and
responsibilities revolve around curriculum which
includes designing, implementing and maintenance of the
master schedule as well as working with the three

academic counselors. She also supervises athletic events and had various other supervisory duties. Paul Smith and Pam White, assistant principals are day-to-day operations and discipline and attendance, respectively. There are two deans, one for academics and one for guidance, who assist in resolving attendance and discipline problems. They work with students under the supervision of Pam White, assistant principal.

<u>Professional Experiences</u>

Cynthia's reflections on her professional experiences, like those of Kim Jones, fall into two areas: development of self for self and development of self for the organization.

<u>Development of Self for Self.</u> Cynthia has worked on developing herself in preparation for a career in educational administration. This included career paths and goals, personal networking, and personal relationships. Cynthia began her career as a special education teacher. She enjoyed being a classroom teacher but she was also interested in educational administration (Her husband was a secondary principal).

Cynthia continued her career path as planned and applied for a position as a special education supervisor. She was hired and served in that position for three and a half years. During that time, she met a lot of principals and other district level

administrators. She decided to not only work on her
secondary principal certification but to earn a
doctorate degree in educational administration.

Cynthia continued to work toward her career goals.
She described the different experiences she had as she
applied for positions as assistant principal... "I
interviewed once, twice, thrice; I interviewed again but
the principal decided that he wanted two teachers
instead of an assistant principal." Unlike Kim, Cynthia
felt that her experience at the district level and the
numerous contacts she made as special education
supervisor provided her the necessary skills that she
needed to obtain a position as assistant principal.

Cynthia mentions two groups of people, with whom
she had developed a personal network and personal
relationships, who were supportive of her. The first
reference she made was to a group of individuals she
calls the "old guard"; the second group was her
sorority. She described the "old guard as people who
remained after the change in administration at the
district level."

Cynthia cited one example regarding the insight and
mentorship of the sorority and the old guard in her
attempts to obtain an interview when assistant
principal positions became vacant. She stated that
it was "sometimes difficult to know when interviews

were going to be held. It was not always a matter of common knowledge in terms of vacant positions being posted." They the old guard and members of her sorority told her that "the new administration had a different philosophy and that now would be a good time to move." This personal networking skills, helped to provide her with the needed information to stay informed about vacancies. They told her that "the new administration had a different philosophy and that now would be a good time to move." So, she "applied again." She was successful. Personal relationships also assisted Cynthina in developing herself for self, especially the relationships she had with her sorority. She stated that this group provided her with a "good network." These women were in a variety of positions. Some were even in positions where they could give her a recommendation. She considered them a "knowledge base. I can go to them; they are a circle of friends." There were three women in particular, who were especially close to her; they "shared several things in common." She felt that "they all add different pieces to the puzzle. We do whatever it takes; by whatever means necessary." Cynthia described these relationships as those that have "developed over the years."

Career paths, career goals, personal networking, and personal relationships were important personal needs

which proved to be Cynthia's focus as she progressed.

Development of Self for the Organization. This
included professional relationships, administrative and
faculty interactions, and other professional duties and
responsibilities.

Cynthia knew that her new job assignment was a
challenge to develop herself for the organization, and
others did too. During the site visit, Cynthia shared
several yearbooks with the researcher. She pointed out
her picture from last year. There was a reference made
to her mid-term arrival in the yearbook. The caption
read, "Administrative changes challenge officials."
Paragraph two of the article read, Mrs. Thomas came from
ESC (East Service Center) to be in charge of curriculum
and reside over the counselors, whose position used to
be Mrs. White's. Who knows what's next?"

She arrived at Thomas Jefferson High School the
beginning of the second semester. Cynthia wanted to be
an effective member of the administrative team at her
school. She took the initiative in striving to develop
a working relationship with her colleagues. Cynthia
described her transition as assistant principal as
"difficult stepping in at the middle of the school
year." She found support and mentorship coming from the
white female assistant principal, Pam White, who had

been there for more than three years. Cynthia

viewed her as a "mentor and best friend." She stated

that Pam was "burned out" and she wanted to change

duties and responsibilities. Cynthia felt that the

change would cause lessen the disruption of the school

environment. So, Pam took the discipline and attendance

and Cynthia took curriculum and instruction.

Cynthia described her professional relationship

with the principal in a positive and supportive manner.

She felt this relationship allowed her to have

experiences in other areas of administration which

contributed to her growth. "The principal, Mr. Paul

Johnson, has been open to suggestions; he gives you

strokes and asks for ideas or suggestions." He says

"feel free to speak your mind." Cynthia explained that

Mr. Johnson obtained his position by "being in the right

place at the right time. The job fell in his lap; The

female assistant principals think that he is not

qualified but we don't say it out loud." Mr. Johnson

was an assistant principal for a short period of time

and he had been principal for only a year and a half.

Cynthia stated that she was appalled at his "lack of

knowledge; things that he should know." She went on to

state that "it's been ingrained; males can get away with

it, we can't." Then she attempts to explain her

statement by saying "maybe it's because I have a broad

base of knowledge; we have to be over qualified.

Cynthia developed the philosophy that she would accept any duties and responsibilities assigned to her to help ensure the effectiveness of the administrative team. She described her duties and responsibilities as "I'm the one that gets what he, Mr. Johnson, doesn't want to do. He's not real good at making decisions. Pam will let him know." Cynthia emphasized that the principal "has people working under him with more knowledge and experience than he has."

Cynthia supervises academics and curriculum programs, meets with salesmen, conferences with walk-in parents, and "any duty assigned by the principal." Cynthia feels that "he over works her", but she does her best to be effective in her position. She was concerned by the fact that Mr. Johnson took time out to do his university course work during school hours and she was not able to do that because of her work load. That "causes her work load to increase" but Cynthia felt that she was able to handle it. Cynthia also discussed the volume of paper work associated with her new position. "It was difficult"; there's just so much paper work to do; we started block scheduling and organizing it has been a lot of work." She stated that managing the work load had gotten better with Pam's assistance.

The other assistant principals, Mr. Paul Smith and

Mrs. Pam White were in charge of day to day operations such as supervising custodial staff, pupil transportation, and other school activities; and discipline, respectively. Cynthia stated that they meet informally throughout the day. Sometimes in the hall or after school at activities. The third assistant principal, Mr. Smith, a white male, would approach the group only when necessary she said. "He does his own thing; the principal sometimes doesn't actively seek him out". When describing her professional relationship with Mr. Smith, she categories him as a "good ole boy who can always tell you how to do it better." Cynthia believes that he is a "male chauvinist who limits his contact with parents and tells female jokes." He has made statements to her that "he's used to going to patrons (school supporters) and getting things done; but the clientele is different, not like it use to be." Cynthia felt that he viewed her as part of the "clientele." She stated that "he has that air about him." Recently, there was an administrative change and Mr. Smith was reassigned. His position was now vacant.

Citing another example of her administrative and faculty interactions, Cynthia recalled a conservation with a male staff member who is also a teacher union spokesperson. She stated, "they try to push your button; they try to catch you doing something wrong. He

will challenge anybody or anything. You just remember people will treat you differently."

Summary

Development of self for the organization was a task that Cynthia took very seriously. She remained focused as she addressed the areas of professional relationships, administrative and faculty interactions, and other professional duties and responsibilities.

Carole Cook, Principal

Tyler Middle School

The impetus of Tyler Middle School is built on the premise that the school be student oriented. To meet the criteria as student-centered, Tyler functions as a distinct and unique organization embodying a well-balanced combination of structure and flexibility to facilitate the special needs and characteristics of the distinct and unique individuals it serves, both individually and collectively.

The preceding statement was taken from a school produced brochure given to students, parents, and patrons. It communicates the dedication and commitment of the administration, faculty and staff to the community it serves.

