

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

**CREATING WAVES: A STUDY OF CHANGING PATTERNS OF GENDER
REPRESENTATION WITHIN THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF THE WINNIPEG
SCHOOL DIVISION DURING THE PERIOD 1973 – 1998**

BY

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of the University of Manitoba in
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy.

The Department of Educational Administration, Foundations and Psychology,
Faculty of Education.

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Creating Waves:

**A Study of Changing Patterns of Gender Representation within the Administrative Staff of
the Winnipeg School Division During the Period 1973-1998**

BY

Donna Margaret Doreen Wilson

**A Thesis/Practicum submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of The University
of Manitoba in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree**

of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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This dissertation is dedicated to:

The memory of my sister Heather;
The memory of my father Bertram Bruce;
My mother Jean Bruce;
My family and friends for their patience; and
My husband Harold, for his daily support.

ABSTRACT

The career path of women in Canadian public education has, in general, continued to follow quite a different course from that of men. In most instances, the careers of Canadian educators place the majority of women in teaching positions while men dominate school administration. Women, who are school administrators, have tended to be appointed to elementary school positions or, when assigned to the secondary level, are more likely to be designated to support positions such as vice-principalships. In Manitoba, the provincial pattern is not dissimilar. However, the data for the Winnipeg School Division stands in marked contrast. The twenty-five year period between 1972-3 and 1997-8 saw a change from women occupying some 22 percent of the Division's administrators at the start of the period to 56 percent.

These substantial shifts in the gender representation of school administrators within the Winnipeg School Division, their impact on the career paths of women and men administrators in the Division, and the perceptions of high school principals regarding the significance of gender and gender discrimination in administrator career development over the twenty-five year period provide the focus of this study.

Data was collected from School Board minutes and Divisional records of all school-based administrative appointments (principals and vice-principals) during the period of the study, and in addition a series of interviews were conducted with fourteen high schools principals between June and November 2000.

An analysis of the data presented in this study suggests that these substantial changes in gender representation - which occurred in waves, beginning with the elementary school vice-principalship, moving through the secondary vice-principalship and the elementary school principalship - were achieved, not by recruiting from outside of the division, nor by "fast-tracking" women administrators. Rather it was achieved by a sustained effort to recruit women into entry administrative positions as they became open and then to support them through a career path of promotion that paralleled the scope and speed of traditional male careers. Both female and male high school principals recognized the significance of gender and gender discrimination as a salient feature of both community and professional attitudes towards school administration and saw the benefits of the division's policies and practices directed towards affirmative action.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	page	i
Abstract		ii
Table of Contents		iv
List of Tables		vii
List of Figures		viii
Chapter I Introduction		
Introduction		1
Statement of the Problem		4
Research Design		5
101 Changes in the Gender Representation Among School-Based Administrators, 1972-1997		5
102 The Perceptions of Selected High School Principals		5
A Brief Overview of Affirmative Action in Winnipeg School Division		6
103 Early Struggles (1972-85)		7
104 An Interventionist Phase (1986-92)		7
105 Broadening the Affirmative Action Agenda (1993-97)		8
A Brief History of Affirmative Action Policies in Canadian Education		8
Definition of Terms		11
Limitation of the Study		14
Significance of the Study		15
Chapter II The Literature Review		
Introduction		16
Gender and School Administration in Canada: Historical Dimensions (1850-1970)		16
Gender and School Administration in Canada: Recent Developments (1970-2000)		24
The High School Principalship		28
201 Personal Explanations		31
202 Institutional Explanations		33
203 Systemic Explanations		39
Affirmative Action and Employment Equity		42
Analyzing the Impact of Affirmative Action Policies		44
Chapter III Methodology		
Introduction		49
Changing Patterns of Gender Representation (1973-1998)		50

	The High School Principalship	51
	Selection of Participants	52
	The Interview Process	54
	Design of the Study	55
	Summary	57
Chapter IV	The History of the Affirmative Policy In Winnipeg School Division No. 1	
	Background and Early Struggles for Acceptance (1972-85)	58
	An Interventionist Phase In Affirmative Action (1986-92)	65
	Broadening the Agenda: The Employment Equity Program (1993-97)	70
Chapter V	Towards a Gender-Representative School Administration - A Quantitative Analysis	
	Introduction	73
	501 Benchmarks of Employment Equity	74
	502 The Classification of Schools	75
	Changes in Gender Representation Among School Administrations 1973-97	77
	503 Elementary/Junior High School Administrators	78
	504 Secondary School Administrators	81
	505 Summary	82
	506 Changes by School Size and Gender	85
	Changes in Administrative Career Paths 1973-1997	87
	507 Fast-Tracking into the Principalship	88
	508 Time to First Principalship	89
	509 "Backlash", "Reverse Discrimination" and "Male Privilege"	90
	The Career Paths of School-Based Administrators in the Division In 1997-98	94
	Summary	97
Chapter VI	Gender, Affirmative Action, and High School Principals' Careers - The Interviews	
	Introduction	98
	The High School Principals: A Brief Profile	99
	Issues of Gender and Gender Discrimination	102
	Perceptions of Authority and Competence:	102
	Professional Stereotypes	104
	601 The Personal and Professional Balancing of Family Life and Career Development	107
	602 The Concept of Male Privilege	110
	603 Networks and Networking	113
	The Impact of the Division's Affirmative Action Policy on the Careers of Female and Male High School Principals	116
	604 Perceptions of Female Administrators	117

605	Perceptions of Male Principals	119
606	Role Models, Mentors and "Trailblazers"	122
	Broadening the Affirmative Action Agenda: The Race Taskforce, 1989-90	126
Chapter VII	Summary and Conclusions	
	Introduction	136
	Summary	137
701	A Changing School Administration	137
702	A Postscript (1998-2002)	143
703	The Perceptions of High School Principals	144
	Implications and Recommendations	147
704	Implications for School Divisions	147
705	Implications for Further Research	148
	Significance of the Study	149
Bibliography		150
Appendices		162

List of Tables

Table 1.1	Manitoba School Administrators (Principals and Vice-Principals by Gender, 1998)	2
Table 1.2	Female School Based Administrators as a Percentage of All School Based Administrators in The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 1993-1998	3
Table 1.3	Gender Representation of Secondary School Principals Within The Winnipeg School Division, 1972 and 1997	3
Table 1.4	Winnipeg School Division No. 1: Schools by Level (1997-98)	6
Table 1.5	Males and Females in Education - Gender in the Canadian School System	12
Table 3.1	Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Secondary Principals by Gender and School Level (1997-8)	53
Table 5.1	Manitoba Teachers By School Level and Gender (1998)	74
Table 5.2	Winnipeg School Division No. 1 School Level Designations By Student Enrolments	76
Table 5.3	Winnipeg School Division No. 1 School Administrators (Principals and Vice-Principals) by Gender and Year (1973-1997)	77
Table 5.4	Elementary/Junior High Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal), Gender and Year (1973-1997)	79
Table 5.5	Secondary Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal), Gender and Year (1973-1997)	81
Table 5.6	Changes in the Number and Percentage of Female School Administrators by Position and Level (1973-1997)	83
Table 5.7	Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Administrative Positions by Base Salary (September 1998)	86
Table 5.8	Female Administrators (Principals and Vice-Principals) by School Size (1973-1997)	87
Table 5.9	Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Administrators Appointed Directly to a Principalship 1973-1997)	89

Table 5.10	Average Length of Time (Years) in Vice-Principalship to First Principalship, Appointment by Gender (1973-1997) 90
Table 5.11	Winnipeg School Division No. 1. All School-Based Administrative Appointments (Principal and Vice-Principal) by Gender for 5 Year Intervals from 1973-1997) 91
Table 5.12	Winnipeg School Division #1 Initial Appointments by Gender (1973-1997) 93
Table 6.1	High School Principals Interviewed 101
Table 7.1	Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by Level (1972 and 1977) 138
Table 7.2	Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions in Winnipeg School Division No.1 by Level 1972-1985 140
Table 7.3	Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions in Winnipeg School Division No.1 by Level 1986-92 141
Table 7.4	Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions in Winnipeg School Division No.1 by Level 1993-97 142
Table 7.5	Elementary/Junior High School Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal), Gender, and Year (1998-2002) 143
Table 7.6	High School Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal), Gender, and Year (1998-2002) 144

List of Figures

- Figure 5.1 Elementary/High Female Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal) as a Percentage of All Administrators **80**
- Figure 5.2 Female Secondary School Administrators as a Percentage of All Secondary School Administrators by Year (1973-1997) **82**
- Figure 5.3 The Percentage of Female School Administrators by Position (Principal and Vice-Principal) and Level (Elementary and Secondary) by Year (1973-1997) **85**
- Figure 5.4 Female Administrative Appointments as a Portion of All Administrative Appointments for 5 Year Intervals (1973-1997) **91**
- Figure 5.5 Career Paths of Male and Female Administrators who were in Position in 1997 and Whose Initial Appointment in the Division Was Prior to 1986 **95**
- Figure 5.6 Career Paths of Male and Female Administrators who were in Position in 1997 and Whose Initial Appointment in the Division Was After 1986 **96**

CHAPTER I

Introduction

Introduction

The career path of women in Canadian public education has, in general, continued to follow quite a different course from that of men. In the field of education, women tend to outnumber their male colleagues and yet have "... always been the minority of professionals holding formal administrative positions in schools" (Shakeshaft, 1999, p. 99). Today, women continue to be under-represented in the field of school administration. In most instances, the career path of Canadian educators, like those of the U.S.A., tend to place the vast majority of women in teaching positions while men tend to dominate the administrative positions, especially at the secondary level (LaPointe 1994, Rees 1990, Young 1990). Young (1990) comments:

Canadian women educators tend to be involved in providing instruction, managing classrooms, and making decisions with respect to individual students; but they are not involved in the management and policy-making that affect the world of the classroom. That is, women most frequently deliver rather than administer public school education (p. 86).

Shakeshaft (1999) states that, "compared to men, women have always been the minority of professionals holding formal administrative position in schools" (p.99). Women who are school administrators have tended to be appointed to elementary school positions or, when assigned to the secondary level, they are more likely to be designated to support positions such as vice-principalships.

For the most part, despite increased awareness and lip service to the issues of equity, in many situations not much appears to have changed in this regard in Canadian school administration over the period 1980 - 2000. Rees (1990) provides data on gender representation in educational administration across Canada for the period 1986-89.

Based on information provided by ten provinces, her survey reported that between 88-100 per cent of the secondary principals were male and 0-12 per cent were female, 86-100 per cent of junior high school principals were male and 0-14 per cent were female, and at the elementary level, 62-85 per cent of the principals were male and 15-38 per cent were female (p. 88).

This pattern is also reflected in a report completed by the Status of Women and Employment Equity in Ontario School Boards (Ministry of Education and Training, 1994, p. 40-41) that examined the distribution of full-time educators by position and gender in 1978 and compared it with 1992. During this period of time, although the overall number of female teachers increased by 5.4 per cent to make up 75.5 per cent of the total teaching population and the total number of female secondary principals increased by 12.5 per cent, women still occupied only 15.4 per cent of the secondary principalships.

In Manitoba, during the same period of time, the provincial pattern was not dissimilar. Rees's 1990 study of Canadian school administrators reported that in Manitoba "... men dominate the three line positions of principal (76 per cent), vice-principal (70 per cent), and department head (75 per cent)" (p. 62). The gender representation of Manitoba school administrators in 1998 is shown in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1
Manitoba School Administrators (Principals and Vice-Principals)
by Gender, 1998

Principals			Vice - Principals		
Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total
282	510	792	143	194	337
(36%)	(64%)	(100%)	(42%)	(58%)	(100%)

Source: Manitoba Education and Training, 1998.

However, the data for the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 are in marked contrast. The twenty-five years between 1972/3 and 1997/8 saw a change from women occupying some 22 percent of the Division's school-based administrators to 56 per cent in 1998 (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2
Female School Based Administrators as a Percentage of All School Based Administrators in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 – 1972/3 to 1997/8¹

	1972	1977	1982	1987	1992	1997
Female Administrators	22%	22%	25%	39%	53%	56%

Source: Winnipeg School Division Board Minutes, 1972 – 1997

At the secondary principalship level, these proportions changed from 0 percent to 31 percent between 1972 and 1997 (Table 1.3). These changes took place within the context of the development and implementation of a Divisional Affirmative Action Policy

Table 1.3
Gender Representation at the Secondary Principalship Level Within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1972 and 1997

	1972	1997
Female	0%	31%
Male	100%	69%

¹ When there is a series of tables all clearly relating to Administrators in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 the first table will include the full designation in its title. In subsequent tables this may be abbreviated to WSD#1. All years refer to the school year beginning in that year (i.e 1972 is 1972-73).

These substantial shifts in the gender representation of school administrators within the Division, their impact on the career paths of women and men administrators in the Division, the perceptions of selected high school principals regarding the significance of gender and gender discrimination in administrator career development and their views of the significance of the Division's Affirmative Action initiatives, over this period of time, provide the focus of interest for this study.

Statement of the Problem

The purpose of this study is twofold. First the study provides an analysis of the changes that took place in the gender representation among the administrators in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 during the period 1972-1997. Second, building on this analysis, the study examines the perceptions and experiences of selected female and male high school principals within the Division with regard to issues of gender and gender discrimination on administrative careers over this period of time and the impact of Divisional affirmative action initiatives.

Specifically, the study addresses the following four research questions:

1. What changes occurred in the gender representation of school administrators, (principals and vice-principals) by school level (elementary and high school) and school size over the period 1972 - 1997?
2. What were the ways in which the changes at all levels of school-based administration in the Division impacted on women and men's administrative career paths over the period 1972 – 1997?
3. What significance do selected high school principals, in the Division, attach to the impact of issues of gender and gender discrimination on their own educational career paths and those of their colleagues within the Division over the period 1972 - 1997?
4. What significance do selected high school principals, in the Division, attach to the impact of Divisional Affirmative Action initiatives on the changes in gender representation among administrators and on the development of administrative career paths?

Research Design

This study combines quantitative research methods used to analyze the changing patterns of gender representation and the career paths of administrators, with qualitative research methods, primarily semi-structured interviews with fourteen high school principals.

Changes in the Gender Representation Among School-Based Administrators, 1972-1997

All administrative appointments are approved by the School Board and are recorded in the minutes of the bi-weekly School Board meetings. Data on all appointments, size and classification of each school, and student enrolments are kept by the Human Resources Department of the School Division as are Affirmative Action Committee Annual Reports for 1990-91, 1991-92, 1992-93, 1993-94, 1994-95 and 1995-96. As such, though not readily accessible, these data are part of the public record and provide the basis for a statistical analysis of the career paths of administrators prior to the initial implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy and following the implementation of the policy in 1986. This analysis provides information about: (i) the entry level positions of all administrators over the twenty-five year period; (ii) the number of male and female administrators at each of the classifications of schools; and (iii) the length of time in prior administrative positions before promotion to principalships.

The Perceptions of Selected High School Principals:

The semi-structured interviews provide qualitative information provided by the individual administrators in high school principalships as of 1998. All fourteen high school principals in the Division as of May 1, 1998 were contacted and asked to participate in a minimum of two interviews conducted between June and November of 2000.

Excluded from this population of high schools is The Winnipeg Adult Education Centre. This school is excluded on two grounds; (a) that unlike all other high schools in the Division it is a high school for adults, and (b) because the author of this study was the principal of that school. During the interview process, the participants were asked to

share their perspectives on how they make sense of the impact of the Affirmative Action Policy.

A Brief Overview of Affirmative Action in Winnipeg School Division.

The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 is the largest of the school divisions serving the city of Winnipeg and its immediate surroundings. It comprises some seventy-nine schools with a student population of more than 34,000 (Winnipeg School Division No. 1, 1997-98, p. 10-18). There were in the 1997-98 school year some 2,362 instructional staff and 1,456 support staff with an operating budget in 1996-97 of some \$212 million (Ibid, p. 9). Organized along the lines of Elementary, Junior High and Senior High schools, the Division has fifty-nine elementary schools, five junior high schools and fifteen high schools.

Table 1.4
Winnipeg School Division No. 1: Schools by Level (1997-98)

ELEMENTARY	
Elementary (Nursery to Grade 6)	48
Elementary and Junior High (Nursery to Grade 8)	7
Elementary and Junior High (Nursery to Senior 1)	4
Total:	59
JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	
Junior High (Grade 7 to Senior 1)	5
Total:	5
SENIOR HIGH SCHOOLS	
Junior and Senior High (Grade 7 to Senior 4)	7
Senior High (Senior 1 to Senior 4)	4
Senior High (Senior 2 to Senior 4)	3
Winnipeg Adult Education Centre (Basic to Senior 4)	1
Total:	15

Source: Winnipeg School Division Minutes 1998

Early Struggles (1972-85)

In 1979-80, the Status of Women Committee of the Winnipeg Teachers' Association (WTA) wrote the first version of a proposed Affirmative Action Policy (Winnipeg School Division Board Minutes, March 18, 1980). This was an outline of the key equity issues and their possible solutions. This outline was presented to the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Board of Trustees on March 18, 1980. As a result of this presentation, the Administration Committee of the Board made several recommendations that included the establishment of an Affirmative Action Plan. On July 9, 1980, the trustees adopted a recommendation to "...increase the percentage of women in administrative positions by 5% each year for the next seven years and during the same period, balance the ratio of women to men in the various administrative classifications so that it is proportional to the staff representation (July 9, 1980, Board Minutes, p. 1032).

Also in 1980, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Board of Trustees decided that each year the Administrative Training Program would accept an equal number of male and female applicants. In 1982, this program was replaced by the Personnel Development Program that continues to operate and accepts twenty applicants, ten males and ten females each year.

An Interventionist Phase (1986-92)

In January of 1986, the Winnipeg School Division approved the Affirmative Action For Women in Administration Policy. This policy was written and proposed by the senior administration of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. This document stated that, "The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 shall adopt an Affirmative Action Program to increase the representation of women in all educational administrative positions in the Division to reflect the proportion of women on the professional staff" (Board Minutes, January 9, 1986, p. 1). The policy stated that there would be an annual report of the progress of the Affirmative Action Program. The policy also covered promotional practices, the selection of teachers in charge, the appointment of department heads/team leaders and professional development activities. Also, at this time, there was a movement

to increase leadership opportunities for Aboriginal and minority men and women within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 as evidenced by a motion to establish the Task Force on Race Relations in 1988.

At a meeting held March 15, 1988, the Board of Trustees of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 adopted a motion to establish the Task Force on Race Relations. The Task Force prepared a report that made 106 recommendations. Six of the recommendations were significant in terms of Affirmative Action and Employment Equity. The report suggested that the “. . . present Affirmative Action Program for Women in Administration be expanded to an Employment Equity Program for all levels including Administration . . . [and that] the four groups the program should be primarily concerned with are individuals who are Disabled, Aboriginal Peoples, Ethnocultural Groups and Women” (The Report of The Task Force on Race Relations, 1989, p. 18-19).

Broadening the Affirmative Action Agenda: (1993 - 1997)

By the beginning of the 1990s a number of women had been appointed to principalships, especially at the elementary level. During the early 1990's, the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy began to have an impact on the career opportunities for aspiring administrators. The actions taken, as a result of the implementation process, supported professional development, planning activities, mentoring and networking in an attempt to reduce the barriers to equality in administrative leadership.

From 1990-91 to 1997-98, the percentage of women principals at the secondary level in the Winnipeg School Division increased by only 2 per cent. However, the largest gain in female principalships was evident at the elementary level where there was a 21 per cent increase during the same period of time. The school year 1993-94 was the year which represents the achievement of overall parity in terms of an equal number of men and women in principalships in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

A Brief History of Affirmative Action Policies in Canadian Education

According to Kristjanson (1996), Anne Marie Wolpe (1978) was one of the earliest American contemporary feminists to explore the role of gender in education,

making the link between the patriarchal views of men, who controlled education, and the policies and practices initiated by school boards. Thus, the policy makers and society, in general, have both overt and covert ideas about women and their proper place within schools.

In the early 1970's, it was believed that the cause of women's subordination was "... rooted in customs and beliefs that constrained women's entrance and success in the public sphere. If we could change the rules of the game to make it fair, women would have an equal chance of success" (Kristjanson, 1996, p. 8). Over the next twenty years, it became evident that making the rules 'fair' was not sufficient. It became apparent that, in the public school, in educational leadership, women's lack of equal promotional opportunity stemmed from many complex factors. The impact of social structures and the values held by society significantly influenced the formal educational preparation women received for leadership positions and the experience they gained in training positions such as an acting principalship or vice-principalship.

"If as a society, we believe that attributes associated with men hold more value, the actions we take will reflect those beliefs. In schools, some of those actions include how we teach, how we relate to students and what we include and exclude in our curriculum" (Ibid, p. 18). These attitudes will also be reflected in the hiring and promotion of women to administrative positions within the education system.

The research literature explains these phenomena and also indicates the strategies that advocated for addressing the issues. The first explanation was that there were biological and sociological reasons for the lack of women in leadership positions (Acker, 1994). It was suggested that women were different and not well suited to administration. There was a belief that administrators needed intellect, strength and power in order to discipline and run a secondary school. Women were better suited to teach and mother the younger children during the elementary years. Wollstonecraft argued that biological differences were irrelevant . . ." (cited in Jagger and Rothenberg, 1993, p. 117). She claimed that the apparent inferiority of the female intellect was due to women's inferior education. The strategies advocated for overcoming these beliefs suggested that women needed to change. They needed to be perceived more like a man, have more formal education, a university education, experience in leadership positions and dress

conservatively in navy suits and thus the concept of 'dress for success' was born.

The second explanation was institutional. There was a belief that there was a need to remove the barriers and change the climate within school divisions to allow for legislated equity. Feminists and teachers' organizations began to push for affirmative action legislation at the Department of Education and school board level. Working within this policy framework and focusing attention on individual mobility within existing structures, liberal feminists suggested a series of planning, mentoring and networking strategies to advance gender equality. It is this general orientation that informs many of the developments described and examined in this study.

The third explanation was that the problem was systemic and that there was a need to rethink educational administration, challenge the existing hierarchies, put policies in place that would assure equality and examine and endorse the leadership characteristics that provide sound leadership in schools. These characteristics would then form the basis for hiring and promotion practices within the education system.

Debates and research centered around the topic of affirmative action have at least a thirty year history. During this period researchers have referred to the topic as "controversial" (Clayton and Crosby, 1991), "explosive" (Eberhardt and Fiske, 1994), and "feminist" (Young, 1995). Whether or not researchers have thought of affirmative action as "controversial" or "feminist", the debate has continued unabated over the years.

Sandler (1975) argues that affirmative action brought about the ". . . revision of standards and practices to assure that institutions [were] in fact, drawing from the largest marketplace of human resources [and ensuring] that they do not inadvertently foreclose consideration of the best-qualified persons by untested presuppositions which operate to exclude women and minorities" (p. 139). The critiques of affirmative action are centered in three areas: 1) inefficiency which puts other than "the best qualified" into leadership positions; 2) the questioning of a leader's 'real' ability as a consequence of affirmative action shakes the individual's self-confidence; and 3) backlash, which often emphasizes the needs of the economy rather than focusing on equity issues and backlash is often voiced by management which has a greater stake in the status quo.

Thus, the controversy continues with researchers debating some old issues, some new ideas, and attaching some new labels and new terms to some of the old

issues. Terms like “reverse discrimination”, “special treatment”, “glass ceilings”, “quotas” and “qualifications” are currently used in discussions about affirmative action. Tierney (1997) suggests that,

Although the arguments may have remained similar for the last generation, the context in which such arguments have been framed has changed. Whereas affirmative action was once based on the liberal notion that governmental policies might be developed that help create a just community, the language of equity has been replaced by the conservative demand for individual rights. The government is now seen not as helpful but as intrusive. Affirmative action, then, might be critiqued either as a tool to help tighten social bonds or as a weapon that retards individual liberty (p. 166).

In Canada, in the early 1980's, there was a period of action and movement toward equity in society and in the education system. During the period 1980 to 1990 many departments of education established affirmative action initiatives. This was a time when there was strong support for a liberal and legislative approach to affirmative action. Rees 1990, found that during the period 1987-89, “. . . eight of the departments or ministries of education in Canada were found to have some employment equity/affirmative action policy, [however] only in six provinces were school boards found to have such policies” (p. 8).

Table 1.5, summarizes the percentage of men and women in leadership positions in the Canadian school system. The table also indicates, by province, those school boards that had an affirmative action/employment equity policy, a system of identifying a pool of people with leadership potential and those school boards that had targets for hiring and promoting women (Rees 1990).

