

**ROLE CONFLICT:
AN EXPLANATION FOR THE
UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN
EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION**

by

D. Brian Cochrane

**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Master of Education**

**Faculty of Education
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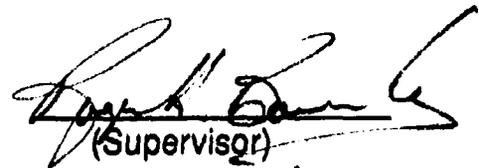
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ABSTRACT

ROLE CONFLICT: AN EXPLANATION FOR THE UNDERREPRESENTATION OF WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

This thesis was undertaken to investigate the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. Specifically, the purpose of this study was to determine if the personal commitments of female teachers affect their ability to compete for administrative positions. The principals, vice-principals and teachers of a selected Nova Scotia school district were chosen as the sample. For this study, "Administrators" were defined as individuals who hold the position of principal or vice-principal. "Teachers" were defined as individuals, including department heads, whose basic job includes instruction of students.

Reasons for the underrepresentation of women in educational administration were examined in a review of the literature. In the literature review it was determined that role conflict analysis offered the most effective means to understand this phenomenon. Data were collected by means of a one page questionnaire. The following variables were measured: demographic data, teacher certification and career path, personal commitments, professional commitments and attitude towards administration. Data were grouped and compared using a t-test for independent samples.

The findings of the study indicate that administrators have higher teaching licences than teachers and are more likely than teachers to have a Masters degree. It was also determined that male and female administrators showed no differences in measures of teacher certification and career path, personal commitments and professional commitments. Administrators spent more time than teachers in total professional commitments and less time than female teachers in child care, household tasks and total personal commitments. Although both male and female administrators scored relatively low in measures of personal commitments, they did not accomplish this task in the same manner. While male administrators had family situations similar to teachers, female administrators were less likely to have dependents than male administrators or either teacher group.

The personal and professional commitment patterns of male teachers showed very little difference from those individuals already in administrative positions. However, male teachers showed major differences from their female counterparts. Specifically, when compared to female teachers, males had higher licenses and more Masters degrees. Male teachers also spent less time in child care, household tasks, and personal commitments than female teachers. Males also spent more time than females in extra school commitments and maintained those commitments over a longer period of time.

Female teachers scored significantly higher than all other groups in measures of child care, household tasks and total personal commitments. They also scored lower than all other groups in those measures which seem to be closely linked to promotion: certification level, Masters degrees, extra commitments and length of time extra commitments are maintained.

It can be concluded from this study that female teachers with children are disadvantage when pursuing administrative positions by virtue of their personal commitments.

D. Brian Cochrane

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My appreciation is also extended to the teachers, vice-principals and principals of the Eastern Suburban Sub-system who took the time and effort to complete the questionnaire on which this study is based. As well, discussion or conversation with many teachers and administrators has helped in trying to come to an understanding of this phenomenon.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

Females constitute the majority of the teaching profession. However, American and Canadian statistics consistently show that females are not well represented in educational administration.

For example, U.S. figures from 1982/83 show that 68% of teachers were female, yet males represented 84% of the principals (Schmuck, 1987). Similarly, Canadian statistics show that in 1986/87 females comprised 57% of full and part time teachers (Johnson, 1989). However, the percentage of female principals in Canada was as low as 13% in 1982/83 (Swiderski, 1988). Nova Scotian statistics are somewhat more optimistic. Data from 1988/89 show that while 60% of Nova Scotian teachers were female, 23% of principals and 29% of vice-principals were women. Statistics for Nova Scotia's largest school system, the Halifax County Bedford District School Board, show that in 1988/89 females comprised 68% of teachers, 28% of principals and 36% of vice-principals.

This pattern of women being the majority of teachers but the minority of administrators is not new (Nixon, 1987). However, it is a pattern which has never been completely understood. Originally the noted discrepancy was supported on the grounds that women were not suited for leadership roles in educational administration. More recently other possible explanations for this phenomenon have

been put forward.

The purpose of this thesis is to review and critically examine some of the existing explanations for the underrepresentation of women in educational administration and to determine which of these explanations might best account for this statistical discrepancy.

This study is relevant to the field of education because it will help determine the reasons for the underrepresentation of females in educational administration. Only by determining the reasons for this underrepresentation can its impact on the educational system be comprehended. Also, any attempt to remedy the situation should be based on a correct interpretation of the phenomenon in order to address the issue directly.

LIMITATIONS

It is assumed that high levels of personal commitments result in the individuals' decreased ability to channel time and effort into his or her career path. While this inference is grounded in the research literature, it might not be true in all cases.

A second limitation of this study is the dependence on a self-reporting questionnaire. More accurate data may have been accumulated by having the subjects maintain logs or journals to keep track of actual hours spent in each task. However, the log technique may have resulted in sampling or logistical problems of its own.

DELIMITATIONS

This study was concerned only with those teachers, vice-principals and principals within a selected Nova Scotia school system. However, since this system is quite representative of Nova Scotian and Canadian systems, findings from this study may be applicable to larger populations.

The data for this study were gathered during the last term of the 1988/89 school year. It is not known if the time of year would have affected the data.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE RELATED LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

In order to understand this complex situation, it must first be determined if male and female principals perform equally effectively in fulfilling the job description of principal. If they do not perform equally well, then the causes of these performance differences must be investigated. then, prior to examining the phenomenon of women in educational administration directly, it will be necessary to determine which variables are related to success in achieving an administrative position. Only by defining such prerequisites can it be determined if gender is a consideration in promotional practices. A third aspect of this literature review will be to evaluate the proposed explanations for the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. An attempt will be made to assess these theoretical explanations and determine which is the most viable interpretation.

GENDER DIFFERENCES IN ADMINISTRATORS

The literature relating to gender specific performance in the position of principal begins with the consideration of gender differences in behavior. Researchers have contended that gender differences determine values which are distinctly "male" or

"female". Porat (1989) quotes Judith Briles as stating that, "Women and men have been raised different[ly]. They've been treated different[ly] in the workplace, and they have disparate ideas. . . .To deny [these differences] is to be an ostrich sticking its head in the sand" (p. 12). Further, psychological research has frequently demonstrated a variety of behavioral differences between males and females (Maccoby & Jacklin, 1974). However, it is not clear that these results are reflected in performance differences between male and female principals.

Charol Shakeshaft (1973) argues that females are fundamentally different in their moral and philosophical approaches to life and that this leads to a distinctly female style of leadership. She states:

When female values and behaviors are allowed to dominate in schools - administrators and students benefit. . . .Women teachers and administrators are more instrumental in instruction than are men, and they exhibit greater knowledge of teaching methods and techniques. Women administrators not only emphasize achievement, but also coordinate instructional programs and evaluate student progress.

Women administrators know their teachers, and they know the academic progress of their students. . . .From speech patterns to decision-making styles, women exhibit a more democratic, participatory style of leadership than men, a style that encourages inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness in schools. Women involve themselves more with staff and students, ask for and receive more participation, and maintain more closely

knit organizations (p. 503).

Shakeshaft concludes that female principals are different from, and better than, male principals.

However, other researchers have tended to ignore the arguments about a female "style" of leadership and focus on the performance aspect. Glen Harvey (1986), in a review of the literature concludes that, "Many studies have found that female administrators perform as well or better than their male colleagues" (p. 511). Harvey does not argue that female principals behave any differently than male principals. She simply states that there is some evidence that they perform better.

Many other researchers question the validity of arguments made about performance differences related to gender. One of the first studies to look at this was conducted in 1965 by Gross and Herriott. In this study it was determined that males and females are equally effective in fulfilling the role of principal. VanMeir (1975) is also skeptical of performance differences between male and female principals. He argues that the data show no real distinction between the performance of male and female administrators. In her review of the literature Judith Adkison (1981) also commented on this topic. She concluded that, "differences in administrative behavior between men and women in the principalship tended to be insignificant or nonexistent when outside factors such as school size were controlled." (p. 318).

Another researcher who agrees with Adkison's conclusion is Sandra Prolman (1982). She acknowledged that the research indicates some behavioral and performance differences between

male and female principals. However, in her study of elementary school principals she determined that most of these differences disappeared when other relevant factors such as school size were taken into account. She contends that statements about gender differences in principals' behavior have, "often been based on the assumption that because men and women are of different sexes, there must be differences in their behavior as principals, and that these differences must be explained by the differences in sex" (p. 1).

Prolman argues instead, that the observed differences in principals' behavior are a result of differing backgrounds and experiences, not differences in gender. She notes that there are two distinct paths to an elementary school principalship:

One which women tend to follow is based on the early decision to enter teaching, followed by an eleven and a half year career as a teacher at the elementary school level. Then may come three to four years in a central office staff position before assuming the responsibility for a school. The other path, followed by many men, includes a later career choice, a six year teaching career at the junior high school level, an assistant principalship, and then the principalship of an elementary school. Thus, though the women made their career choice earlier than the men, they get their first principalship later and have undergone a different series of career experiences (p. 44).

Prolman's scenario explains both the gender and performance differences found in the literature. Since the "average" female principal tends to spend her entire career at the elementary level,

she is more likely to become involved in curriculum and supervision. Male elementary principals, typically with a junior high school teaching background, may not have the expertise or confidence to assume leadership of an elementary school's curriculum. Support for this is shown in a study by Gross and Trask (1975) which determined that women spend more time than men in the role of teacher before assuming an administrative position. Thus, Gross and Trask infer, female administrators have acquired more expertise in instruction and are more confident and willing to engage in curriculum issues.

Prolman (1982) concedes that sex role stereotyping may affect the types of career experiences in which females are engaged. However, she asserts that it is variation in career experiences which is responsible for any performance differences in principals' behavior, and not the gender itself. She concludes, "To explain differences in the way principals' behave we should look beyond sex, to the experiences shared by groups of individuals moving through a career" (p. 4).

In summary, it seems that the behavior and performance differences noted in female principals by some researchers, if they exist at all, are not a result of gender. A more likely explanation is that an individual's professional preparation and experience are the factors that actually determine behavior once an administrative position is attained. This is in agreement with research which shows that a principal's background strongly affects the role that they attempt to play within a school (Trider, Leithwood & Montgomery, 1985). VanMeir (1975), states, "Thus, it would appear the selection of candidates for elementary administrative positions

should be based upon the qualities, attributes, and abilities of the individual without regard to sex" (p. 45).

It seems that there are no inherent gender differences in the behavior of male and female administrators. How then, can the underrepresentation of females in administration be accounted for? Many hypotheses have been suggested to account for this difference. Unfortunately, as researchers and writers have not developed any standard terminology in this area, many different terms have been used to discuss the same or similar problems. For the purposes of this literature review, it has been decided to categorize the research under the following headings: Prerequisites for educational administration; Discriminatory hiring/promotional practices; Problems for women applying for administration; Unwillingness to apply; Do women play the "promotion game"?; Sex role stereotyping and Role conflict.

PREREQUISITES FOR EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

Most researchers and writers contend that there is no "secret" to advancing to an administrative position. Indeed, some research has shown that a significant part of being promoted is simply being in the right place at the right time (Coffin & Ekstrom, 1979). However, there are some characteristics that are consistently mentioned as being useful in obtaining an administrative position. For example, in their study Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) found that female administrators considered the following as some of the more

important factors in achieving promotion: a) good credentials, b) hard work, c) health, stamina and vigor, d) human relations skills, e) persistence, f) professional contacts, g) making use of opportunities to prove themselves, h) a spouse who encouraged professional growth, i) ability to devote weekends and evenings to work tasks, and j) being visible and having a solid professional reputation.

There seem to be three important themes in these topics 1) Development of the professional abilities to be able to handle an administrative position, 2) Developing a resume and a profile within the system which exposes you in a positive light to superiors and 3) Having an abundance of time and energy that can be channelled into the career path.

Karen Porat (1985) suggests that women should develop the following qualities if they intend to pursue administrative careers:

- 1) You must have a sense of commitment.
- 2) You have to believe in yourself.
- 3) You must let people know you have expectations of professional advancement.
- 4) Have a definite career plan.
- 5) Have solid academic credentials.
- 6) Become involved in areas of education in which you can make good contacts.
- 7) You must like people and must acquire skills for getting along with others.
- 8) Hone your communication skills until they are so strong that you can handle yourself with anybody.
- 9) Try to be really part of your staff.