Community and School

The city Tyler Middle School is located in has a population of more than 444,000 people. The school district had more than 37,000 students enrolled. Based on the 1990 census report, almost 18% of the labor force were government workers (local, state, and federal). Managerial and professional specialty occupations composed 26.3% of the labor force while technical sales and administrative support occupations were almost 36%.

Manufacturing employed 12% of the labor force. The
unemployment rate was 7.2%. The estimated population
for the attendance area was over 45,000 and 26% were
minority. The median household income was $21,095.
Tyler became a middle school in 1972 when the school
district desegregated. Seventy-three percent of the
students were on free lunch and 60% of the student
population was minority. The school had an English as a
Second Language program which served 16% of the school's
population and 16% of the students were receiving
special education services. More than 70% of the
students qualified for free or reduced lunch program.

Tyler Middle School had an enrollment of
approximately 875 students in grades 6-8. The
attendance rate was 90% and the average daily membership
was approximately 782. The student population of Tyler
Middle School was culturally diverse with 7.9% American
Indian, 11% Asian, 12.5% Hispanic, 25.2% African
American, and 43.3% Caucasian students in attendance.
The faculty was composed of 47 certified teachers with
an average teaching experience of 13 years. Thirty-five
percent of the teachers had earned a master's degree or
beyond. The average class size was 17.

The administrative staff at Tyler Middle School
consisted of a principal and assistant principal. It

had grown recently with the addition of an

administrative intern. Carole, as principal, was

encouraged with the appointment of her new woman

"assistant principal" because it allowed her to take

more time "to lead and be led."

The school adhered to the middle school concept

with students rotating through teams of teachers and a

variety of exploratory classes. The school offered

regular classes in English, math, social studies, and

science. There was a gifted or accelerated track, as

well as remedial classes for students. Some of the

special programs the school had to offer were: Dare To

Be You, Builder Club, Tyler Eagle of the Month, Tyler

Journal, and Young Astronauts. The schools also offered

other extra activities such as football, wrestling,

volleyball, softball, girls and boys basketball, pep

club, cheerleaders, yearbook, newspaper, Student

Advisory Council, girls and boys track, and English

Olympics.

Tyler was built in 1931 and was a majestic looking

building. It sat diagonally on the block facing a very

busy intersection. The building had almost a hexagonal

shape to it. The back wing of the building was not

connected. There was an asphalt courtyard in the back

of the building. There were two floors and a basement

in the building. The front of the building had three

sets of steps with a landing between each set.

As you entered the building, you were on the first floor but it looked more like the second floor because it was not the ground level. The halls of Tyler were bright, clean, and attractively decorated with student recognitions and informational bulletins for students, parents, and teachers. The gymnasium was on the southwest side of the building and the auditorium was located in the middle of the building north of the main office. The cafeteria was in the basement.

Over the years, Carole had developed an interest in multicultural art. Her office was a true tribute to the ethnic diversity of her student body. Every wall in her office was adorned with ethnic paintings, sculpture, drawings, bows, arrows, shields, Asian peasant hat, and Indian headdress. She admitted that she had some help collecting these beautiful art treasures. A teacher, Mr. Scott and his wife, were always on the lookout for another treasure for her office. She explained that most of the pieces were found during the summer months and some weekend excursions. These art treasures created an elegant atmosphere in her office. Her furniture was Queen Ann style with a dark cherry finish. Her office had a credenza against the wall next to the office door and another credenza behind her desk. There

were two matching guest chairs positioned close together
in front of her desk. There was another door just to
the right of her desk that existed into the main
hallway. To the left of her desk was another part of
her office that held a fax machine and a few chairs with
a medium size table. It appeared to be used as a
conference room and at other times a work room. This
side of the office was lined with windows that provide
an view of the front grounds and the busy street below.
Because of the construction of the building and its
elevation, you appeared to be at least two stories up in
the air.

The main office was rectangular in shape. Her
secretary's desk was just outside her door. The
financial secretary's office, a phone room, and the
office work area completed the main office. The
counselors' offices were located next door and the
assistant principal and the intern's offices were
located down the hall.

Personal Background

Carole Cook had been employed in the district for
more than 25 years. Carole was a home economics teacher
for 14 years in one of the district high schools before
she began her administrative career. She had been a
building administrator for seven years before her
appointment as principal at Tyler Middle School. She

had been at Tyler for the past four years. Carole's husband was also employed in the same school district. Carole had a sister who was also a principal in the same district. She had two adult children and was especially proud that both of her children had finished college and were successful.

Professional Background

All of Carole's teaching experience has been at the high school level. Carole and her sister became interested in the principalship and enrolled in the district's administrative internship program. There were several other African American women who had received assignments as principal and they felt that an opportunity had presented its self. The program consisted of several mandatory workshops and at least a one semester internship at the middle or high school level. Her career goal was to become a "school principal .... not just remaining as the regular assistant principal for my entire career".

Professional Experiences

Unlike Kim and Cynthia, Carole's development of self for self and self for organization was narrowly focused.

Development of Self for Self. Carole's goals and successes were facilitated through her personal desire for achievement.

In describing her very first assignment as middle
school principal, she described her desire to develop
self for self...

Your first question is where and I was told
Harrison. Not that the `where' meant any
difference, I was going to take the assignment
anyway. But Harrison brought a bit more anxiety
than some of the other assignments I've had because
of the history of the school. I knew I did not
know enough to start (to satisfy myself; to run a
middle school). And so for my own personal
satisfaction, to do a good job, was now to learn as
much about that age level that I possibly could;
and maybe from some experts on what it would take
to run a good middle school. And, so I did that.
So I spent, needless to say, the next couple of
months reading and studying and visiting other
middle schools to prepare for this one assignment.
Harrison Middle School was identified as "high
challenge" because of several years of low test scores.
The school also had over 85% of its students qualify for
free lunch.

Development of Self for Organization. In this
section, Carole's discussion of her beliefs and
experiences on leadership and the principalship,
school/community relations, and district level and

principal relations are presented. All that Carole
wanted to do was to improve herself and her school for
the district. Overall, she worked hard to be the kind
of principal the organization wanted her to be.

Carole believed she received her first assignment
because she had some experience in the building as a
middle school assistant principal. The vacancy occurred
toward the end of the first semester of the school year.
She was in a position as a high school assistant
principal.

"Leading and being led" is a phrase that Carole
used quite often in describing her relationship with the
faculty. She described the relationship as "one of
complete achievement." She believed that the teachers
were really "performing as professionals." This belief
gives support to the perception that Carole had of
herself as she functioned within the organization.;
improving herself for the district. She stated that
Tyler's faculty was diverse in their thinking, but they
agree to try whatever we decide to do as a group.

> We are successful in implementing these projects at
> our school because of the cooperation that the
> staff had for what we were doing. We set goals and
> objectives and it was quite an experience just to
> watch the staff members work together to make sure
> that we met the goals. Our school was successful

in implementing new projects like the teaming and
the advisory program in one year just because of
the relationship that they had with each other and
with me as the principal.

Carole described the leadership skills she used to
work with the faculty at Tyler Middle School. This was
another example of Carole focusing on development of
herself for the district.

I'm a good listener, I trust people, I trust the
professionals that I work with. I don't tell them
how to do their job. I tell them some of goals and
my expectations; I give them some direction based
on the goals I've set for the school. I expect
everyone in here to behave as a professional. I
have at least established a relationship where
people at least have the confidence and belief in
me and trust me that we can work through anything
... and that's with the administrators, counselors,
and teachers." The message conveyed is "we can talk
to you; we believe that you care about us." Her
belief was "your teachers are the one's who will
assist you in running the school. Principals don't
do it. We work together with the staff if you want
to run a good school. I honestly believe that."

Carole has worked hard to maintain a positive
relationship between the school and parents. Parents

are right, even when they are dead wrong. If they
come in here cursing we cannot respond to them with
the same kind of language. We are professionals
and if they don't work with us then we ask them in
a polite way; you have to leave until you can come
back and I tell them all the time, if you can do
it, you call and let me know. I haven't met a
parent yet that I haven't been able to defuse and
that is the truth.