Definition of Terms

High School/Elementary School. Since 1994, Manitoba Education and Training policy documents have conceptualized K-12 schooling into three grade level divisions; Early Years (K-4), Middle Years (5-8), and Senior Years (S1-S4). However, across the province many schools are organized along different grade level configurations

Table 1.5
Males and Females in Education - Gender in the Canadian School System
 (Based on information gathered 1987-89)

	Yuk.	NWT	Nfld.	PEI	NS	NB	Que.	Ont.	Man.	Sask.	Alta.	BC
School Boards with an affirmative action/employment equity policy for women:	0	0	0	0	1	3	6	21	1	0	0	2
Percentage of educational positions held by males & females:									<u>All Schools</u>	<u>All Schools</u>		
Secondary Principal	M 100% F 0%	M 100% F 0%	M 90% F 10%	M 100% F 0%	M 94% F 6%	M 92% F 8%	M 88% F 12%	M 89% F 11%	<i>Principals</i> M 76% F 24%	<i>Principals</i> M 85% F 15%	M 97% F 3%	M 96% F 4%
Secondary Vice Principal	M 100% F 0%	M 83% F 17%	M 93% F 7%	M 100% F 0%	M 84% F 16%	M 90% F 10%	M 83% F 17%	M 83% F 17%	<i>Vice-Principals</i> M 70% F 30%	<i>Vice-Principals</i> M 82% F 18%	M 86% F 14%	M 90% F 10%
Junior High Principal	M 67% F 33%	M 100% F 0%	N/A	M 100% F 0%	M 92% F 8%	M 95% F 5%	N/A	N/A			M 93% F 7%	M 86% F 14%
Junior High Vice Principal	M 100% F 0%	M 100% F 0%	N/A	M 83% F 17%	M 91% F 9%	M 85% F 15%	N/A	N/A			M 85% F 14%	M 89% F 11%
Elementary Principal	M 62% F 38%	M 73% F 27%	M 78% F 22%	M 80% F 20%	M 65% F 35%	M 71% F 29%	M 71% F 29%	M 83% F 17%			M 81% F 19%	M 83% F 17%
Elementary Vice Principal	M 29% F 71%	M 53% F 47%	M 66% F 34%	M 75% F 25%	M 49% F 51%	M 72% F 28%	M 49% F 51%	M 69% F 31%			M 71% F 29%	M 70% F 30%
School boards who have identified a pool of people with leadership potential:	0	0	0	0	1	1	4	20	2	3	2	3
Number of school boards that have targets for hiring and promoting women:	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	27	2	0	0	0

Source: Rees, R. (1990). Women and Men in Education. Canadian Education Association: Toronto

(Manitoba Education and Training, June 1990). Distinctions such as elementary, junior high and senior high are complicated by the fact that in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, as in other school divisions, there are many different grade ranges in the schools ie. N-6, N-8, N-S1, 7-S1, 7-S4, S1-S4, and S2-S4 classes. In the Winnipeg School Division, schools are organized into Elementary, Junior High and High Schools rather than structuring around Early/Middle and Senior Years. The Division currently has some fifty-nine elementary schools (48 are Nursery to Grade 6, seven are Nursery to Grade 8, and four are Nursery to Senior 1), five junior high schools (Grades 7 to Senior 1), and fifteen high schools (seven are Grade 7 to Senior 4, four Senior 1 to Senior 4, three Senior 2 to Senior 4, and one, the Winnipeg Adult Education Centre is Basic to Senior 4). Given this configuration, in this study it is the Elementary, Junior High, High School designations that are used in the analysis of administrative appointments and the key distinction made between Elementary/Junior high and High schools. These issues are examined in detail in Chapter V.

Therefore, for the purpose of this study, with reference to the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, the term High School Principalship will be used to refer to the administrator who is in charge of a school that has S2-S4 classes.

Principal/Vice-Principal: are terms used in this study to describe the administrators in a school. In the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, schools will always have a full time principal but, according to the enrolment of the school and if the student population is sufficient to warrant a vice-principal, the school will have either a supervising vice-principal who does not teach, or a teaching vice-principal who may teach up to half-time. For the purposes of this study no distinction is made between these two types of vice-principalships.

Of particular significance to this study is the classification of schools in the Winnipeg School Division, by the size of the student populations. As shown in Chapter V, Table 5.2, schools are classified Level 1 through Level V based on student enrolment, with administrative responsibility, salary and status increasing with each level. This is particularly significant as administrative career paths are charted my movement from level of responsibility to level of responsibility as much as they are from vice-principalship to principalship or from elementary school to high school.

Affirmative Action and Employment Equity: These two terms are often used interchangeably to describe initiatives which attempt to achieve equal outcomes and opportunity for both females and males in the educational system in terms of access to promotion and senior administrative positions.

For the purposes of this study, the term affirmative action will be used when referring to initiatives and special measures that are designed to increase the occupational opportunities for women. Employment Equity will be used in a broader context to refer to measures that are designed to provide equal opportunities for all people so that no person is discriminated against because of race, ethnic origin, colour, religion or gender.

Career Goals. This term is used to describe the work related aspirations of the respondents. They are often individual objectives that one can articulate and which one works toward and hopes to attain at some point in the future. The complicating factor in using this term is that many women have been socialized to have a limited view of their career goals and aspirations.

Career Path. This term describes a series of preparatory events taken by an individual. These events may include formal educational training and prior leadership positions held within the educational system to prepare individuals for positions with greater responsibility. Bledstein (1976), cited in Shakeshaft, (1989, p. 64) notes, "traditionally a career path has been characterized as ... a pre-established total pattern of organized professional activity, with upward movement through recognized preparatory stages". It is in a limited version of this understanding that this study examines female and male administrators' progression through a series of administrative positions and levels in Winnipeg School Division No.1 between 1973 and 1998.

Limitations of the Study

The focus of this study is The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, a large urban school division in Western Canada. As a result, this study does not attempt to suggest that the data collected in this study can be generalized to other Canadian school divisions nor that the experiences of the respondents in this study reflect those of high school administrators in other jurisdictions across Canada

Significance of the Study

In a relatively short period of time, significantly less than the twenty-five year period of this study, when the teaching force was aging, student enrolments were stable or declining, and when funding for education was stagnant or declining, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 was able to substantially change the gender representation of its administrators. This study contributes to the Educational Administration literature by carefully documenting these changes at all levels of school-based administration in the Division and examining the ways in which these changes impacted on women and men's career paths.

It is significant that this study examines the experiences and perceptions of both male and female high school administrators about the hiring and promotion practices within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. This way the study contributes to the research by providing an understanding of what Shakeshaft calls ". . . both women's and men's experiences together. . ." (1989, p. 14).

Gendered research studies of the Canadian high school principalship are scarce, and often focused on entry-level administrative positions at the elementary level. Hill and Ragland (1995) suggest that, "Little literature focuses on women leaders in education. The theoretical bases of educational leadership are overwhelmingly established on research generated by white males studying white male leaders" (p. ix). Few study the subsequent promotions of women and men in administration.

Thus, in summary, the significance of this study is threefold. In the first instance, it offers a detailed description of the substantial changes in gender representation within its administration that was brought about within the division in a relatively short period of time. Second, it provides an understanding of both men and women's experiences in terms of the implementation of the affirmative action policy in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. Third, it adds to the scarce research in the area of Canadian high school principalships, a study that spans a twenty-five year period of time.

CHAPTER II

The Literature Review

Introduction

Gender differences in teachers' and school administrators' career paths across Canada have a long history (Althouse 1967, Curtis, 1988), while the history of Affirmative Action policies that view these differences as problematic and that set out to develop systemic interventions to change them, date only from the 1970's (Bruno-Jofre, 1993). This chapter will synthesize these two distinct bodies of literature as they provide the context for the developments in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. that provide the focus for this study.

Gender and School Administration in Canada: Historical Dimensions (1850-1970)

There is a parallel between the early history of the education system in the United States and that of Canada and in both countries the power and administration of education has been predominantly a male domain.

In 1853 Toronto Normal School admitted, for the first time, ". . . young ladies as well as young men" (French, 1968, p. 13). Up until this time almost all formal teaching was done by men. At this time, the teaching of small children was the only occupation in teaching open to educated women, for it was believed that women were naturally patient with young children (French, 1968; Graham, 1974; Tyack and Strober, 1981; and Prentice, Bourne, Brandt, Light, Mitchinson and Black, 1988).

When the number of Ontario schools increased in the 1840's and 1850's, middle class women were hired as teachers. "Some few districts, no doubt very hard-pressed, engaged women teachers in the 1840's" (French, 1968, p. 18). French goes on to indicate that,

In 1847 for the first time woman teachers were listed separately in government records, and that year one in five public school

teachers was a woman. By 1860 they were one in four. By 1870 they were almost equal. By 1880 they were in the majority (Ibid, p. 19).

Hired to save money, women usually lived in the same district or one in close proximity. Some of this perception of worth, French suggests, was related to the fact that, ". . . male teachers often came into the district from distant places; the woman teacher was more apt to be known to the community, with a consequent lowering of prestige" (Ibid, p. 21).

During the 1800's the salaries of teachers reflected the differential value and prestige of the position for women and men. For example, in 1870 in Ontario, male teachers earned, on average, \$260; women \$187. In more affluent towns, ". . . men teachers received \$450, women \$200, and in cities the average figures were \$597 and \$231" (French, 1968, p. 20).

Political and economic reasons made it unlikely that many men would enter a profession that could not support a family. The small wages were not sufficient for a married man; however, single men often taught until they could locate a job that paid more money (Prentice and Theobald, 1991; Tyack and Strober, 1981; Shakeshaft, 1989). In Upper Canada (as Ontario was known from 1791 - 1840), men had many more employment options than women. "Men had open to them the excitement and profits of commerce, manufacturing, agriculture, and the arts. . . . When one regarded the 'scanty pittance' paid most teachers and notice that 'few men will enter a business that will not support a family,' it became obvious that women must be trained as teachers" (Curtis, 1988, p. 30).

In time, the school year lengthened and the expected qualifications and education level for teachers increased. If males were willing to spend the time and money to acquire a high level of education, they often sought professions that were more lucrative such as law and medicine (Tyack and Strober, 1981). By 1880, the majority of teachers in both Canada and the United States were women. Shakeshaft states that ". . . by 1880, 57.2% of the teachers in the United States were women and by 1900, 70.1% were women (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 30).

An examination of the graded school shows that the women were placed in elementary classrooms and the men held positions in the higher grades and in administration. Shakeshaft goes on to say that, "By 1918, teaching and administration were two separate professions . . ." (Ibid, p. 30). The men were viewed as more appropriate to teach and administer at the high school level and women were viewed as unable to discipline the higher grades (Tyack, 1974; Tyack, and Strober, 1981). The status of the male teacher was further enhanced by the titles the students used to address their teachers.

In common schools, men were the masters or principals whereas women were the assistant teachers; in high schools, males were called "Professor" and females were addressed as "Miss". Women were identified by their sex, whereas men were acknowledged for the roles they played. A pertinent example can be found in the 1805 catalogue of the Bradford academy, which described its 75 teachers in training as "twenty-nine students and forty-six females" (Clifford, 1982, p. 237, cited by Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 26).

The education system continued to evolve into a hierarchical organization. The attitude, of that time, believed in male dominance. It was therefore, no surprise to have male leaders and women followers.

Hierarchical organization of schools and the male chauvinism of the larger society fit as hand to glove. The system required subordination; women were generally subordinate to men; the employment of women as teachers thus augmented the authority of the largely male administrative leadership. (Tyack, 1974, p. 60)

In May of 1854, Emily (Jennings) Stowe graduated from the Provincial Normal School in Toronto, with First Class Honours.

Her record so impressed the chairman of the Brantford School Board, James Wilkes, and his fellow trustees, that they hired her as the principal of their oldest public school (later the Brantford

Central School). Miss Emily Jennings was the first woman to be appointed principal of a public school in Ontario (still known as Canada West in 1854). . . . She taught for two years until her marriage in Norwichville on the twenty-second of November, 1856, to John Stowe (Fryer, 1990, p. 33-35).

When Emily Jennings captured a job as the principal of a Brantford elementary school, she went down in history as the first Canadian woman to hold such a position in the public school system.

In summary, prior to 1840/1850 the role of school teacher was almost exclusively a male role. The second half of the nineteenth century saw a dramatic shift in this situation. Women entered the profession and came to be the majority of teachers in Canada. At this time, teaching was not well paid, men were paid more than women and men had more career options that made teaching relatively unattractive to them. In 1854, the first woman was appointed to a principalship in the Canadian public school system. ¹

The history of women in administration points to an ever changing social environment in which women began to achieve higher education as preparation to teach in the secondary school and the higher education also served as preparation for an administrative position. In the early years, however, women held teaching positions and men were in the administrative positions. Reynolds (1983) cites several possible reasons why there were so many men in principalships. She suggests that, "In order to avoid being seen as effeminate men would have to assert their "masculinity". One way of doing this would be to set themselves up as leaders, a tactic which could partly account for their prevalence as administrators" (p. 59). Another reason suggested by Reynolds is that men have a wish ". . . to disassociate themselves from the most 'feminine' aspects of their role (Ibid, p. 59). Men would therefore elect to teach older students, often at the secondary level, in subject areas that are thought of as '. . . traditionally male fields . . .'" (Ibid, p. 59).

During this period of time when the small, rural school district was prevalent,

¹ Within the Catholic separate school system and outside of the public school systems, however, it was not uncommon for women in religious orders to have run schools (Bruno-Jofre, 1996).

they were controlled by ". . . the local parents, or more particularly the fathers, since most school trustees were men" (Levin and Young, 1993, p. 14). In addition, ". . . the provincial inspector was the predominant administrative figure . . ." (B. Young, 1994, p. 3). Young goes on to say that these inspectors were screened by provincial bureaucrats that were usually male (Ibid p. 3). In fact, inspectors still performed their function in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 until 1967-68. Young points out that women were ". . . virtually powerless, at the combined 'mercy' of the local school trustees who employed them and the male provincial inspectors who supervised them" (Ibid, p. 6).

Between 1900 and 1930 women began to move into administrative positions, however, ". . . they primarily occupied elementary principalships and county and state superintendencies . . . By 1928, [in the United States] women held 55% of the elementary principalships, 25% of the county superintendencies and some 8% of the secondary school principalships. . ." (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 34). In Toronto, Canada, it was not until the 1930s that a female held a secondary principalship (Gelman in Heap and Prentice, 1991, p. 94). In Canada the percentages of women in administrative positions were not as high as those in the United States. In 1930, the Toronto Board of Education recorded 75 (91.5 per- cent) male and 7 (8.5 per cent) female elementary principals and 17 (89.5 percent) male and 2 (10.5 percent) female secondary principals (Reynolds, 1987, p. 9). Thus, women moved into administration but in small numbers and almost exclusively at the elementary level. There was a brief interlude during World War II when women continued to be appointed to principalships while many male administrators served in the armed forces. However, at the conclusion of the war the patterns of employment returned to the prewar status.

Several factors worked against women and resulted in their decline in administrative positions after 1928. Many of the barriers to women in the mid-twentieth century were indistinguishable from those of the prior years. Century-old patterns of male dominance had solidified a number of beliefs about women that both men and women accepted and that limited women's access to school administration. Negative attitudes toward women continued to be a major barrier. Women were thought to be constitutionally incapable of discipline and order,

primarily because of their size and supposed lack of strength. (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 39).

In the early twentieth century, the modern school was beginning to emerge in Canada and the United States, particularly in large urban centres (Curtis, Prentice, Tyack). Mirroring the development in industry and business, the modern school was more specialized and hierarchical, and gender roles among educators became clearly demarcated. Women perceived as nurturers and caregivers to young children and were assigned to the early grade levels of public schooling while men assumed the responsibilities for tending the older students and for administration. By 1918, in the United States, Shakeshaft notes that teaching and administration in the United States were two distinct professions and the latter was almost exclusively the domain of men.

In 1930, the increasing number of vocational high schools in Ontario, ". . . provided more opportunities for women teaching the expanding gender-related vocational subjects" (Heap and Prentice, 1991, p. 91). However, the men continued to teach in areas such as mathematics and science. The educational level of both male and female teachers was a significant factor in teaching assignments and promotion to administration, and as time went on, more and more females and males acquired university degrees.

One such Winnipeg woman was Sybil Shack. She acquired a B. Ed. degree in 1945 and an M. Ed. in 1946. In May of 1948, she was offered the principalship of Sargent Park School. This was an elementary school in the west end of Winnipeg that was scheduled to open in January of 1949. In Toronto, at about the same time, there were few female principals.

In 1950, the Toronto teachers consisted of 1074 (38 percent) males and 1751 (62 percent females); however, there were 84 (95.5 percent) male and 4 (4.5 percent) female elementary principals and 16 (89 percent) male and 2 (11 percent) female secondary principals (Reynolds, 1987, p. 9-10). This pattern of inequality was to continue in many Canadian school divisions for many years.

In Manitoba, the composition of the teaching staff changed significantly during the 1950's. Shack indicates that, "Large numbers of young women teachers were married, and looked forward to a career, but also to having children. Men were beginning to think of elementary school positions as career possibilities" (Bruno-Jofre,

1993, p. 490). Shack was a pioneer in the management of staff. As a principal she pushed for equality on a number of fronts. On one such occasion she requested permission to bend the policy.

The policy of the Winnipeg School Board -- I never saw it in print -- was that a pregnant teacher had to resign by the end of the fourth month of pregnancy. One of the grade seven teachers brought me the glad tidings before Easter, and was prepared either to ask for leave or to resign. Her health was good; she was an excellent teacher. Her only reason for leaving would have been the Board policy. I discussed the matter with the appropriate superintendent, and received permission for her to remain until June 30, the end of the school term. By that time her pregnancy was well advanced. . . A few years later another member of our staff taught until the day before her son was born (Ibid, p. 491).

In Manitoba, The Royal Commission on Education was established in 1957, and was chaired by Dr. R. O. McFarlane. The Royal Commission on Education ". . . set in motion changes in the organizational structure of education in the province as nothing else had done since 1896" (Ibid, p. 491). Most of the recommendations of this Commission affected women. The recommendations included "raising of standards for entrance to teacher training, the lengthening of the teacher training period, and salaries for teachers to be based on the principles outlined by the MTS: years of preparation both academic and professional, years of experience and measurable responsibility" (Ibid, p. 491-2).

This sent substantial numbers of teachers back to school to improve their qualifications. Times were changing and ". . . the importance of a sound educational background and appropriate teacher training for all teachers had to be accepted" (Ibid, p. 493).

The Commission was highly critical of teacher training programs in the province. It pointed out that in 1958 of 23 staff members at the Manitoba Teachers' College in Winnipeg, only two held academic Master's degrees, six had no academic degrees at all, and nine had

no professional degree or specialist certificate in lieu thereof. Of the situation in Brandon Teachers' College, with its staff of 12, it had this to say: "Four members of the staff of the Teacher Training Course have academic degrees higher than a Bachelor's degree; it is quite unsatisfactory that three have no degrees and five have no professional degree. The Teacher Training Course should be staffed by persons having the highest academic and professional training (Ibid, p. 493-4).

During the 1960's the requirements were raised for entrance to the newly constructed Faculty of Education on the University of Manitoba Campus. "The Teachers' College moved out to the University, and ultimately all teacher education, not merely that of secondary school teachers, became the responsibility of the province's universities" (Ibid, p. 497).

In the 1960's many women were still on the lower levels of the salary scale. Many were unable to save enough money to take a leave of absence in order to upgrade their academic qualifications. Many women were also at a disadvantage if they took time off for child-bearing and child-raising. Not only did they have less service and this often meant less chance for leadership opportunities but they also lost in terms of pensionable service and many lacked the required 35 years of service for a full pension. In 1963, the Men's Local and the Women's Local of the Manitoba Teachers' Society amalgamated. In theory, equality existed in terms of salaries, pensions and retirement age.

The first Winnipeg, female, high school principal was Agnes McDonald. She was principal of Elmwood High School from 1964 to 1972 having previously served as a vice-principal at Gordon Bell School. As with many female principals, Agnes was older than most men who are secondary principals. She was 56 years old when appointed to Elmwood.

Thus, the 1950's and 1960's saw a continuation of the small number of women in administrative positions. Reynolds (1987) indicates that in 1950 there were 84 (95.5%) males and 4 (4.5%) females in elementary principalships and 16 (89%) males and 2 (11%) females in secondary principalships in Toronto, Canada (p. 9). These figures

remain almost the same in 1960 and 1970 with 83 (92.2%) males and 7 (7.8%) females in elementary principalships in 1960 and 97 (89.8%) males and 11 (10.2%) females in elementary principalships in 1970. At the secondary level there were 16 (89%) males and 2 (11%) females in 1960 and 23 (88.5%) males and 3 (11.5%) females in principalship positions in Toronto in 1970 (Ibid, p. 9). Smith (1991), looks at the Canadian situation. She indicates that in “. . . 1969-70 only 23.6 percent of principals were women (eight provinces only), though there is considerable variation by province” (p. 241).

Love (1996), points to research that suggests that, “. . . that women have been accepted into teaching and administrative positions according to the whim of society and the needs of men (Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989; Tyack, 1974)”. She also indicates that the “. . . historical perspective shows patterns of numbers and statistics of women in administration over time, and [that there are] . . . increases and decreases according to eras and national events (Biklen & Brannigan, 1980; Cuban, 1988; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Shakeshaft, 1989)” (p. 33).

Gender and School Administration in Canada: Recent Developments (1970 - 2000)

The 1970's marked the beginning of a change in institutional and individual awareness and concern about Equity Issues, Civil Rights and Affirmative Action. The Royal Commission on the Status of Women had a large impact on women teachers. Across Manitoba female teachers, “. . . in the next few years . . . formed Status of Women committees within their MTS division associations. Linda Asper's Master's thesis, Factors Affecting the Entry of Women Teachers into Administrative Positions of the Manitoba Public System and Sybil Shack's book The Two-Thirds Minority, helped raise awareness of the issues around equality and women's preparedness for holding administrative positions in the 1970's (Shack in Bruno-Jofre, 1993, p. 501).

By the middle 1970's as older teachers reached retirement age, and others upgraded their own education, rural as well as urban schools were being staffed with teachers who had a minimum of four years education beyond grade twelve. In 1960 only 19.7% of teachers had

at least a first degree. By September, 1970, there were 47.3% in this category, and by September, 1980, 81.5%.

Since secondary teachers had always been required to have a degree, and the majority of elementary teachers were women who had not been required to have a university education, simple arithmetic suggests that almost all the difference between 1960 and 1980 resulted from the upgrading of the qualifications of women both through the self-improvement of practicing teachers and the changes in requirements for entrance to teacher training (Ibid, p. 497-8).

The difference in the educational levels attained by women and men suggests one reason for the gender imbalances in administrative appointments. During the 1970's more women sought further education and training, thus preparing themselves for high school teaching positions and a place in the administrative structure.

Chony (1982), states that, "A study conducted by the Alberta Teachers' Association in 1972 found that although women made up fifty-four percent of school personnel in Alberta, only four per cent of them held positions of responsibility, compared to twenty-three per cent of the males. The proportion of women in administration had also declined from 5.5% in 1961 to 3.6% in 1972" (p. 14). Porat (1985), indicates that, according to Statistics Canada, "During the 10-year period between 1972 and 1982 the proportion of principals in Canada who were female decreased from 17% to 13%. During that same interval the number of principalships declined by 1%, but perceived risks, a lack of confidence in the number of women holding principalships dropped by 22%" (p. 298). One explanation of this decline Porat suggests was that women are viewed "as superfluous during times of economic crisis (p.298). In Manitoba, a study by the Manitoba Teachers' Society (Manitoba Teachers' Society, 1979) suggested that many women did not apply for principal positions at this time because of their own qualifications,

Porat (1985) examined the equity situation in Calgary. She indicated that, "in 1973, 60.5% of all teachers employed by the Calgary public school board were female,

but only 20% of all Calgary principals were women" (p. 298). She goes on to point out that 48.6% of the male teaching staff received administrative pay allowances, however, only 6.8% of the female teaching staff received such allowances. In 1983, a follow-up study revealed that ". . . women outnumbered men in the Calgary schools by a ratio of 3:1, but only one woman in 25 held an administrative position at the elementary level and only 1.8% were elementary principals. At the secondary level, one woman in 125 served as principal or assistant principal - - but one man in nine served in one of those capacities" (p. 298).

Lupini (1975) indicates that, ". . . British Columbia has a significantly lower percentage of women in administration than any other province. For example, although 68 per cent of the elementary teachers in British Columbia are female, only 18 per cent are principals, and only 3 per cent are vice-principals. Although 31 per cent of the secondary school teachers are female, there are no female secondary principals and only five vice-principals" (p. 17). He goes on to say that,

Those provinces with separate school systems, for instance, tend to have a higher percentage of women principals, due I believe to the fact that in the past there existed, and in a number of districts there still exist, separate schools for the sexes. For example, of 316 schools listed in the Montreal Catholic School Commission Directory for 1974-75, 11 or 35% are assigned to women principals (p. 17).

Shack comments on the situation in Winnipeg, Manitoba when she says that, "During . . . [her] last year on the Winnipeg staff (1975-76), 18 of its schools, most of them small elementary schools, and two high schools, had women principals" (Bruno-Jofre, 1993, p. 502). The two female high school principals Shack refers to are, of course, herself, Sybil Shack, Principal of Kelvin High School during the school year of 1975-76 and Valdine Johnson, who was Principal of Elmwood High School from 1975 until 1977.