10) Be flexible and willing to grow.

This list would be beneficial to any candidate, male or female, who aspires to an administrative position. Clearly, the list outlines many of the skills necessary for success in administration as well as mentioning the types of strategies that must be used to convince superiors that you should be promoted. It must be noted, however, that the strategies mentioned by Porat do require the commitment of a great deal of time and energy.

Thus there seems to be some consistency in the research. Both Porat (1985) and Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) give evidence that there exists three areas of concern for potential administrators. These are: development of the skills necessary to be a successful administrator, development of a profile within the educational system which would lead to being identified as a potential administrator and having the requisite time and energy to compete with other upwardly mobile individuals for limited promotional opportunities.

DISCRIMINATORY HIRING/PROMOTIONAL PRACTICES

Many writers and researchers consider that discrimination in hiring practices is the sole reason, or at least the major one, for the lack of females in administration. Charol Shakeshaft (1973) states:

There is overwhelming evidence in the research literature that women do not become school administrators because of sex discrimination that devalues women. The primary reason that

women are not hired or promoted into administrative positions is solely that fact that they are female (p. 502).

Unfortunately, Shakeshaft fails to discuss what form this discrimination takes, and she fails to cite any studies which give empirical evidence to back up her opinion. Lyon and Saario (1973) explain their rationale for the claim of discrimination in an article entitled, "Women in public education: Sexual discrimination in promotions". However, in this article the writers do not cite any cases of discrimination, nor do they cite any studies which give evidence of discriminatory promotional practices. Rather, statistics are quoted which reveal the low level of female representation in educational administration. This statistical evidence is then used to infer *de facto* discrimination against women in educational administration. These arguments are the equivalent of the current Canadian legal concept of "systemic discrimination" (Abella, 1984).

Taylor (1973) writes that, "Discrimination against women in education is reflected in a lack of opportunity to enter the higher paying positions" (p. 125). Again Taylor (1973) does not state what form this discrimination takes, nor who is responsible for it, but does however indicate that the blame lies on the shoulders of the individuals who do the hiring. Usually this would mean senior administrators and board members, most of whom are male (Schmuck, 1987; Sexton, 1976).

These opinions are shared by Florence Howe (1973) who states that, "The status of women in the high school is worse than in the elementary school. Two percent of all high school principals are

women, a record of discrimination surpassed only by the statistics on college presidents, superintendents, and state commissioners of education" (p. 101). She indicates, as have the others, that discrimination in hiring and promoting is the only possible explanation for these statistics. Laurine Fitzgerald (1979) summarizes the *de facto* argument as follows. "There appears to be no sound basis for the current practice of discrimination against women for leadership roles in elementary, middle and secondary education" (p. 34). She, like the others, argues that the only possible explanation for the statistics is discrimination, and that no further proof of discriminatory hiring practices is needed than these same statistics. In all cases the arguments suggesting discrimination in hiring and promoting are based on the assumption that the statistics do give proof of *de facto* discrimination. Because the possibility of discriminatory practices is a real one, it is one that deserves further examination.

In fact, womens' perception of sex discrimination in the workplace has shown a great range in the research. In a study of career women in Canada, Basset (1985) found that 88% of women respondents believed that sexual discrimination was a factor holding them back in their careers. In a similar but informal study involving women who were currently educational administrators, Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) found that only 18% of the respondents felt that sex discrimination was a factor in their lack of promotion. These are obviously very subjective measures, however it is interesting to note the huge drop in perceived discrimination when dealing with education.

To refute the *de facto* argument, evidence must be given that there exists other explanations for the lack of females in the ranks of educational administrators. Such evidence is first noted as incongruities in the work of authors who advocate the discrimination argument. Coffin and Ekstrom (1979), for example, state that almost half of the female administrators surveyed in their study had never been unsuccessful in applying for any administrative position. This does not seem consistent with their claims of discrimination being the greatest factor holding back women from administrative positions. It does not seem likely that half of the male administrators could make the same statement. This is especially true in light of evidence from Reich and LaFontaine (1976) which showed that the average secondary school principal has made 2.9 applications before being successful.

As well, Patricia Schmuck (1987), another advocate of the *de facto* position, argues that discrimination was the cause of females receiving only 22% of administrative positions in Oregon in 1977/78. However, when the fact that females comprised only 19% of the applicants for these positions is taken into consideration, the *de facto* argument begins to lose some of its credibility. Assuming that the calibre of male and female candidates were equal, the Schmuck statistics actually show that women were hired at a rate representative of the numbers who showed interest in the positions, if not higher.

Alternative explanations for the lack of women in educational administration have been sought. One of the most convincing studies performed to date was commissioned by the Ontario Secondary

School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF). In this major study involving 2885 secondary school teachers in the province of Ontario, Reich and LaFontaine (1976) tried to find explanations for statistics which showed that only 2.1% of Ontario secondary school principals were female. Their study concluded that, although the vast majority of administrative positions were held by males, this was due to factors which occurred prior to the promotional process itself and involved lifestyle differences between male and female teachers. These differences had the effect of making the females less likely to apply and less likely to be qualified for and therefore receive a principalship, than their male counterparts.

Most researchers of the last decade have concentrated on examining the intervening factors which mitigate against large numbers of women reaching the ranks of administrators. So, while it does seem possible that sex discrimination in hiring practices may be a contributing factor in determining future educational administrators, the large body of research conducted in this area since the mid-seventies does not support the belief that it is the sole, or major cause, of the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. Therefore, it is suggested that a meaningful understanding of this situation can only be achieved by considering a more complex explanation for the dearth of female administrators.

PROBLEMS FOR WOMEN APPLYING FOR ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS.

Being female may cause additional problems for those aspiring to be a principal. Two problems that are noted in the literature are: 1) lack of mentors for female administrators and 2) lack of an "old girls network" to counteract the effects of the "old boys network".

A mentor is an individual, usually older, more experienced and higher up the administrative pyramid who offers help and advice to a younger individual who acts as a protege:

The role of the mentor would be to encourage the protege to apply, to [encourage her to] serve on committees and to increase her public image. The mentor would share his/her knowledge of the organization and its unwritten rules and supply the protege with the necessary introductions to the people of influence (Johnson, 1989, p.11).

Many recent articles attesting to the importance of mentoring (Adkison, 1981; Dodgson, 1988; Harragan, 1977; Johnson, 1989; Nixon, 1987) also state that females are not likely to be selected as a protege by a male superior. One possible reason for this is that, "Men and women are not accustomed to working as caring, supportive colleagues as in a sponsor - protege relationship... informal interactions between men and women may give the appearance of love or sexual relationships, thereby harming marriages and careers" (Marshall, 1985, p. 135). There is also evidence that some females do not select female proteges. This situation is known as the "Queen bee" syndrome and, "refers to the fact that in an organization there

can only be one superior female who has gained the top position by her own ingenuity, and she is unwilling to help others" (Dodgson, 1986, p. 33).

A serious road block is created because women are not likely to be selected as a protege, and therefore receive the benefits of a mentor. However, women should not be complacent about not obtaining a mentor. Moore and Salembine (1980) state:

Women, however, cannot expect to sit back and wait to be approached by a well meaning male superior who is interested in taking them in hand and personally grooming them for higher levels of achievement. What they can do instead is to take the initiative and seek out male superiors for advice and counsel, let their interests and ambitions be known, and set a strategy for achieving their goals (p. 63).

Another problem for women aspiring to administrative positions is their exclusion from the "old boys network". This is an informal network within the hierarchy which provides valuable information to favored employees. Without access to this type of information, a woman may have a more difficult time in achieving a promotion, and may not feel as though she is accepted by her "peers".

While the mentoring situation and the existence of an "old boys network" are identified as separate phenomena, there can be little doubt that they are byproducts of sex role stereotyping. As such they are a part of the complex set of role expectations prevalent in today's society. This matter will be considered later in this Review.

UNWILLINGNESS TO APPLY

Many researchers and writers have expounded on the fact that women tend not to apply for, or express interest in, administrative positions in the same numbers as men. In a 1973 study, Greaball and Olson found that only 22% of women in their sample were willing to accept an administrative position if they were offered it. This compares with 65% for men. In an Ontario study, Stokes (1970) found that virtually none of the practicing or student female teachers surveyed expected to become principals. Most writers have identified the lack of female applicants as the major reason for women's low representation in administration (Adkison, 1981; Coffin and Ekstrom, 1977; Nixon, 1987; Reich and LaFontaine, 1976; Tibbets, 1977; VanMeir, 1977). However, perhaps the most important question is, "Why do so few women apply for administrative positions?"

The lack of mentors previously discussed may be one factor which leads to so few women making application for administrative positions. In a recent study of female administrators, Dodgson, (1986) found that 21 of the 24 women interviewed had been encouraged by a mentor to apply for their initial administrative position. Even many women currently in administrative positions admit that they were reluctant to apply for their positions (Adkison, 1981; Schmuck, 1975). This could mean that there are many women who have the ability and aspirations for a principalship who are waiting to have someone convince them that they should apply. Even though the ambition is there, until the individual writes a resume

and submits an application, no one else may know.

Another factor sometimes offered as an explanation for the low number of female applicants is the expectation on the part of female teachers that they will not be successful. "They have low expectation of success that create genuine psychological barriers. Women avoid taking risks and few set out to consciously win an administrative post" (Swiderski, 1988, p. 26). However, without a conscious effort to prepare themselves, both "skill-wise" and "resume-wise", these women stand very little chance of promotion.

An emerging concern with women teachers is their dislike of the job description for principals. The contention is that the job description of principal includes "the stereotypical view that a good principal would emphasize efficiency, control and a strong command" (Johnson, 1989, p. 12). Female principals tend to be more interested in curriculum and the classroom than their male counterparts, (Johnson, 1989; Nixon, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1973; Fishell & Pottker, 1977), thus the position of principal is not an appealing one for many female teachers. Marshall (1985) provides empirical support for this by citing a number of studies which show that, "women's aspiration for an administrative career decline the more that they see of administrative career patterns" (Marshall 1985 in Nixon, 1987).

Nixon and Gue (1975) found that a group of teachers had significantly different views of the administrative task than did the administrators. They write, "While administrators saw it as an interesting, professional challenge, the manner in which the teacher groups were apt to define the administrative task explains why a

number of teachers. . .had no interest in it" (Nixon and Gue, 1975, p. 204). Sari Knop Biklen (1973) is another who contends that the administrative task is not seen in a positive light by a great percentage of teachers, especially females. She writes that her subject, "shared the view of many teachers. . .that administrative work is not productive work and thus that administrative positions waste valuable talent" (p. 508).

Also Bailey (1986), in a doctoral dissertation found that the women represented in the study were not as motivated as males to seek administrative positions. The major cause for this was determined to be the inherent conflicts within the nature of the job description. Specifically, Bailey found that female teachers perceived the following aspects associated with a principalship significantly more negatively than their male counterparts; increased public scrutiny, negative public reaction, less time for summer vacation, being subjected to more psychological pressures associated with teacher evaluation, working with athletic personnel and programs, career-family conflict and responsibility for disciplinary actions.

Given the number of factors mentioned in relation to female teachers and their freedom and desire to apply for administrative positions, statistically it can be suggested that women are underrepresented due to failure to apply for positions. However, it should be noted that, "One cannot say that a woman who elects not to apply for a leadership position has chosen freely!" (Tibbets, 1979, p. 9). Thus the low number of female applicants for administrative positions may reflect an inability to find time for extra work

commitments and not a lack of ambition.

DO WOMEN PLAY THE "PROMOTION GAME"?

Many researchers and writers have described the process of developing the skills and profile necessary for promotion in the context of a metaphor. The metaphor used considers career success in the context of a game. In the "game", players who perform well tend to get ahead. In regards to this metaphor, the question to be asked is, "Do women want to play the game"?

Currently, there is a considerable amount of attention being given in the literature to the notion that women do not do the things that are necessary to increase their chances of promotion. Males, it would appear, see teaching as a career. Women, conversely, hinder their advancement in education by tending to see teaching as a job, as opposed to a career, and thus are not concerned with their qualifications or their profile within the system (Adkison, 1981; Eastman, 1989; Fishel & Pottker, 1973; Nixon, 1987).