Carole's philosophy about working with the district
level administrators is to "figure out what they
want you to do and do it to the best of your
ability without asking a lot of questions."

I try not to ask too many questions. I believe my
job is to number one, run the school and I try to
do that without a lot of interference from
downtown. I do feel that I am a very capable and
competent administrator and so I don't need you to
tell me what to do every step of the way and I like
it better when people give me an assignment and
then let me do it. I'm the building principal; I'm
the one who's gonna have to answer for any and
everything that happens in that building whether it
is good or whether it is negative. What I try to
do is run my building so downtown doesn't receive a
lot of calls from my school where I have been

unable to resolve problems or conflicts at my own
building.

Carole felt that the district had enough confidence in
her skills and abilities, that she was very capable of
handling the challenges of Tyler Middle School.

In describing her relationship with her immediate
supervisor, an African American male, Carole stated that
"my relationship with the district's present
administrator, wonderful." I believe that he supports us

110%. You need support from them. You don't need
them to tell you how to do the job. I've always
had it (support) and that's probably, I believe
again; has to be attributed to the fact that I
believe that I am perceived, by the administration
downtown as a knowledgeable person, very competent,
very caring, and very effective leader...

Summary

Carole Cook was actively involved in developing her
self for the organization. She worked toward acquiring
those characteristics and skills by exposing her self to
various professional and personal experiences.

Cross Participant Summary

A comparison of the data regarding Kim Jones,
Cynthia Thomas, and Carole Cook has been done. This
summary will include the participants personal and
professional background, and professional experiences.

The comparison revealed similar personal and professional backgrounds and professional experiences.

The participants personal backgrounds were similar in the areas of age, educational background, martial status, professional spouses, number of children, personal goals, and religious affiliations.

Professional background similarities were found in the number of years in the classroom. Two of the participants were similar in their number of administrative reassignments. They had been either principal or assistant principal in more than one building.

Their professional backgrounds were also similar in the area of role strain and limited career mobility. These occurred because of their family responsibilities and longer periods of classroom experience. These women also developed support systems through friends and colleagues.

Professional experiences for these African American women principals were separated into two sections: development of self for self and development of self for the organization.

The participants were most similar in personal networking, personal relationships, and personal growth issues in development of self for self. Career paths were important to two of the three

participants. The third participant, Carole Cook did not identify a career path beyond her middle school principalship.

Their professional experiences evolved into the development of self for self and development of self for the organization. These women cited experiences such as discipline and decision making skills, continuing their education, personal and career goals, hobbies, career paths personal networking personal relationships, and personal success when developing self for self.

As they developed themselves for the organization, they cited experiences in leadership and the principalship beliefs, school/community relations, district and principal relations, principal and faculty/student interactions, professional relationships career path changes, and professional growth.

<u>Cross Site Summary</u>

As the data from the three site observations were complied, some similarities and differences were noted. Overall, the districts student characteristics were similar, with minority enrollments from 40 to 60 percent. The staffing data was notably different in the areas counselors; Desert Sands and Thomas Jefferson's districts were almost double that of Tyler's district. Tyler's program participation was higher in Chapter I, other programs posted similar percentages. The

Gifted/Talented program was high in Tyler's district. Total revenue per student for the three districts were within $160. Table 5 compares demographic data across the districts. Desert Sands and Thomas Jefferson high schools were similar in student population; Tyler Middle School student population was about 400 students smaller than the two high schools. African Americans were the predominate minority group in all three schools. Hispanic, Asian, and Indian students alternated as the next largest minority group. In every school, the minority population totaled at least 40%. Table 6 presents the schools demographic data.

Table 5

Demographic Data of District Sites

	Desert Sands	Thomas Jefferson	Tyler
District Characteristics			
Size	80,000	360,000	444,000
Community Type	City	Urban	Urban
Membership Data			
District size	18,371	40,887	37,235
Minority Student %	42	43	60
Attendance Rate %	95	91	93
Staffing #'s			
Classroom Teachers	1,061	2,553	2,261
Counselors	41	118	66
Administrators	71	123	131
Students per Teacher	17	16	16
Students per Administration	259	332	283
Teachers per Administration	15	21	17

Table 5 (continued)

	Dessert Sands	Thomas Jefferson	Tyler
Fiscal Expenditures			
Revenue/expenditure per Student	$3,750	$3,780	$3,910
Program Participation			
% Chapter I Participation	11	10	12
% Gifted/Talented Participation	9	12	18
Teacher Characteristics			
Teacher Avg. Years of Experience	12	13	12
% Advanced Degree	36	46	40
Student Characteristics			
Free Lunch	47	54	73
Special Education	9	16	12
Student Achievement			
Student Achievement National % = 50	(9th) 60	56 (7th)	51
	(11th) 55	57	N/A
Writing Test (grade Level)	(10th) 45	(10th) 49	(7th) 64

Table 5 (continued)

	Dessert Sands	Thomas Jefferson	Tyler
Dropout Rate	7	4	6
Number of Schools High Schools	3	9	9*
Middle Schools	4	14	9

*This school configuration is grades 6 – 12.

Table 6

School Site Characteristics

	Desert Sands	Thomas Jefferson	Tyler
Enrollment	1,230	1,369	875
Minority Students	591	588	495
Teachers	80	85	47
Counselors	4	3	2
Principals	3	5*	3**

* This total includes two deans.

** This total includes an intern.

This chapter presented data sources, data collection strategies, categorization, and unitization; and archive records in the form of case study reports.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF THE DATA

The purpose of this chapter was to analyze the data
presented in chapter three through the lens of stigma
(Goffman, 1963). Specifically, the analysis will (1)
examine the ways in which these African American women
secondary school administrators recognize or explain
their stigma; and (2) examine ways in which they handle
stigma through a) denial and retreat, b) alienation
(anger) and rebellion; and/or c) coping with stigma.
Each case study will be analyzed using the same
categories. A summary completes the chapter.

Stigma

In this study, race/ethnicity and gender were two
types of stigma identified in research literature and
were explored in this analysis. The following sections
will address the issues regarding Goffman and ethnicity,
Marshall and gender, and theoretical responses to
stigma. A summary across all three cases completes the
chapter.

Goffman and Ethnicity

Goffman (1963) defined stigma as "an attribute that
is deeply discrediting" and that stigmatized people have
a "differentness from what we anticipated" (p. 3-5).
His research reported that individuals recognized their

95

stigma; and developed management techniques to deal with those experiences: (1) denial and retreat; (2) alienation (anger) and rebellion; and (3) coping with stigma.

Goffman (1963) identified stigma as an "attribute that makes him different from others in the category of persons available for him to be" (p. 3); someone who was not consistent "with what our stereotype of what a given type of individual should be" (p. 3). Goffman (1963) reported that these individuals "come together in small social groups whose members all derive from the category" (p. 23). He found that when the members of a particular stigmatized group (racial/ethnic) "provide a living model of fully-normal achievement, being heroes of adjustment who are subject to public awards for proving that an individual of this kind can be a good person" (p. 25). He proposed that people who share a certain stigma have similar experiences. Those experiences related stigma to their social identity. These individuals also experienced "a similar sequence of personal adjustments" (Goffman, 1963, p. 32).

Marshall and Gender

Women administrators who had recognized their stigma developed techniques and/or strategies to become socially acceptable and to gain partial admittance to the principals' group (Marshall, 1985).

Marshall (1985) found that:

women receive many messages that they are the wrong

species through the male sex-typed career norms and

career ladders, informal sponsor-protege

socialization processes which exclude women and the

underrepresentation of women in the career (p.

138).

Marshall (1985) went on to explain that:

the inherent dilemmas faced by those with spoiled

identities include: whether to remain loyal to the

stigmatized reference group or to try to pass in

the normal world; whether to rebel against

stereotypes, misconceptions, and discrimination or

to adapt in order to gain acceptance (p. 132).