Nixon (1980), comments on Canadian schools when he states that,

All things being equal, one might reasonable expect to find more than half of the positions of administrative responsibility in Canadian

schools, school jurisdictions, departments of education and teachers' associations held by women. It has been well documented that this is not the case in any province in Canada Public education remains male-dominated and the female influence remains confined to the classroom context. . . . In general, the more administrative responsibility attached to a position, the less probability that that position would be held by a woman (p. 19).

In conclusion, Sigford (1995) cites several cultural beliefs that she believes contributed to the small number of female teachers who went on to become secondary principals. From the research, cited earlier in this paper, there is a parallel between the cultural beliefs surrounding equality held in the United States and those held in Canada.

One, the political structure of the United States was based on a patriarchal system that espoused white, male, middle-class values. Two, teaching children, especially younger children was seen as natural for women. Three, teaching was seen as a natural outgrowth of family responsibilities because the school calendar allowed women to work and then be home during the summer to supervise their children. Four, men were seen as more business-like, professional, and "family free." Five, men were expected to be in charge and to take control. Women were expected to follow orders. Six, teaching and administration for women are seen as positions in addition to family responsibilities. For men, having a viable career is part of their family responsibility. In particular for men administration was seen as a way of supporting the family that held status and influence (p. 22).

The secondary principalship traditionally has been a male domain. In recent years, however, women have begun to be appointed to the secondary principalship in larger numbers. In addition, many women have looked at the secondary principalship when planning their career paths.

The High School Principalship

There is a body of literature (Shakeshaft 1989, Prentice and Theobald, 1991, Shack, 1993), that talks of women's career paths, in administration, tending to move from teacher to elementary vice-principal to elementary principal or from teacher to a consultant and terminating there while men's career paths, in administration, often move from teacher to secondary vice-principal to elementary principal to secondary principal to the superintendency.

Brooks (1994), states that, "A noticeable fact emerges consistently throughout the literature, that being the evident under-representation of women in educational administration. . . . One variable to be considered is the career paths of male and female secondary school administrators" (p. 12). In Brooks' summary of the literature, she asserts that,

This review of the literature demonstrates that male dominance in educational administration positions is the norm. In a National Association of Secondary School Principals study in 1989, statistics indicated that one out of every eight high school principals, was a female. The larger the community population, the more likely there is a female principal or assistant principal in the school district. In cities with populations of one million or more, about one of every three principals and assistant principals is female. In smaller cities, towns, and rural areas, no more than one in ten principals and one in six assistant principals is female. There is a greater percentage of female principals in private religious and private non religious schools than in comprehensive public schools (Anderson, 1989 in Brooks, 1994, p. 42).

Thus, it would be reasonable to speculate that, in a large urban city school division such as the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, there would more likely be female principals and vice-principals. However, the research indicates that the administrative career paths of men and women are quite different.

Of the high school principalships, males fill 80% of the positions, while females hold 12% (Waddell, 1994). Males obtained their first

principalship at the average age of 32, women at the age of 39 (Pavan, 1987). Men hold principalship positions for an average of eight years, and women hold principalship positions for an average of five years. Women, however, often held more administrative positions at more levels than men (Shakeshaft, 1989). As late as 1985, females earned only 65% of the salary of their male colleagues. However, females held more degrees and had more experience in education (Sigford & Tonnesen, 1993, cited by Brooks, 1994, p. 42-43).

Angulo (1995), describes the typical high school principal as, “. . . a white male between the ages of 40 and 55 years with a master’s degree as his minimal academic qualification. He has taught seven to nine years with prior coaching experience” (p. 22-23). The career paths of women are affected by such stereotypes.

Rees (1990) also found that based upon information gathered from twelve provinces for the period 1987 to 1989, that in all provinces men held the majority of secondary principalships (Table 4, p. 15). Of the ten provinces that separated the positions according to elementary, junior high and secondary, all reported the majority of junior high and secondary principalships were held by men.

Sigford (1995) outlines the history of women in secondary teaching positions and those women who went on to become secondary principals, in the United States. She cites Shakeshaft’s view that the “. . . only sphere of administration where women have been dominant is the elementary principalship” (p. 20). Sigford indicates that Jones and Montenegro (1990) found slow overall gains for women in administration. [They go on to suggest that] by 1989-90 women constituted 27% of the principals in the nation [U.S.A]. The percentage of principals of secondary schools was 12%. However, this number was not divided between junior vs. senior high, assistant vs. head principals, or public vs. private/alternative schools (p.20).

A Canadian study conducted in British Columbia, by Tabin and Colman (1993), indicates that,

In 1990/91, 60% of all elementary and secondary school teachers were women; 72% of all administrative positions (principal, vice-principal,

department head) were occupied by men. Also, 29% of men, but only 6% of women, teachers in elementary and secondary schools were administrators (Statistics Canada, 1992). The percentage of women administrators has nearly doubled in the last ten years, but there are still large and seemingly inexplicable differences in representation (p. 381-2).

The literature reviewed indicates that the career paths of women in Canadian public school education has followed a very different path from that of men. It suggests that the male dominance in educational administration positions is the norm and that although there have been some increase in the number of women in administrative positions many have been token appointments. Many appointments have been the result of what Young (May, 1993) suggests is “. . . change, choice and opportunity” (p. 12).

The literature suggests that many things impact on the experiences of women who aspire to the high school principalship. Many authors use different models to explain the lack of women in administration. Shakeshaft (1989) suggests that one framework for looking at such barriers incorporates a) internal barriers, b) external barriers and c) the impact of an androcentric society. She suggests that we look at barriers and “. . . place them within the domains of internal and external barriers. Internal barriers are those that can be overcome by individual change whereas external barriers require social and institutional change” (p. 82). She also demonstrates the impact of an androcentric society and suggests that discriminatory practices prevent women from becoming administrators. Hackney and Hogard (1999) suggest that,

When women are appointed to leadership positions, they enter existing social groups with established norms, beliefs, and assumptions that guide interactions and relationships. This process is complex for all newly appointed leaders, but it is particularly difficult for those who are different in ethnicity, race, or gender - from traditional incumbents in leadership roles (p. 1).

Hansot and Tyack (1981) suggest three models of explanation. The first looks at

the internal barriers of individual women which prevent the achievement of an administrative position. The authors cite socialization and sex stereotyping as the main factors contributing to the lack of advancement for women. The second model looks at the organizational structure and how it shapes the members of society. The authors indicate that females are in jobs that have limited power, low visibility and have no room for advancement. The final model suggested by Hansot and Tyack is that of a world that is male dominated and male run. Thus, this male dominance prevents women from securing positions of power.

Ruth Rees (1995) discusses the various aspects of systemic discrimination and the different attitudes, behaviors, policies, practices and structures to which women have been subjected. Rees suggests that, “. . . any permanent change must be made on three fronts: one, at the level of society; two, at the level of the organization, and the workplace; and three, at the level of the individual” (p. 3).

Reynolds (1987) indicates that, "While much of the literature on women in management has focussed on external barriers to women's participation, internal barriers have also received attention" (p. 94-95). She defines external barriers as categories “. . . over which women have little control such as hiring procedures or the attitudes of employers” (p. 95) and internal barriers as “. . . those which rest within women themselves, such as their socialized preferences and their own attitudes” (p. 95).

In this study the next section will explore the personal, institutional, systemic/patriarchal explanations cited by the literature to explain the lack of female principals in our high schools.

Personal Explanations

Personal barriers are obstacles that can be changed by the individual. They include a lack of self-confidence, a poor self-image, a lack of assertiveness, and a reluctance to take risks (Beason, 1992). The most common barrier cited by the literature involves the theory of socialization. The concept of socialization crosses all categories of explanation. It crosses personal, institutional, and systemic/patriarchal explanations. Schmidt (1995) presents evidence that women's socialization significantly alters their aspirations and therefore lowers the number of women in administrative positions. She

states that, “. . . the attitude many women have about their ability and their expectations regarding leadership is a result of the socialization process which is self-perpetuating and self-destructive” (Schmidt, 1995, p. 15).

Shakeshaft suggests that women are socialized not to value themselves, not to have positive self-esteem, or confidence, and that women grow up thinking that they are not smart and attribute their successes to luck and hard work (Shakeshaft, 1989, video). She argues that women are socialized to be “. . . docile, soft, passive, nurturant, vulnerable, weak, childlike, incompetent, masochistic and domestic, made for child care, home care, and husband care” (Schmidt, 1995, p. 15). Rees suggests that, “. . . women do not always perceive themselves as being possible candidates for positions of added responsibility . . . women have negative self-perceptions and lack confidence in their qualifications and experience” (Rees, 1990, p. 9). Shakeshaft (1989), suggests that women in administration aspire to jobs that enable them to cope with the many requirements of job, home and family. "These senior positions make enormous time demands, which conflict with the demands of family and home" (p. 111). She also suggests that women are socialized to see their primary role as that of wife and mother.

Young (1994) refers to personal barriers which hinder women in the selection and promotion process;

With the exception of some very recent appointees (Tabin & Coleman, 1993), the women in these studies have assumed that men would be the administrators. They applied for administrative appointments only when encouraged to do so by superordinates, who were most often men, although some studies indicate that women from visible minorities (Russell, 1993) and women secondary school teachers who were viewed as having "family responsibilities" (Dempsey, 1991) received no encouragement at all. In all cases, they were reluctant to appear "too" ambitious, partly because it was regarded as inappropriate. Also, they were unsure of their own abilities to fulfill administrative roles, given their own and other people's (for example, colleagues, superordinates, parents) stereotypes about the attitudes and behaviors required of school administrators. They were also deterred by the apparent

incompatibility between the demands of administrative work and of their domestic responsibilities (p. 9-10).

Slauenwhite and Skok suggest that the personal barriers to the promotion of women administrators that include a lack of confidence, a lack of positive self-esteem, and a perceived lack of long-term commitment to their careers, are present because women chose to have families (1991, p. 17). They also suggest that ". . . women are fearful of success because they see it as a loss of their femininity. Sex role stereotyping and socialization begin in the home and continue throughout school" (p. 17-18).

The literature points to socialization as one of the key personal barriers to career advancement for women. Socialization is a process that begins in the home and continues throughout a woman's life. The socialization process contributes to a woman's lack of self-confidence, a poor self-image, a lack of assertiveness and willingness to take risks. "She is directed by society to believe that . . . certain jobs should be aspired to by men and others by women. This socialization forms the basis of the women's place model'. Within this model is the research which shows there are different expectations for women and a woman should remain in her place" (Rawles, 1995, p. 17).

Institutional Explanations

Angulo states that, "In most of the research, respondents infrequently cited internal causes as barriers to their career progress. They felt external explanations ranked much higher in having an effect on their career advancement (Campbell, 1984, Pacheco, 1982)" cited by Angulo, 1995, p. 33.

External barriers for women can take many forms. They include a lack of mentors (Shakeshaft, 1989; Hall, 1996; Acker, 1994; Reynolds, 1987), a lack of appropriate role models (Hall, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1989; Chony, 1982), sex-stereotyping (Young, 1990; Pavan, 1987; Angulo, 1995), a lack of commitment to gender equity by the employer (Young, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1989; Schmuck and Schubert, 1995), a lack of support and encouragement from colleagues, peers and family (Reynolds, 1987), and a lack of established professional networks (Young, 1994; Russell, 1995).

The literature suggests that making the career choices that lead to the acquisition of an administrative position often ". . . depends on getting the right advice and support from people (i.e. mentors) already well established in the system" (Hall, 1996, p. 55). Hall goes on to indicate that as a result of the exclusion from the 'old-boy' networks, ". . . women have often felt relatively deprived of mentors" (Ibid. p. 55). Shakeshaft, 1989 states that, ". . . it is the sponsor who advises the woman, supports her for jobs, and promotes and helps her" (p. 116).

Shakeshaft (1989) and Hall (1996) suggest that one of the reasons commonly used to explain the lack of women in management and leadership positions is the lack of appropriate role models for girls. Shakeshaft (1989) indicates that women experience a ". . . lack of female professors to serve as role models in formal university programs . . ." (p. 132).

Women school administrators apparently do not differ greatly from women in other professions. Pavan (1987) specifically studied the sex-role stereotyping of household chores by aspiring and incumbent school administrators. Pavan found both men and women averaged 52 hours a week working at their careers; however, women put in significantly more hours on household chores than men (Angulo, 1995, p. 33-34).

Young (1994) found that women apply for administrative positions only after they have been encouraged to do so. This encouragement often comes from a superordinate who is male. Although the perception appears to be changing (Tabin and Coleman, 1993), women, according to Young, feel it is inappropriate to appear "too" ambitious and generally do not plan for a career in administration. Young goes on to say

. . . it was chance remarks, unexpected job openings, and unsought role re-definitions or transfers that foster changing aspirations for these women; readiness to recognize and capitalize on unexpected opportunities was more characteristic than career planning. The women attributed their appointments to working hard, being "in the right place

at the right time,” and . . . succeeding despite not because of being a women (p. 9-10).

Young goes on to point out that although women had the support of their female teaching colleagues while a teacher, this was not the case when they became principals. She cites the fact that women felt isolated “. . . lacking access to the informal male networks that provided the men with so many forms of opportunity - to socialize, to seek advice and information, to observe and imitate acceptable conduct, to become known to those with more power and influence, to participate in the informal decision making of the organization” (1994, p. 10). Hackney and Hoggard (1999) suggests that,

When women are appointed to leadership positions, they enter existing social groups with established norms, beliefs, and assumptions that guide interactions and relationships. This process is complex for all newly appointed leaders, but it is particularly difficult for those who are different - in ethnicity, race, or gender - from traditional incumbents in leadership roles” (p. 1).

Other authors (Anderson, 1983; Shakeshaft 1989; and Brooks, 1994) point to the importance of family members as role models for men and women public school administrators. Men indicated the importance of their fathers as a role model “. . . even though they were likely to have fathers in unskilled or skilled positions as opposed to white collar or professional occupations. Women’s fathers . . .tended to have slightly more education than the fathers of male administrators (Brooks, 1994, p.15). However, Shakeshaft (1989) indicated that females attain an educational level that is similar to their mothers.

In situations where there are more women in administrative positions as role models the views are different (Reynolds, 1987; Tabin and Coleman, 1993). Young (1994) states that,

These women did actively seek out administrative appointments, sometimes in the face of obstacles but often with widespread encouragement. They were more intentionally strategic in their

career-related planning and decisions, choosing activities and contacts with an administrative line of career development (as well as more general professional development) in mind. They described the existence of women's support networks, which some of them valued highly although others reported that demise of such groups as the number of women increased (Genge, 1993; Reynolds, 1987; Tabin & Coleman, 1993) cited in Young (p. 10-11).

In the Tabin and Coleman study, it was found that half of the recently appointed female administrators indicated that administration became a career goal only after they had become bored with teaching and wanted a change.

The decision to try administration came gradually as they taught. Among these women there was no doubt about whether they could do the job, but, rather a sense of determining ahead of time what they wanted to do in the job: . . . They did not need encouragement from or prodding by others. Mentorship, however -- strong, supportive guidance, and active help in developing leadership skills and solidifying philosophy - was important for most recent appointees. This mentorship was usually provided by principals --all male: "The principal that I called my mentor was strongly supportive in terms of being very vocal about me in the district, really selling me . . . suggesting that I take on certain tasks. So he was very active in guiding me." (p. 386).

Thus, an examination of the literature indicates that earlier women did not indicate an interest in administration until receiving the encouragement of a mentor, whereas later studies indicate that the function of a mentor has changed from encouragement to that of a guidance - a person who will direct the aspiree to join divisional committees and accept leadership roles in order to be more visible, to network with educational leaders, and to learn and develop the skills and philosophical tenets about administrative practice.

Researchers refer to 'glass ceilings' or 'tokens' to express the way women felt

about appointments to educational administration. These women were inclined to see their appointments as being linked

. . . to a change in societal attitudes; some were concerned that others perceived their appointments as tokens. Once appointed, they felt the combined pressures to be role models for other women and to face sex-role stereotypes that persisted among some parents and community members (Young, 1994, p. 11).

Hudson and Rea (1998) indicate that,

. . . female and male teachers want the same qualities in a principal regardless of the principals's gender. Teachers want principals who are good communicators, good listeners, knowledgeable of curriculum and instruction, personable, problem solvers and who share power and credit as well as seek a variety of input. This study strengthens the contention that in the 1990s characteristics traditionally attributed to women's ways of leading are desirable today in male administrators as well" (p.3).

The literature points to the importance of role models and mentors to provide the needed encouragement to women who aspire to leadership positions, so that they have the confidence to actually apply for administrative positions. The literature also suggests that this may be the case for women in earlier studies; however, in later studies the function of a mentor changed from encouragement to that of a guide. The guide is a person who might suggest that the aspiree join various committees and accept leadership roles in order to be more visible, to network with knowledgeable educational leaders and to learn the necessary skills.

"Socialization and sex-role stereotyping barriers include: lack of opportunities for training, reluctance to leave teaching, time taken away from their careers to stay home with children and conflict with the spouse's or significant other's career" (Angulo, 1995, p. 35). Adkison suggests that both the socialization process and sex-role stereotyping are strong barriers to women in educational administration (1981, p. 311-343). However, more recent studies done by Beason, 1992, suggest that fewer women now view the time

taken away from the career to stay home with children as a barrier. Socialization and sex-role stereotyping provide very powerful messages about the positions that are suitable for which gender. These messages begin in the home at a young age, continue at school and are ever present in society (Adkison, 1985, p. 327-347).

Young (1993), states that, ". . . even in the 1990's, women do not yet have the same range of career options within school organizations that men have traditionally enjoyed" (p. 11). Young further suggests that there be ". . . incremental changes in the policies and practices of organizations that will further enhance the opportunities for women to enter and achieve in administration" (Young, 1990, p. 94-95).

Reynolds (1987) speaks how Staines et al. (1974) describes . . . the woman administrator as a "Queen Bee".

A competitive female who was allowed in as a token, the Queen Bee needs to cooperate with management in order to remain in her position. She looks down on younger women and is complimented by being seen as a man. She denies socialization differences for men and women and rejects the notion of discrimination by sex - if she has made it, anyone can. She identifies with her male colleagues rather than with other women and she strives to be 'superwoman' while opposing the aims of feminism and supporting traditional roles for other women (in Berry and Kushner 1981, p. 114. cited by Reynolds, 1987, p. 96).

Reynolds also states that the women in her study ". . . reported that, since there were few other women in the role, they felt somewhat isolated even though male principals were often "kindly" (1987, p. 100). Women in her study also reported that they had either remained single or were married and had made a conscious decision not to have children. One woman in her study reported that "My husband enjoyed it when I was on sabbatical because he got his meals on time" (Ibid, p. 104). Reynolds goes on to say that the women in the study indicated that ". . . such conflicts were easily overcome, however, and did not constitute a major problem for them" (Ibid. p. 104). Reynolds did find that, "The unmarried, widowed or divorced women . . . did not have the same family demands on their time or wages as did their male counterparts who were all married and

most of whom had children; on the other hand, none of these women had a wife to look after them or offer emotional support" (Ibid. p. 105).

Russell (1995) suggests that, "Unlike men's networks, theirs [women's] seems to be based more on nurturing support than on professional experience and information sharing" (p. 133). Russell goes on to say that,

While acknowledging the importance of women's networks for their nurturant qualities, a number of men and women expressed the view that they do not make up for the fact that women are still excluded from the more powerful male networks where information critical to the organization is shared (p. 134).

Systemic Explanations

Androcentrism has had a significant impact on the promotion of women.

Slauenwhite and Skok define androcentrism as:

. . . the practice of viewing the world and shaping reality from the male perspective. . . It is the elevation of the masculine to the level of the universal and the ideal, and the honoring of men and the male principal above women and the female (1991, p. 18).

An androcentric bias is embedded in organizational theory and is evident in both the expectations of society and the educational leadership literature. Many researchers (Shakeshaft, 1989, Blackmore, 1993, Young, 1990, 1995) refer to viewing education from a male perspective. Shakeshaft looks at an androcentric world when she says:

Thus in an androcentric world, there is a woman's place and that place is less valued, less honored, and less reinforced than man's place. . . . Hence, discrimination on the basis of sex is necessary for the existence of an androcentric (male-defined) world to exist. . . thus these barriers need to be seen not as women's fault, not as a result of organizational structure, but as the outcome of a sexual hierarchy in which males are at the top and females are at the bottom. (1989, p. 95).

Examples of androcentric bias exist when men are often selected for temporary or term administrative positions, thus giving them the experience and the contacts which make successful application and hiring in the future more likely. These temporary or term appointments are often made without a selection committee that would need to follow affirmative action policies which would provide guidelines for the selection process. The guidelines of these policies were established in order to attempt to eliminate the stereotyping and discrimination evident in the informal appointment process.

Stereotypes “. . . are limiting in that they require certain behavior and restrict an individual from developing his/her full potential” (Guy, 1988, p. 19). Blackmore attributes stereotypes and discrimination to the

. . . ‘teacher as mother’ stereotype which allowed women to teach young children and girls art, music, and health, but denied women’s capacity to teach upper classes because it would disadvantage male students because females ‘lacked the economic and political punch characteristics of the public authority of men’ (Blackmore, 1993, p. 34).

As a result of such widely held views, women had fewer career choices than men and often “. . . many of the brightest women chose teaching. Men had more professional opportunities than did women, and traditionally the most able men sought professions that offered both higher salaries and higher status than teaching” (Shakeshaft, 1989, p. 23), whereas, Shakeshaft goes on to say that, the brightest and most gifted women entered teaching.

Consequently, studies that contrast male and female teachers and administrators are not examining similar groups, but rather comparing the more capable educators (women) with the less capable ones (men) (1989, p. 23).

Women tended to begin as elementary teachers and remain in that position until they retired, whereas men tended to begin their teaching careers as junior high or high school teachers and often moved into leadership roles such as department heads or administrators. This movement was possible because the junior high and high school

teacher was and still is viewed as having more of the skills necessary to assume a leadership position.

Young (1990) argues that systemic discrimination, although subtly reinforced and rationalized by traditional socialization, continues to be a major factor in the under-representation of women in Canadian school administration. Baudoux (1995) has found similar information in her research.

According to our results, women head schools with younger students and with students suffering from a variety of handicaps. In addition, they are consulted less often formally than informally, in the latter case fulfilling the role of secret advisor. Furthermore, they apparently project themselves as less authoritative, look after issues related to teaching, and face greater expectations of showing their allegiance to authorities and of accepting manifestations of paternalism (p. 70).

Baudoux makes a significant point when she states that,

It is worth remembering that all organizations, regardless of type, need inequality, and that gender difference gives those in power the advantage of justifying a hierarchy of the sexes and using it in regard to roles, tasks, and salaries. But on the subject of this gender difference, we agree with Delphy (1991) and Guillaumin (1992) in stating that women are not excluded from power because they are different, but that women are established as different because they are excluded from power. Society does of course have various mechanisms that allow for the credibility of the meritocratic principles that are supposed to govern institutions. Some exceptional women do get through the many structural obstacles that stand in their way. But several manifestations of social relations between the sexes do keep many women from the more powerful positions, including those in educational administration. (1995, p. 68).

The review of the literature suggests that many things impact on the experiences

of women who aspire to high school principalships. The literature cited sex-role stereotyping, sex discrimination, family constraints, a lack of self-confidence and a lack of mentors and role models as some of the reasons why there is a lack of female principals in our high school.

Affirmative Action and Employment Equity

The terms 'affirmative action' and 'employment equity' are often used to describe initiatives used to attempt to achieve equal outcomes for both females and males in the educational system. These terms are usually associated with access to promotion and access to senior administrative positions. Taylor (1991) defines affirmative action as

A continuum of different responses to discrimination, from measures designed primarily to prevent discrimination (such as protective affirmative action) to measures designed to increase the numbers of women and nonwhites in a work force through the preferential treatment of such individuals (preferential affirmative action) (p. 235).

Shakeshaft (1999) comments:

The relationship between affirmative action and women's participation in administration is complex, with affirmative action being a factor that might have encouraged committees to interview women they might not otherwise have heard from. However, there is little evidence that women have been hired because they are women; rather the evidence indicates they are hired despite being women (p. 112).

Taylor (1991) goes on to distinguish between preferential affirmative action and protective affirmative action. Preferential affirmative action includes measures designed to bring about equality by instituting special or preferred treatment, for a period of time, to enable the disadvantaged to achieve equality. Protective affirmative action, according to Taylor, are "Measures designed to eliminate intentional and nonintentional personnel practices that have the effect of discriminating against women and nonwhite individual,

short of extending preferential treatment” (p. 236). Protective affirmative action is compatible with the idea of pure equal opportunity. Pure equal opportunity gives “. . . people the right to be treated as individuals in every instance, and people ought never to be treated based on their membership in any racial or gender group” (Ibid, p. 236). Taylor's definition is similar to Judge Abella's (1984) statement on equity and also to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982).