A major part of the qualifications for administration is the level of formal education obtained by the teacher. Until recently females have been significantly behind their male counterparts in this regard (Reich & LaFontaine, 1976; Reich & LaFontaine, 1982; Sexton, 1976). Reich and LaFontaine (1976) conclude that, while the formal education of male and female teachers is quite similar:

Among administrators, almost half (47%) hold post graduate degrees and this means that there is a difference between

males and females in the general population. Advanced degrees are evidently a factor in getting ahead and people who have been promoted, usually men, very often have received advanced training (p. 32).

On the other hand many women either see teaching as a job, or worse, fail to distinguish between a job and a career. A, "career should be seen as a series of goal-directed activities that exercise a woman's talents to the utmost, and give meaning to her life. A career is not a job" (Kerr, 1985). This goal directed behavior is very important since its purpose is to increase the qualifications and professional profile of the individual in anticipation of an administrative position. Gallese (1985) found that, "very few [women] seemed to be planning careers the way men do. . . .They always seemed to be working, working working, without having any idea what they were working for" (in Collinson, 1989, p. 4). Without this sense of self development and rounding out of the qualifications and resume a woman may find that she will have difficulty competing with others, usually men, for the same position.

SEX ROLE STEREOTYPING

The literature indicates that the majority of women do not play the "promotion game" well. Most women, it seems, tend not to see themselves in an administrative role. It follows that the reason for this perception may be crucial to the understanding of this phenomenon. One explanation which is often cited to help account

for the lack of female interest in administration is sex role stereotyping.

A stereotype is a set of role expectations formed in part by one's own perspective and in part by the expectations of others. It follows that in sex role stereotyping, a person believes that certain behaviors or ideas are associated with being male or female. Parents, for example, have a major part to play in sex role stereotyping. Nixon (1985) observes, "Most parents tend not to have the same expectations for sons and daughters" (p. 65).

The basic assumptions behind sex role stereotyping are that women are socialized to accept male leadership as the norm and to accept greater domestic responsibilities than their spouses (Adkison, 1981; Eastman, 1989; Harragan, 1977; Nixon, 1987; Nixon & Gue, 1975; Sexton, 1976; Swiderski, 1988; Tibbets, 1979).

Sex role stereotyping, with its impact on both the home and the workplace, is not a new phenomenon. Neither, apparently, is the current underrepresentation of women in educational administration. Says Mary Nixon (1987), "The tradition of women as teachers and men as principals and superintendents was well entrenched in Canada by the end of the nineteenth century" (p. 64).

While other practices and conditions have progressed, such as maternity benefits and salary scales based on experience and qualifications, the status quo in educational administration has remained. This has resulted in today's society being socialized into a school system with mainly males in supervisory roles. Thus the socialization effect of the schools is to affirm the current situation (Adkison, 1981; Eastman, 1989; Nixon, 1987; Sexton, 1976).

Adkison (1981) discusses the results of this discrepancy in expectations. She states:

The adult women whose behavior conforms to widely held beliefs about appropriate feminine behavior or sex role stereotypes is (1) passive rather than competitive and self assertive and (2) conforming and submissive rather than independent and dominant. From earliest childhood girls are rewarded for behavior appropriate to this adult role and, consequently they do not learn behaviors essential to success in the management of large organizations (p. 312).

While this may be untrue for some women, in many women it does create a "mind set" which prevents them from seriously considering administration as a goal in their career. Thus, due to sex role stereotyping, a significant percentage of female teachers will not express interest in a principalship because they feel that it requires behaviors and attitudes that are inconsistent with being a female.

ROLE CONFLICT

One of the consequences of sex role stereotyping is that "role conflict" may result when females attempt to enter positions which have been based on predominantly male models. The basic assumption of "role conflict analysis" is that society, as it exists today, exerts pressure on females to accept different role expectations than those of their male counterparts. Thus, women who accept the traditional roles of wife and mother find that their

lifestyle is not suited to competing for positions which have been traditionally held by males.

The greatest social pressure is often created by the women themselves, as it is their expectations to a large degree which form this problem. Despite the best efforts of advocates of androgynous child rearing, we can expect this to continue for the foreseeable future (Harragan, 1977; Kreps, 1983; Tibbets, 1979).

As a consequence of this dual set of expectations women are struggling to fulfill the expectations of a demanding profession while still maintaining the role of primary care giver in the home. Women, therefore, are subjected to greater constraints on their time and energy, thus allowing them less time for professional development. Thus, females tend not to be able to develop their resumes and profiles to the same extent as many males. The net result is that the female teacher is disadvantaged in her quest for a principalship. Adkison (1981) states:

Acceptance of sex role stereotypes contributes to role overload for women who attempt to complete the tasks expected of the homemaker while performing effectively as an administrator. Paddock (1978) found that the divided role of professional and homemaker is a major barrier to women's career development. She found that women mention the divided role more frequently than any other barrier. . . .Of the 260 women in Paddock's national sample of school administrators, 42.2 percent reported that they took full responsibility for housework and cooking at home (p. 316).

The expectations of the dual role have meant that women have had

to juggle the obligations of both school and home, often to the detriment of their career. "Most women's lives have been regulated by the family life cycle, their 'career' choices to one extent or another circumscribed by the responsibilities attending their family roles - the bearing and raising of children" (VanDusen & Sheldon, p. 11). While there is some evidence that this is slowly changing, most writers assert that women in general and female teachers in particular have been reluctant to cast off this dichotomy (Buzenberg, 1977; VanDusen & Sheldon, 1977).

Buzenberg (1977) identified some of the major obstacles to having both a career and a family for a woman. She notes that one of these barriers is, "the rigid structure of the professions which assumes a career person can change locations at will, and devote massive amounts of time to promote the career" (p. 258). This lack of flexibility is expounded upon by Verheyden-Hilliard:

The high administrators did not generally take up residence in the city of their future niche upon graduation. They took advantage of opportunities to move, and to grow - they tested their capabilities and broadened their experience. They spent a few years here and a year consulting there. They took leaves of absence from one job to try another. They moved. They were able to do that for one of two reasons. They remained single, and no one thought the worse of them for that, or they married someone who would take care of the family responsibilities and make no conflicting demands on their mobility (1979, p. 21).

The typical female is the primary care giver in the family. The

conflicting demands of both career and family would place her at a disadvantage since she has less time for career development and would have difficulty accepting a job that required a lot of travel or necessitated moving. Evidence to support this can be found in the research literature. Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) noted that several female respondents to their survey wrote, "that geographical limitations caused by marriage and family made it much more difficult for them to get specific types of positions necessary to move up the educational ladder" (p. 57). As well, in their study Reich and LaFontaine (1982) found that, of male teachers who interrupt their careers, 41% did so to study and 25% left temporarily for another job. This compares with only 17% of females who left to study and only 9% who left to try another job.

Contrasting with the picture of the upwardly mobile professional is a study by Greaball and Olson (1973) in which they found that women teachers saw themselves first as wives, secondly as mothers and then as teachers. Forty percent of this group said that they would leave teaching if their husband desired it and 80% said that their husbands career was more important than their own. While this study was conducted over fifteen years ago, it should be pointed out that the majority of female teachers employed at that time are still in the school system today.

One of the major reasons for the marriage-career conflict is the isolation of the modern family from relatives who might act as baby-sitters or household helpers. Buzenberg (1977) concludes that, "Isolation of the modern family means that in the typical family all household tasks fall on the wife" (p. 259). The research is quite

consistent in looking at this aspect of the career-marriage puzzle. "Child care, especially when young children are involved, can place heavy burdens on working women" (Coffin and Ekstrom, 1979, p. 54). This is supported by Reich and LaFontaine, (1976) who found that women teachers spend significantly more time on household tasks than men in comparable life situations. Specifically, women scored significantly higher in measures of each of the following tasks; cooking, dishes, washing and ironing, cleaning, shopping, banking and budgeting, miscellaneous errands, decorating, entertaining and child care. Male teachers, conversely, scored significantly higher in gardening, car maintenance, home repairs and hiring and directing workers. This still meant that overall, female teachers spent significantly more time in household responsibilities. Reich and LaFontaine (1982) also found that women scored significantly higher in measures of interference from the family. Coffin and Ekstrom (1979) state that, "Marital status can have considerable effect upon a woman's advancement in educational administration, a career in which the ability to relocate at strategic points may be critical" (1977 p. 54).

The evidence of females as the primary care givers (i.e. the ones who must come home first to cook, clean and look after the children) is very convincing. It is also apparent that for many females this would create a home life schedule which is incompatible with the time demands of a principalship. Thus it seems that both the empirical data and the survey studies support the idea that women have greater difficulty than men in finding the time and energy to make the career commitment necessary for

advancement in educational administration.

The research indicates that a female teacher with a family is placed in a position where she must choose between conflicting demands on her time and energy. However, because of sex role stereotyping, most males in the same situation are not responsible for the same level of domestic commitments. Thus the male teacher who aspires to a principalship may find socially acceptable ways of reducing personal commitments resulting in more time available for career development. Due to her own expectations, as well as society's, a female teacher has much more difficulty in reducing these conflicting demands.

The previous arguments about conflicting demands are based on the assumption that family and career development are often pitted against each other in a battle for top priority in the life of the upwardly mobile individual. Many writers feel that this is the case. According to Katherine Graham, CEO of the Washington Post Company:

To get to the top, women like men - will simply have to put their careers and companies first for some part of their working lives. . . . Their families and children may suffer to some degree, as may their friendships. . . . but men in power have always been willing to pay the price. When women are equally committed, they will reach the top of the pyramid (in Collinson, 1989, p. 3).

If this is the case, are women teachers willing to "pay the price" of entering administration?

Most research shows that female teachers, in general, are

reluctant to sacrifice home and family for career advancement. Says Mary Nixon, "On balance, some women teachers who have all the proper credentials may feel that the 'price' of an administrative position is too high" (1987, p. 65). Also many hours must be spent in courses, committee work and enhancing the visibility of a potential administrator before the individual even applies. It is indeed a big commitment. For many, both male and female, it is an unwanted and unwelcomed burden. The research does, however, tend to show that this is much more true of women than of men. Nixon and Gue (1975) contend that, "the female teacher who believes her role of homemaker to be of greater importance than her professional role is unlikely to have any particular ambition to further her career by either seeking or wanting an administrative appointment" (p. 197). If too great a conflict exists between the perception of the role of administrator, and that of wife and mother, many female teachers will be reluctant to become involved.

The weight of evidence has shown that a significant number of women place a great value on their family role. This is a value judgement and cannot be judged as right or wrong. However, we can see that it creates a major roadblock for women who also aspire to administrative careers. Mary Nixon gives us some insight into the types of value decisions women must face:

A woman teacher's decision to apply for an administrative position will depend, to some degree, on how close a match she perceives between the rewards she seeks and those she believes are associated with that position. Some teachers are influenced by their own negative stereotyping of such

positions or by the belief that they would need to be superwomen to meet all of the additional demands on their time (1987, p. 65).

If the demands of the principalship are inconsistent with the individuals expectations of herself as wife and mother, she may simply make a personal decision in favor of the family. As Judith Adkison (1981) notes:

Teaching complements women's role as wife and mother. A relatively flat salary scale, slow technological change, and absence of vertical differentiation enable women to move in and out of the profession with few penalties. This structure is attractive to those who expect to quit work for a few years to care for their own children or plan to accompany a spouse on frequent moves but expect to reenter the workforce in the future. It is unattractive to the individual planning a career (p. 322).

Another factor beside the hours per week spent in family obligations is the career disruption caused by childbearing and child rearing. Reich and LaFontaine (1976) found that 54% of female secondary school teachers in Ontario had interrupted their career for marriage or child care, while only 2% of the men had done so. American statistics are quite similar. VanMeir (1977) reports that two thirds of married women teachers have taken at least one extended absence from teaching.

According to Kerr (1985), the family situation is an important predictor of later career patterns:

Early marriage and child-birth are closely related to low

achievement. Between the ages of twenty three and twenty nine, men's careers accelerate; women's stand still. . . .Women who drop out of careers to marry and raise children may not catch up with their male peers for the rest of their working lives (in Collinson, 1989, p. 3).