Theoretical Responses

Goffman (1963) and Marshall (1985) reported that

stigmatized individuals recognized their stigma.

Goffman (1963) described an individual who recognized

her stigma as being different, a shortcoming or

"possessing an attribute that makes [her] different from

others in the category of persons available for [her] to

be" (p. 3).

Marshall (1985) reported that women who were in a

male sex-typed career were aware that "active pursuit of

the administrative career identifies a woman as

abnormal" (p. 139).

Goffman (1963) and Marshall (1985) also identified denial and retreat, anger and rebellion, coping with stigma as management techniques used by those who experienced stigma.

Denial and Retreat. In professional presentations, Goffman (1963) stated that stigmatized individuals "should face up to their own differentness... and to the extent to which a person should, present himself as a person as normal as anyone else" (p. 49). Denial should not be pursued. Goffman (1963) also reported that when a stigmatized person was "perceivable, the issue still remains as to how much it (visibility) interferes with the flow of interaction" (p. 49). Retreat may not help.

Marshall (1985) defined denial as a "self-limiting process." She identified women in denial as those who "deny their aspirations, endure role strain, and subtle discrimination" and it "disallows career mobility" (p. 139). Retreating was described as "delaying career involvement" (p. 139). "They avoid deviance from women's roles and avoid career requirements" (p. 141).

Alienation and Rebellion. Goffman's (1963) concept of participation status (the degree to which individuals are involved) suggests that individuals may retreat because they receive negative career incentives (Marshall, 1985). One example cited would be having to

return to work because of financial crisis. Marshall (1985) stated that "anger and rebellion adjustment causes many women to reduce their participation in careers in school organizations" (p. 143). She concluded that "anger or rebellion management techniques are no win responses for women" (p. 143).

Coping with Stigma. Goffman (1963) discussed different techniques of information control (regulating information) that stigmatized individuals used to help with the coping process. Passing and covering were the two categories identified. Passing occurs when the stigma was known only to the individual who had the stigma (Goffman, 1963). One example Goffman cited was where darker complexioned African Americans who would never be able to pass in public were able to pass by correspondence or on the telephone.

Marshall (1985) reported that "women cope with being marginal members of the class of women and marginal members in the administrator group, managing impressions and interactions to compensate for the discomfort they cause" (p. 143). These women learned that:

passing is the only way they can gain tentative acceptance in the administrator's and the women's groups; they adopt a grateful, apologetic, supportive, good-natured front. This front must be

consciously devised and consistently maintained

(p. 143-44).

Goffman (1963) and Marshall (1985) reported that

stigmatized individuals must find ways to lessen the

tension in situations with normals. Humor was one

technique reported in the research that stigmatized

individuals used to make normals feel more comfortable.

Marshall's (1985) research identified "motherly fronts"

as another method that was used to allow normals to

operate in an acceptable climate. This was identified

as being "grateful, apologetic supportive, and

good-natured" (p144).

It should be noted that Goffman (1963) found that

"stigmatized individuals can come to feel that he should

be above passing, that if he accepts himself and

respects himself, he will feel no need to conceal his

failings" (p. 101).

Covering conceals or eliminates stigma identifiers.

It might also be possible to cover by passing the

signs of their stigmatized failings as signs of

another attribute" (p. 94). One example cited for

covering was in-group alignments. (Goffman, 1963)

found that individuals who were:

like-situated and other groups were not his real

ones; he is not really one of them. The

individual's real group... is persons who are

likely to have to suffer the same deprivations as he suffers because of having the same stigma (p. 113).

Finally, Goffman (1963) did conclude that stigmatized individuals who were covering may come to the decision that they are comfortable with themselves and see no need to conceal her stigma.

Administrators and Stigma

The following sections presented an analysis of each participant's experiences through the lens of stigma: recognizing stigma; denial and retreat; alienation and rebellion; and coping with stigma.

Kim Jones

Persistence and determination were personality traits that enabled Kim to achieve the goals she set for herself. Dealing with issues of gender and ethnicity effectively helped her to achieve those goals.

Recognizing stigma. Kim's experiences with recognizing stigma (ethnicity) occurred early in her career. Kim recalled a confrontation she had with Mr. Jackson, an African American male and district level administrator. Mr. Jackson told her that "he has always been hesitant to recommend black people because they get up [there] and they sometimes don't fulfill his exceptions." She felt that he wanted her to prove herself as a capable African American principal before

he would recommend her. Kim's response was that "it doesn't have to come down to whether we're black or white... it doesn't have to be racial." She was very disappointed that he didn't recommend her for the position. Kim decided that she would never receive the support she need from someone of her own ethnicity; "I [just] was not going to come from another minority."

The issue of gender and ethnicity were cited in an example Kim gave regarding the selection process of the head football coach during her few weeks as principal. Two other high school principals (a white male and white female) had chosen their head football coaches without district and community concern or controversy. Kim concluded that others perceived that her gender and ethnicity were negative factors when making an important decision such as selecting a coach.

Denial and Retreat. There were times when Kim conformed to gendered cultural and organization expectations. Kim knew in which direction she wanted her career to go. Her goal was to become a principal but she denied and delayed her aspiration of that goal when she left the classroom to become a counselor. She saw that typical career paths were ones in which women became counselors and men became principals. Her response was "I wasn't interested." Her junior high principal wanted her to become a counselor. When Kim

talked to her husband about it, he suggested that she apply for the counseling position. She eventually retreated and denied her aspirations succumbing to pressure from her principal and husband.

Alienation and Rebellion. Gender stigma resulted in alienation and rebellion. Anger and frustration were just a few of the emotions Kim experienced as she strove to obtain a high school principalship. She was upset by efforts to encourage her to become a junior high principal. When the opportunity presented itself, she made her goals known. Kim actively sought a high school principal position by confronting the superintendent with her goals. "I want a head principal's job and I want a secondary school... I was told, you'll probably have to wait a long time... I said I guess I'll have to wait." Her goal remained the same and Kim continued to pursue her desire to become a high school principal.

Coping with Stigma. Kim made great efforts to participate in district activities with administrators, covering-a coping technique for gender, to prepare herself for her first administrative position. But to her dismay, she later found out that she owed her first appointment to a professional acquaintance rather than an African American district level administrator and longtime family friend. With him, Kim felt it was an issue of ethnicity.

Kim choose to turn to her religious convictions, as a technique for coping with her stigma. This in group alignment provided her comfort and consolation. When her friends began to experience some of the same frustrations trying to get into administration as she had her advice to them was to "just pray over it." Kim sincerely believed that if "the Lord has it in store for you", it was going to happen."

During the first few months of her principalship, Kim dealt with issues related to her ethnicity and gender. She experienced some stressful situations because she felt a lot tension from her assistant principals. There was resentment on their part because she received the appointment even though she was the most qualified applicant, by her years of experience and expertise. Covering was the technique she chose. Kim decided to handle the situations by focusing on her tasks, "you work over the barriers or the pitfalls."

Another way of coping with stigma came from Kim's decision to exercise more. This technique met a personal as well as a professional need. The personal need resulted in a reduction of stress which promoted good health. The professional need resulted in presenting a more acceptable professional image for her peers and colleagues.

Summary. Ethnicity and gender were stigmas that

Kim recognized. Denial and retreat manifested itself in gender but not ethnicity. There was no evidence of ethnicity but gender issues were reported in alienation and rebellion. Covering, religion, and exercise were the coping techniques used. Table 7 summarizes these analyses.

Table 7

Kim Jones-Stigma Analysis

	Recognize	Deny	Alienate	Cope
Gender	X	X	X	X
Ethnicity	X			X
Gender and Ethnicity				X

Cynthia Thomas

Preparation was the key for Cynthia when she began to work toward the principalship. Preparing herself for the issues of gender and ethnicity in the principalship were included in that preparation.