Taylor (1991) defines three types of equality: substantive, formal and procedural. Substantive equality is, according to Taylor, “Equality among people as to their material condition, including material goods and positions. Here, equality is a value, in the sense of a desired good or a condition worth pursuing” (p. 237). He goes on to separate substantive equality from formal equality which is often referred to as procedural equality. He defines procedural equality as, “The extent to which procedures are provided equally for all. For example, is due process provided to all? Or do the hiring and promotional practices reflect equity? Here, equality is a principle, in the sense of a rule of action” (p. 235). There are many arguments both advocating and criticizing affirmative action and equality.

Brest and Oshige (1995) write, “An affirmative action program seeks to remedy the significant under-representation of members of certain racial, ethnic, or other groups through measures that take group membership or identity into account” (p. 856). Mullen (1988) suggested that affirmative action policies are “. . . attempts to make progress toward substantive, rather than merely formal, equality of opportunity for those groups . . . which are currently underrepresented in significant positions in society” (p. 244).

Affirmative action is a preventative procedure designed to minimize [the] probability of discrimination. [It is] the deliberate undertaking of positive steps to design and implement employment procedures so as to ensure that the employment system provides equal opportunity to all (Fleming, Gill and Swinton, 1978, p. 5 in Tierney, 1997, p. 167)

Tierney (1997) differentiates between equal opportunity and affirmative action when he writes, “Equal opportunity seeks to make the organization blind to difference,

whereas affirmative action accentuates difference” (p. 173).

Taylor indicates that the “. . . views opposing affirmative action can be divided into three broad types, each emphasizing a different principle of justice” (p. 175).

First, some opposed affirmative action because they believed it violated the absolute rights of individuals. . . an individual has an absolute, inviolable right to equal treatment at the point of hiring. . . Not surprisingly, then, the view that affirmative action violates individual rights was most popular among white men. . . Even among white men, however, those who expressed such an absolute, principled view of rights were in the minority.

Second, some did. . . reject affirmative action because they thought it compromised too much on the equal opportunity principle. . . [and that] affirmative action extended excessive preference to women and nonwhite men.

Third, some believed that the social costs of affirmative action are too great, namely, declining efficiency and productivity, workplace morale, and racial harmony.

In addition to Taylor, Tierney (1997) also cites three categories of affirmative action critics.

. . . a) those who feel that affirmative action is unfair to groups not protected by the policy [reverse discrimination] . . . b) those who feel that affirmative action is in fact harmful to those groups protected by the policy [creating victims], and c) those who feel that affirmative action has diluted standards by admitting into the academy individuals who are unqualified [lack of merit] (p. 186).

Analyzing the Impact of Affirmative Action Policies

Silver (1990) argues that, “Policy analysis is as resistant to definition as other broad and inter-disciplinary fields. . . . The study and analysis of policy are concerned

with its formation and formulation, its contexts and constraints, its implementation and evaluation” (p. 19-20).

In the 1970's, “. . . the most prominent and expanding style of policy analysis was, in fact, evaluation - - the description, assessment and explanation of policy ‘impact’, ‘effectiveness’, and ‘outcomes’ (Ibid, p. 20). Silver goes on to state that policy analysis “. . . pulls in at least two directions -- towards theoretical explanations or models, and towards description and attempts at causal or developmental explanations (p. 21).

In order to determine the effectiveness of affirmative action, one question appears central and that is the effectiveness of the policy. Tierney (1997) suggests we ask the question, “Does a policy accomplish what it set out to do?” (p. 177) He goes on to argue that the . . . “scaffolding for affirmative action rests on the ideas of compensation, correction, and diversification. Affirmative action tried to redress past wrongs, correct present ills, and create the conditions for a more diverse future” (p. 190).

Two issues that concern policy analysts include, “. . . first, the relationship between policy-related research and sponsoring bodies, and secondly the ways in which the outcomes of policy research and analysis reach, or fail to reach, have impact or no impact, on the policy - and decision-making processes themselves” (Ibid, p. 21).

A framework for policy analysis is suggested by Clune (1993). He suggests a conceptual framework for systemic educational policy. He believes that systemic educational policy should have five characteristics. The five are: 1) research-based goals for changes in educational practice and organization; 2) working models of new practice and professionally accessible knowledge; 3) a centralized/ decentralized change process; 4) regular assessment of educational inputs, outcome, and process; and 5) a coherent, sustained, change-oriented political process (Ibid, p. 129-130). Policy analysis is complex and the interpretation of a policy’s success or failure “. . . depends on how one interprets the data and in part, frankly, is unanswerable insofar as multiple variables come into play . . .” (Tierney, 1997, p. 177).

A theory of affirmative action is based on a democratic assumption about public education. The challenge ahead lies not in rewriting our past or reformulating the basic premise of educational opportunity, but in developing more proactive policies that help academe serve the public

by advancing diversity and fostering the public culture so that everyone is able to participate. Participation is not premised on a theory of group rights, entitlements, or the righting of previous wrongs. Race and gender categories do not suggest deterministic quotas. At the same time we accept the complexity of race and gender relations that exist in the late 20th century, and we recognize that discrimination still resides throughout our society. In response, we develop policies that seek to advance, affirm, and expand participation in the democratic public sphere (Ibid, p. 193).

Henley and Young (2001) suggest that from “. . .the 1970s through to the early 1990s, issues of race, gender, sexual orientation and disabilities all sought recognition and acceptance in society, particularly through the public school” (Levin 1996; Tavares, 2000 cited by Henley and Young, p. 10).

Taylor (1991) cites two main arguments for affirmative action. “First, women and nonwhite men need affirmative action to get a fair chance for jobs. Second, equal opportunity is one good principle among others, but is not an absolute right; some short-term compromise of pure equal opportunity is needed to promote actual equal opportunity overall and over the long term” (p. 177). In addition, he goes on to say that many of the respondents “. . . focused on consequences, asserting that in many ways affirmative action benefits society and organizations” (p. 177).

Ruth Rees (1990) argues that, “To achieve an equal outcome, the two gender groups must be treated on the one hand unequally, and on the other hand equally” (p. 2-3). In order to achieve equality, programs must be initiated that will assist women with training that will prepare them for administrative promotions and on the other hand, organizations must evaluate current practices to ensure that the hiring and promotion practices are in keeping with the principles of equity.

Taylor writes,

An affirmative action program consists of special measures and procedures designed to increase occupational opportunities for women. It involves setting flexible goals and timelines to ensure that qualified women are included on an equal and competitive basis in all employment

opportunities (1995, p. 83).

According to Tierney (1997), affirmative action came into existence to address the needs of various target groups such as “. . . African Americans, Hispanics, Asian and Pacific Islanders, and Native Americans” (p. 167-8). Tierney suggests that it was not until later that women in the United States were added as yet another group. Today, in both the United States and in Canada, affirmative action and employment equity policies and legislation cover a variety of different groups.

Tierney (1997) summarizes the ideas behind affirmative action in terms of process and outcomes as he states that, “When procedures that ensure equal treatment are absent, we may say that process-based discrimination exists. When we look at results . . . we may have outcome-based discrimination” (p. 172). He goes on to say that there has been “. . . more disagreement . . . over outcome-based solutions, because outcomes often rely on strict numerical targets that seem like quotas to critics of affirmative action. Outcomes also demand change” (p. 172). An analysis of any affirmative action initiative requires an examination of both the process and the outcomes of the policy.

Affirmative action is forum for competing values, especially competing ideas of what is fair and just. Taylor argues that, “. . . both advocacy and criticism of affirmative action is often characterized by idealism or self-interest, neither of which is grounded in a careful analysis of the actual impact of the policy” (p. xv). The research presented in this strand of the study is an attempt to analyze the impact of the Affirmative Action Policy of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in terms of both the process and the outcomes.

The literature suggests that a well constructed policy can support long-term change, however, “. . . the professional, public, and political cooperation their design entails can have far more influence . . . than any policy mechanism and can generate long-term support for the lengthy process of . . . change” (Fuhrman, 1993, p. 322).

How has the Affirmative Action Policy of the Winnipeg School Division supported long-term change? This study examines a particular set of strategies implemented by the Winnipeg School Division to increase the representation of female administrators within a hierarchical setting. How effective has the policy been in terms of

the intended change process? The next chapter will look at the methodological aspects of the study of the Affirmative Action Policy in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

CHAPTER III

Methodology

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the changes that took place in the gender representation of school administrators within The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 during the period 1973 - 1997. These dates were chosen to provide a twenty-five year time frame and to collect data, both prior to and following, the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy in The Winnipeg School Division No. 1. The collection of data prior to the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy covers the significant changes that lead to the implementation process.

Specifically, the study explores four research questions:

1. What changes occurred in the gender representation of Winnipeg School Division No. 1 school administrators (principals and vice-principals) by school level (elementary and high school) and school size over the period 1973 - 1997?
2. What were the ways in which the changes, at all level of school-based administration in the Division, impacted upon women and men's administrative career paths over the period 1973 - 1997?
3. What significance do selected high school principals in the Division attach to the impact of issues of gender and gender discrimination on their own educational career paths and those of their colleagues within the Division over the period 1973 - 1997?
4. What significance do selected high school principals in the Division attach to the impact of Divisional Affirmative Action initiatives on the changes in gender representation among administrators and on the development of administrator career paths?

Changing Patterns of Gender Representation (1973-1998)

The study addresses research questions one and two by developing a data-base of all administrative appointments (principals and vice-principals) made between 1973 and 1997. This time frame encompasses the evolution of the Affirmative Action Policy and practices in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 and covers the time period when significant changes took place in the area of affirmative action.

Each administrative appointment is approved by the Board of Trustees of The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 and is a matter of public record via the School Board Minutes. The minutes include the names and gender of all appointees. Data on the current grade level and size of schools within The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 are also matters of public record via the School Board Minutes.

Through an examination of School Board Minutes, the study developed a data base that combines the following information: a) the name and gender of all administrators appointed in the Division between 1973 and 1997; b) the rank or level of the appointment; c) the grade level and size designation of the school; and d) the date of the appointment. The names of all administrators have been replaced with a number code and the data was analyzed to examine:

1) *changes in the gender representation of administrators.* The study looks at the overall picture and examines those administrators in principalships and vice-principalships. All of this information was further analyzed by gender and by the level/size of the school. This analysis extends the work of Alex (1997) by extending the period of analysis of changes in Winnipeg School Division No. 1, and also by including male as well as female high school principals in the interview process.

2) *the changes in relation to key policy decisions and actions in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.* The study looks at the similarities and differences between changes in principal and vice-principal gender representation and the development of these changes in relation to policy initiatives within the School Board over this period of time.

3) *the patterns of career development experienced by women and men over this period.* The data were analyzed for insights it can provide on the process by which changes were brought about. It examines, for example, the extent to which changes were

brought about by increasing the pool of administrators at entry level positions and letting that 'work through the system', or by 'fast tracking women'.

4) *the high school principalship*. The literature (Rees, 1990; Young, 1990) suggests that it is much more difficult to achieve gender balance at the high school level than at the elementary or early years grades. There have been limited Canadian studies of the gender balance in the high school principalship. This study examines the gender balance according to school category and level.

The High School Principalship

This study examined research questions three and four by interviewing both female and male secondary administrators who have successfully attained a secondary principalship. The high school principalship appears to be the most resistant to change (Rees 1990; Shakeshaft, 1989) and therefore is an important aspect of this study.

In examining the changing patterns of gender representation and women and men's career paths with reference to the secondary school principalship, first, quantitative data were collected about the career paths of all female and male administrators in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 from September of 1973 to June of 1998, and then, this information was used to inform the qualitative data which were collected by interviewing the male and female secondary principals in their positions in June of 1998. Thus, the study combines quantitative research methods when analyzing the statistics regarding the career paths of the administrators and qualitative research methods in conducting the interviews of the fourteen high school principals.

Qualitative research methods were used because they enabled the researcher to learn directly from administrators about their experiences, perceptions and mediated through the investigator's own perceptions" (Ibid, p. 19). Merriam suggests that qualitative studies may ". . . arrive at a comprehensive understanding of the groups under study and develop general theoretical statements about regularities in social structure and process" (Merriam, 1988, p. 11). Qualitative research assumes that meaning is ". . . embedded in people's experiences and suggests the duality of qualitative research being both descriptive and inductive. It is descriptive because it ". . . is grounded in process, meaning, and understanding through interaction with the setting or individuals" (Ibid, p.

19). Conversely, she states that it is inductive because “. . . this type of research builds abstractions, concepts, hypotheses or theories rather than testing existing theory” (Ibid, p. 20).

The qualitative paradigm is used in this study because it allows for a deeper understanding of the participants' personal and professional experiences. It delves into the complexities of a situation and also examines the processes. It also “. . . seeks to explore where and why policy and local knowledge and practice are at odds [to examine] informal and unstructured linkages and processes in [an] organization [and to analyze] real, as opposed to stated, organizational goals” (Marshall and Rossman, 1995, p. 43).

Merriam also suggests that it is necessary to

... understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions . . . [and] to understand the nature of that setting - what it means for participants to be in that setting, what their lives are like, what's going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in a particular setting - and in the analysis to be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting (Merriam, 1988, p. 15-17).

A pilot interview was conducted on April 12, 2000 in order to test the draft interview questions. The interviews conducted as part of the study consisted of two in-depth meetings with each principal between June and November of 2000. A copy of the interview questions is included in Appendix 1.

Selection of the Participants

The participants of this study were selected according to the following criteria: the participants consisted of the women and men who held secondary principalships during the 1997-98 school year. The group interviewed consisted of four female secondary school principals and nine male secondary school principals. Within this group the individual high school principals had varied lengths of time in a high school principalship. Some were in the position before the implementation of the policy and others were appointed to the position after the implementation of the Affirmative Action

Policy. Still others were appointed prior to the policy implementation and remained in the position in June of 1998. One individual has been a high school principal for nineteen years, another for twelve years compared with another who has been in the position for only two years (See Table 6).

Table 3.1
Winnipeg School Division No. 1
Secondary Principals, By Gender and School Level 1997-98

Number	Gender	Level of School
1	Female	I (up to 225 students)
2	Male	IV (676 – 1000 students)
3	Female	I
4	Female	IV
5	Male	III (451 – 675 students)
6	Male	IV
7	Male	IV
8	Male	V (over 1000 students)
9	Male	III
10	Male	V
11	Male	V
12	Male	V
13	Female	V

Being a high school principal in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 is both a plus and a minus for the researcher in terms of this study. On the one hand, my position enables me to recruit colleagues as respondents for the study; however, on the other hand, as a researcher, I must be ever watchful of informant bias because of prior professional relationships with the respondents. As mentioned earlier, excluded from the study is the Winnipeg Adult Education Centre. This is done because at the time of the study the author was the principal of that school and because unlike all other high schools in the

Winnipeg School Division No. 1, it is a high school for adults.

The Interview Process

Qualitative methods allow the researcher to study or investigate a topic holistically. In this study general statistical information was gathered from the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Board Minutes, and specific in-depth information was collected from the interviews. Marshall and Rossman propose three different forms of interviewing. These include the informal conversational interview, general interview guide approach, and the standardized open-ended interview (1995, p. 80).

This study employed an open-ended interview approach. The participants received a copy of the interview questions prior to the scheduled interview so that they had sufficient time to reflect on their responses. This approach also contributes to a more relaxed interview environment. Participants were encouraged to include and/or develop any issues that, in their view, impacted on their promotion to the role of secondary school principal. Conversely, participants were also encouraged to exclude any question they felt to be irrelevant.

In depth interviews allow the researcher to collect descriptive data which can then be analyzed. From this process the researcher identifies and accounts for patterns that emerge from the data.

In order to learn the perspectives of others, the qualitative researcher tries to enter the world of the informant. The researcher works to develop rapport with the informant in order to minimize the impact of the presence of the researcher upon the interview process. However, researchers know that they will somehow influence the informants and continually try to account for this during the collection and analysis of the data. In addition, researchers must realize their own biases and beliefs and consciously set these aside during the interview and data analysis process. Researchers must acquire the information about the topic under study directly from the informants. Grant, Ward and Forsher (1993) discusses the interview technique and its many advantages:

First, this style of research enables a subject to articulate in his or her own words how a situation is perceived. In order

to gain insight into understanding an individual's perceptions, the interview also provides the ability to probe for more information or ask for elaboration on a relevant point. The advantage of being face-to-face offers the chance for the researcher to identify useful nonverbal clues that might be missed with other methods. These capacities to clarify ideas will add to a more complete understanding of the perceptions, and therefore, the ability to satisfy the research questions (cited in Martin, 1995, p. 38).

Design of the Study

A study using qualitative research methods usually begins with a broad outline and direction of approach rather than a specified study design. In using a qualitative approach, researchers do not begin with a working hypothesis or even a set of expectations to be proved or disproved. Researchers do start with a question or questions about which they want to learn. Any qualitative study involves ongoing data collection, analysis, and modification of the study design using a pilot or test interview. In other words “. . . the study structures the research” (Bogdan and Biklen, 1992, p. 55).

Lutfiyya states that, “As a study progresses the focus is refined (as are the questions to the informants) in order to clarify and confirm earlier findings” (Lutfiyya, 1989, p. 30). In order to gain an understanding of the perceptions of the process and barriers confronting women who aspire to the high school principalship it is necessary to talk directly to the people who have experienced the process. Their view of the appointment procedure, their thoughts and feelings about their career paths are key components in the data collection and analysis. In order to gain a perspective it is also important to interview males in the same position.

Following the Faculty of Education's Research and Ethics Committee approval on June 5, 2000, the semi-structured interviews of approximately one hour and fifteen minutes in length were conducted. The interview questions were formulated based upon the four research questions. In order to ensure that the participants of this study were treated with dignity, and that their rights and safety were protected, care was be taken to

inform all respondents of the nature of the research when consent to participate was requested. The respondents were informed that they were always free to refuse to participate in the study or to withdraw from the study at any time (see attached consent form).

In order to maintain the integrity of the information collected during the interview process, the interviews were audio taped and transcribed. This enabled the researcher to go back to the original information to do validity checks during the data analysis. In addition, immediately following each interview, additional notes were recorded about observations that might be significant and tentative ideas or hypothesis.

All data collected by any means will be treated as confidential information and will be kept in a secure place until the conclusion of the dissertation when it will be destroyed under secure conditions. For the purposes of this study each participant was assigned a pseudonym. As outlined in the letter, none of the information disclosed to me will be communicated to anyone, except in a form consistent with standards for the publication and dissemination of academic research. At the conclusion of this study, I will send a summary of the findings to all participants.

Each interview was studied and coded. Matrices were constructed from the interview data and used to identify emerging patterns. Individual interviews were read and reread in order to write short interview summaries. As Maxwell indicates “. . . these summaries allow one to see threads that run through interviews and thereby maintain the context for the quotes that are lifted out of the interviews and used as examples in writing up the research” (1996, p. 131). Cross-case analysis allowed the examination of the dominant themes that run through the interview data. The strategies of immediate transcription and analysis, the use of additional memos following the interview, cross-case analysis, coding and visual presentation of the ideas greatly assists the researcher with the building of theories based upon the data collected.

Ever mindful of researcher bias and reactivity, the goal was to maintain the integrity of the study by understanding the influences. Once the qualitative chapter was written it was shared with the respondents to validate the content, accuracy, and inferences of the information provided during the interview process and contained in the chapter. The quantitative data were analyzed and charts developed which accompany

and support the discussion in Chapter IV.

Summary

The design selected for this study incorporates both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. In the first part of the study a quantitative analysis is chosen to examine in detail the changes in gender representation that have occurred among school-based administrators in the Winnipeg School Division of the 25 year period of the study (1973-1998). In the second part of the study a qualitative approach using semi-structured interviews of high school principals in the division is chosen. This qualitative approach allows the researcher to explore in detail the perceptions of these administrators of the significance of gender and gender discrimination on their careers and the careers of their colleagues, as well as the significance of the division's Affirmative Action initiatives.

Given the emphasis that is currently placed on equality in many aspects of our pluralistic society, it is timely that this study analyzes the implementation process and the impact of the Affirmative Action Policy in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 on the hiring of high school principals. Canadian studies of the high school principalship and the impact of affirmative policies are sparse. Many have only included the experiences of women and we need to seek the perspectives of men “. . . who dispute, resist, or are excluded for various reasons from the benefits of “hegemonic masculinity” in fields such as school administration” (Young, 1995, p. 251). Often studies are of entry-level administrative positions at the elementary level but few are concerned with subsequent promotion experiences of women administrators. This study is also an examination of the ways in which policy can change practice. The next chapter will provide the history of affirmative action in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

CHAPTER IV
The History of the Affirmative Action Policy
In Winnipeg School Division No. 1

Background and Early Struggles for Acceptance

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the background and history of the Affirmative Action Policy and the Employment Equity Policy in the Winnipeg School Division. This examination will trace from the 1970s through to the 1990s, looking at issues of employment equity and the stages of implementation of the two policies with the Winnipeg School Division.

In its early years the women's movement sought many forms of expression from consciousness raising, radical and socialist feminist collective to equality-seeing groups (Adamson, Briskin, and McPhail, 1988). In 1967, the federal government led by Prime Minister Lester Pearson, appointed the Royal Commission of the Status of Women under the direction of Florence Bird. The Commission was directed to ". . . recommend what steps might be taken by the Federal Government to ensure for women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of Canadian society" (Canada, 1970 vii; Findlay 1987, p. 34-5, cited by Brodie 1995, p. 42).

It was five years before the Royal Commission finished its work. The Commission made 167 recommendations with 122 of them being federal government responsibilities (Findlay, 1988, p. 34-5, cited by Brodie 1995, p. 42). Monique Begin, who worked for the Commission, suggests that the recommendations lacked a ". . . general theory of women's oppression" and did not include ". . . a feminist analysis of the family" (Begin 1992, p. 31, cited by Brodie, p. 42). Brodie contends that the Commission ". . . applied an equal opportunity framework which depicted women's subordination as a problem of inadequate access, unwarranted discrimination, and a lack of education (Findlay 1987, p. 33 cited by Brodie 1995, p. 42).

The Royal Commission of the Status of Women identified the perceived problems and suggested solutions for federal government intervention. In 1972, the Strategy for Change Conference saw the formation of the National Action Committee on the Status of Women. As an organization outside the federal government, this group pressured the

policy-makers to implement the recommendations of the Royal Commission (Findlay 1987, p. 37-39, cited by Brodie 1995, p. 44). This organization shifted the women's movement into an activist phase when it lobbied to expand the social welfare system to consider women's needs.

Following the United Nations designated International Year of Women in 1975, the federal government embarked upon a consultative process. The government sought feedback on a number of issues including pay equity, rape and divorce reform. Thus, the International Year of Women in 1975 and the report of the Royal Commission in the early 1970's brought a high level of awareness of women's issues to both women and men in Manitoba. As a result, in the late 1970's, two committees were formed that had an impact upon the direction of the policies of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

First, the Manitoba Teachers' Society Status of Women Resource Team was formed and this was followed by the Status of Women Committee of the WTA. Several women who were interested in affirmative action served on the MTS Status of Women Resource Team. The female members of that team consisted of Janet Schubert, Donna Lyons, Gail Singer, Karen Collin, Linda McDowell, Muriel Smith along with two male members of the committee, John Minons and Murray Smith. Two members of this committee (Gail Singer and Karen Collin) undertook a review of the literature in the area of gender equality. Their findings were reported to the Manitoba Teachers' Society. The literature, published in July of 1979, suggested the need to encourage women to apply for positions in administration. The two factors cited in the literature were 1) the importance of the encouragement of their principal, and 2) the individual's knowledge of the actual role of a principal. The literature suggested that for many aspiring female administrators, information about the role and duties of a principal helped to demystify the position.

The Winnipeg Teachers' Association Status of Women Committee held regular meetings with the Chief Superintendent of the Division. The group conducted in-services for school principals in order to bring a level of awareness about equity issues and the needs of female aspires to the almost totally male group of administrators. The WTA Status of Women Committee also asked the administrators to encourage female teachers to prepare and apply for administrative positions.

At the WSD No. 1 Board Meeting of March 20, 1979 the Board adopted the

following recommendations after instructing the Superintendents to report on the feasibility of introducing an Affirmative Action Plan for Women in Administration:

- (a) That the Board affirm that an Affirmative Action Plan for Women in Administration in The Winnipeg School Division, developmental and consultative in nature, is feasible.

- (b) That the Board approve, in principle, the introduction of an Affirmative Action Plan for Women in Administration.

- (c) That the Administration and a Trustee appointed by the chairman be authorized to begin discussion with the Human Rights Commission and the Winnipeg Teachers' Association regarding the initial development of an Affirmative Action Plan for Women in Administration. (Superintendent.'s Report 914, Cl. 2.10).

In order to implement the above recommendation, an Administration Committee was established to dialogue with the W.T.A. Status of Women Committee. The two committees met with the Chief Human Rights Officer of the Manitoba Human Rights Commission to discuss the appropriateness of the Division's plan.