Indeed, only 6% of female administrators in Coffin and Ekstrom's (1979) survey had pre-school children. This seems to suggest that women have difficulty putting extra time and effort into a career, especially during the period when their children are young and require a great deal of attention.

Conversely, the flexibility offered by the teaching profession is a tremendous asset for many women. It may in fact have been a major reason for entering the profession in the first place.

Swiderski (1988) concludes that:

In many instances, teaching has been viewed as a convenient profession, one a woman could enter and leave given the constraints of motherhood. For many women, teaching has suited their lifestyle and there has been no desire for an administrative post. In short, teaching has helped to realize domestic and professional goals (p.25).

The previous description applies to a significant number of female teachers. For them an administrative position would negate the very reasons that they have chosen teaching as a profession. Kregs (1983) cites a survey of 3,000 college students, in which 77% of female respondents said that mothers should not work at all, or only work part time, until the children reach school age. Another study, cited by the same author found that over half of the female students

surveyed at Radcliffe preferred part time work when children were infants and preschoolers (Kreps, 1983). A 1970 study by Stokes reported Ontario data which show that 81% of female student teachers planned to leave the profession at some point to become homemakers (Stokes, 1970 in Reich & LaFontaine, 1982). Also, a 1983 Gallup poll showed that 55% of Canadians felt that the family was harmed when the wife works (Schlesinger & Schlesinger, 1983). Finally, in a 1986 doctoral dissertation, Bailey, shows that women teachers viewed the possibility of career-family conflicts as a result of becoming a principal, significantly more negatively than did their male counterparts. Clearly, not everyone is convinced of the benefits of a family in which both individuals are in pursuit of career advancement.

It should not seem surprising that some data have been generated showing that women who are unmarried, or with no children, tend to rise in their profession in greater numbers than those who have families (Epstein, 1970; Nixon and Gue, 1975). Caliguri (1987), in a review of the literature cites a doctoral dissertation in which Samuelson (1985) examines the rise of women administrators within the New York City Board of Education. According to Caliguri, women in upper administrative positions achieved those positions, "at what appeared to be personal costs in terms of marriage or family" (p. 8).

The previous explanations are not simply isolated ideas which are unrelated to each other. In what may be the most complete study of this problem, Reich and LaFontaine (1976) sought to piece together a comprehensive explanation to the phenomenon of

underrepresentation of women in administration. In their study of 2885 Ontario secondary school teachers they looked at measures of: demographic characteristics, family responsibility, career commitment, formal qualifications, job performance, encouragement, application and current position as well as some attitudinal measures.

The results of the demographic data show that women teachers are younger, less likely to be married, and less likely to have dependents than their male counterparts. Despite these differences, women teachers have more family responsibilities than men (14 hours/week to 11 hours/week). Women teachers with children, however, averaged 17 hours per week. The results also show that administrators, "usually men, do manage to keep this type of interference to a minimum" (Reich and LaFontaine, 1976, p. 21). Due to sex role stereotyping males generally find it easier to reduce career-family conflicts than their female counterparts. Thus males gain a competitive edge.

On all three measures of career commitment, females scored significantly lower than males. In fact, Reich and LaFontaine (1976) state:

Since women are younger than men, have fewer dependents, spend more time on family responsibilities and feel more interference from these responsibilities, we would expect them to be less ambitious. However, the sex of the teacher has an independent effect over and above these variables, with women being less ambitious than men even after these prior differences are taken into account (p. 25).

The research on formal qualifications shows that the average female teacher has less experience than the average male. The bulk of this discrepancy is due to the age difference previously discussed. The rest is the result of career interruptions. Fifty-four percent of females had interrupted their career for marriage or maternity. The formal education of male and female teachers is very similar, with 16% of males and 10% of females having post-graduate degrees. However, "among administrators, almost half (47%) hold post-graduate degrees and this means that there is a difference between males and females in the general population. Advanced degrees are evidently a factor in getting ahead and people who have been promoted, usually men, very often have received advanced training" (Reich & LaFontaine, 1976, p. 32). Again, males who are interested in administration can commit the time and effort required to raise their qualifications. Unfortunately, this is much more difficult for many women.

Reich and LaFontaine (1976) also attempted to determine if the previous gender differences in career commitment would result in differences in the job performance of male and female teachers. Their study divided the evaluation of job performances into two parts, "Innovativeness" and "Extra assignments." In all nine areas of innovation, males scored higher than females. As well, males scored higher than females in participation in extra assignments. Even when all preceding differences have been accounted for, males volunteer for more extra assignments than females. It has been shown that these "extra assignments" are considered to be significant in terms of maintaining a high profile within the system.

Apparently males are more willing, or more able, to take part in activities which help increase their profile.

Decisions involving who gets promoted are only useful in light of the previous data showing gender differences in areas such as qualifications and job performance. Reich and LaFontaine (1976) express the results in the following manner:

Data from OSSTF as a whole indicates that administrative positions are largely held by men. . . .However, our analysis indicates that most of this difference is due to factors which occur prior to the promotion process rather than to active discrimination in the actual choice of successful candidates. In accounting for Current Position, Number of Applications, Encouragement, Job Performance, Formal Qualifications, and Career Commitment all have an effect. The sex of a teacher does have a very small additional effect, with women less likely to receive promotion than men of equivalent standing. If we look at the number of positions of responsibility that people have held, there is no difference for sex at all. Some people have received direct offers of promotion without having to apply. Here women actually have a slight advantage; that is they are more likely to receive such an offer than are men (p. 39).

Reich and LaFontaine (1976) have amassed a great deal of evidence which supports role conflict analysis. Their data suggest that women teachers who accept the traditional female role are placed in a position where they must choose between the conflicting demands of career and their role as wife and mother. As well, the model used

in the O.S.S.T.F. study provides a useful framework for the continued examination of this phenomenon.

Hoy and Miskel (1987) state that, "Teachers and administrators face conflicts and pressures not only by virtue of their formal position but also because they occupy several roles in a number of social systems. The roles of parent, church elder, principal and spouse may all be important roles that produce conflict for a given administrator" (p. 78).

Our society holds different role expectations for males and females. For example, most married working women are the primary care givers in their families. This means that, for these women, their career aspirations must contend with their family obligations. In professional women such as teachers, this creates a conflict. This discord results in female teachers being placed at a competitive disadvantage compared to their male counterparts.

The nature of education is such that most teachers will spend their entire career in the classroom. That is, since only a small minority of teachers ever enter administration, the career pyramid does not really exist. This creates a situation where a large pool of professional individuals vie for limited advancement opportunities. Given that there is a large pool of well educated and professional talent from which to choose, senior administrators can be very demanding in their expectations of potential administrators. Understandably, the development of the skills, resume and profile necessary to secure a promotion into educational administration requires a great deal of time and effort.

Nixon and Gue (1975) summarize the situation as follows,

"Women teachers hold few expectations for advancement in their careers and many have withdrawn from what they perceive as highly competitive achievement situations" (p. 205). It would seem that female teachers who fulfill the role of primary care giver realize that role conflict prevents them from competing with others, usually males, for advancement opportunities.

SUMMARY

The literature, although confusing at times, appears to show certain trends. Although sex discrimination in hiring and promotional practices is a possible explanation for the lack of women in educational administration, especially given the diverse communities in North America, it does not stand up to close scrutiny. Recent researchers appear to be looking at role conflict and sex role stereotyping as the major contributors to the low number of women in administration. Within these areas there seems to be some confusion:

Is it lack of motivation on behalf of females, role conflict vis a vis the wife-mother and career path educators, female socialization, lack of sincere career commitment, i.e. teaching only as a job not as a profession, or real and restrictive constraints placed on women who might otherwise become educational leaders (Lewis, 1988, p. 9)?

Some women, like some men, want no part of administration. The headaches, aggravation and extra time that are characteristic of a

principalship do not make it an enticing career move. Based on the evidence, this is probably true for a higher percentage of females than males. There are also a significant number of women whose family situation will not allow them to pursue administration, or at least will not let them pursue it as early in their career or with the same commitment as many males. There are also many other socialization factors which mitigate against women and result in them not applying for administrative positions.

Much of this problem seems to be societal in nature. That is, the values and attitudes towards the roles of women, especially by women and their spouses, is probably the greatest cause of the underrepresentation of females in administration. Although some improvements have been noted, change will not happen overnight. As Swiderski comments, "The educational system reflect[s] community values. Changing a society's values takes time" (1988, p. 26).

The underrepresentation of women in educational administration is a complex socio-dynamic phenomenon. One explanation which shows great promise in helping to understand this situation is role conflict analysis. If role conflict analysis is valid then the types of statistical differences that would be noted between male and female teachers could be predicted. For example:

- 1) Female teachers would spend more time in child care and other tasks related to being the primary care giver.
- 2) Females would be less likely to be able to commit the time and energy necessary to upgrade qualifications and obtain masters degrees.
- 3) Female teachers would have less time to spend on extra

school and committee work which can help increase the individual's professional profile.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

PURPOSE

The purpose of this research was to determine if the personal commitments of female teachers affected their ability to compete for administrative positions.

To fulfill the purpose of the study the following questions had to be answered:

- 1) Do lifestyle differences exist between male and female administrators?
- 2) Do lifestyle differences exist between male teachers and administrators?
- 3) Do lifestyle differences exist between female teachers and administrators?
- 4) Do lifestyle differences exist between male and female teachers?

DESCRIPTION OF THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

The sample for this study was taken from the Halifax County Bedford District School Board (H.C.B.D.S.B.). This system is the largest within Nova Scotia. Its territory includes a mixture of suburban and rural communities surrounding the cities of Halifax and Dartmouth.

The suburban areas of the system have undergone tremendous population growth over the last decade, and so the H.C.B.D.S.B. is one of the most rapidly expanding school systems in Canada. Statistics for the 1988/89 school year show that the board employed a total of 1085 female teachers and 511 male teachers. As well, 21 female and 48 male department heads were employed.

For the purposes of this study "administrators" have been defined as vice-principals and principals. The county employed 27 female vice-principals and 49 male vice-principals. Within the ranks of principals there were 21 females and 55 males. For a break down of positions by percentage see Table 1.

Descriptive statistics were calculated using demographic data available from the H.C.B.D.S.B.. The combined group of male teachers and administrators had an average age of 39.5 years, while female teachers and administrators averaged 37.8 years. Male administrators averaged a teaching license of 6.5, while the average license for female administrators was 6.3. Male administrators had an average age of 42.9 with 20.0 years of experience. Their female counterparts had an average age of 42.3 with 19.1 years of experience. As seen in Table 2, none of the differences between male and female administrators were statistically significant when subjected to a t-test for independent samples.

As shown in Figure 1, the number of female administrators employed by the system has increased considerably in the last few years. While the number of male administrators has remained relatively consistent since 1986, the number of female principals and vice-principals has shown considerable growth.

Table 1**H.C.B.D.S.B.: Employment by Gender 1988/89**

	MALE	FEMALE	% FEMALE
TEACHERS	511	1085	68.0
DEPARTMENT HEADS	48	21	30.4
VICE PRINCIPALS	49	27	35.5
PRINCIPALS	55	21	27.6

Table 2**H.C.B.D.S.B.: Male administrators compared to female administrators**

VARIABLE	MALE ADMINISTRATORS (N=104)		FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS (N=48)		Level of Significance
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	
Age (years)	42.9	5.3	42.3	5.7	.5370
Years of Experience	20.0	5.8	19.1	5.6	.3815
Certification Level	6.5	0.8	6.3	0.9	.1100

* ($p < .05$, $df = 150$, 2-tailed t-test)

Note: There were no significant differences between male administrators and female administrators with respect to age, years of experience and certification level.