Recognizing Stigma. When Cynthia obtained her position as assistant principal, she felt that her gender and ethnicity would be an issue for some individuals. She was the first African American woman

assistant principal to be appointed at that building.
Her first encounter was with a male assistant principal
who would "tell female jokes." Other conservations with
him where he stated that the clientele had changed
prompted her to believe that she was part of that
clientele. Not only did the issues of ethnicity and
gender surface from her colleague, but it was also an
issue with faculty members. "They try to catch you
doing something wrong; they try to push your button".
Cynthia summed up her perspective by saying "you just
remember people will treat you differently".

Denial and Retreat. Cynthia experienced retreat
due to her gender. Gender caused her to experience a
delay in her career mobility when she chose the career
path from classroom teacher to special education
supervisor. Cynthia's husband was a principal. This
caused a demand of his time outside of normal school
hours. By chosing this alternate career route, she was
able to fulfill her obligations at home as well as
pursue her academic endeavors.

Alienation and Rebellion. Gender was the stigma
that upset Cynthia. In a new position, the new kid on
the block, and starting in the middle of the school year
were enough challenges to keep Cynthia on her toes.
Yet, there was another challenge she had to deal with,
her principal. "I'm the one that gets what he, Mr.

Johnson, doesn't want to do; any duty assigned by the principal." She felt that she was being taken advantage of because she was a woman. Cynthia became frustrated and annoyed when Mr. Johnson took time out of his day to work on his course work and she could not because of the additional work load he had given her. Cynthia concluded that gender was a factor. "It's been ingrained; males can get away with it, we can't."

Cynthia was also dismayed by the difference in knowledge and experience of the principal and the people working under him and she attributed that to gender. "The female assistant principal think that he was not qualified but we don't say it out loud; we have to be over qualified."

Coping with Stigma. Cynthia was always aware of the impact of her ethnicity and gender as she worked to achieve her goals. She used the resources that were available to her to cope with her stigma, motherly front and covering.

Cynthia used motherly front techniques to help her cope with her daily work place interactions. She was able to develop a positive working relationship with the female assistant principal, Pam White. This may have occurred because of Cynthia's willingness to exchange duties and responsibilities with Pam. Cynthia refers to Pam as her "mentor and best friend." Pam also functioned

as a vehicle to address issues with the principal about which Cynthia was not able to discuss with him. She felt that Pam would "let him know." This method of covering diminished the impact of her stigma.

Summary. Gender and ethnicity combined were identified by Cynthia in recognizing stigma. Gender was the stigma cited in the areas of denial and retreat and alienation and rebellion. The coping techniques identified were motherly fronts, in-group alignments, and passing. These techniques were used to combat gender stigma. Table 8 summaries these analyses.

Table 8

Cynthia Thomas-Stigma Analysis

	Recognize	Deny	Alienate	Cope
Gender	X	X	X	X
Ethnicity				
Gender and Ethnicity				

Carole Cook

As in the previous two analysis, Carole's experiences with recognizing/explaining stigma, denial and retreat, anger and rebellion, and coping with stigma will be presented.

Recognizing Stigma. Carole's non-verbal statements demonstrated that she recognized ethnicity as stigma. She showed an interest in multicultural art. Carole took the time to display cultural artifacts in her office. Her recognition of the ethnic differences were displayed proudly.

Carole also recognized her stigma through in-direct verbal statements. Her ethnicity became an issue again. She was concerned about her first assignment as middle school principal at Harrison because "Harrison brought a bit more anxiety than some of the other assignments I've had because of the history of the school". Harrison had a large percentage of minority students, African American and Hispanic, over 60%. Carole was the first African American and the first female principal to be appointed at Harrison.

Denial and Retreat. Carole experienced a period of denial and retreat before she pursued her desire to enter administration. She was restrained by her roles as mother and wife which did not allow her to pursue an administrative career earlier. Carole's children were teenagers when she began her administrative course work. When Carole entered the district's administrative internship program, her sister joined her. During this time, her husband was a head football coach at one of the local high schools. As a coach's wife, Carole was

not able to attend some of his games. When Carole
received her promotion to the middle school
principalship, the assignment allowed her to attend more
of her husband's high school games.

Like Cynthia, Carole experienced a delay in her
career mobility because of role restraint. By waiting
until her children got older, Carole was able to pursue
her administrative certification and allow more
flexibility in their family schedule.

Alienation and Rebellion. It was important to
Carole that she project the image of a competent,
capable, and effective leader. She did not want gender
to be a factor. "I don't need you to tell me what to do
every step of the way." Carole did not want to be
viewed as a weak or ineffective principal. "I like it
better when people give me an assignment and let me do
it."

Carole's gender had affected prior experiences with
some district level administrators. They had taught her
not to look to them for assistance when dealing with
administrative problems. You "figure out what they want
you to do and do it to the best of your ability without
asking a lot of questions." She learned what the
expectations were for her.

Coping with Stigma. Carole's efforts to deal with
stigma were lessened at the district level because of

the relationship she had with her present supervisor. She acknowledged the fact that "you need support from them; he supports us 110%." She employed motherly fronts.

Carole developed a philosophy of running her "building so downtown doesn't receive a lot of calls from my school; where I have been unable to resolve problems or conflicts at my own building." The need to be recognized and acknowledged as the principal is accentuated. Her technique used to cope were motherly fronts. She could handle anything, she was in control. "I'm the building principal; I'm the one who's gonna have to answer for any and everything that happens in that building; whether it is good or whether it is negative."

Carole worked to develop an in-group alignment with her supervisor. She worked to convey the image of a principal who worked to create an atmosphere of comradeship and non confrontational relationship with her African American male supervisor. She stated that "my relationship with the districts's present administrator, wonderful." Carole worked to develop an atmosphere where she was not perceived in a threatening or intimidating manner.

Summary. Carole's experiences with recognizing her

ethnicity as stigma occurred in non-verbal statements.
Although ethnicity and gender as stigma gender was
viewed as a stigma in-direct verbal statements. Denial
and retreat were techniques used when dealing with
gender as a stigma when she pursued her administrative
career. Alienation and rebellion were employed when
Carole dealt with in the performance of her
principalship. Carole used motherly fronts frequently,
when coping with these stigmas. Table 9 summaries these
analyses.

Table 9

Carole Cook-Stigma Analysis

	Recognize	Deny	Alienate	Cope
Gender	X	X	X	X
Ethnicity	X			
Gender and Ethnicity				

Summary

The case studies also showed evidence of ways in
which these women recognized stigma. Data was also
presented identified on how they managed their stigma
through denial and retreat, alienation (anger) and
rebellion, and coping with stigma.

All of the three case studies data were examined to

determine whether there was recognition of stigma. The stigma (Goffman, 1963) was either recognized or explained in either verbal or non-verbal fashion. Kim Jones wanted to present of image of a strong disciplinarian to detract from her ethnicity and gender. Cynthia Thomas was faced with issues of her ethnicity and gender from her male colleagues as well of faculty members. Carole Cook took an assertive stance in the recognition of her ethnicity by the decor of her office which exhibited artifacts from several ethnic groups and her first assignment as middle school principal.

All three women experienced denial and retreat as it related to gender. This normally occurred through their efforts to conform to cultural and organization expectations. These women typically pursued their administrative careers after their family obligations were met. Kim and Cynthia experienced altered career paths as a result of their gender. Carole experiences related to gender caused her to delay her administrative career longer than Kim and Cynthia.

Anger and rebellion were emotions that all of the participants have experienced. These emotions were identified through the stigma of gender with Kim Jones. She was determined to do what was necessary to obtain her principalship even if it being a "darn good disciplinarian" and "waiting a long time" to get it.

The stigma of gender characterized the experiences of Cynthia Thomas and Carole Cook. Both felt that they had to "be over qualified" and figure out what they want you to do ... without asking a lot of questions."