In 1979-80, the WTA Status of Women Committee wrote the first version of the Affirmative Action Policy. This was really an outline of many of the key equity issues and their possible solutions. This draft policy was presented to the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Board on March 18, 1980 by four representatives of the committee. The report dated March 6, 1980 (Appendix A) notes that in the school year 1979-80, although about 57% of the teachers in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 were women, only 20% of administrative positions were held by women. The report suggested that the next task was to conduct a survey of all members of the teaching staff to obtain their opinions concerning career advancement within the Division. However, the survey results were not published until March of 1983. At the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 Board

Meeting on March 18, 1980 the Administration Committee made the following recommendations:

1. That while it remain the policy of The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 to ensure that qualified, capable men and women have equal opportunity for promotion to positions of responsibility with the school system, it also be a goal to work towards a position where the balance between men and women in administration be proportional to the staff representation.
2. That to achieve this goal there be an Affirmative Action Plan to equalize the opportunities for women and to ensure that the hiring practices of the Division reflect an awareness of the disproportionate number of women in administration.
3. That the Affirmative Action Plan make provision for:
 - a) a commitment by the Division to take definite steps toward the goal,
 - b) career counselling to promote improvement of qualifications,
 - c) recruitment and leadership development programs for women,
 - d) increased opportunities for growth through specific professional development projects,
 - d) ensuring that personnel are familiar with procedures and criteria for selection, and
 - f) equal representation of men and women on interview panels to the greatest extent possible.
4. That the Affirmative Action Committee, in dialogue with the WTA Status of Women Committee, be directed to prepare specific plans for the implementation by September 1980.

At the Board meeting of July 8, 1980, the promotion of women to administrative positions was documented and presented in tabular form. The information indicated the present position of each female administrator and included the latest promotion. Also included in the information provided trustees was the composition of the interview panels. The report indicated, "Positive action has already been taken to ensure that, to the greatest extent possible, there is equal representation of men and women on interview panels" (Board minutes, p. 990). It was also reported that evidence ". . . from a recent survey conducted with the Division [indicates] that there is a need for a more formal process to ensure that all staff - women and men - are aware of and prepared for opportunities for promotion which may be available to them" (Ibid, p. 991). A recommendation that ". . . an additional administrative or consultative position be established to provide direction and leadership in the areas of Affirmative Action and Professional Development of Administrators . . . was referred to Personnel and Staff Services Committee for consideration.

On July 9, 1980, the trustees adopted the following recommendation:

That, subject to the availability of suitable openings, the Division increase the percentage of women in administrative positions by 5% each year for the next seven years and during the same period, balance the ratio of women to men in the various administrative classifications so that it is proportional to the staff representation (Ibid, p. 1032).

The first test of this recommendation was the vacancy, in 1980, of the principalship at Daniel McIntyre High School. Initially, according to Board Minutes, only men applied for the position and there was pressure from the Board to have applications from women. Members of the Manitoba Teachers' Society and the WTA Status of Women Committees organized a telephone blitz and several women were encouraged to apply for the position. A few applied and several women were short listed for the position and interviewed. Ethel Arnot became the successful candidate. At the time of her appointment, she was the vice-principal of River Heights Junior High School

and as a result did have the necessary experience with secondary education. Ms. Arnot was the first female principal of Daniel McIntyre High School.

Also in 1980, the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, Board of Trustees decided that each year the Administrative Training Program, formerly called the Principal's Assistant Program, would consist of three females and three males. In 1982, this program was replaced by the Personnel Development Program which yearly accepts twenty applicants - ten males and ten females.

The literature suggests that these types of training and networking opportunities and programs are essential if the number of women in administrative positions is to increase. Schmuck (1975) focused her work on role models and networking. She found that women who get to know or are exposed to other women in administrative positions have found them to be a positive influence in terms of their career aspirations. Shakeshaft (1989) also supports this research, finding that women credit strong family support, personal skills, and community and co-worker support as factors facilitating the acquisition of a principalship. Programs such as the Personnel Development Program can give women teachers the confidence to believe in themselves and to apply for administrative positions. On June 1, 1982, the Affirmative Action For Women in Administration Committee provided the first statistical information in Report No. 681. This report indicated that:

1. There has been no significant change in the proportion of women in administration over the past two years.
In September 1980, the proportion was 20%. (This is for principals, vice-principals, and principal's assistants).
In September 1981, the proportion was still 20%.

If we include consultants, department heads and superintendents, the figures are:

September 1980 - 26%

September 1981 - 27%

2. There is an ongoing need for information sessions on an

annual basis for persons interested in being considered for administrative positions.

3. Principals need to be reminded of their responsibility to identify and encourage all teachers who demonstrate potential for administrative positions (Ibid, p. 644).

This report was received as information by the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. Board. This was all happening at a time when there was support for affirmative action initiatives at the Board level from trustees such as Myra Spivak, Lori Willcock, Inez Stevenson, Mary Kardash, Isobel Sudol, Skapti Borgford, Les Slingsby and Luba Fedorkiw. Other factors also added support to the affirmative action movement.

An informant, who was interviewed, mentioned two factors which also added support to the affirmative action movement. The first factor identified by this individual was the retirement of Bill Donald, Associate Superintendent, in 1980. His retirement made room for change in the area of affirmative action. The second factor was the appointment of Janet Schubert as Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Schools. In 1982, Janet Schubert was involved in the early stages of the MTS Status of Women Committee and was supportive of affirmative action initiatives in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. As Assistant Superintendent of Secondary Education, she was a member of the Administration Committee, who, along with Sid Chapman, Director of Personnel, met with the representatives of the WTA Status of Women Committee on a regular basis.

The year 1982 also marked the appointment of Jack Smyth as Chief Superintendent. He met regularly with the Status of Women Committee and together they examined the statistics. Members of the committee felt that this was key to the success of the Affirmative Action Plan. Also in 1982, the Status of Women Committee began offering four workshops a year to assist possible applicants with interview skills and knowledge of the role of an administrator.

Although at this point in the history of employment equity in the Winnipeg School Division there had been some movement and an affirmative action plan was in place, it was evident that a plan alone was not enough and what was needed was the

rethinking and restructuring of the process of acquiring an administrative position in the Winnipeg School Division. Betty LaPointe (1994) cites the work of Metz and McNeely, 1988, when she argues that “. . . legislation has had little influence on the numbers of women hired to fill key administrative positions of the public school. The barriers to attainment reported 20 years ago appear to be similar to those being reported today” (p. 25). At this point, in the history of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1’s movement toward an effective affirmative action policy, there appears to be agreement with LaPointe (1994) and Gill (1995) who suggest that “. . . rather than breaking the glass ceiling, a sunroof slides back temporarily to allow only a few through” (Reynolds and Young, 1995, p. 55). At this stage women were making some progress toward equality. They were being encouraged to train for and apply for leadership positions by some principals and by central office administration, especially by those involved in the Personnel Development Program; however, the sunroof had allowed only a few females through.

An Interventionist Phase in Affirmative Action (1986-1992)

In January of 1986, the Winnipeg School Division approved the Affirmative Action For Women in Administration, signaling the beginning of a period of significant change within the division. This policy was written and proposed by the senior administration of the Winnipeg School Division. It stated that, “The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 shall adopt an Affirmative Action Program to increase the representation of women in all educational administrative positions in the Division to reflect the proportion of women on the professional staff.” The policy also indicated that there would be an annual report to “. . . the Board of Trustees of the Winnipeg School Division by the end of each school year on the progress of the Affirmative Action Program” (Winnipeg School Division Board Minutes, p. 1 of 1).

The Affirmative Action Policy also included statements regarding promotional practices, the selection of teachers in charge (acting in place of the principal when he/she is absent for meetings and/or illness), the appointment of department heads and team leaders and professional development activities. The policy stated seven promotional practices.

- 6.1 All vacancies for educational administrative positions will be advertised throughout the Division with the exception of transfer of present administrators.
- 6.2 The advertisements for applications for educational administrative positions will be written in non-sexist language and will include:
 - a) preferred qualifications and experience for a particular position as determined by the superintendent;
 - b) a statement that the Winnipeg School Division is an equal opportunity employer and has a policy on Affirmative Action for women in administration.
- 6.3 All interview committees will include women members.
- 6.4 Prior to the commencement of the interviews, all members of the interview committee will be informed of the Affirmative Action Policy.
- 6.5 An assessment format will be developed and utilized to evaluate all applicants to determine those to be short-listed and to evaluate the candidates who are interviewed.
- 6.6 In all cases in which a male and a female candidate for an administrative position are deemed to be of equal merit, the female candidate will be appointed.
- 6.7 Unsuccessful candidates for educational administrative positions, upon request, will be counselled by a superintendent as to how they can improve their potential as

candidates for administration, using the assessment format completed by the selection committee. (Ibid, p. 2).

The policy indicated that “. . . principals will provide the Superintendent’s Department with the name of one woman and one man who will act as teacher in charge on an alternate basis.” Further, it stated that “. . . principals will be encouraged to consider both male and female candidates for department head/team leader positions” (Ibid, p. 1 of 2).

Professional development activities according to the policy “. . . will be organized yearly by the Personnel Department to:

- a) inform employees of promotion practices and leadership opportunities;
- b) assist in the development of the skills required for administration and leadership”.

The policy also states that “. . . each principal will encourage at least one woman per school to attend the sessions and submit the name to the Superintendent’s Department” (Ibid, p. 1). Finally “. . . the Personnel Development Program will be representative of the professional staff by gender” (Ibid, p. 1).

By the beginning of the 1990’s, a number of women had been appointed to principalships, especially at the elementary level. The 1990-91 annual report of the Affirmative Action Committee indicated that of the 217 Department Head positions, 78 were filled by women and 130 by men. In percentages, 62.5% were held by men, and 32.5% by women. This represented a decrease, in the number of women in these positions, since the previous year of 3.5%. The report also mentioned that over the last six years (1986-1991), 43 new administrators had been appointed, of whom 72% were female. This was an increase of 2.7% at the secondary level and 13% at the elementary level. Although the number of role models at the secondary level was still very low, there was beginning to be a critical mass of role models at the elementary level for the prospective applicants to see and to provide encouragement and influence application

patterns.

Another key factor was the powerful role models of not one but two Assistant Superintendents in Pauline Clarke and Janet Schubert. In 1990, these two women went on to become Superintendent of Schools - Inner City and Superintendent of Schools - Central. In addition, in 1995, Rosaline Saleski was appointed Superintendent of Schools - North. This tipped the scales, for now three of the four district Superintendents were female. The top job, the position that held the most power is that of the Chief Superintendent and that position was held by a male. There are very few female Chief Superintendents in Canada. There needed to be a more equitable number of males and females filling these top positions so there are role models for both those males and females who aspire to the Chief Superintendent position.

In 1991, the Winnipeg School Division added a step to the administrative selection process. Based on the Don Musella Model, they incorporated an Assessment Centre as part of the process. The Assessment Centre had established criteria for selecting candidates for the administrative pool. The focus was on skills and the candidates must demonstrate their skills in the areas of decision making and problem solving, communication and interpersonal relationships. The criteria made it more difficult for there to be a hidden agenda because the focus was on demonstrated skill levels in the areas indicated above. However, the Winnipeg School Division is currently examining the process for cultural bias.

At a meeting held March 15, 1988, the Board of Trustees of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 adopted a motion to establish the Task Force on Race Relations. The Task Force was charged with the responsibility of bringing recommendations to the Winnipeg School Division Board of Trustees regarding enhancing educational opportunities for all ethnocultural and Aboriginal groups in the Division.

The report made 106 recommendations. Six of these were significant in terms of Affirmative Action and Employment Equity.

23. That the present Affirmative Action Program for Women in Administration be expanded to an Employment Equity Program for all levels including Administration, Custodial, Clerical, Teaching and non-teaching personnel. The Task

Force recommends that [for] the four groups the program should be primarily concerned with are Individuals who are Disabled, Aboriginal Peoples, Ethnocultural Groups and Women. These groups should not, however, be over-represented to the exclusion of other groups that may be identified.

24. That sufficient staff and resources be assigned to effectively manage this Employment Equity Program.
25. That the following plan be implemented for the development of the Employment Equity Program, with ongoing evaluation and modification an integral component of the plan.
26. That an ongoing monitoring system be developed which would include:
 - a) a statistical base of existing employees
 - b) a voluntary employee declaration form including information on sex, ethnic/racial origin, physical/ disability
 - c) an applicant tracking system to determine the demographic makeup of applicants.
27. That yearly hiring/interview goals be established
28. That an aggressive Outreach Strategy be developed to increase the number of qualified applicants (with special consideration given to target groups). This plan is to encompass the following areas:
 - a) Recruitment

- b) Public Relations
 - c) Liaison with Educational Institutions
- (The Report of The Task Force on Race Relations, 1989, p. 18-19).

The Task Force submitted its report in July of 1989. Five years later, on November 4th and 5th 1992, the Division held a Race Relations Task Force Conference to look at what progress had been made in achieving the recommendations and to plan the future direction of race relations within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

Broadening the Agenda: The Employment Equity Program (1993-1997)

In January of 1993, The Board of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 approved the Employment Equity Policy. The policy stated that the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 “. . . shall strive toward a workforce composition which reflects the composition of women and men, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and persons from ethno-cultural groups living within the boundaries of The Winnipeg School Division No. 1” (Employment Equity Policy, 1993, revised, 1996, p. 2). The focus of this policy was to include and consider ethnicity and cultural background in the selection of administrative candidates. In order to reflect the ethnicity of a community, the Board was anxious to select and fast track prospective administrative leaders from backgrounds that had not previously been represented.

Several of the Aboriginal candidates formed a support network for those applying for administration. At their meetings, they practiced interview skills and asked experienced administrators to speak to the group and share their experience. In June of 1993, the Division appointed seven Aboriginal administrators, six women and one man. During an interview, one of the women appointees, shared that she felt that both the Division and the community held high expectations of her to solve the problems with Aboriginal youth in the school to which she had been assigned. She indicated that this caused her enormous stress because she felt that she was a token on two counts -- she was both a woman and an Aboriginal person. Perhaps the high stress level accounts for the fact that three Aboriginal administrators have had extended sick leave and a fourth

returned to study at the University.

Race and gender are intertwined in the lives of women with a multicultural background. Ester Ngan-Ling Chow (cited by Jagger and Rothenberg) speaks of the priority of Asian-American women to eradicate racism rather than sexism. Chow argues that in order for Asian-American women to overcome the multitude of barriers that restrict their full social participation, they must be activists and work together with other feminists of colour and with white feminists.

In Deborah King's article, "Multiple Jeopardy", she challenges "... the invisibility of black women in critical theories of both race and sex, noting that the experience of black women cannot be assimilated with that of either black men or white women. Racism and sexism compound each other in the lives of black women. . ." (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1993, p. 124). King also argues that the "... systems of domination are 'interactive and interdependent', so that the situation of black women becomes one that she calls 'multiple jeopardy' (Ibid, p. 124). There appears to be a strong parallel between the experiences of the black women cited in King's article and the situation with Aboriginal women administrators in the Winnipeg School Division.

Gerda Lerner asserts that the issue of difference in multicultural feminism is really an issue of dominance or hierarchy. She goes on to say that dominance is usually obtained by force; however, it is maintained by those in power by creating a group perceived as different and whose subordination is looked upon as natural and just. Lerner suggests that sex, class, and race dominance are interrelated and inseparable both in the present and in the past. "These systems of domination are not conceptually distinct but must be defined in relation to each other; for instance, class and race are both 'generic' expressed and institutionalized in terms that are always different for men and women, just as gender is always mediated by class and race" (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1993, p. 124). Lerner calls upon feminists to construct a new framework that includes these interactions, a framework that includes both "... feminine as well and masculine ways of knowing" (Ibid, p. 124).

In terms of the Winnipeg School Division's Employment Equity Policy, it is interesting to note the proportion of Black administrators in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in relation to our total Black population. The school division has a

relatively small total Black population, and yet in 1997 it had four Black administrators. On the other hand, the Division has a high Philippino population and only two Philippino administrators. The Aboriginal population of the Division is also high but as of 1997, it had two Aboriginal principals.

Charlotte Bunch is credited with inventing the term 'global feminism' which reflects the concept that women's lives in the western world are inseparably connected with the lives of women around the world and in the developing countries. These connections include shared interests, shared economics and shared histories. Bunch argues that feminism is ". . . transformational politics dedicated not simply to gender equality within the existing systems of injustice but rather to implementing . . . new visions for how societies might exist without injustice at the core" (Bunch, 1981, p. 301).

The various authors and researchers of employment equity issues point to the fact that there is no single or universal 'woman'. Mouffe (1993) contends that feminist politics is not simply about women but is about emancipation, representation, democracy and equality. These goals must be sought ". . . within a wider articulation of demands . . ." which arise from the multiple experiences of oppression (p. 87). Did the structures and changes that the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 established as a result of the Affirmative Action Policy and the Employment Equity Policy influence the climate, representation and equality for Aboriginal peoples, Ethnocultural groups and women?

In the next chapter an examination of the quantitative data will show the impact of the policies on employment equity in the Winnipeg School Division.

CHAPTER V

Towards a Gender-Representative School Administration - A Quantitative Analysis

Introduction

The previous chapter has discussed, in some detail, the history of the Affirmative Action Policy in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, along with the processes through which it was implemented over the school year period 1973-74 to 1997-98. This chapter will analyze and discuss the changes that took place in the gender representation among administrators in the Division during this period and the impact that these changes had on the career paths of administrators. In doing so, it addresses two of the research questions laid out in chapter one:

Research Question #1:

What changes occurred in the gender representation of school administrators, (principals and vice-principals) by school level (elementary and high school), and school size (levels one to five) in The Winnipeg School Division No. 1, from 1973-1998, and,

Research Question #2:

How were the changes that occurred in the gender representation of school administrators in The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 from 1973-1998 reflected in the career paths of female and male school administrators?

Before addressing these research questions directly, the chapter will look briefly at the ways in which the concept of equal representation might be taken up, and also describes the way in which for the purposes of this study schools are classified as either elementary, junior high, or high schools.

Benchmarks of Employment Equity

In as much as this thesis is about developments related to affirmative action within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, it is important to operationalize a definition of employment equity in relationship to school-based administrative positions within the Division. According to Statistics Canada (1996), Canada has a female population of 14.7 million and a male population of 14.2 million, while for Manitoba the figures are 566,360 and 547,535 respectively (Statistics Canada, 1996). In both cases this represents a population where females constitute some 51% of the population and males 49%. Given this situation for the population, as a whole, one can talk globally of gender balance as approximating a 50/50 ratio.

However, school administrators in Manitoba (as in most other jurisdictions) are drawn virtually from the ranks of teachers where women make up a significant majority of the profession. For this reason, a more compelling indicator of employment equity is likely to be a 65/35 female-to-male ratio that reflects the gender representation of the provincial teaching population (Manitoba Education, Training and Youth, 2002).

It may be argued that this ratio needs to be further refined to reflect the differences that exist in the gender make up of the teaching force across grade levels (See Table 5.1).

TABLE 5.1
MANITOBA TEACHERS BY SCHOOL LEVEL AND GENDER (1998)

	EARLY		MIDDLE		SENIOR		COMPOSITE		TOTAL	
FEMALE	4,286	80%	288	56%	1,419	43%	2,327	64%	8,320	65%
MALE	1,088	20%	227	44%	1,869	57%	1,301	36%	4,485	35%
TOTAL	5,374	100%	515	100%	3,288	100%	3,628	100%	12,805	100%

Manitoba Education and Training, 1998

If the recruitment pool for administrators is seen as the teachers working at that level in the province then the case can be made that a representative administration for the province would be quite different for early years schools (80% female) than for senior years schools (43% female). The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 recruitment pool of teachers is similar for early years school (80% female) and is slightly higher than the provincial statistics for senior years schools (48% female). However, in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 school administrators work across school levels and would normally expect to work in a range of different schools in their career. For this reason, in this chapter discussions of a representative administrative team use the 65/35 ratio across each level.¹

The Classification of Schools

Student Grade Level Divisions: Manitoba Education, Training and Youth has since 1994 organized the provincial school curriculum into Early Years (Kindergarten to Grade 4), Middle Years (Grade 5 to Grade 8), and Senior Years (Senior 1 to Senior 4), and the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba has, beginning in 1998 with full implementation by 2003, organized its Bachelor of Education program around these divisions.² However, teachers, in Manitoba, remain certified to teach at any grade level, and across the province the reality is that schools are organized into almost every possible permutation of grade levels.

In The Winnipeg School Division, schools are organized into Elementary, Junior High and High Schools rather than structuring around Early/Middle and Senior Years.

¹ The figure for the Winnipeg School Division in 1998 was 66% female and 34% male (Research, Planning and Technology, Winnipeg School Division, 2002). While the vast majority of administrative hirings were made from within the division during the period under study some were made from other divisions in the province. Since there is very little difference between the proportion of women teachers in the Winnipeg School Division and Manitoba as a whole, the figure of 65% is used in this chapter as the percentage of female school administrators that would be reflective of women's presence in the teaching profession.

² University of Manitoba Calendar 2002-2003.

The Division currently has some fifty-nine elementary schools (48 are Nursery to Grade 6, seven are Nursery to Grade 8, and four are Nursery to Senior 1), five junior high schools (Grades 7 to Senior 1), and fifteen high schools (seven are Grade 7 to Senior 4, four Senior 1 to Senior 4, three Senior 2 to Senior 4, and one, the Winnipeg Adult Education Centre Basic to Senior 4). Given this configuration, in this study it is the Elementary, Junior High, High School designations that are used in the analysis of administrative appointments, and a major distinction is made between Elementary/Junior High Schools and High Schools.

Administrative Responsibility in the Division: Of particular significance to this study is the classification of schools in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. by the size of the student populations. As shown in Table 5.2, schools are classified Level I through Level V based on student enrolment, with administrative responsibility, salary and status increasing with each level. This is particularly significant to this chapter as administrative career paths are charted by movement from level of responsibility to level of responsibility as much as they are from vice-principalship to principalship or from elementary school to high school.

TABLE 5.2
WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION #1 SCHOOL LEVEL
DESIGNATIONS BY STUDENT ENROLMENTS

Level	Enrollments
I	0 - 225
II	226 - 450
III	451 - 675
IV	676 - 1000
V	over 1000

Changes in Gender Representation Among School Administrators, 1973 – 1997³

Over the period covered by this research the overall gender representation in the School Division changed dramatically. In 1973, twenty-six female administrators constituted twenty-two percent of one hundred and seventeen school-based administrators in the Division. By 1997, there were some eighty female school administrators and they constituted fifty-six percent of the one hundred and forty-two school-based administrators in the Division. (See Table 5.3)

TABLE 5.3
WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION #1 SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS
(PRINCIPALS & VICE-PRINCIPALS) BY GENDER & YEAR (1973 - 1997)

	YEAR								
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
FEMALE	26	26	21	24	24	24	25	22	26
MALE	91	100	97	100	98	102	106	98	105
TOTAL	117	126	118	124	122	126	131	120	131

	YEAR							
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989
FEMALE	27	31	29	34	41	44	52	52
MALE	89	91	88	89	80	86	78	73
TOTAL	116	122	117	123	121	130	130	125

	YEAR							
	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
FEMALE	57	63	62	71	69	86	70	80
MALE	71	75	72	66	67	71	63	62
TOTAL	128	138	134	137	136	157	133	142

³ The data shown in the Tables and Charts of this chapter are for the academic years 1973-74 to 1997-98. When years are reported as 1973 or 1997 they are 1973-4 and 1997-8.

These overall statistics incorporate important differences in the changes that were occurring at the vice-principal and principal level, between the elementary and senior school grade levels, and between small and large schools. These differences are explored in more detail below.

Elementary/Junior High School Administrators

As much of the literature on women in school administration (Bruno-Jofre, 1993; Shakeshaft, 1989; Tyack and Strober, 1981) has documented, it is the elementary school system where female administrators are most likely to be found and where initial steps towards increasing gender representation are most likely to begin. Two main reasons are generally offered for this situation: first, that elementary school teaching remains almost exclusively women's work⁴ and second, stereotypes still exist related to the nurturing roles of early years teaching and administration and the unique suitability of women to this role (Porat, 1985; Reynolds, 1987).

In 1973, in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, all but two of the Division's twenty-six female school administrators worked in the elementary or junior high school systems, where they constituted some twenty-eight percent of all elementary/junior high school administrators. In 1997, there were sixty-three female elementary/junior high school administrators accounting for 60% of all elementary/junior high school administrators. (See Table 5.4)

⁴ According to Manitoba Education, Training and Youth (1996) 79.8% of early years teachers in Manitoba are female. The Winnipeg School division figure for 1998 was a very similar 79.7% (Winnipeg School Division, Research, Planning and Technology Department, 2002).