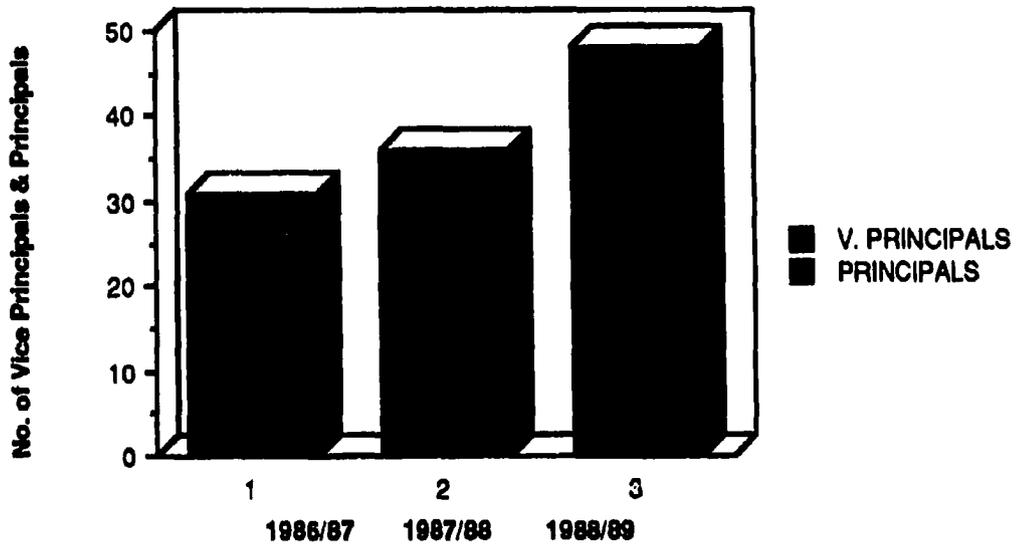


Figure 1

H.C.B.D.S.B.: Increase in female administrators

SAMPLE

The Halifax County Bedford District School Board is divided geographically into five sub-systems. Each sub-system is a self-inclusive unit which serves its constituent communities.

The subjects used in this study were the teachers, vice-principals and principals of the Eastern Suburban sub-system. All elementary and junior high schools in this sub-system feed into one large high school. Thus the subjects represent natural ratios of elementary and secondary teachers.

METHOD

A self-reporting questionnaire was designed to gather information from the teachers and administrators. Information was obtained in the following areas:

1) Demographic data - Respondents were asked to indicate their age, gender, marital status and the number and ages of their children.

2) Teacher certification and career path - Respondents were asked to indicate their teacher certification level, academic qualifications (degrees), future goals and whether or not they were enrolled in a degree program. Information was also requested on previous and current teaching assignment as well as the number of years spent at each position.

3) Personal commitments - Respondents were asked to

indicate the average number of hours per week spent at the following tasks: child care, household chores and repairs, other employment, community groups, recreation and any other personal commitments that they might have.

4) Professional commitments - Respondents were asked to indicate the average number of hours per week spent at each of the following tasks: teaching, lesson planning and marking, other professional commitments and extra school commitments (coaching, clubs, etc.). Respondents were also asked to specify how many years they had been involved with each "extra" commitment.

5) Attitude towards administration - Respondents were asked to indicate the extent of their agreement with a Likert style item comparing the relative impact of teachers and administrators.

A pilot questionnaire was developed, tested and refined. The final version of the questionnaire (See Appendix "A") was then circulated to all teachers and administrators within the sub-system. A covering letter (See Appendix "B") was attached to each questionnaire which outlined the ethical and procedural concerns of the instrument. The principals were asked to distribute the questionnaire to the staff and collect them when completed.

In most schools the questionnaires were placed in the teachers' mailboxes with the covering letter and the name of the individual who was to collect the completed questionnaire. In some schools the questionnaires were handed out individually to each teacher. In all cases the researcher contacted the schools several days later and retrieved the questionnaires that had been completed. The research was conducted in March of 1989.

VALIDITY

Validity can generally be defined as the degree to which an instrument measures what it purports to measure. Validity was achieved in this study through the design of the questionnaire. The questionnaire was developed in several forms and then administered to a pilot group of teachers. Following the completion of the questionnaires the researcher interviewed the pilot respondents to determine if the data accumulated accurately reflected the personal, professional and demographic information necessary for the study. Based on the qualitative feedback from these interviews the questionnaire was refined several times. The final version of the questionnaire was deemed to meet the purposes of the study on the basis of feedback from the pilot group.

RELIABILITY

Reliability is the degree of consistency with which the instrument measures what is being measured. The data accumulated in this study were collected through the completion of a one page questionnaire. The time required to complete the instrument was 5 to 10 minutes. The distribution and collection of the instrument was left to the individual school principals. In most cases teachers were to hand the completed questionnaire in to the secretary or vice-principal. A one week period was generally allowed for the distribution, completion and collection of the questionnaires at each

school. The time span between the distribution and collection of all of the data was three weeks.

During the refining of the questionnaire careful attention was paid to problems with interpretation of the questions. By means of feedback from the pilot groups, the questionnaire was designed in an unambiguous manner. While no formal reliability coefficients were calculated for this measuring device, reliability was achieved in this study through the development of a straight-forward, unambiguous questionnaire. Further, given that the results were analyzed with the use of inferential statistics, matters related to the reliability of the questionnaire were handled in the context of the "t-test error term".

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS

INTRODUCTION

Of the 418 questionnaires distributed a total of 167 responses were received for a return rate of 40%. The respondents included 84 female teachers, 69 male teachers, 9 male administrators and 5 female administrators.

In order to determine if the respondents in the study were a representative sample of the system being examined, data comparing the two groups were subjected to t-tests for independent samples. Results of the analyses are shown in Tables 3, 4, 5 and 6.

The analyses of the data show no differences between the administrators in the sample group and the administrators in the county as a whole. The data on teachers were combined with the administrator data to determine if there were any differences between the total sample and the total county statistics. The results are shown in Tables 5 and 6.

Given that there were no significant differences between the sample groups and the total county groups it can be inferred that the sample collected accurately reflects the system from which it was obtained.

In order to make use of the data collected in this study it was necessary to analyze the data several ways. Before the two administrative groups were combined it had to be determined if significant lifestyle differences existed between male and female

Table 3**Male administrators: Comparison of sample to system statistics**

VARIABLE	DATA FROM SAMPLE (N=9)		DATA FROM COUNTY (N=104)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	42.1	5.3	42.9	5.3	.6700
Years of Experience	19.0	6.2	20.0	5.8	.6123
Certification Level	6.8	1.0	6.5	0.8	.3472

* ($p < .05$, $df = 111$, 2-tailed t-test)

Note: There were no significant differences between sample data and data for the whole system with respect to age, years of experience and certification level.

Table 4

Female administrators: Comparison of sample to system statistics

VARIABLE	DATA FROM SAMPLE (N=5)		DATA FROM COUNTY (N=48)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	41.4	9.0	42.3	5.7	.7548
Years of Experience	17.6	6.5	19.1	5.6	.5708
Certification Level	6.4	0.9	6.3	0.9	.7454

* ($p < .05$, $df=51$, 2-tailed t-test)

Note: There were no significant differences between sample data and data for the whole system with respect to age, years of experience and certification level.

Table 5**Male teachers and administrators: Comparison of sample to system statistics**

VARIABLE	DATA FROM SAMPLE (N=78)		DATA FROM COUNTY (N=663)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	38.8	6.9	39.5	6.9	.3501
Years of Experience	14.1	7.0	15.1	7.1	.2516
Certification Level	6.0	0.9	5.9	0.9	.5256

* ($p < .05$, $df = 739$, 2-tailed t-test)

Note: There were no significant differences between sample data and data for the whole system with respect to age, years of experience and certification level.

Table 6**Female teachers and administrators: Comparison of sample to system statistics**

VARIABLE	DATA FROM SAMPLE (N=89)		DATA FROM COUNTY (N=1154)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	37.4	7.2	37.8	7.4	.5764
Years of Experience	12.8	6.4	13.5	7.4	.3611
Certification Level	5.6	0.9	5.4	1.0	.0778

* ($p < .05$, $df = 1241$, 2-tailed t-test)

Note: There were no significant differences between sample data and data for the whole system with respect to age, years of experience and certification level.

administrators. Once this had been accomplished comparisons were made between administrative and teaching groups.

All data were subjected to t-tests for independent samples. The results of these analyses are shown in the tables under the heading "Level of significance".

MALE ADMINISTRATORS COMPARED TO FEMALE ADMINISTRATORS

In Table 7 an analysis comparing male and female administrators is found.

With respect to demographic statistics, no differences were seen in age or marital status. However, male administrators (78%) were more likely to have dependents than female administrators (20%). From the data, it can be determined that there are no differences between male and female administrators in measures of career path and personal commitments. As well, the only professional commitment in which a difference was noted was the greater number of years in which female administrators were involved with extra school commitments. In terms of hours per week spent in each of the components of professional commitments, as well as the total, no differences were seen. With respect to the attitudinal measure, female administrators perceived the impact of principals as significantly greater than their male counterparts.

Since the profiles of the male and female administrators had limited differences, the data from both groups were combined to

Table 7**Comparison of male and female administrators**

VARIABLE	ADMINISTRATORS				Level of Significance
	Male (N=9)		Female (N=5)		
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	42.1	5.3	41.4	9.0	.8538
% Married	78.0	0.4	0.6	0.5	.5185
% with Dependents (1)	77.8	0.4	20.0	0.5	.0375 *
Years of Experience	19.0	6.2	17.6	6.5	.6976
Certification Level	6.8	1.0	6.4	0.9	.4880
% with a Masters Degree	66.7	0.5	60.0	0.5	.8209
Interest in Promotion	33.3%	0.5	20.0%	0.5	.6296
Hrs./Week in Child Care	9.1	11.1	3.0	6.7	.2895
Hrs./Week in Household Chores	9.1	6.5	5.2	2.3	.2269
Hrs./Week in Community Work	2.3	3.1	1.6	1.1	.6266
Hrs./Week in Recreation	5.2	3.3	2.4	2.3	.1186
Hrs./Week in Total Personal Commitments	20.1	12.9	10.8	7.6	.1696
Hrs./Week in Total School Commitments	50.4	10.3	51.6	4.4	.8173
Hrs./Week in Extra School Commitments	4.3	2.7	9.0	5.8	.0595
Years of Extra Commitments (2)	11.8	12.7	34.2	21.8	.0299 *
Likert Score (3)	2.6	1.1	4.4	0.5	.0054 *

* ($p < .05$, $df = 12$, 2-tailed t-test)

(1) Male administrators were significantly more likely than female administrators to have dependents.

(2) Female administrators maintained extra school commitments over a significantly longer number of years than male administrators.

(3) Female administrators perceived the role of principal significantly more positively than male administrators.

facilitate comparisons with other groups. However, for those three areas where differences were noted between male and female administrators, separate analyses were performed by dividing the administrative group by gender.

MALE TEACHERS COMPARED TO ADMINISTRATORS

In Table 8 an analysis of the data comparing male teachers to the combined group of male and female administrators is found.

With respect to demographic statistics, male teachers show no differences from the administrators. Administrators do have more experience and a higher teaching license, however, they did not score significantly higher in the areas of interest in promotion or percentage of individuals with a Masters degree.

In measures of personal commitments male teachers showed no differences from administrators in measures of child care, household chores community work or total personal commitments. The only difference occurred in hours per week in recreation, where male teachers scored higher than administrators.

Administrators scored higher than male teachers in hours per week in total professional commitments, but did not show any differences in hours per week in extra school commitments or the number of years that these commitments had been maintained. As well, on the attitudinal scale, administrators perceived their role as having more impact on students than did male teachers.