Coping with stigma for these women was always done in a positive manner. All three participants dealt with their experiences in a up front manner. The techniques they chose diminished the tension at their buildings between them and their peers or colleagues. These techniques included: motherly fronts, in group alignments, covering, passing, religion, and exercise. These women strove to develop an image of competent, effective principals. They wanted keep their situations in a positive atmosphere.

Table 10 presents a chart of recognition of stigma, gender, ethnicity and both gender and ethnicity identified across the three participants.

Table 10

Recognition of Stigma, Ethnicity, Gender
and Ethnicity and Gender–Stigma Analysis

	Kim Jones	Cynthia Thomas	Carole Cook
Recognizing Stigma			
Gender	X	X	X
Ethnicity	X		X
Gender and Ethnicity			
Denial/Retreat			
Gender	X	X	X
Ethnicity			
Gender and Ethnicity			
Alienation/Rebellion			
Gender	X	X	X
Ethnicity			
Gender and Ethnicity			
Coping			
Gender	X	X	X
Ethnicity	X		
Gender and Ethnicity			

Summary

This chapter presented an analysis of the data presented in chapter three through the eyes of stigma. Two types of stigma were identified, ethnicity and gender, and explored using Goffman and Marshall, respectively.

Recognition of stigma, denial and retreat, alienation and rebellion, and coping with stigma were the categories used to analysis the data. Each case study was examined in this manner, independently and collectively.

These women did recognize stigma; both gender and ethnicity; denied and retreated from stigma; rebelled and coped with stigma.

A table and summary were presented at the end of each case study detailing the analysis.

The chapter also included a table exhibiting the data analysis from all of the case studies, an explanation, and summary of the data presented in the case studies. A summary concluded the chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS,

AND COMMENTARY

This chapter will include a summary of the study, conclusions, recommendations, and implications for further research derived from the data collected in the three case studies presented. The chapter will conclude with a commentary.

Summary

The purpose of this qualitative study was to examine the experiences of African American women who have achieved administrative positions in secondary schools and test the usefulness of Goffman's (1963) lens of stigma for explaining those experiences. The purpose was achieved by:

1. Data collection from three African American women secondary principals using the sources of interviewing, site observations, and reviewing documents/artifacts.

2. Data presentation in community and school, personal background, professional background and experiences which included sub-categories: (a) development of self for self and (b) development of self for organization.

3. Data analysis individually by participant and

site; and also collectively through the lens of stigma (Goffman, 1963) as it manifests itself in gender and race/ethnicity, individually and collectively.

Data Needs and Sources

To achieve the study purposes, data from African American women secondary principals who were located in different school districts and who were in different parts of the state was recorded. Three African American women secondary principals were used as data sources. One high school principal was located in a large city, one high school assistant principal was in an urban area, and one middle school principal was in another urban area. These women were willing to participate in the study.

Data Collection

Interviews, site observations, and document and artifact review were the three main sources of evidence. Each participant was interviewed at their convenience. A biographical data sheet and interview questions were designed to elicit responses from participants regarding their experiences before they became principals as well as after they became secondary school principals. Observations were also done at each participant's school site. Documents were reviewed regarding demographic and socio-economic data describing the school as well as the

school district.

Data Presentation

After the data collection was completed, emerging themes in the data review were revealed. The themes developed into the following data categories: community and school, personal background, and professional background. Within the category of professional background, sub-categories appeared: development of self for self and development of self for the organization.

Community and School. Information detailing characteristics of the community was important to provide a context from which to draw perceptions of what the community expected from the school. The demographics of the two urban districts were similar in population characteristics and the suburban district was about one-fifth the size of the urban districts.

Each participant's school faculty and staff had developed a philosophical statement used to develop goals and objectives by which these expectations could be met. Because of the different positions of the participants in these case studies, principal or assistant principal, these women approached their tasks differently.

Personal Background. Kim Jones, Cynthia Thomas, and Carole Cook were similar in terms of age,

family composition, martial status, educational background and religious affiliations. Generally speaking, these women were in their forties, had two children, and had been married at least 20 years. They also expressed strong religious beliefs.

Professional Background. The participants backgrounds were similar, in that they experienced role strain and a delay in their career mobility because of these restraints. The participants did not fully pursue their administrative goals until their children were at least teenagers. All three participants also experienced a delay in their career mobility due to longer periods of classroom experience.

Another common characteristic of the participants were the support systems they had developed. There were at least two separate groups that provided support and encouragement to these women through their professional endeavor. These groups included: family, friends, colleagues, and religious associations.

Professional Experiences. The three participants in this case study described their professional experiences that evolved into development of self for self and development of self for the organization. These women cited similar experiences when developing self for self. They focused on hobbies, personal goals, relationships, successes, and networking. Discipline

and decision making skills, continuing their education, career goals and paths were accomplishments and aspirations that guided their paths. When developing self for the organization, these women cited their decisions and past experiences. Leadership and the principalship beliefs were cited throughout their experiences. School and community relations, district and principal relations, and principal and faculty/student interactions were important avenues of communications that these women used to promote the organization. Professional growth and relationships, and career path changes were explored to support the organization in pursuing its goals.

Analysis

Data from each one of the three case studies were analyzed individually and collectively to determine the ways in which these women viewed their experiences through the lens of stigma (Goffman, 1963). Recognizing/explaining stigma, denial and retreat, alienation and rebellion, and coping with stigma were the management techniques delineated. Specifically, each case study was compared to the issues regarding Goffman (1963) and ethnicity and Marshall (1985) and gender as they related to management techniques. A table and summary conclude each case study.

Findings

Given the data presented, the three case study participants recognized their stigma. Two recognized ethnicity as stigma and gender and ethnicity as stigma. All three of the participants were aware of ethnicity and gender issues.

Denial and retreat were identified when facing issues of gender. All three participants noted this area. The participants did not identify ethnicity or the impact of ethnicity and gender in this category.

Alienation and rebellion were also identified as techniques in response to gender. Again, the participants did not identify ethnicity or the impact of ethnicity and gender as issues in this category.

Coping techniques were employed will all of the participants when dealing with gender as stigma. One participant cited coping techniques when faced with ethnicity as stigma. The categories most frequently identified coping techniques were: motherly fronts and in-group alignments. The other coping techniques identified were religion, exercise, passing, and covering. Table 10 summaries across the case studies (p. 113).

Conclusions

The findings of this multiple case study indicate that African American woman secondary school

administrators did recognize their ethnicity and gender as stigma. Goffman (1963) defined stigma as a characteristic which is disfavored. The issue of ethnicity and gender as a secondary school principal were dealt with in their personal and professional experiences and as well as within the area of development of self for the organization.

Gender as Stigma

When reflecting on their professional experiences, these African American women secondary principals cited experiences where they did not want their gender to be a factor. The positions that these women took within the organization were that of team players willing to support the organization in order to facilitate its effectiveness. Kim Jones repeatedly developed herself for the organization by accepting positions and reassignments she did not want. Cynthia Thomas, as a new assistant principal, experienced added responsibilities and duties. Carole Cook was constantly working to improve herself for the organization.

Ethnicity as Stigma

The findings of the case studies indicated that African American women secondary principals also explained their ethnicity as stigma. Kim Jones cited experiences with her supervisor as well as colleagues where her ethnicity was at issue. Cynthia Thomas'

experiences with ethnicity as stigma was summed up in the following statement "you just remember people will treat you differently." Carole Cook did not verbalize her experiences with ethnicity as stigma but her actions in the decor of her office showed her awareness of ethnicity.

Gender and Ethnicity as Stigma

The relationship or impact among/between gender and ethnicity as stigma was evident from the data presented. The degree to which the relationship or impact occurred varied with the case study. Principal Kim Jones experience occurred when she had to work with less experienced colleagues who felt that they should have the position she was in. Cynthia Thomas concluded that "you just remember people will treat you differently." As Carole Cook dealt with issues of ethnicity and gender, her experiences were non-verbal and in-direct.