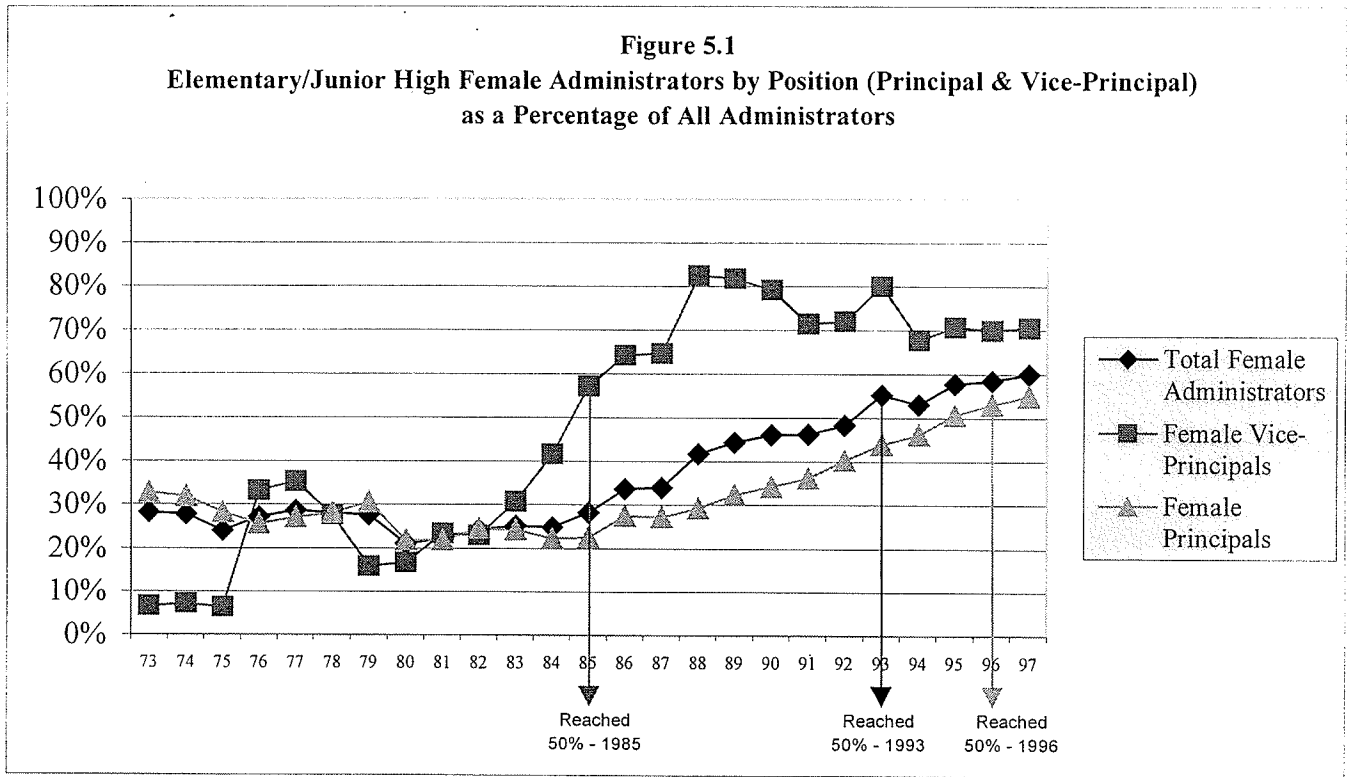
TABLE 5.4
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH ADMINISTRATORS
BY POSITION (PRINCIPAL & VICE-PRINCIPAL), GENDER AND YEAR (1973 - 1997)

Year	TOTAL			VICE-PRINCIPALS			PRINCIPALS								
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total						
1973	24	28%	61	72%	85	1	7%	14	93%	15	23	33%	47	67%	70
1974	24	28%	62	72%	86	1	7%	13	93%	14	23	32%	49	68%	72
1975	20	24%	63	76%	83	1	6%	15	94%	16	19	28%	48	72%	67
1976	24	27%	64	73%	88	6	33%	12	67%	18	18	26%	52	74%	70
1977	25	29%	62	71%	87	6	35%	11	65%	17	19	27%	51	73%	70
1978	25	28%	64	72%	89	5	28%	13	72%	18	20	28%	51	72%	71
1979	26	28%	68	72%	94	3	16%	16	84%	19	23	31%	52	69%	75
1980	18	21%	67	79%	85	2	17%	10	83%	12	16	22%	57	78%	73
1981	20	22%	70	78%	90	4	24%	13	76%	17	16	22%	57	78%	73
1982	20	24%	62	76%	82	3	23%	10	77%	13	17	25%	52	75%	69
1983	22	25%	65	75%	87	4	31%	9	69%	13	18	24%	56	76%	74
1984	21	25%	63	75%	84	5	42%	7	58%	12	16	22%	56	78%	72
1985	24	28%	61	72%	85	8	57%	6	43%	14	16	23%	55	77%	71
1986	28	34%	55	66%	83	9	64%	5	36%	14	19	28%	50	72%	69
1987	32	34%	62	66%	94	11	65%	6	35%	17	21	27%	56	73%	77
1988	41	42%	57	58%	98	19	83%	4	17%	23	22	29%	53	71%	75
1989	40	44%	50	56%	90	18	82%	4	18%	22	22	32%	46	68%	68
1990	42	46%	49	54%	91	19	79%	5	21%	24	23	34%	44	66%	67
1991	45	46%	52	54%	97	20	71%	8	29%	28	25	36%	44	64%	69
1992	47	48%	50	52%	97	18	72%	7	28%	25	29	40%	43	60%	72
1993	53	55%	43	45%	96	24	80%	6	20%	30	29	44%	37	56%	66
1994	51	53%	45	47%	96	21	68%	10	32%	31	30	46%	35	54%	65
1995	67	58%	49	42%	116	29	71%	12	29%	41	38	51%	37	49%	75
1996	55	59%	39	41%	94	21	70%	9	30%	30	34	53%	30	47%	64
1997	63	60%	42	40%	105	24	71%	10	29%	34	39	55%	32	45%	71

Table 5.4 and Figure 5.1 show the development of these changes between 1973 and 1997 for both principals and vice-principals. A vice-principal in an elementary or junior high school, in most systems, represents an 'entry position' into school administration, and as such might be regarded as a starting point for employment equity efforts. While it is only the larger elementary/junior high schools in the Division that have vice-principals it was these positions that showed the earliest increases in female representation. Beginning in the early 1980s the number of women elementary/junior high school administrators increased rapidly from a low in 1980 of two or 11% of all elementary/junior high vice-principals to nineteen or 83% by 1988. Since 1988 the numbers of female vice-principals, at this level, has increased slightly while the overall

percentage of women vice-principals, at this level declined slightly to around 71% in 1997. Women constituted 50% of elementary/junior high school administrators for the first time in 1992.

Figure 5.1
Elementary/Junior High Female Administrators by Position (Principal & Vice-Principal)
as a Percentage of All Administrators



At the level of the elementary/junior high school principal, increases in female representation came later, was more gradual, and less fully developed. The number and proportion of women elementary/junior high principals began to grow slightly from 1986 onwards, however, in 1985 these figures were only the same as they had been at the beginning of the period under study, 1973. After a decade of steady increases, in 1995 there were 38 women elementary/junior high principals representing half (51%) of all administrators at that level, and in 1997 these figures were 39 and 55% respectively.

Secondary School Administrators

In comparison to elementary and junior high schools, secondary school administration, particularly the large technical vocational school, has generally proved to be a much harder domain for women to gain access (Nixon, 1980; Rees, 1990; Sigford, 1995). In 1999 the Canadian Teachers' Federation reported that across Canada women held only one out of every five secondary school principalships and three out of ten assistant or vice-principalships (Canadian Teachers' Federation, 1999, cited in Reynolds, 2002, p. 82).

In 1973, of the 32 secondary school administrators working in Winnipeg School Division No. 1, only two vice-principals, were female. However, by 1997, 17 or 46% of secondary school administrators in the Division were women.

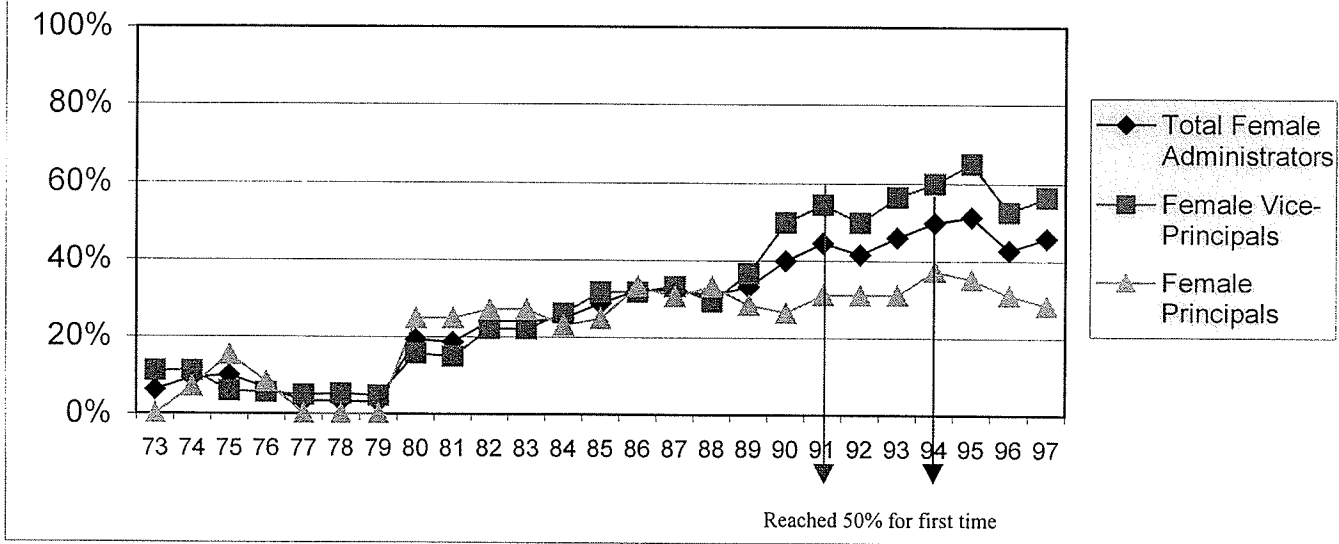
TABLE 5.5
SECONDARY ADMINISTRATORS
BY POSITION (PRINCIPAL & VICE-PRINCIPAL), GENDER AND YEAR (1973 - 1997)

Year	TOTAL			VICE-PRINCIPALS			PRINCIPALS								
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total						
1973	2	6%	30	94%	32	2	11%	16	89%	18	0	0%	14	100%	14
1974	3	9%	29	91%	32	2	11%	16	89%	18	1	7%	13	93%	14
1975	3	10%	27	90%	30	1	6%	16	94%	17	2	15%	11	85%	13
1976	2	7%	28	93%	30	1	6%	17	94%	18	1	8%	11	92%	12
1977	1	3%	29	97%	30	1	5%	19	95%	20	0	0%	10	100%	10
1978	1	3%	29	97%	30	1	5%	18	95%	19	0	0%	11	100%	11
1979	1	3%	31	97%	32	1	5%	20	95%	21	0	0%	11	100%	11
1980	6	19%	25	81%	31	3	16%	16	84%	19	3	25%	9	75%	12
1981	6	19%	26	81%	32	3	15%	17	85%	20	3	25%	9	75%	12
1982	7	24%	22	76%	29	4	22%	14	78%	18	3	27%	8	73%	11
1983	7	24%	22	76%	29	4	22%	14	78%	18	3	27%	8	73%	11
1984	8	25%	24	75%	32	5	26%	14	74%	19	3	23%	10	77%	13
1985	11	29%	27	71%	38	7	32%	15	68%	22	4	25%	12	75%	16
1986	11	32%	23	68%	34	7	32%	15	68%	22	4	33%	8	67%	12
1987	11	32%	23	68%	34	7	33%	14	67%	21	4	31%	9	69%	13
1988	9	31%	20	69%	29	5	29%	12	71%	17	4	33%	8	67%	12
1989	11	33%	22	67%	33	7	37%	12	63%	19	4	29%	10	71%	14
1990	14	40%	21	60%	35	10	50%	10	50%	20	4	27%	11	73%	15
1991	17	45%	21	55%	38	12	55%	10	45%	22	5	31%	11	69%	16
1992	15	42%	21	58%	36	10	50%	10	50%	20	5	31%	11	69%	16
1993	18	46%	21	54%	39	13	57%	10	43%	23	5	31%	11	69%	16
1994	18	50%	18	50%	36	12	60%	8	40%	20	6	38%	10	63%	16
1995	19	51%	18	49%	37	13	65%	7	35%	20	6	35%	11	65%	17
1996	15	43%	20	57%	35	10	53%	9	47%	19	5	31%	11	69%	16
1997	17	46%	20	54%	37	13	57%	10	43%	23	4	29%	10	71%	14

As with elementary school administrators, the increases in the proportion of women administrators at the secondary level was most marked at the vice-principal level, showing a steady increase from the beginning of the 1980s through until the mid-1990s, reaching the 50% mark for the first time in 1990.

The fourteen secondary school principalships, which in 1973 had been held entirely by men, remained predominantly staffed by men. However, by 1994 women were holding 6 or 38% of the secondary principalships. Percentages fell from 1995 to 1997 with women holding only four or 29% of secondary principalships.

Figure 5.2
Female Secondary School Administrators as a Percentage of All Secondary School Administrators by Years (1973-1997)



Summary

These trends across a twenty-five year time frame and across the different levels of school administrative positions are summarized in Table 5.6 and Figure 5.3. As Table 5.6 quite clearly shows, in 1973 essentially the only school administrative position occupied by women was the elementary school principalship. This had changed

significantly by 1997 with many more women occupying administrative positions at all levels. At this time, women constituted the majority of administrators overall in the Division (56%) and at the level of elementary vice-principal (71%), secondary vice-principal (57%), and elementary principal (55%). Only at the high status, secondary school principal level did men continue to make up the majority (71%).

TABLE 5.6
CHANGES IN THE NUMBER & PERCENTAGE OF FEMALE SCHOOL
ADMINISTRATORS BY POSITION & LEVEL (1973 AND 1997)

POSITION	1973			1997			CHANGE	
	FEMALE	TOTAL		FEMALE	TOTAL		FEMALE	TOTAL
Elementary Vice-Principal	1	7%	15	24	71%	34	+23	+19
Elementary Principal	23	33%	70	39	55%	71	+16	1
Secondary Vice-Principal	2	11%	18	13	57%	23	+11	+5
Secondary Principal	0	0%	14	4	29%	14	+4	0
TOTAL	26	22%	117	80	56%	142	+54	+25

In Figure 5.3 these developments are shown on a year-by-year basis. The Figure provides an important insight into three important benchmarks in employment equity: (a) the beginning of sustained changes, (b) the achievement of equal/balanced gender representation, and (c) the achievement of a representative administrative workforce.

Beginnings of Sustained Changes: Here, three consecutive years of an increase in the proportion of female administrators and a combined increase over that period of at least 5% in the proportion of female administrators, is taken as the working definition of the beginning of sustained change. Using these criteria, Figure 5.3 shows sustained change beginning in 1980 for female elementary/junior high vice-principals, in 1982 for female

secondary vice-principals, and in 1986 for elementary/junior high principals. At the secondary principal level (where the number of positions is the lowest), three women principals were appointed in 1980. However, there was no period of sustained growth for female secondary school principals between 1973 and 1997.

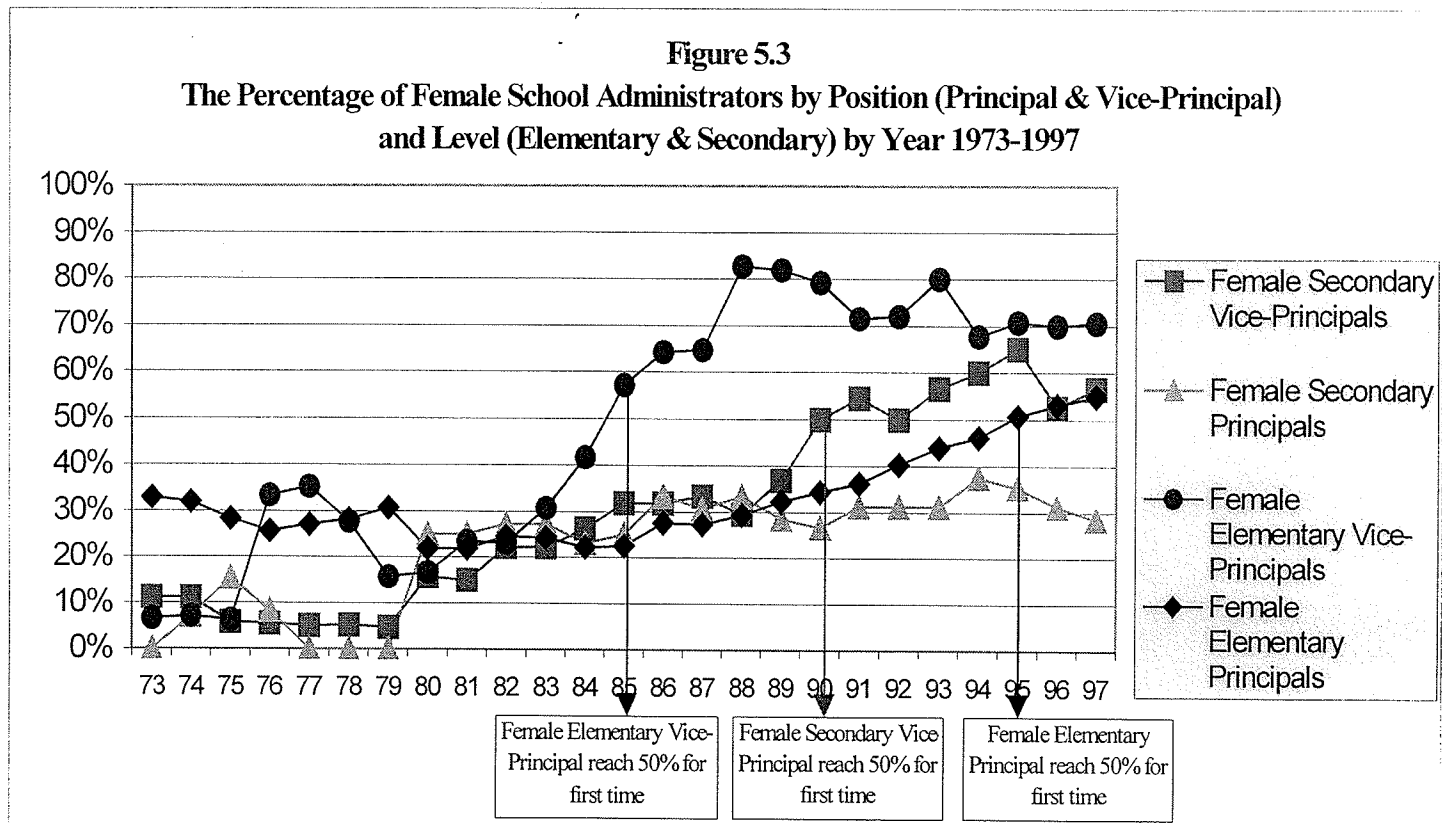
The Achievement of Gender Balance: The point at which there are an equal number of female and male administrators within a school system is taken to be an important benchmark for employment equity. Figure 5.3 shows that this point was reached for elementary school vice-principals in 1985, for secondary vice-principals in 1990 and for elementary principals in 1995. By 1997 this point had not been reached for secondary school principals.

The Achievement of a Representative Administrative Workforce: As noted earlier in this chapter an equal number of male and female administrators does not, from an employment equity perspective constitute a representative administrative workforce when the employment pool from which administrators are drawn is made up of significantly more women than men (Abella, 1984). In 1997, as noted earlier, women made up some 66% of all teachers in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. and 65% of all teachers in Manitoba. Using the benchmark of 65% Figure 5.3 shows that this benchmark was achieved for elementary vice-principals by 1987 and by secondary vice-principals by 1995. By 1997 it was being approached but not achieved by elementary/junior high principals and was not close to being reached by secondary principals. As this figure is reached Figure 5.3 shows a leveling off of the proportions of women administrators.

The statistics presented in this section of the chapter and summarized in Table 5.4 and Figure 5.3 document a twenty-five year period of radical change in the participation of women in school-based administration within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. They also clearly document an ongoing and unfinished employment equity agenda.⁵ The

⁵ The continuation of this process up until 2002 is contained in a brief post-script to this thesis.

patterns of change beginning at the vice-principal level and moving more rapidly in the elementary/junior high school system are reflective of changes described elsewhere and also of the normal career paths of school administrators – which is the focus of the second half of this chapter:



Changes by School Size and Gender

Within the literature that charts the gendered nature of school administration in Canada (Rees, 1990) and elsewhere, it is the distinctions between the positions of principal and vice-principal and between elementary and high schools that are most generally reported. However, because in Winnipeg School Division administrative careers tend to move backwards and forward between elementary, junior high and high schools, and because a vice-principal position in a large school may be a position of

higher responsibility than a smaller principalship, in this section changes in gender representation in administrative positions within the Division are examined by school size. Table 5.7 below shows the progression of school-based administrative positions within the Division based on 1998 starting salaries.

Table 5.7
Winnipeg School Division No. 1
Administrative Positions by Base Salaries (September 1998)

	Position	Level	Description	Starting Salary
1.	Vice-Principal	A	Teaching Vice-Principal	\$53,700
2.	Vice-Principal	B	Supervising Vice-Principal	\$57,913
	Principal	I	Principal (0 – 225)	\$57,913
3.	Vice-Principal	C	Supervising Vice-Principal	\$61,153
	Principal	II	Principal (226 – 450)	\$61,153
4.	Principal	III	Principal (451 – 675)	\$64,391
5.	Principal	IV	Principal (676 – 1000)	\$67,629
6.	Principal	V	Principal (1000+)	\$70,869

In Table 5.8 the changes over the period 1973 to 1998 are shown with these administrative positions grouped into three categories from the lowest salaried entry positions to the highest status principalships in the Division’s largest schools. While the overall patterns of change shown previously with regard to school level and administrative position are repeated here, these data further serve to emphasize the ‘unfinished agenda’ with regard to the principalship of large schools

TABLE 5.8
Female Administrators (Principals & Vice-Principals)
By School Size (1973 - 1997)

Year	Small Schools (Level I & II)		Medium Schools (Level III)		Large Schools (Level IV & V)	
1973	13	24%	7	26%	5	24%
1974	12	23%	6	23%	6	24%
1975	13	22%	4	19%	2	9%
1976	19	31%	3	12%	1	5%
1977	19	33%	4	15%	1	5%
1978	19	30%	4	16%	1	6%
1979	20	31%	4	15%	1	5%
1980	17	26%	3	14%	1	6%
1981	20	26%	4	18%	1	6%
1982	21	32%	3	14%	1	8%
1983	23	30%	3	14%	1	8%
1984	22	30%	3	16%	1	8%
1985	28	37%	2	10%	2	17%
1986	32	42%	3	15%	2	17%
1987	35	44%	4	16%	3	21%
1988	42	49%	4	18%	3	24%
1989	43	53%	4	19%	3	27%
1990	47	54%	6	30%	3	25%
1991	52	55%	6	29%	4	29%
1992	52	56%	6	29%	3	22%
1993	61	62%	6	32%	3	22%
1994	60	59%	6	35%	3	25%
1995	77	63%	7	44%	2	20%
1996	63	64%	5	33%	2	20%
1997	71	65%	8	42%	2	20%

Changes in Administrative Career Paths 1973-1997

The second research question addressed in this chapter looks at how the changes in gender representation described above were reflected in the career paths of female and male administrators over the period 1973-1997. This section of the chapter will examine the entry into administration, the path taken to a first principalship, and then review the career paths of all school-based administrators in position in the division in 1997-98.

The data already reported in this chapter demonstrate that during the period under study, a career in school administration with the Winnipeg School Division became a much broader and more accessible possibility for women. While at the beginning of the period, in 1973, the elementary school principalship constituted essentially the only administrative position occupied by women, by the end of the period, in 1997, women were well-represented across most school-based administrative positions. In this section of the chapter aspects of how these changes came about and their impact on women's administrative careers are discussed. First, consideration is given to the number of people appointed directly to a principal position without first holding a vice-principalship. Second, the chapter looks at the average length of time male and female administrators held vice-principal appointments before receiving their first school principal appointment. After this, attention is given to the proportions of male and female appointments made at different periods of time between 1973 and 1997 within the context of a discussion of "backlash" to affirmative action initiatives and the notion of "reverse discrimination". Finally attention is focused on an examination of the career paths of those administrators in the division holding positions in the last year of this study, 1997-97.

Fast-Tracking into the Principalship

Table 5.9 shows the number of administrators appointed directly into a school principalship without ever serving as a vice-principal. This data suggests that direct appointments of this kind were relatively uncommon throughout the time frame of this study and have been significantly less common since the late 1980s. In terms of explaining how the substantial changes in the number of women in administration was achieved, the appointment of women directly to a position of principal was not a strategy of the Division. Indeed, over the total duration of the study slightly more men were appointed directly to a principal position than women.