Since female administrators scored higher than their male

Table 8

Male teachers compared to administrators

VARIABLE	MALE TEACHERS (N=69)		ADMINISTRATORS (N=14)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	38.3	7.0	41.9	6.5	.0866
% Married	84.1	0.4	71.4	0.5	.2683
% with Dependents	62.3	0.5	57.1	0.5	.7208
Years of Experience (1)	13.5	6.9	18.5	6.1	.0133 *
Certification Level (2)	5.9	0.9	6.6	9.3	.0053 *
% with a Masters Degree	36.2	0.5	64.3	0.5	.0525
Interest in Promotion	10.1%	0.3	28.6%	0.5	.0650
Hrs./Week in Child Care	10.5	13.8	6.9	10.0	.3643
Hrs./Week in Household Chores	9.6	7.3	7.7	5.6	.3769
Hrs./Week in Community Work	2.4	3.5	2.1	2.6	.7561
Hrs/Wk in Recreation(3)	7.1	5.0	4.2	3.2	.0463 *
Hrs./Week in Total Personal Commitments	23.9	17.6	16.8	11.9	.1537
Hrs./Week in Total School Commitments (4)	45.6	8.4	50.9	8.5	.0375 *
Hrs./Week in Extra School Commitments	3.8	3.9	6.0	4.5	.0657
Years of Extra Commitments	15.6	13.9	19.8	19.2	.3448
Likert Score (5)	2.0	1.1	3.2	1.3	.0008 *

* ($p < .05$, $df = 81$, 2-tailed t-test)

- (1) Administrators were significantly older than male teachers.
- (2) Administrators held significantly higher teaching licenses than male teachers.
- (3) Male teachers spent significantly more hours per week in recreation than administrators.
- (4) Administrators spent significantly greater hours per week in total professional commitments.
- (5) Administrators perceived the role of principal significantly more positively than did male teachers.

counterparts on three measures the analyses of these areas was broken down by gender. The data show that male teachers spent fewer years in extra school assignments than female administrators but not significantly less than male administrators. As well, the difference noted in the attitudinal scale were largely the result of female administrators perceiving the role of principal much more positively than either male teachers or male administrators.

Overall, the personal and professional commitments of male teachers were very similar. With respect to lifestyle, it seems that male teachers are not really different from administrators of both genders.

FEMALE TEACHERS COMPARED TO ADMINISTRATORS

In Table 9 an analysis of the data comparing female teachers with the combined group of male and female administrators is found.

On average, female teachers were younger and less experienced than the administrators but not less likely to be married or have dependents. Female teachers also held lower teaching licenses, were less likely to have Masters degrees and were less likely to be interested in promotion than the administrators.

With respect to personal commitments, female teachers spend more time on child care and household tasks, resulting in significantly higher personal commitments than administrators. It is important to note that even though equal percentages of female teachers and administrators have dependents, these dependents

Table 9**Female teachers compared to administrators**

VARIABLE	FEMALE TEACHERS (N=84)		ADMINISTRATORS (N=14)		Level of Significance
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years) (1)	37.1	7.1	41.9	6.5	.0217 *
% Married	73.8	0.4	71.4	0.5	.8537
% with Dependents	59.5	0.5	57.1	0.5	.8684
Years of Experience (2)	12.5	6.3	18.5	6.1	.0014 *
Certification Level (3)	5.6	0.9	6.6	0.9	.0001 *
% with a Masters Degree (4)	21.4	0.4	64.3	0.5	.0007 *
Interest in Promotion (5)	6.0%	0.2	28.6%	0.5	.0063 *
Hrs./Week in Child Care (6)	21.5	26.1	6.9	1.0	.0425 *
Hrs./Week in Household Chores (7)	13.4	7.3	7.7	5.6	.0070 *
Hrs./Week in Community Work	1.4	2.3	2.1	2.6	.3219
Hrs./Week in Recreation	6.3	5.3	4.2	3.2	.1530
Hrs./Week in Total (8) Personal Commitments	36.9	29.6	16.8	11.9	.0140 *
Hrs./Week in Total School Commitments (9)	45.0	9.9	50.9	8.4	.0394 *
Hrs./Week in Extra School Commitments(10)	1.7	2.5	6.0	4.5	.0001 *
Years of Extra Commitments (11)	10.4	11.4	19.8	19.2	.0123 *
Likert Score (12)	2.0	1.1	3.2	1.3	.0002 *

* ($p < .05$, $df = 96$, 2-tailed t-test)

(1) Administrators were significantly older than female teachers.

(2) Administrators had significantly more years of experience than female teachers.

(3) Administrators had significantly higher certification levels than female teachers.

(4) Administrators were significantly more likely to have a Masters degree than female teachers.

Table 9 (cont.)**Female teachers compared to administrators**

- (5) Administrators were significantly more likely to be interested in promotion than female teachers.
- (6) Female teachers spent significantly more hours per week in child care than administrators.
- (7) Female teachers spent significantly more hours per week in household chores than administrators.
- (8) Female teachers spent significantly more hours per week in total personal commitments than administrators.
- (9) Administrators spent significantly more hours per week in total school commitments than female teachers.
- (10) Administrators spent more hours per week in extra school commitments than female teachers.
- (11) Administrators spent significantly more years in extra school commitments than female teachers.
- (12) Administrators perceived the role of principal significantly more positively than female administrators.

impact more on the lifestyle of female teachers than on administrators.

Administrators spend less time on personal commitments, apparently so they can devote more time to professional commitments. For example, the data have shown that administrators spend more hours per week in extra school commitments and total professional commitments than female teachers. Administrators have also maintained these commitments over a longer period of time. Most of this difference, however, was due to high levels of commitments on the part of female administrators.

On the attitudinal measures, female teachers perceived the role of principals as having less impact than did the administrators. This attitudinal difference was caused by the very positive perception of female administrators about the role of principal.

It should be noted that in the measures of attitude, years of experience, total professional commitments and teacher certification both male and female teachers scored significantly lower than the administrative group.

The lifestyle statistics show that female teachers have more personal commitments than administrators. Female teachers also scored lower than administrators on items which seem to be related to promotion, such as the earning of Masters degrees, hours per week in extra school commitments, interest in promotion and the maintenance of extra school commitments over a period of years.

Thus it would seem that the lifestyle orientation of female teachers is towards the family, while administrators of both

genders manage to prevent interference from family commitments.

MALE TEACHERS COMPARED TO FEMALE TEACHERS

In Table 10 an analysis of the data comparing male and female teachers is shown.

The demographic statistics show that the life situations of male and female teachers are not significantly different. For example, there were no differences in age or in the percentage of respondents who were married or had dependents. There were differences, however, in the level of academic qualifications. Male teachers, on average, had a higher license and were more likely to possess Masters degrees. Male teachers, apparently are more willing, or more able, to go back to university to take upgrading courses or enroll in Masters programs. The discrepancy between the formal education of the groups is shown in Figure 2.

With regard to personal commitments, females scored higher in measures of child care and household chores, resulting in higher levels of total personal commitments. Given that male teachers are as likely as female teachers to be married and have dependents, it is somewhat surprising that male teachers have levels of personal commitments which are significantly lower than their female counterparts.

Since there were no gender differences in total professional commitments, it can be assumed that the higher levels of personal commitments do not affect the amount of time that female teachers

Table 10

Male teachers compared to female teachers

VARIABLE	TEACHERS				Level of Significance
	Male (N=69)		Female (N=84)		
	MEAN	S.D.	MEAN	S.D.	
Age (years)	38.3	7.0	37.1	7.1	.2958
% Married	84.1	0.4	73.8	0.4	.1268
% with Dependents	62.3	0.5	53.5	0.5	.7267
Years of Experience	13.5	6.9	12.5	6.3	.3706
Certification Level (1)	5.9	0.9	5.6	0.9	.0316 *
% with a Masters Degree (2)	36.2	0.5	21.4	0.4	.0430 *
Interest in Promotion	10.1%	0.3	6.0%	0.2	.3404
Hrs./Week in Child Care (3)	10.5	13.8	21.5	26.1	.0019 *
Hrs./Week in Household Chores (4)	9.5	7.3	13.4	7.3	.0015 *
Hrs./Week in Community Work (5)	2.4	3.5	1.4	2.3	.0385 *
Hrs./Week in Recreation	7.1	5.0	6.3	5.3	.3833
Hrs./Week in Total (6) Personal Commitments	23.9	17.6	36.9	29.6	.0015 *
Hrs./Week in Total School Commitments	45.6	8.4	45.0	9.9	.6830
Hrs./Week in Extra School Commitments (7)	3.8	3.9	1.7	2.5	.0001 *
Years of Extra Commitments (8)	15.6	13.9	10.4	11.4	.0115 *
Likert Score	2.0	1.1	2.0	1.1	.7179

* (p<.05, df=151, 2-tailed t-test)

(1) Male teachers had a higher certification level than female teachers.

(2) Male teachers were significantly more likely than female teachers to have a Masters degree.

(3) Female teachers spend significantly more hours per week in child care than male teachers.

(4) Female teachers spend significantly more hours per week in household chores than male teachers.

Table 10 (cont.)**Male teachers compared to female teachers**

(5) Male teachers spend significantly more hours per week in community work than female teachers.

(6) Female teachers spend significantly more time in total personal commitments than male teachers.

(7) Male teachers spend significantly more hours per week in extra school commitments than female teachers.

(8) Male teachers maintain extra school commitments for a greater number of years than female teachers.

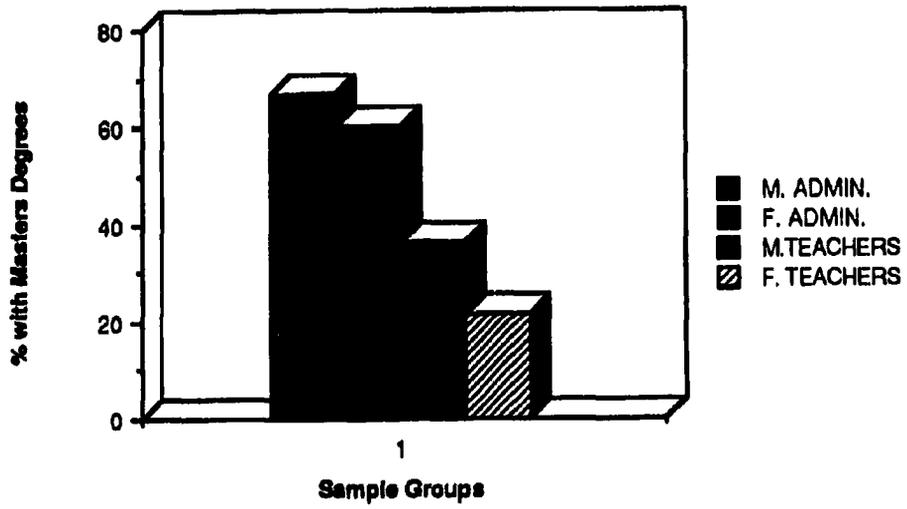


Figure 2

Percentage of respondents with Masters degrees

spend on their classroom practice. Rather, it does seem to impact on other areas, those which seem to be related to promotion. Specifically, females had lower licenses than males, were less likely to have a Masters degree, spent less time in community and extra school work and do not maintain their extra school commitments over as long a period of time.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Analysis of the data has shown that the lifestyle patterns of female teachers seems to be different from the other groups. For example, female teachers scored significantly higher than the other groups in measures of child care, household tasks and total personal commitments. This was despite the fact that there were no real differences in the life situations of the groups, other than administrators being older.

Female teachers also scored lower than the other groups in measures of teacher certification and percentage of individuals with Masters degrees. Female teachers also spend fewer hours per week than others in "extra" school assignments, and they maintain their extra commitments over fewer number of years.

The lifestyle orientation of female teachers could be described as "family oriented". That is, female teachers scored high in family related areas and low in areas which involve career development. A comparison of personal commitments of the groups is shown in Figure 3.

A second major difference found in the results was data relating to the lifestyle orientation of female administrators. Female administrators scored as high as male administrators in career oriented measures, and in some cases female administrators scored higher than their male counterparts. However, while male administrators seemed to be able to maintain a balance between family and career, female administrators scored very low in measures of personal commitments (See Figure 3). This low level of personal commitments is a reflection of the family situation. A graph showing the percentages of each group with dependents is shown in Figure 4.