How They Managed Each.

The learning process for a stigmatized person contained four phases. The last two phases, learning to cope with stigma and learning to pass were avenues taken to deal with their stigma. The three case studies showed evidence of how each woman managed stigma by finding ways to decrease the tension with normals. The techniques these women used to manage these impressions and interactions were similar. They included: motherly

fronts, in-group alignments, passing, covering, religion, and exercise.

The following conclusions were made for each purpose of the study.

1. African American women secondary school administrators do recognize or explain their gender as stigma.

2. African American women secondary school administrators do recognize or explain their ethnicity as stigma.

3. It was difficult for African American women secondary school administrators to describe the relationship or impact among/between gender and ethnicity stigma.

4. African American women secondary school administrators were able to manage their stigma by using different coping techniques.

Summary

African American secondary women principals, in this study, cited experiences recognizing and/or explaining her ethnicity and gender as stigma. The participants also recognized ethnicity and gender, collectively and independently, as a stigma.

Sandler, Silverberg, and Hall (1996) have reported that it is hard to separate racism and sexism. In this study, Gender as stigma was cited when participants were experiencing denial and retreat. Ethnicity and ethnicity and gender were not identified as stigma by the participants. Again, Rosener (1995) reported that it is "often difficult for black women to know whether

they're being devalued because of their skin color or
their sex." (p. 116).

Alienation and/or rebellion techniques were not
noted when ethnicity or ethnicity and gender were
considered as stigma. However, gender was cited as
stigma by all three.

Coping techniques varied among the participants.
All of the participants coped with gender as stigma.
Coping for ethnicity as stigma was cited by one
participant. None of the participants coped for gender
and ethnicity. Each participant did use a variety of
coping techniques to deal with stigma.

Implications

Further research implications are significant
because minority women are still behind their colleagues
when climbing the career ladders in schools (Crain,
1985). Secondly, further research implications are
significant because of the experiences women and
minorities are facing as they perform their various
duties and responsibilities. Finally, further research
is needed in this area to chart these "uncharted waters"
for aspiring women and minority administrators.
Hoy and Miskel (1991) summarized that:

> Theory provides an explanatory system connecting
> otherwise unrelated information; it may generate
> new knowledge; Theory is refined through research;
> in the light of research findings, ... applied to

individual action [practice]. (p. 26)

The following will examine how this multiple case study
met each of the criteria.

Theory

Hoy and Miskel (1991) concluded that "theory
provides a general mode of analysis of practical events
(p. 7). Examining various theoretical frameworks may
assist in providing insight and explanation. Stigma was
a theoretical framework through which the experiences of
African American women secondary principals were
examined and explained.

Goffman (1963) identified different types of stigma
and presented three techniques stigmatized people use to
manage stigma: denial and retreat; alienation and
rebellion; and coping with stigma by passing, covering,
and groups. Goffman's (1963) techniques used to manage
stigma were effective in explaining the experiences and
perceptions of these women in this career path. The
participants in this study recognized gender and
ethnicity as stigma, as being different from the norm.

Goffman (1963) and stigma do not explain all of the
experiences and perceptions of these women in this
career path. Other theoretical frameworks need to be
examined to address the data that was not explained.
It is possible that other theoretical frameworks might
need to be examined to address contextual factors as

well as individual life experiences. What contextual factors contributed to their perceptions? Are there differences between urban and non-urban experiences? How might these differences impact perceptions? Answers to these questions might facilitate greater understanding of African American women secondary school administrators.

Stigma is a theory which provided a useable framework to "give facts meaning" (Hoy & Miskel, p. 26, 1991). The purpose of theory is to "give direction, generate new knowledge, and guide action" (Hoy & Miskel, p. 26, 1991). Hoy and Miskel (1991) concluded that theories are useful if they do three things. First, they must be internally consistent; secondly, accurately predict events and; thirdly, allow administrators to understand and influence behavior in schools.

Research

With the increase of cultural diversity in our public schools, the need exists for diversity within the secondary school administrative levels (Coursen, Mazzarella, Jeffress, & Hadderman, 1989). As this group becomes more diversified, it is important to find out how these individuals function within that environment. Limited research is being conducted in the field of educational administration that addresses the condition or plight of the African American woman secondary principal.

The research conducted in this multiple case study provided additional knowledge by documenting perspectives and perceptions of African American women who are in secondary school administration. It also provided additional knowledge by examining the different experiences of the participants.

Therefore, future research should continue in different regions of the country to determine if the perceptions of stigma was set in a regional context or is truly a national phenomena. Research interests should also be focused in the area of perceptions of district administrators as it relates to how these women are perceived when they strive to obtain administrative positions that could lead to the superintendency. A final research concern was how the perceptions of these individuals in secondary school administration affects the career aspirations of other women who would become administrators?

Practice

Secondary school administration has typically been a part of educational administration that has been dominated by males. Research has proved that there has been a significant lack of advancement of women and minorities at the high school principalship, as well as the superintendency.

This research could assist those school boards and

superintendents who are interested in recruitment and maintenance of African American women in secondary school administration by adding to their knowledge base the experiences of similar women. Given the participants in this study, none of the district level personnel were knowledgable in preparing these women for administration.

This research has provided a knowledge base to increased awareness of district administrators to the different challenges African American secondary administrators face and provide them with coping techniques to meet those challenges.

These women are part of an untapped resource of minority women in positions of leadership in educational administration by providing evidence of their administrative capabilities their chances for promotion increase.

Finally, future research might examine the selection process and African American women and the movement of these individuals into secondary principalships.

Commentary

It has always been my ambition to be able to contribute something of value to the field of education. To be able to cause someone to look at a situation differently, or just to cause someone to stop and take

the time to take a second look to see if they have missed anything.

I believe that we live in a society where everyone should have the opportunity to contribute to the betterment of that society, regardless of gender. I believe that we live in a culturally diverse society. Our schools are culturally diverse, our teachers should be culturally diverse, and our principals should be culturally diverse. They live within the society and they should have the opportunity to contribute to the betterment of the society.

This study was of interest to me because I wanted to understand what was occurring to the African American women secondary principal before they entered their chosen career path and; what and how they were dealing with the experiences they were having and; who was assisting them as they traveled this path. I was also interested in this inquiry because I was walking the same path.

Goffman (1963) stated that the stigmatized individual "possesses a stigma, an undesired differentness from what we had anticipated" (p. 5). It became apparent to me during the course of this study that the participants were aware of their "undesired differentness" because they were not "what was expected." Researchers have found that organizational

roles and structures need to be studied to determine the reason for the lack of women and minorities in educational administration (Yeakey, Johnston, and Adkinson, 1986). This study faced the same dilemma as others studies where they found it was hard to separate racism and sexism when they are combined (Sandler, Silverberg, and Hall, 1996).

It is my opinion that this case study supports the premise that stigma theory does shed light on why organizational roles and structures impede the entrance of women and minorities in educational administration, especially secondary school administration and beyond.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

DEBRA L. THOMAS, INTERVIEWER/RESEARCHER

RESPONDENT INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

1. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE STORY BEHIND YOUR APPOINTMENT?

2. DO YOU KNOW HOW YOU WERE CHOSEN, OR WHY YOU WERE CHOSEN FOR THAT POSITION?

3. HOW WOULD YOU DESCRIBE THE DIFFERENT KINDS OF WORK RELATIONSHIPS IN YOUR ORGANIZATION?

4. WHAT KINDS OF ACTIVITIES, EITHER FORMAL OR INFORMAL ARE OCCURRING IN YOUR ORGANIZATION THAT WOULD ENCOURAGE PROFESSIONAL GROWTH?