Table 5.9
Winnipeg School Division No. 1. Administrators
Appointed Directly to a Principalship (1973 – 1997)

	1973-77	1978-82	1983-87	1988-92	1993-97	Total
Female	3	10	8	2	3	26
Male	10	9	6	2	1	28
Total	13	19	14	4	4	54

During the period 1978 to 1987 eighteen women were appointed directly to the principalship. It is perhaps worth noting that these appointments came during the early periods of change within the Division and these appointments significantly increased the pool of female administrators from which future promotions could be made.

Time to First Principalship

The data in Table 5.10 compares the average length of time that male and female administrators spent in a vice-principalship position before being promoted to a principal position. As an indicator of initial career mobility this data sheds light on whether or not the changes that have occurred in the Division were produced by differential career paths for men and women.

Table 5.10
Average Length of Time (Years) to First Principal
Appointment by Gender (1973 – 1997)

	1973-77	1978-82	1983-87	1988-92	1993-97
Female Mean	2.71	2.17	2.47	2.06	2.39
Male Mean	2.04	2.11	1.79	2.10	1.60
Total Mean	2.18	2.13	2.09	2.08	2.18

The data in Table 5.10 suggests for both women and men a fairly rapid movement to the principalship after obtaining an initial vice-principal position. If the time taken to obtain one's first principalship is taken as one measure of mobility, the analysis of the data in Table 5.10 suggests: (i) relatively similar career patterns for men and women throughout the time period of this study; and, (ii) that where there were differences men appeared to move slightly more quickly into a principal position, except for the period 1988-1992 when female appointments had a slightly lower average amount of time as vice-principals.

“Backlash”, “Reverse Discrimination” and “Male Privilege”

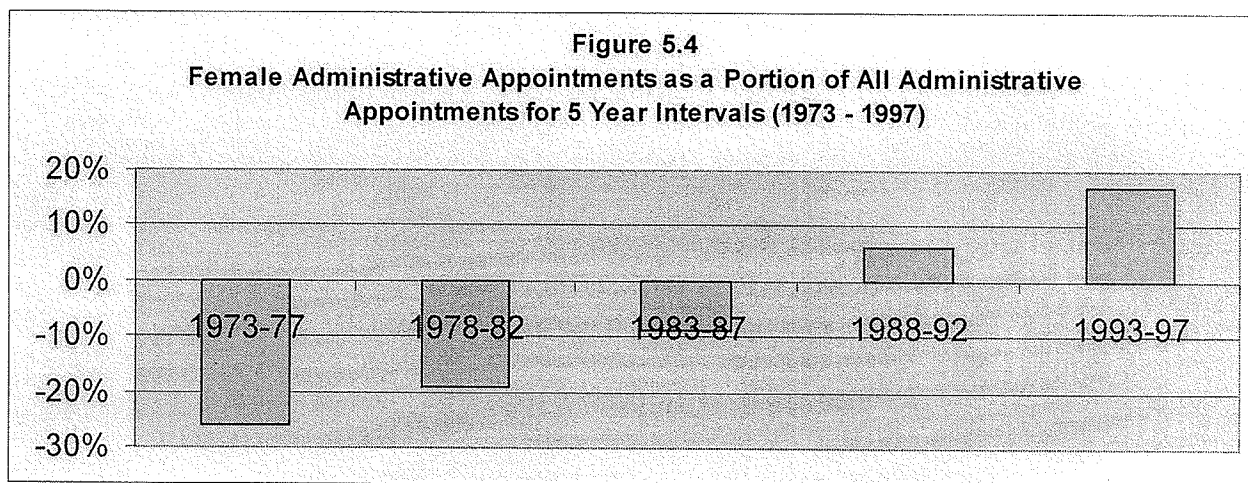
The introduction of affirmative action initiatives has, in other contexts (Rees, 1990), often engendered resistance and “backlash” for those who believe that, under the name of equality, men aspiring to administrative positions are now the victims of discrimination and have their legitimate career aspirations closed off by such policies and practices. (The notion of “backlash” is taken up again in Chapter VI in the interviews with high school administrators.)

Here this issue is explored by examining administrative appointments over the period 1973-1997. Table 5.11 summarizes all administrative appointments made in the Division in five year intervals according to gender.

TABLE 5.11
Winnipeg School Division #1 All School-Based Administrative Appointments (Principal & Vice-Principal) by Gender for 5 Year Intervals from 1973-1997

	1973-77		1978-82		1983-87		1988-92		1993-97		TOTAL	
FEMALE	51	24%	46	31%	61	41%	100	56%	119	67%	377	44%
MALE	158	76%	104	69%	88	59%	79	44%	58	33%	487	56%
TOTAL	209	100%	150	100%	149	100%	179	100%	177	100%	864	100%

The data in Table 5.11 and Figure 5.4 shows that over the period 1973-1997 male administrative appointments (56%) exceeded female appointments (44%). Only in the five year periods 1988-1992 and 1993-1997 did female appointments reach and exceed 50% of all appointments and only in the last of these periods did female appointments reflect the proportions of women in the teaching force in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1.



N.B. The 0% line in the chart above represents a hypothetical 50/50 ratio of male/female appointments. The graphs above and below that line show the amount of female under- or over-representation in relation to that 50/50 proportion.

In Table 5.12 instead of looking at all administrative appointments, attention is focused upon initial appointments by year. While the overall patterns shown in this Table are not markedly dissimilar from those in Table 5.11, they do highlight a relatively short period in the late 1980s and early 1990s when women dominated new appointments within the division.

The patterns of administrative appointments shown in Table 5.11 and 5.12, and in Figure 5.4, of increasing numbers of female appointments and declining numbers of male appointments represent a removal of male privilege in administrative appointments. In nine of the twenty-five years studied female initial administrative appointments were over-representative of the female presence in the division's teaching force – in sixteen years they were not. However, viewed more broadly, the data has little to support the notion of 'reverse discrimination' - of more women being appointed than their presence in the teaching force would suggest or male appointments being below the number that their presence in the teaching force would appear to warrant. In particular, for both sets of data (5.11 and 5.12) the last five years of the study 1993-4 to 1997-98 the figures are very close to the proportions of male and female teachers in the division.

TABLE 5.12
Winnipeg School Division #1 Initial Administrative Appointments
By Gender 1973-1997

Year	Female	Male	Total
1973-74	5 (15%)	28 (85%)	33 (100%)
1974-95	3 (25%)	9 (75%)	12 (100%)
1975-76	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	8 (100%)
1976-77	4 (31%)	9 (69%)	13 (100%)
<i>1977-78**</i>	<i>5 (71%)</i>	<i>2 (29%)</i>	<i>7 (100%)</i>
	18 (25%)	55 (75%)	73 (100%)
1978-79	1 (13%)	7 (87%)	8 (100%)
1979-80	1 (25%)	3 (75%)	4 (100%)
1980-81	6 (43%)	8 (57%)	14 (100%)
1981-82	1 (33%)	2 (67%)	3 (100%)
<i>1982-83</i>	<i>5 (83%)</i>	<i>1 (17%)</i>	<i>6 (100%)</i>
	14 (40%)	21 (60%)	35 (100%)
1983-84	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5 (100%)
1984-85	4 (57%)	3 (43%)	7 (100%)
1985-86	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
1986-87	7 (58%)	5 (42%)	12 (100%)
1987-88	4 (40%)	6 (60%)	10 (100%)
	20 (51%)	19 (49%)	39 (100%)
<i>1988-89</i>	<i>10 (100%)</i>	<i>- (0%)</i>	<i>10 (100%)</i>
1989-90	- (0%)	1 (100%)	1 (100%)
<i>1990-91</i>	<i>11 (73%)</i>	<i>4 (27%)</i>	<i>15 (100%)</i>
<i>1991-92</i>	<i>4 (100%)</i>	<i>- (0%)</i>	<i>4 (100%)</i>
<i>1992-93</i>	<i>3 (75%)</i>	<i>1 (25%)</i>	<i>4 (100%)</i>
	28 (82%)	6 (18%)	34 (100%)
<i>1993-94</i>	<i>8 (67%)</i>	<i>4 (33%)</i>	<i>12 (100%)</i>
1994-95	8 (62%)	5 (38%)	13 (100%)
1995-96	3 (60%)	2 (40%)	5 (100%)
<i>1996-97</i>	<i>8 (73%)</i>	<i>3 (27%)</i>	<i>11 (100%)</i>
<i>1997-98</i>	<i>2 (67%)</i>	<i>1 (33%)</i>	<i>4 (100%)</i>
	29 (66%)	15 (34%)	44 (100%)
Total	109 (48%)	116 (52%)	225 (100%)

** Figures in bold and italics show those years when the proportion of female initial administrative appointment exceeded 65% of all initial administrative appointments.

The Career Paths of School-Based Administrators in the Division in 1997-98

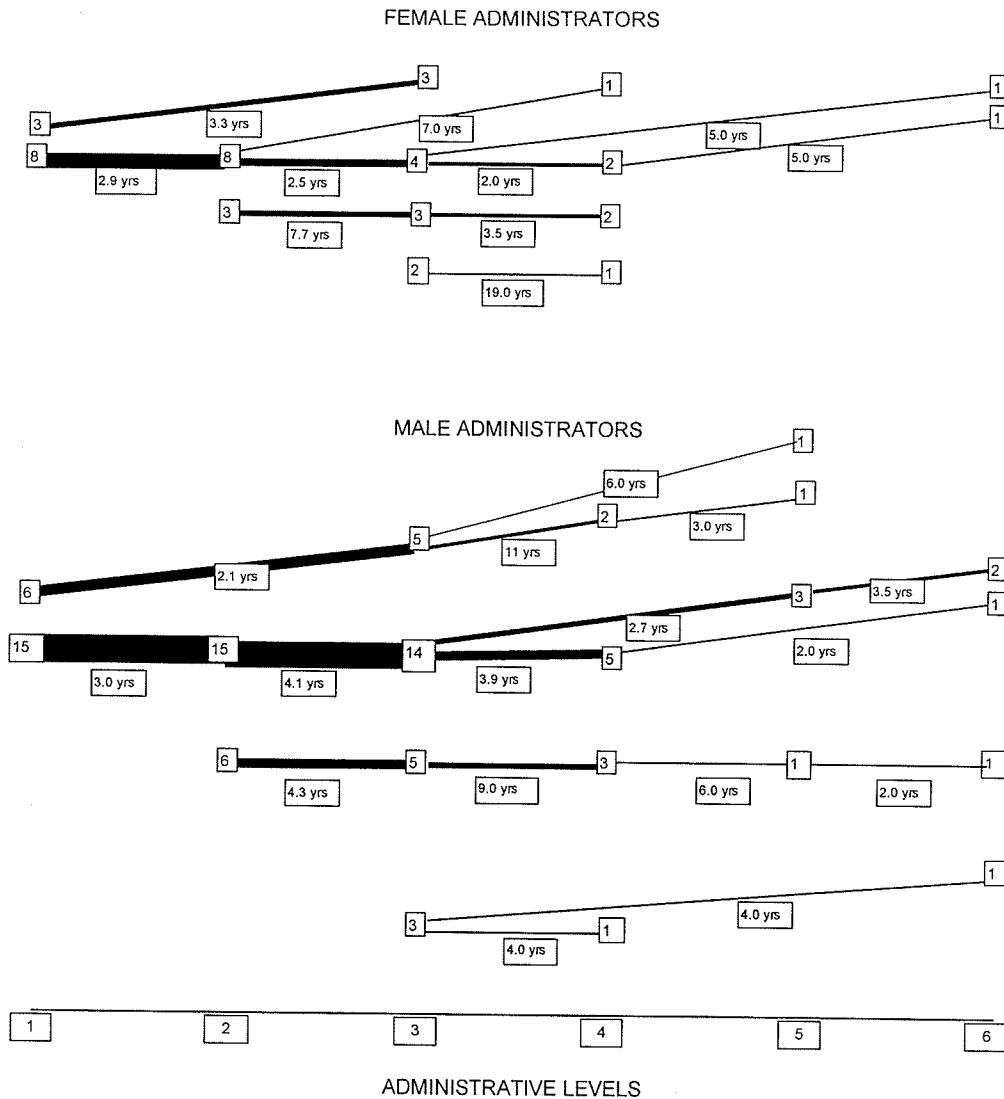
The final two Figures in this chapter, Figure 5.5 and 5.6, attempt to look at the career paths of all school-based administrators working in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 in 1997-98. The two Figures distinguish between those administrators whose first administrative appointment in the division was prior to 1986 – the beginning of what this study has referred to as an “interventionist phase” in employment equity (Figure 5.5) – and those first appointed in 1986 or thereafter (Figure 5.6). In each Figure the number of female and male administrators moving from one career stage to a more advanced one is graphed along with the average number of years spent in each career stage. (Career stages in these Figures are based on initial starting salaries as shown earlier in Table 5.6.)

The data in Figure 5.5 show the more fully developed career paths, since all administrators here had been in administrative positions at least 12 years. In keeping with the earlier analyses, this Figure shows quite clearly both a preponderance of male administrators and a more elongated career pattern for them in terms of a progression into senior administrative positions. For women administrators appointed before 1986 promotion beyond the level of Principal III has proven to be a very difficult ‘ceiling’ to break through. Also consistent with earlier analyses, the data do not show any clear differences in the average length of time between promotions – although the length of time in *current* position is not included in this data.

Figure 5.6 provides a quite stark contrast to Figure 5.5 in terms of male and female representation. Yet because all administrators had been in position for no more than 11 years and often much less the career paths for both male and female administrators are far less developed – these are for the most part educators at the beginnings of their administrative careers. It is only from among the male administrators in this cohort that any administrator has moved beyond the level of Principal II. While it is possible to argue that this large group of female administrators now in place in the lower levels of school-based administration in the division will provide the personnel to

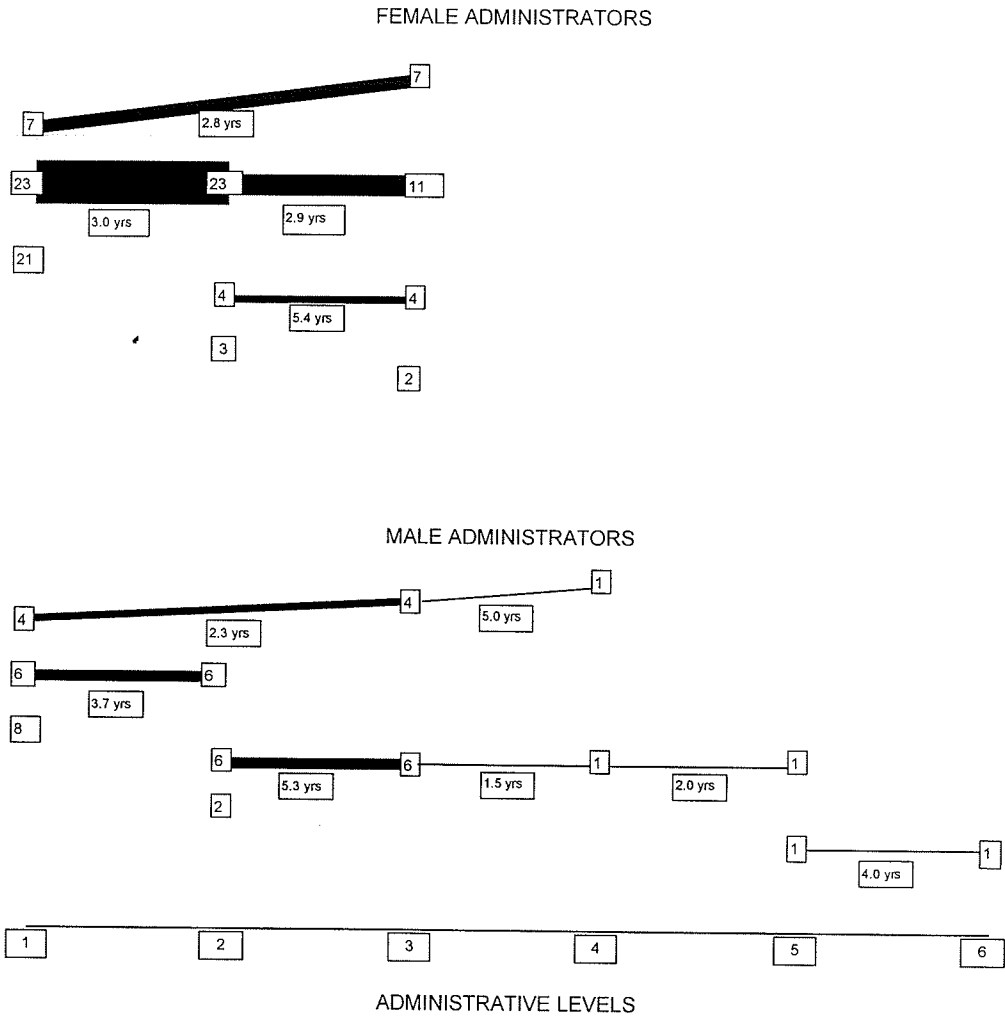
move into the senior school-based administrative positions in the division there is little evidence in these two Figures to suggest that in 1997-98 that this was taking place.

Figure 5.5
Career Paths of Male and Female Administrators who were in
Position in 1997-98 and Whose Initial Administrative
Appointment in the Division was Prior to 1986



- Key: 1 = Vice-Principal Level A
 2 = Vice-Principal Level B or Principal Level I
 3 = Vice-Principal Level C or Principal Level II
 4 = Principal Level III
 5 = Principal Level IV
 6 = Principal Level V

Figure 5.6
Career Paths of Male and Female Administrators in
Position in 1997-98 and Whose Initial Administrative
Appointment in the Division was After 1986



- Key: 1 = Vice-Principal Level A
 2 = Vice-Principal Level B or Principal Level I
 3 = Vice-Principal Level C or Principal Level II
 4 = Principal Level III
 5 = Principal Level IV
 6 = Principal Level V

Summary

Without doubt, the period 1973 to 1997 was a period of dramatic change in terms of the number and proportion of women in school-based administrative positions in The Winnipeg School Division. While, at the end of the period, the principalship in the largest high schools in the Division remained predominantly staffed by men, in all other positions women had become well represented. An analysis of the data present in this chapter suggests that these changes were achieved, not by large-scale hiring of women from outside of the Division, or by “fast-tracking” women into and through administrative positions, or by appointing only women to administrative positions as they became open, but rather by a sustained effort to recruit women in numbers proportional to their presence in the teaching profession into entry level positions in administration and then to support them through a career path of promotion that paralleled the scope and speed of traditional male careers. In the next chapter attention is drawn to the ways in which male and female high school principals perceived the Division’s affirmative action policies impacting on their careers as administrators and the careers of their female and male colleagues in the Division.

CHAPTER VI

Gender, Affirmative Action, and High School Principals' Careers - The Interviews

Introduction

The previous chapter has laid out in some detail the changing gender representation of administrators in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 over the period 1973-1998, during which time the overall proportion of women administrators in the Division moved from 22 per cent to 56 per cent. In this chapter attention is focused on the high school principalship. The chapter reports on interview data collected from a series of semi-structured interviews conducted with all high school principals in this position during the period 1998-1999. The purpose of these interviews was to address the two research questions repeated below.

Research Question #3: What significance do current high school principals within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 attach to the importance of gender and gender discrimination on their own educational careers and those of their colleagues within the Division during the period 1973 - 1998?

Research Question #4: What significance do current high school principals within the Winnipeg School Division #1 attach to the importance of divisional Affirmative Action policies and initiatives on the changes in gender representation among administrators and on the development of administrative career paths?

After a short profile of the principals who participated in this study, this chapter is divided into two main sections. The first reports on principals' perceptions of the significance of gender and gender discrimination to their administrative careers and the second to their perceptions of the impacts of the Division's Affirmative Action initiatives. In the first part of the chapter attention is given to four themes: public and professional stereotypes related to gender and administration; perceived gender

differences in balancing personal and professional role expectations; perceptions of male privilege in administration; and, the significance of networks and networking in male and female administrative careers. In the second half of the chapter attention is given to: female and male perceptions of the Affirmative Action policy; to the particular role of female role models, mentors and “trailblazers” in the implementation of the policy; and, the ways in which race and culture were viewed as an integral and complicating element in the pursuit of the affirmative action agenda in the Division.

The High School Principals: A Brief Profile

The principals interviewed in this study consisted of those women and men who held secondary principalships in Winnipeg School Division No.1 during the 1998 – 99 school year and were accessible to the researcher at the time of the interviews – June to November 2000. The start of the 1998-99 school year saw significant changes among high school principals in the Division with the number of women principals doubling from 4 to 8, and male principals dropping from 10 to 7. Because the researcher was herself one of the female administrators and was excluded from this part of the study the data presented in this chapter is drawn from interviews with seven female and seven male Winnipeg School Division high school principals. A very brief introduction of each of the participants below (and in Table 6.1) provides some background context to their comments that provide the substance of this chapter.

Harry.¹ At the time of the interview, Harry was a fifty-five year old married male with two adult children. He had Bachelor of Commerce, Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education, and Master of Education degrees. He was the principal of a level V, large vocational high school and was retiring in June of 2000 after several years as principal. This was Harry’s third high school principalship although he had served as a vice-principal in one junior high school. An important element of Harry’s interview was the fact that he had worked as an administrator in other school divisions without affirmative action policies and because he could also talk about a time period prior to the introduction of affirmative action initiatives.

¹ Pseudonyms are used for all of the principals.

Bill was a fifty-three year old married male with three adult children. He held Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Education degrees. He was the principal of a large high school with diverse programming. This was his third secondary principalship. He moved from a level II to a level V to another level V school. Bill also was a vice-principal for four years at the secondary level. Bill also provides a perspective from the position of assistant superintendent, a position he held prior to moving into the level V secondary school.

Sarah was a fifty-two year old single female. She held Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education and Master of Education degrees. Although over the last several years she held four different vice-principal positions, this was her second high school principalship moving from a level II to a level V.

George was a sixty-five year male with two grown children. He held a Bachelor of Science, a Certificate in Education, a Bachelor of Education degree, and a Pre Masters designation. He was the principal of a level V high school which offers very diverse programming. He has been at this school for many years and indicated that he expected this to be his last administrative appointment before retirement. This was his second secondary principalship moving from a level I to a level V, although he had been a vice-principal in another school division. George's interview also provided an important perspective of the 'early days' prior to Employment Equity.

Sam was a forty-six year old married male with two school age children. He held a Bachelor of Arts degree, a Master of Arts degree and a Certificate in Education. He was the principal of a level IV secondary school. This was his third secondary principalship. He was appointed directly into a principalship without spending time as a vice-principal. He moved from a level I to a level II and then to a level IV school.

Michelle was a forty-nine year old single female who is principal of a level IV secondary school. She held a Bachelor of Science, a Bachelor of Education, and a Master of Education degree. This is her second high school principalship moving from a level II school to a level IV. Michelle has also been a vice-principal in two secondary schools.

Russell was a fifty-four year old male with two grown children. He held a Bachelor of Arts, Bachelor of Education, and a Master of Education degree. He was the principal of a

medium sized, level III, secondary school in the inner city of Winnipeg. This was Russell's second secondary principalship moving from a level II to a level III, although he had been a vice-principal in two secondary schools prior to his appointment as principal.

Grant was a forty-nine year old married male with two children. He held Bachelor of Science and Bachelor of Education degrees. He was appointed principal of a level IV high school in 1998. This was his third secondary principalship moving from a level I to a level III and was just appointed to a level IV. Grant also was a vice-principal in four secondary schools prior to his appointment as principal.

Nancy was a forty-six year old married female with no children. She held a Bachelor of Arts, Certificate in Special Education, Pre-Masters status and a Post Baccalauriate Certificate in Education. She was the principal of a medium sized, level III secondary school. This was her first secondary principalship although she had been a vice-principal in three other secondary schools prior to her appointment to a principalship.

Terry was a fifty-four year old married male with two grown children. He held Bachelor of Education and Master of Education degrees. Prior to his first principalship he was a vice-principal for several years. Terry was principal of a level III, medium sized secondary school. This was his second secondary principalship moving from a level II to a level III.

Leevan. Leevan was a thirty-nine year female. She was a single parent who had raised one son who was attending university. She had a Bachelor of Education degree and a Master of Education degree which she obtained while working and raising her son. She was first appointed principal in 1998 of a level I, small alternative high school having been a vice-principal in two secondary schools. This was Leevan's second high school principalship.

Samantha was a forty-four year old female married with four school age children. She held Bachelor of Arts, a Certificate of Education, and Master of Arts degrees. She was appointed principal of a level I, small high school in 1998. This was her first secondary appointment and her first appointment to administration.

Jane was a fifty year old married female with no children. She held a Bachelor of Arts degree and a Certificate in Education. She was the principal of a level I small alternative high school. This was her first secondary appointment although she had been a vice-principal in a elementary school.

Sophie was a thirty-eight year old married female with no children. She held Bachelor of Arts and Bachelor of Education degrees as well as a Diploma in Counselling. She was the principal of a level I, small alternative high school. Although this was her first secondary principalship Sophie had been a vice-principal in a large N-9 school.