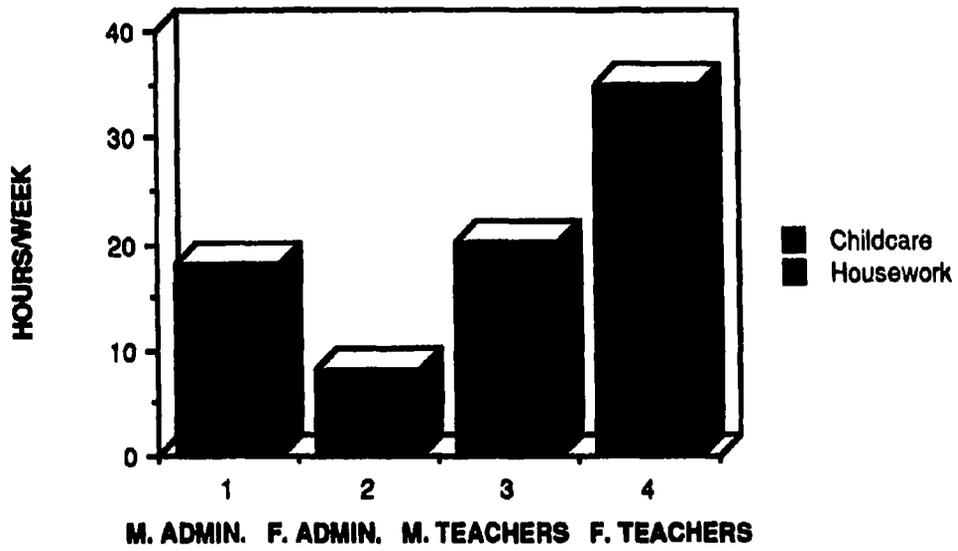


Figure 3

Personal commitments of respondents

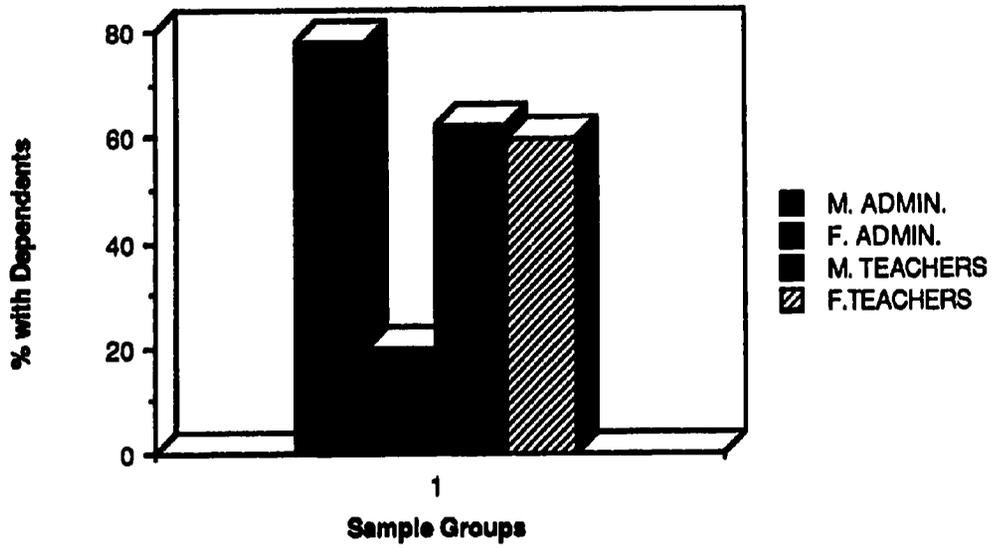


Figure 4

Percentage of respondents with dependents

CHAPTER V DISCUSSION

CAREER PATH

The results of this study are consistent with previous research in that the female administrators showed many attributes which were comparable to their male counterparts. For example, in a study comparing women teachers with women administrators, Nixon and Gue (1975) found that female teachers were younger, less experienced and less qualified than female administrators. These results are consistent with the findings of this study. Within this study, however, it was also determined that male administrators showed these same characteristics when compared to female teachers.

Another area of agreement with the literature was data involving post-graduate degrees. Reich and LaFontaine (1976) found that principals were more likely to have Masters degrees than teachers and that this was evidently a key component in obtaining an administrative position. This study paralleled the Reich and LaFontaine results. Administrators in this study were statistically more likely to have Masters degrees than female teachers but not male teachers. Within the administrative group 60% of females and 67% of males held Masters degrees.

PERSONAL COMMITMENTS

Another area of accord with the literature was the finding that female administrators scored very low in measures of personal commitments (Samuelson, 1985). They, as well as their male peers, were able to maintain low levels of child care and household tasks. Conversely, female teachers scored very highly on measures of personal commitments, especially child care and household tasks. This is consistent with Reich and LaFontaine (1976) who determined that female teachers spend significantly more time than their male counterparts in tasks such as cooking, dishes, washing and ironing, cleaning and shopping. Female teachers in the Reich and LaFontaine study also scored higher on measures of career interference as a result of these tasks.

DEMOGRAPHIC STATISTICS

For male administrators, 78% of whom were married and had dependents, the low levels of personal commitments were probably accomplished through a supportive spouse who reduced the time and energy conflicts by being the primary care giver for the family (Verheyden-Hilliard, 1979).

For female administrators the lower levels of personal commitments are most likely related to the family situation. Sixty percent of the female administrators surveyed had no children and 20% had children who were grown and required no child care.

However, while only 20% of female administrators had dependents that required attention, 77.8% of female teachers in this study had dependents. These data are similar to a Canadian survey in which it was found that 75% of women educational administrators had no children at home (MacLeod, 1988).

Nixon and Gue (1975) also found that female administrators were less likely to be burdened with the role of mother and primary care giver. For example, while 73.8% of the female teachers in the Nixon and Gue study were married, only 48.9% of female administrators were. In this study, 73.8% of the female teachers were married, but only 60% of the female administrators were married. This concurs with a study by Epstein (1979) which determined that the proportion of unmarried women was greater among those who rose to the top of their profession. As well, Samuelson's (1985) doctoral dissertation concluded that women who rose to the top of the New York City Board of Education did so at the expense of their personal and family lives. Nixon and Gue (1975) summarize the situation as follows, "For women who are not married, professional responsibilities do not have to compete with other role obligations of 'wife' and 'mother' - roles that are traditionally regarded as full time occupations" (p. 96).

Given the potential for role conflict in the situation of a married female administrator, it is not surprising that disproportionately high numbers of female administrators have not married or have no dependents. According to MacLeod (1988) the majority of female educational administrators in Canada are not married. For those female administrators who are married with

dependents their spouse's attitude is very important (Coffin & Ekstrom, 1979; Swiderski, 1988). Says Wanda Swiderski, "Many married women who become principals express the necessity of an extremely supportive husband" (p. 28).

Given the evidence supporting role conflict analysis, both in the literature review and in this study, it is apparent that one key to advancement for married female educators is a supportive spouse who is willing to share or assume the role of primary care giver. The evidence would indicate that this type of spouse is in the minority. Indeed, in a 1989 study in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia, female respondents cited commitment to family or demands of family as the primary barrier to advancement (Johnson, 1989).

INTEREST IN PROMOTION

Within this study male and female administrators showed similar levels of interest in promotion. As well, male teachers indicated levels of interest similar to those of the administrative group. Female teachers, however, did show less interest in promotion when compared to the administrative group. When the male and female teacher groups were compared males did not score significantly higher in the area of interest in promotion than did females.

It is interesting to note that in comparing those teachers of both genders who expressed interest in promotion with those who did not, some interesting differences appear. While individuals with

aspirations do not have significantly higher licenses than other teachers, they are more likely to have Masters degrees. Those teachers with aspirations for administration are also less likely to have children than their non-aspiring counterparts. Again, this is consistent with role conflict analysis.

The Nixon and Gue (1975) study also showed that female teachers were much more likely than female administrators to turn down an administrative position if it was more time consuming than the classroom. This study showed similar results, in that, not only did female teachers spend fewer hours per week in total professional commitments than administrators, they also spent less time in "extra" school assignments and maintained these extra assignments over fewer number of years. There was also support for the assumption that administration requires a greater time commitment than classroom teaching. Both male and female teachers spend fewer hours per week in total professional commitments than do administrators.

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF PRINCIPAL

Another area of accord with the literature was the difference noted between the perceptions of teachers and administrators about the relative impact of principals on the lives of students. This study showed that administrators perceived the role of principal in a more positive vein than did classroom teachers. Nixon and Gue (1975) found that female teachers perceived the administrative role

differently from their administrative counterparts. "While administrators saw it as an interesting, professional challenge, the manner in which the teacher groups were apt to define the administrative task explained why a number of teachers. . .had no interest in it" (p.204).

ROLE CONFLICT SUMMARY

The data from this study show a great deal of support for role conflict analysis. The statistics comparing male and female teachers show the types of time commitment patterns that would be expected from role conflict analysis. As well, administrators and those who aspire to administration showed meaningful differences from the average teacher.

For example, female teachers were less likely than administrators and their male counterparts to be involved in extra school endeavors such as professional and school committees or coaching. Female teachers also scored significantly lower than the other two groups in the number of years in which they have been involved in these extra commitments. Female teachers also spend less time than their male counterparts on community work. Again, this is the type of activity which can be used to increase the profile of potential administrators. Apparently male teachers are more willing or able to take advantage of this opportunity than female teachers.

Female teachers are also much less likely to have the time and

energy to go back to university and upgrade their license or take a Masters degree. It is apparent from the review of the literature that higher licenses and Masters degrees are important to career advancement. Since males have fewer personal commitments, a much higher percentage of male teachers can rearrange their time to accommodate graduate work.

The data from this study also confirm several inferences previously made about administrators and potential administrators. For example, administrators spent fewer hours per week on child care and fewer hours per week in total personal commitments than teachers (Reich & LaFontaine, 1976). However, administrators do spend significantly more hours in professional commitments. Administrators also had higher levels of certification than teachers and were more likely to have Masters degrees (Reich & LaFontaine, 1976). Clearly, administrators are able to rearrange their family lives to accommodate their professional aspirations. In general female administrators were able to do this because they had fewer personal obstacles to overcome than the average teacher. For example, 80% of the female administrators who responded spent no hours per week on child care. Again, this is in keeping with role conflict analysis. Those women who are able to keep personal commitments to a minimum are much more likely to be able to invest the time and energy required to increase their qualifications and profile (MacLeod, 1988).

The data involving those teachers who had expressed interest in administration were very similar to that of individuals already in administration. Although the personal commitments of these

individuals were low, these aspiring administrators scored highly on measures of extra school commitments. They also scored higher in terms of the percentage of individuals with Masters degrees.

In summary, the role conflict analysis seems to account for a great deal of the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. Since women tend to be the primary care givers in their families, female teachers are burdened by personal commitments which hamper their ability to compete with males for the limited advancement opportunities available. Since there were no differences in interest in promotion between male and female teachers, it can be inferred that it is not the intent that is lacking on the part of the female teacher. Rather, when the personal commitments of many female teachers are taken into account, it may be that they just can not find the time and energy to turn their interest into a reality.

Female administrators seem to be a distinct group when compared to others in the teaching profession. In order to compete for administrative positions many have had to place career ahead of family and personal commitments. Thus a disproportionate number of female administrators are single or have no dependents.

Male teachers, conversely, are able to strike a balance between career and family. This is usually accomplished by having a spouse who is willing to assume the role of primary care giver. The flexibility afforded by a supportive spouse allows administrators to minimize the disruptive impact of family commitments and thus they are freer to develop the qualifications and profile necessary for advancement.

It should be noted that even though the Halifax County Bedford District School Board has a comparatively high number of female administrators, one group appears to be left out of the administrative picture. Married female teachers who have children appear unable or unwilling to compete with others for administrative positions. The key to administrative involvement for this group may well be the amount of support given by the individual's spouse. Until a more equitable sharing of child care responsibilities is seen, female administrators will continue to be chosen from a small group of women; those who are able to upgrade their resume and increase their profile because they have few personal commitments to act as barriers to their time and energy.

OTHER EXPLANATIONS

Given that males predominate at the secondary school level, it would be expected that on this basis alone the majority of secondary school administrators would be male. However, Sandra Prolman's (1982) research has shown that elementary principals are often selected from the ranks of secondary teachers. Given that most secondary teachers are male, the majority of the individuals going from secondary teacher, department head or vice-principal to elementary school principal would be male. This would also help account for some of the underrepresentation. This is not to imply either support for, or criticism of, the practice of hiring elementary school principals from the ranks of secondary school teachers.

Other arguments beside the role conflict analysis have been put forward to explain the underrepresentation of women in educational administration. One such explanation relates to the lack of female applicants for administrative positions. This argument states that female teachers do not apply for administrative positions because they believe that they will be discriminated against. They rationalize that since the system shows a male bias, there is no sense in frustrating themselves by applying for a position that they will never achieve. Given that females represent 28% of principals and 36% of vice-principals in the H.C.B.D.S.B. it seems difficult to make that argument in this school system.