5. WHAT IS A SUCCESSFUL PERSON?

6. WHAT KINDS OF FORMAL OR INFORMAL ACTIVITIES ARE OCCURRING WITHIN YOUR COMMUNITY THAT ENCOURAGES PERSONAL GROWTH?

7. HOW DOES YOUR COMMUNITY HELP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCCESSFUL WOMEN?

8. HOW DO **YOU** HELP IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF SUCCESSFUL WOMEN?

9. WHAT ARE YOUR GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS?

10. WHAT TYPE OF PLAN DO YOU HAVE TO OBTAIN THOSE GOALS AND ASPIRATIONS?

APPENDIX B

CONSENT FORMS FOR STUDY PARTICIPANTS

Consent Form

Interview

The researcher will interview three subjects identified as African American female secondary principals and assistant principals by the state department of education.

The duration of the subjects' participation will be the completion of the recorded interview. A second follow-up interview may be needed to probe themes or clarify information.

The interview will be recorded in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified directly or indirectly. The researcher and the transcriber are the only people who will know the identity of the subjects. That information will be kept confidential.

The interview will not cover topics that could reasonably place the subject at risk of criminal or civil liability or be damaging to the subject's financial standing or employment or deal with sensitive aspects of the subject's own behavior such as illegal conduct, drug use, sexual behavior, or use of alcohol.

This is done as part of an study entitled "Perspectives of African American Female Secondary Principals and assistant principals as seen through the Lens of Stigma".

The purpose of this study is to provide a particular perspective of secondary school administration as reflected on by African American female secondary school principals and assistant principals from their personal experiences using stigma as a theoretical framework.

Understanding

I understand that participation is voluntary, that there is no penalty for refusal to participate, and that I am free to withdraw my consent and participation in this interview at any time without penalty after notifying the researcher.

I may contact Debra L. Thomas at telephone number (405) 769-4951 should I wish further information about the research. I may also contact Jennifer Moore, University Research Services, 001 Life Sciences East, Oklahoma State University, Stillwater, Oklahoma 74078; Telephone: (405) 744-5700.

"I have read and fully understand the consent form. I sign it freely and voluntarily. A copy has been given to me."

Date:_____Time_____(a.m./p.m.)

Signed_____
signature of subject

"I certify that I have personally explained all elements of this form to the subject or his/her representative before requesting the subject or his/her representative to sign it."

Signed_____, interviewer

APPENDIX C

LETTERS TO STUDY PARTICIPANTS

INTERVIEW PROTOCOL
BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

RESPONDENT# _____

AGE: _____

MARITAL STATUS: M   S   D

CHILDREN: Y   N   AGES: _____

ORDER OF BIRTH: _____

PLACE OF BIRTH: _____ RURAL   SUBURBAN   URBAN

HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION: _____

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

YEARS OF TEACHING EXPERIENCE: _____   STARTING AGE: _____

YEARS AS ASST. PRINCIPAL: _____   STARTING AGE: _____

YEARS AS PRINCIPAL: _____   STARTING AGE: _____

YEARS OF OTHER ADMINISTRATIVE EXPERIENCE: _____
STARTING AGE: _____

SECONDARY EDUCATION

HIGH SCHOOL: PUBLIC_____PRIVATE_____

RURAL: _____ SUBURBAN: _____ URBAN: _____

RACIALLY DIVERSE: YES_____NO_____

HIGHER EDUCATION

PUBLIC UNIVERSITY: _____   PRIVATE UNIVERSITY: _____

RURAL: _____ SUBURBAN: _____ URBAN: _____

(Rural less than 4,999; Suburban less than 149,999; Urban
more than one million)

HIGHEST DEGREE COMPLETED: _____

COMMUNITY AFFILIATIONS: _____

PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS: _____

RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION: _____

APPENDIX D

PARTICIPANT'S BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

8917 Cecile Place
Spencer, Oklahoma 73084
June   29, 1995

PARTICIPANT

Dear   ,

     My name is Debra L. Thomas. I am a doctoral student at
Oklahoma State University. I am currently working on my
dissertation which is entitled "Perspectives of African
American Female Secondary Principals and assistant principals
as seen through the Lens of Stigma".
     The purpose of this research is to provide a particular
perspective of secondary school administration as reflected
on by African American female secondary principals. The
research will also address the underrepresention of these
women in secondary school administration. I would like to
interview you as part of my research. The interview would
require no more than two hours of your time.
     I hope that you can afford me this opportunity. I have
enclosed a response form and a stamped envelope for your
convenience. Please return the enclosed response form as
soon as possible.
     Thank you for your time. If you would like to call me
collect, I can be reached at (405) 769-4951.

                              Sincerely,

                              Debra L. Thomas

Enclosures: 2

RESPONSE FORM

_____YES, I WOULD LIKE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR RESEARCH
PROJECT. (PLEASE COMPLETE THE INFORMATION BELOW)

_____NO, I AM UNABLE TO PARTICIPATE IN YOUR RESEARCH PROJECT
AT THIS TIME.

NAME_____

ADDRESS_____

PHONE NUMBER (HOME)_____

(WORK)_____

APPENDIX E

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY
INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD
HUMAN SUBJECTS REVIEW

Date: 06-14-95　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　**IRB#:** ED-95-093

Proposal Title: REFLECTIONS OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN SECONDARY PRINCIPALS AND ASSISTANT PRINCIPALS ON THEMSELVES IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS AS EXAMINED THROUGH THE LENS OF STIGMA

Principal Investigator(s): Adrienne Hyle, Debra L. Thomas

Reviewed and Processed as: Exempt

Approval Status Recommended by Reviewer(s): Approved

ALL APPROVALS MAY BE SUBJECT TO REVIEW BY FULL INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD AT NEXT MEETING.
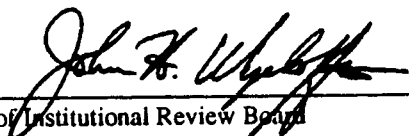APPROVAL STATUS PERIOD VALID FOR ONE CALENDAR YEAR AFTER WHICH A CONTINUATION OR RENEWAL REQUEST IS REQUIRED TO BE SUBMITTED FOR BOARD APPROVAL.
ANY MODIFICATIONS TO APPROVED PROJECT MUST ALSO BE SUBMITTED FOR APPROVAL.

Comments, Modifications/Conditions for Approval or Reasons for Deferral or Disapproval are as follows:

Signature:　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　Date: June 16, 1995

Chair of Institutional Review Board

VITA

Debra L. Owze Thomas

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctorate of Education

Thesis: AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN AS SECONDARY SCHOOL
            ADMINISTRATORS: PERSPECTIVES THROUGH THE LENS
            OF STIGMA

Major Field: Educational Administration

Biographical:

    Personal Data: Born in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, on
        November 22, 1956, the daughter of Alberta and
        Milton Owze.

    Education: Graduated from Star-Spencer High
        School, Spencer, Oklahoma in May 1974;
        received Bachelor of Science in education
        degree in Social Studies and minor in English
        from the University of Oklahoma, Norman,
        Oklahoma in December 1977. Completed the
        requirements for the Master of Education
        degree with a major in Educational
        Administration at the University of Central
        Oklahoma (Formerly Central State University)
        July, 1981; completed requirements for the
        Doctor of Education degree at Oklahoma State
        University in May, 1997.

    Experience: Taught English at Valley View Junior
        High School in El Paso, Texas; taught
        secondary social studies and English at
        Capitol Hill High School, Oklahoma City,
        Oklahoma; taught special education at Rogers
        Middle School, Spencer, Oklahoma; middle
        school assistant principal for seven years in
        Oklahoma City Public Schools, Oklahoma City,
        Oklahoma; high school assistant principal,
        Oklahoma City Public Schools, Oklahoma City,
        Oklahoma, 1989 to present.

    Professional Memberships: Member of Oklahoma City
        Public Schools Principals' Association,
        Oklahoma Association of Secondary School
        Principals, National Association of Secondary
        School Principals, Phi Delta Kappa.