Compared to most school systems the H.C.B.D.S.B. has been very responsive to women indicating an interest in administration. For example, nowhere in the literature review could statistics be found which showed greater female representation in administration. As well, the number of females holding the positions of principal and vice-principal have shown great increases in recent years. For example, 23% of principal and vice-principal positions in the H.C.B.D.S.B. were held by women in 1986/87. By 1988/89 that figure had risen to 32%.

It is argued that as the baby boom population worked its way through the school system, new teachers and administrators were hired to accommodate the swelling student population. Most of the administrators hired at that time were male. In the interim, many of the barriers to women in education have been removed or reduced. During this same time the student populations have been reduced in most communities. Unfortunately, due to declining enrollments,

administrative placements in most districts only occur as the result of retirements.

Conversely, the H.C.B.D.S.B. is still an expanding system. Thus as increasing numbers of female teachers have become more career oriented there have been positions for which they can apply. The knowledge that expansion within the system will create opportunities for advancement may be very important. If an individual knows that administrative openings are very rare it would, psychologically, be more difficult to begin the long process of increasing the qualifications and the profile in anticipation of applying for a principalship. In an expanding system, such as the one under study, no such psychological barrier would exist. This might help to explain, in part, the relatively high percentage of women administrators in this system compared to others. Since new positions are consistently being created, administrative positions must open up relatively frequently. Thus any teacher, male or female, would be more likely to follow up on career aspirations.

Some writers and researchers believe that the lack of female applicants for administrative positions can be directly related to the job description of principal. These writers contend that the job description of principal was written from a male perspective. Therefore the job description is too heavy in terms of time commitment. It also includes tasks which female teachers do not deem as important. This "administrivia" leaves little time for curriculum and supervision aspects of the job, which women tend to value and prefer.

The job description of principal, as it is, probably does require

significantly more time than the average teacher spends on professional duties. Often this time is difficult to schedule, as last minute problems can play havoc with other commitments. In addition, the principal is the individual in charge of the school. It is ultimately the principal's responsibility to supervise the daily operations as well as handling situations which are outside the normal routine. Often this requires extra time on the part of one individual. More often several people are inconvenienced. If the principal is reluctant to put in extra time, how can such commitments be expected of teachers, guidance counselors and vice principals?

GENERALIZATIONS

Given that this study lends support to the role conflict analysis, it must be determined if the phenomenon is widespread, or if special circumstances have created this effect locally. In attempting to generalize from this sample to larger populations the characteristics which may distinguish this group from the norm must be examined.

First, in the Halifax County Bedford District School Board females predominate in the classroom. This is especially true in elementary schools, however, at the secondary level males do outnumber females. This is a common pattern and is quite reflective of most school systems. Thus it should not affect our ability to generalize from this study.

This particular school system was abnormal in that, compared to data from other studies, females were represented more highly in the populations of principal and vice-principal. Indeed, in 1982 only 13% of Canadian principals were female (Porat, 1985). Given that role conflict analysis was supported in the H.C.B.D.S.B., this would seem to indicate that other systems would show data even more supportive of the analysis.

Halifax is often considered to be a "university" town. Teachers in the Eastern Suburban sub-system have ready access to upgrading and Masters courses. This should make it easier for women to close the qualification gap with their male counterparts. Conversely, in rural areas it would be expected that female teachers would be more reluctant to travel in order to take courses, since this would impact strongly on their family obligations. Males would find traveling easier, as their family obligations are less than those of female teachers.

There is some evidence to support this. Males in this study averaged a teaching license of 5.9. Data from the Department of Education for the same year show that the average male teacher in the H.C.B.D.S.B. has a teaching license 6.0. This is also the provincial average for male teachers. Clearly, as the teaching population becomes more rural and has less access to universities, it does not seem to affect the male teachers.

Females in this sample averaged a teaching license of 5.6, which was significantly lower than their male counterparts. As distance to universities becomes a factor for women their average license shows a drop. Department of Education data reveal that the

average license for female teachers in the H.C.B.D.S.B. is 5.4 and the provincial average for female teachers is even lower at 5.3. Again, these data support role conflict analysis. This also indicates that data from other systems would show more support for this analysis than the sample chosen.

It would seem that the availability of universities and the relatively high level of female administrators in the H.C.B.D.S.B. would dampen the measurement of the effect of the role conflicts on female teachers. However, since role conflict analysis was supported with this particular sample, it would be expected that this analysis will also help account for the underrepresentation of women in educational administration in other school systems as well.

Comparing the results of the study with data available from the Nova Scotia Department of Education allows for several interesting observations. The first considers the ratio of male to female teachers. Females represented 55% of the teachers who responded and 36% of the administrators. Data on the system reveal that 68% of the teachers and 32% of the administrators are female. Teacher certification levels were also quite similar. Results from the study show that female teachers in the sample had an average teaching license of 5.6 compared to 6.0 for males. Data for the system show that the average certification levels were 5.4 for females and 6.0 for males. On both counts the sample data are strikingly similar to verified statistics on the population represented by the data.

PRACTICAL AND THEORETICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Women constitute the majority of the teaching profession. If female teachers do not achieve positions in educational administration, then the pool of individuals from which educational leaders will be drawn is restricted.

The results of this study have shown that, in general, female teachers do not apply for or achieve administrative positions because they tend to be at a competitive disadvantage to their male counterparts. Also, a large percentage of teachers have no interest in administration at all. This is true of more female teachers than males.

In today's society few women lead a lifestyle which allows them the time, effort and flexibility to move up the educational pyramid. This means that the leadership and expertise of a large group of teachers might never be tapped. Given that teachers with high levels of personal commitments may also have a great deal of leadership potential, ways must be found to draw upon these individuals as resources.

One such method is used by the H.C.B.D.S.B. . Often, committees established to make curriculum or policy decisions meet during class time. Teachers who serve on the committees have substitutes provided by the Board. Thus the meetings do not impact upon personal obligations. As well, any work done in between meetings can be done at the convenience of the teacher, resulting in minimal disruption to family patterns. While the teacher may not have the time and effort to pursue an administrative position, a leadership

role in the system may still be assumed as a committee member. This method also elicits the support of the individuals who must eventually implement the new policy or curriculum - the teachers.

Sabbaticals can also be used to provide additional time for teachers to work on curriculum design and implementation. By doing this the Board empowers individuals to achieve greater contributions to the school system.

It could be argued that the employment statistics for the H.C.B.D.S.B. could be used as a model for school systems where female representation is much lower. However, data from this study on female administrators within this system have shown that most women who obtain administrative positions have had to reject the traditional role of mother or delay administrative aspirations until the children are grown. This would mean that the large group of women who have accepted the traditional role of women in our society are effectively excluded from the ranks of administrators.

Thus, if the goal is to increase the number of female administrators it may be necessary to re-evaluate the manner in which a resume is judged. This would entail placing more emphasis on the individual's level of skills and expertise, and less on their profile within the system. Also, committee work should be seen as a means to develop and prove skills. As such, the quality of the committee work should be the prime factor examined and not the sheer number of committees served on.

Such new approaches to personnel selection are gaining support in the literature. For example, it has been advocated that a "sequencing" pattern for dual career families be developed. In this

approach:

Couples would alternate the times in which they focus heavily on their work. A mother or father might be intensely involved in a project for a period of time and thereby earn credits for time off to spend with the family during a slower period (Wallis, 1989, p. 61).

Although still in the developmental stages, these new concepts in personnel management may enhance administrative jobs, thus making them more appealing to a wider range of individuals of either gender.

CONCLUSIONS

In examining the lifestyle statistics of male and female administrators and teachers several comparisons seem important. First, the personal and professional commitments of female teachers are different from their male counterparts and from the administrators. Female teachers scored higher in personal commitments than the other groups due to greater amounts of time spent on child care and household tasks. Female teachers also scored lower than the other groups in those measures which seem to be related to advancement within the profession, such as: certification level, likelihood of having a Masters degree, extra school commitments, and the number of years involved in these extra commitments.

Thus it would seem that male teachers would not have to rearrange personal and professional priorities in order to pursue an administrative position, since the lifestyle profile of male teachers and administrators is already very similar. Conversely, female teachers interested in promotion would have to make reductions in their personal commitments in order to increase their professional commitments. These professional commitments would include increasing academic qualifications as well as increasing extra school and committee work.

Further evidence to support the role conflict explanation is the data which show that females who do obtain administrative positions have significantly fewer personal commitments than their male counterparts.

Apparently the most common way for women to have the time and effort to pursue a career in educational administration is to avoid having dependents. It is argued that for women to be successful in educational administration many have found that they must reject the traditional female role. This avoidance of personal commitments reduces the level of role conflict. Male teachers, however, do not have to reject their traditional role to compete for administrative positions.

The situation is summarized quite aptly by one of the female respondents to this study. It seems fitting to conclude with her comment. She states:

Due to combined biological, cultural and social factors female teachers who choose to have families must also often make career sacrifices because of family commitments. As the "number one" care giver the female teacher's ability to be flexible is reduced. Changing schools, working longer hours and attending board or trustee meetings are difficult when you are expected home to relieve a hired nanny or sitter. If you do not have children to focus your schedule around, then you probably have a reasonable chance to compete for administrative positions. Otherwise, females are disadvantaged . . .

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1
SAMPLE QUESTIONNAIRE

LIFESTYLE QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Age ____ 2. Gender F M 3. Marital Status _____
 4. Number and ages of children _____
 5. Please check appropriate level(s) completed.

TC3____ TC4____ TC5____ TC6____ TC7____ TC8____

6. Use the following key to complete this section: "C" = Completed,
 "I" = In progress, and "G" = A career goal you hope to pursue at a later date.
 (Circle the appropriate responses)

Teaching Diploma (or equivalent).....	C I G	Year Granted _____
B. A., B. Sc., etc.	C I G	Year Granted _____
M. Ed. (or equivalent).....	C I G	Year Granted _____
M. A. (or equivalent).....	C I G	Year Granted _____
Doctorate.....	C I G	Year Granted _____

7. Number of years teaching experience completed _____
 8. Current teaching assignment. (grades/subjects)

9. Career expectations for the next three years. (ex. vice-principal,
 curriculum consultant, etc.) _____

10. Teaching Assignment (Number of years at each of the following positions)

Classroom teacher _____ yrs.	Specialist _____ yrs.
Department head _____ yrs.	Vice-principal _____ yrs.
Principal _____ yrs.	Other (specify) _____

11. AVERAGE WORK-WEEK (estimated hours/week spent at each)

I. Personal Commitments

- a) Child Care _____ hrs/week b) Household chores/repairs _____ hrs/week
 c) Other employment _____ hrs/week d) Community groups _____ hrs/week
 e) Recreation _____ hrs/week f) Other(specify) _____ hrs/week

II. Professional Activities

- a) Teaching _____ hrs/week b) Lesson planning/Marking _____ hrs/week
 c) Other professional interests _____ hrs/week
 d) Other school commitments (coaching, committees, etc) _____ hrs/week

III. Other Total = _____ hrs/week

Specify _____

12. School commitments (number of years involved, including current year)

School clubs_____

Coaching_____

Student council_____

Drama or concerts_____

Yearbook_____

Newspaper etc._____

13. To what extent do you agree with the following statement:

A teacher can have more impact on children by being in the classroom rather than in administration. (Check one)

Strongly_____ Agree_____ Not sure_____ Disagree_____ Strongly_____

Agree

Disagree

14. Comments_____

APPENDIX 2

SAMPLE COVERING LETTER

March, 1989

Dear Teacher,

As part of the thesis requirements for my Masters in Education at Saint Mary's University I am doing a study investigating the relationship between lifestyle, gender and administration. The attached questionnaire will be used to determine statistics involving teachers and administrators. These data will then be subjected to analysis in an aggregate form. No data will be used individually, and no specific references to individuals will be made.

This questionnaire is voluntary and any person who objects to the questions should not feel obligated to complete it, however, I greatly appreciate your time and effort in helping me with this.

Sincerely yours

Brian Cochrane