Issues of Gender and Gender Discrimination

Each of the principals in the study was interviewed between June and September, 2000, with each interview taking between one and a half and two hours. In several cases a second brief interview was conducted to elaborate or clarify points from the initial interview. The data presented in this section relate to their discussion of the significance of gender to their own administrative careers and their perceptions of its significance to their colleagues within the division. This section of the chapter is organized around four themes drawn from these interviews, namely: (i) the significance of gender stereotypes on administrative careers; (ii) the different expectation of male and female administrators in terms of balancing personal and professional lives; (iii) discussions of 'male privileged', and (iv) the significance of networks and networking as a critical aspect of administrative career development.

Perceptions of Authority and Competence: Public and Professional Stereotypes

In discussing the ways in which gender was seen as both historically and in a continuing manner to disadvantage women and advantage men, stereotypical notions of male and female competence and authority was recognized and discussed by virtually all participants. The principals, whose experience working in the school division ranged from two to thirty years, commented on the extent to which they saw these barriers

change over the years and also the extent to which they saw them as both community-based and professionally held views.

Among both male and female administrators there was the recognition/belief that parents were generally more likely to expect and respect male school principals. At times this was articulated as a general public bias, at other times a shifting generational phenomenon, and frequently as a characteristic of particular cultural/ ethnic groups within the division. (These were biases that male principals were likely to distance themselves from with reference to female principals they had known in the division who had successfully challenged and overcome these stereotypes.) Describing his perceptions of the advantages of being male (and white) in the face of these perceptions, Grant commented:

. . . sometimes being a male in this position is helpful in the sense of a perception out there, that still exists amongst parents, or that generation, about whatever biases they have in their mind about male or female. You know, probably the male will get the benefit of the doubt over the female. . . by the fact that there's a perception of the male principal, which is still in some people's stereotype, . . . you're probably less prone to questioning. You're a white male, you know, the assumption is that you must be competent. Well, we all know that that's not true!

Russell made a similar comment, describing how these stereotypes have been challenged, but not yet totally removed, by the examples of successful women principals, and continues the theme of ethnicity and "white privilege".

I think being White, Anglo-Saxon and male has certainly . . . it's made me more acceptable in a lot of places. It's made me acceptable because being male for a lot of time was seen as more powerful, more capable (especially at _____ school). _____ broke the mold, but still a lot of people don't think you can do that – a female run a vocational school with lots of gangs, lots of problems. Being

White made me a lot more acceptable to a variety of ethnic groups because I wasn't one or the other. I was nothing – I didn't have any ethnic background.

Female administrators also talked about their perceptions of community expectations and stereotypes and the potential that they had to have an impact on administrative decision-making within the division. For example Michele observed: “when the _____ School [principalship] was advertised I was told that no way would they appoint a woman in a Portuguese community”. Sophie developed this further in terms of recent initiatives across the province and the division to promote more parental and community input into school decision making:²

I think that if the decision was who was to who become a principal of a high school . . . if there's more and more influence from parents and community then they will less and less choose women. How do we deal with that . . . in terms of broadening their horizons in terms of what we can do? You almost have to over-compensate around “being tough” and “make the strong decisions” – or have a strong, tall, [male] vice-principal!

Professional Stereotypes

In addition to their discussion of the existence of gender stereotypes among parents and community members, high school administrators also recognized and commented on biases that existed and continue to exist among their educational colleagues – senior administrators as well as teachers. On occasion these comments were made in the context of older administrators commenting on their earlier experiences, but particularly among female administrators they were also comments on their current experiences and perceptions.

² Since the mid-1990s increasing parent and community involvement in school-based decision making has been a provincial initiative. In 1996 under the Education Administration Act (CCSM.c. E10) Regulation 54/96 provision for Advisory Councils for School Leadership was introduced, and was subsequently written into The Public Schools Act, Section 41(1) (V. 58.6, 178 (1)). While the functions of these Councils is strictly advisory they do have the intent and potential to create meaningful public involvement at the school level.

Male principals who were appointed to their first administrative positions in the 1970s and early 1980s spoke about the prevailing attitudes that informed hiring practices of the time – both within the Winnipeg School Division and outside of it. Harry, whose first administrative appointments were outside of the division, and who observed that he never worked with a female principal or vice-principal until he came to the Winnipeg School Division, commented on the period:

I don't think there's any question. The majority of men perceived women to be not as competent in terms of decision making and 'backbone' and understanding management principles. I don't think there's any question about that – I've sat through those conversations.

And, with regard to the significance of gender to his own entry into administration in the mid-1970s he would observe:

I don't think that there was any question the fact that I was male helped me get a principalship. I don't think there was any question because I even remember when I applied for the vice-principal I saw the names, the list – I don't think I was supposed to, of all the candidates. There were about 11 of them for that dinky little job. But anyway they were all men. I mean, you know what happened in those days, you just put the guy in, right? In elementary schools sometimes they'd put in some second or third years teachers, if they were male, into the principalship.

Likewise, George, whose first administrative appointment within the division was in 1976 could recall a meeting of administrators where a principal would openly express his view that, "It's a well known fact that the man is the bread winner and women just work for pin money".

Among all the female principals interviewed, the presence of these barriers was clearly recognized and articulated. While on occasion their comments were related to experiences in the early 1990s and before, much more so than among male administrators, they focussed on the continued existence of these barriers. Michelle commented:

I have felt at times that I've had to prove myself, as a female. . . . your actions were monitored more by staffs in general. And even things like people not hesitating when three administrators are all male in one school, but as soon as you have two females and one male, it's a very different situation. That always amazed me.

Samantha, who had been in her current position for three years observed:

Coming into this building as a female replacing a male principal, I think the initial attitude of some male teachers on staff. . . certainly there is some challenging like 'okay, what is she going to do in this situation', some posturing that was there. I think you feel that way when you walk in. I don't think any woman hasn't received some challenges because they are a women. It took a little while to get over that and that was a challenge initially when I came to do the job.

Russell, a principal in his mid fifties, talks both about gender stereotypes and the belief that the effects of the work of a number of very successful women administrators in the division has served to substantially reduce professional biases against women administrators:

I'm in because there's a lot of people expect the chief to be male, and so generally they want to see me. And there's a notion of because I'm male I think that's seen as, especially by the men and the boys, that's seen as you're the boss and that's probably affected me because of the clients I work with. . . . There may still be some of that statement attached to a female administrator in a school that's got men things going on. But that's . . . pretty well gone. And I think, it's gone because of people like ___ and _____, especially those two really changed people's views on administrators because they were, they

could just pull it off .

However, Sarah, an administrator whose career development has seen her continually at the front of the expansion of female access to administrative positions within the division, offers a more cautious view of extent to which gender is no longer seen as a barrier to women's career aspirations:

That whole gender issue. ...Every time I came into a new building - and I've been in a number of new buildings in the last twelve years - the issue would come up again. And then people would get to know me and it would subside. But every time I walked into a new building into a new position, I found the issue of gender was there staring me in the face.

These statements are significant because they highlight the reality that gender bias is experienced as an in-school/professional issue and not simply a community issue 'out there'. It also downplays any notion of 'it was like that in the old days' but not at the present time.

The Personal and Professional Balancing of Family Life and Career Development

The literature suggests that systemic discrimination still exists in the educational system. Many authors feel that this is born out by a lack of gender equity among administrators and a difference in the career paths of male and female administrators. Young (1990) believes that systemic discrimination exists in education, subtly reinforced and rationalized by traditional socialization, and it continues to be a factor in the under-representation of women in Canadian school administration.

Many more women than men are bringing up children on their own like Leevan. Although, for every single mother there is a single father, men continue not to do the majority of the work of child-rearing (Statistics Canada, 2000). This is another responsibility that women assume that takes time and energy that could be expended in other directions such as attaining advanced degrees, applying for and taking on leadership and administrative positions that carry a lot of responsibility and require a commitment to the expenditure of a great deal of time outside the normal workday.

Samantha, for example, serves as an illustration of this as she commented:

. . . one of my daughters was born in June, so my maternity leave was that summer and I was back at school in September. Another child was born in April, so it was just May and June that I had off. Another child was born in February so I came back after spring break. You attempt to make things fit into the school year. I never did have very long maternity leaves and I don't think it impacted my career to any great extent. I did do a little bit of job sharing though, following I guess my third and fourth child . . .

Job sharing, while it may provide more time at home when the children are young, does impact on a person's pension and years of experience for salary purposes. Although this impact might seem like it would not affect an individual's career path it could have an impact when applying for administration. The years of experience and number of years in leadership positions are all considered when appointing administrators. It is less likely that a person who is job sharing will be placed in a department head or team leader position and thus could be lacking the leadership experiences needed before applying for an administrative appointment. This is illustrated later in Samantha's interview when she goes on to say that, "I think males tended to get into administrative positions earlier than females. That may still be a trend but again maybe just because we are the bearers of children".

Nancy feels that if she had had small children her career path would have been altered. She states,

I was married, and having no children and I will be absolutely honest with you here too, I don't know how women can handle administrative positions when they have children unless they have the financial resources to have a full time nanny, I just really don't understand and I think had I had, my career path would have been different had I had small children.

Marriage still comes with many expectations in our society and one of those expectations is often that the male will be in a more responsible job than the female in the marriage. An example is provided by Nancy's statement that her first marriage broke up because she was getting ahead. Often, with marriage there is the expectation that there will be children and with children women are further penalized because of the time away from the job during child birth and this time away from the job can extend to the raising of the children.

George feels that systemic barriers begin when women take time out to raise children. He says, "So how can you have been the Minister of Education if you've taken 3, 4, 5, 7 years out of your life. If you've got the supports, you can do both, but we don't have them and we penalize women as a result".

Grant talks of the number of times he has encouraged females to go into administration and they have indicated that they are not interested.

. . . they didn't want to do what was demanded as the job as principal and vice-principal. . . some comments like, "I don't want to go through the kind of stuff you have to go through, I really don't need it". There's a whole variety of things, whether it be family obligations or the age that they suddenly start looking at now thinking of administration, they don't want to do that, they don't want to meet the commitment of time. And maybe it's a reflection of the demands of our job. . . . And that has social implications in terms of would a male look at it that way? I haven't had that many males say no, compared to females

Harry comments on the career path of a female vice-principal when he said,

But it's not so much the attributes of her gender, it's just what she's been through as a single parent and the effort she's had to put into her life and her own education and her career and her son's. And she's just getting tired and doesn't want to take that last plunge into more intensity [the principalship].

Bill comments on the influence of gender on goals when he says,

In my era [received his first principalship in 1987 at the age of forty] there were more opportunities for a white anglo-saxon male, so for me to say it didn't influence my goals would probably not be true, although I was not particularly aware of any impact, never thought of not having opportunities.

Opportunities were always available. I didn't grow up in a wealthy home where everything was given to me. But I never thought that there was anything that was unattainable.

And that might have been related to gender, subtly - maybe not so subtly.

Bill's comment is important in the way that it points to the issue of male privilege. Harry talks about privilege in terms of 'getting jobs' but this is at a different level of seeing the world as 'meritocratic' for men and recognizing that it was not the same for women.

The Concept of Male Privilege

For the most part, conceptually and pragmatically, female discrimination and male privilege are two sides of the same issue - in terms of administrative careers those forces that constitute barriers to women's career development simultaneously advantage men's careers. This connection was made with great clarity by George in discussing initial reactions to the Division's Affirmative Action Policy which is taken up more fully in the second half of this chapter. He commented:

Initially the [Affirmative Action] policy was not well received by a number of [male teachers] . . . it was not well received at all.

The reason is not hard to understand, it's competition. Instead of competing against half the population, well maybe 40% of the population or 35% . . . 'I'm now competing against 100% and I don't like it'.

The notion that administrating/leading high schools in Winnipeg School Division was a role generally best filled by men and not women (particularly the larger schools and the technical/vocational schools) it has been suggested was a stereotype that has persisted not only in the broader community that the schools serve but also among the profession itself.

The history of administrative appointments over the period of this study and certainly since the development of the Division's Affirmative Action policies, illustrates the extent to which the Division has been able to confront and overcome barriers to the appointment of women high school principals and to support their successful functioning in these roles. Gosetti and Rusch in Dunlap and Schmuck, (1995), suggest that,

. . . texts, conversations, writings and professional activities that construct our knowing and understanding of leadership come from an embedded privileged perspective which largely ignores issues of status, gender, and race and insidiously perpetuates a view of leadership that discourages diversity and equity (p. 12).

The authors go on to say that, "In order to foster values of a democratic society, scholars and educators of leaders must acknowledge that the organization of our current way of knowing about leadership is deeply fossilized in privilege" (p. 30). An example of assumptions and values that we traditionally accept as natural and normative, is the universal application of the male experience to our understanding of the world. Smith (1987) explains this embedding process:

. . . the concerns, interests, and experiences forming 'our' culture are those of men in positions of dominance whose perspectives are built on the silence of women (and of others). As a result the perspectives, concerns, interests of only one sex and one class are represented as general . . . [and] a one-sided standpoint comes to be seen as natural [and] obvious (p. 13).

Equity is about dismantling privilege and eliminating opportunities that are not deserved or earned and is more than dismantling discrimination. Privilege and

discrimination are two sides of the same coin. According to the respondents, male privilege existed in the 'early years' of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, prior to the establishment of the Affirmative Action Policy and the Employment Equity Policy.

When Sam indicates that he did not feel that gender has been a factor for him, he is only looking at the discrimination side of the coin and not the privilege side; however, Harry recognizes both sides of the coin when he says, "... they probably did enter their careers later. I mean, there's absolutely no question they were seen as not strong leaders". Later in the interview he states, "... because there is a preponderance of male power in society and in most school staffs anyway and I don't think it hurts at all to have female authority figures as role models".

Sam states that he feels that gender "... is a political issue and I think it will always be a factor in attaining your political goals ... in whatever field you choose". He goes on to say that he did not feel that gender was a factor at any time in the attainment of his goals. He states that, "Women, of course, feel differently. ... but I wasn't thinking about women's issues when I was 26-27 years old". In relation to this, Ferguson states pointedly that, "when men fail to hear women's voice, it is not only because they are not listening but because they do not have to listen" (1984, p. 169). Sigford (1995) indicates that,

The increasing diversity of schools, the complexity of education, the demands of a changing society demand that those practicing administrators who are mostly white, males need to recognize that others have validity and skills in the administrative arena. The issue becomes one of perceived power and the fear of relinquishing a favored status (p. 216).

Does the 'old boy's network' support these traditional ways of viewing the principalship? Do female networks challenge these views and support aspiring female administrators and those already in the induction and incumbency stages of their careers.

Networks and Networking

The notion of an “old boys network” existing among male administrators within the Division - one that enabled men to support one another in their work, and exercise control over divisional decision-making including the career enhancement and the sponsorship of aspiring administrators, to the disadvantage or exclusion of women - was an important theme in the interviews.

All teachers and administrators are, by the nature of their work, linked into a set of social and professional relationships or networks. As such networks are not only inevitable but have significant potential as supports and often provide resources to assist educators to better do their work. What becomes central to this study and the discussion of “old boys” (and to a lesser extent “old girls”) networks is the degree to which their function is exclusionary and the ways in which they many serve to protect and sustain male interests at the expense of women’s interests and the best interests of all children’s education across the Division. Rawles (1995), for example, notes that “. . . men have long found networking to be a benefit in career advancement, and one of the barriers to career advancement for women cited by many authors is the inability to join the ‘good old boys’ network” (p. 34). She goes on to describe the functions of the ‘old boys’ network using the work of Welsh (1980)

For example, a job opens, a contract goes out for a bid, a stock splits, a story breaks, a rumor spreads, a war threatens, and this “old boy” meets that “old boy” informally over a drink or on the phone between golf scores and business gets done to the satisfaction of both without a lot of formal structure. The procedure is only beneficial to those in the network, but it certainly works for them (Welch 1980, p. 4 cited in Rawles, 1995, p. 34).

In this study it is clear that changes in the gender representation of administrators within the Division over the twenty-five years of the study have altered the notion of an ‘old boys network’ of powerful administrators. It is also apparent that the significance of networks and the networking process tended to be viewed differently by male and female respondents. In general, while women viewed the ‘old boys’ network as a significant and

continuing negative force that included exclusive privilege, the male principals tended to present/see the network as a social network of friendship and sporting activity that exercised very little formal or informal power in the educational decision making arena.

Terry describes the 'old boys' network in the 1980s when he says,

It was more about friendship than it was about my job so it is the now famous principals' hockey draft. And I remember at a Principals' Conference early on being chastised by a couple of people because, at the time, it never even occurred to me that it would be perceived by some people as a closed shop and there would be some resentment develop. . . . They were really nice people and they remain nice people and they remain my friends but they are not the people that I would phone for advice. In fact, most of the people that gave me my best advice with respect to administration were never part of this group.

Among all of the administrators there was a recognition that historically the administrators group has been dominated by men and the few women administrators who were appointed had little voice within the group. That this had changed with the Affirmative Action policy, with the increasing number of women administrators, with the political work of "female trailblazers" and with the contributions of early highly effective women administrators, was also generally recognized, although few women high school principals were ready to state that gender was no longer a significant aspect of the power structure.

Nancy commented:

We are trying to develop an 'old girls' network'. There are a few of us who get together on Fridays. . . . oh yes, definitely there's an old boys' network. There still is that belief in an much as if you are a female administrator that you're not going to be tough enough for the job, and yet I've found the exact opposite. . . . The old boys' network protected each other and I don't think they

made the tough decisions, and I don't know why. For example, a couple of the appointments this spring - I thought "wow, I can see that the old boys' network still in operation." It's subtle, I mean maybe from the outside looking in it looks like it's not impacting.

Leevan, like Nancy, sees the old boys network as remaining influential, but cautions against seeing it only as an exclusionary body. Asked if she thought an 'old boys' network continued to exist among administrators across the Division she replied: "Oh yes, without a doubt" but also commented, "I'm not saying everyone on the men's side get together and do their own thing because we have men who work with the women and with the ethnic and Aboriginal groups" .

The data would suggest that membership in a network provided sponsors/mentors and role models that play a significant part in women having the needed confidence to apply for administrative vacancies. Nancy speaks of the importance of someone who believes in you when she comments,

I really think that women in administration kind of come about because someone believes in them and encourages them. I think women hold back and don't apply as often as men. I think women - we tend to think we have to be so prepared to go into it and we often don't take the opportunities that men do before we do. I'll be honest in my case it was often the question of people tapping me on the shoulder saying, 'you can do; I want you to apply'I've had some wonderful, wonderful female role models, some wonderful male role models. Some people that have just been very very supportive. You know, when you have a little encouragement and people say, 'you can do it', that has helped me along the way.

In the study, Sarah clarifies the importance of networks when she indicates that, "Networking allows you to build your own confidence, allows you to exchange ideas and

see other people who have gone through the same thing, and share experiences”. Sophie speaks of the importance of the New Administrators Group (NAG), which includes both male and female new administrators, when she says,

It provided me with a group, a cohort. . . . It created a forum to really talk about stuff without having to kind of be on . . . and there’s still people from the NAG group. . . we are very much in contact with each other, and pick the phone up and do this little piece, and you don’t have to do all this other preliminary stuff. . . .that’s very supportive and healthy.

Mentoring, often an outgrowth of support networks and the resulting contacts with people from a wide variety of aspects of education make sense, have value and are needed for both male and female administrators. Whether or not these networks are gender-bounded is a relevant question but more important is whether their outcome is inequity or privilege. Certainly many of the female respondents feel that the ‘old boy’s network’ that exists among the male administrators in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 does contain elements of privilege and does exclude women. If the focus of the ‘old girl’s network’ is to support equity then it may not be open to criticism. This topic will be discussed later in this chapter during the discussions of the Affirmative Action Policy.

The Impact of the Division’s Affirmative Action Policy on the Careers of Female and Male High School Principals.

The statistics laid out in chapter five indicate the significant changes in the gender balance among Winnipeg School Division No.1 high school principals over the period of this study and in particular since the introduction of the Board’s Affirmative Action Policy.

Perceptions of Female Administrators.

Female administrators in this study had no difficulty in acknowledging the impact of the policy on their careers, particularly those who had experience working in other jurisdictions without such policies. Nancy commented:

Having had eight year in the _____ School Division and subsequently another 16 in Winnipeg School Division, I'm going to say quite publicly that in my estimation the Affirmative Action Policy of the WSD #1 has made a huge impact. It has, in my mind, put me in a position to be able to experience leadership roles certainly faster and in a more supportive way, in many ways a more formalized way, than if I would have stayed in the _____ School Division and in other divisions. I take a look at the number of similarly highly qualified and experienced women with excellent minds in the Division I left behind. If they had been in this division I am sure they would have had opportunities for leadership roles more than they have.

She continues:

I'd like to think that I'd be where I am without affirmative action but I think Affirmative Action policies have allowed women to be put in positions of authority and responsibility - that have allowed my name to be ever bantered about.

The whole notion of the need for Affirmative Action policies, in the 1980s and today, and the desire to be able to feel one has "made it on ones own merit" is a tension running through both female and male principal's comments. Sarah, expresses this concern as follows:

I happened to hit on a career path when there were Affirmative Action policies coming into play and there was far more talk of women coming into administration. My first appointment

was in 1985, as it was about a year before affirmative action was actually put into policy. . . . I have no doubt that it influenced the fact that I got an administrative appointment. And that's okay. It doesn't particularly bother me. Some people say that you're supposed to achieve it on your own merit - and I still think I did.

Later in the interview she goes on to say that, "There is no question in my mind that it had a definite effect. I'm not sure I would have gotten an administrative appointment that quickly, had I just thrown my name in the hat with no affirmative action policy. . .".

Jane indicates that, ". . . affirmative action was very important because I began to meet other women and dialogue with other women because, you see, I don't think women were encouraged to network as professionals. They were encouraged to serve their administrator, who was likely going to be a male".

Sophie states that, "I think I'd have to say that the Affirmative Action Policy itself . . . looked at women above and beyond, first and foremost. . . . And [it] really supported them"

Samantha believes that the affirmative action initiatives were a factor in both encouraging women to apply for administration and their acceptance once in a position. She states,

I guess I'd have to say that in terms of getting into the administrative pool in the first place in Winnipeg No. 1, in the late eighties, that probably was a factor in both the encouragement and encouraging women to apply and their acceptance. Subsequent to that it would be hard to say, like I don't think that being a woman was any essential part of coming back into Winnipeg No. 1, for example or working at the board office in _____. It was more based on skills and areas of expertise than gender. . . .

She also feels that the climate and view of gender equity changed in the Winnipeg School Division between the late eighties and the late nineties. This perception is perhaps more apparent to Samantha because she left the Division and returned in the late 1990s.

The Perceptions of Male Principals

Among the male high school principals, the general perception too was that the impact of the Affirmative Action policies had been positive. Grant commented:

I believe in it. So I never questioned it and I support it. And I see the need for it. Maybe having a daughter helps too. . . . I think it's opened the doors for a lot of very competent people that otherwise wouldn't have gotten in there. No question about that.

Similarly Bill indicated:

I think it's been very positive that our division has taking a strong stance on affirmative action. I don't think that the Division has made a mistake in terms of appointing strictly on gender. I think that they have been wise in making sure that they have selected competent people.

Grant continues along the same train of thought when he says:

Everyone benefits from Affirmative Action policies. The fact that the people can see that the system is open to everyone and is trying to support everyone. . . . I have benefited. I have been able to work with people who have probably been supported by affirmative action policies and it's a good thing that they were here. So there's some really good people around.

In a similar vein, Terry comments:

It [the policy] has made me a better person. It taught me - helped me to become more broadminded on some issues. It highlighted in my mind some issues that I had never considered before.

He did, however, add the following observation:

I always felt that I was treated very fairly and I felt very lucky. . . . Candidly, I think it had a lot to do with timing. If I were 10 or 15 years younger I think I would be feeling somewhat differently. I see young people now who have been aspiring to administration who have not been able to gain the recognition I think that they deserve.

Sam felt that,

Affirmative action is necessary and was necessary. I don't know if it's necessary still. If we haven't ingrained it to people and our leaders by now, we've done a really poor job of doing it. I think along with affirmative action, the work quality must be part and parcel, and too many times the qualities become second to colour and gender. . . . by the same token, I also question if they had quality and worth, then why couldn't they get there on their own. There's no easy answer for that one. I don't know. Maybe we did such a good job of hiding and not listening to them that no matter how hard they screamed we just weren't open to listening. And we had to be made to listen. . . . We feel comfortable in our own surroundings. We don't want to let anybody else in. Different . . . that's normal. No - that's normal - that's prejudice. Just because everybody was doing it at the time, it can be wrong.

The respondents interviewed were either ahead of the wave, riding the wave or swimming against the wave of the initiatives that were introduced as a result of the Affirmative Action Policy. Sam's comment would indicate that he is riding the wave

because his comment would not have been made in 1973 by those swimming against the wave. The success of the policy allows people to say that the policy is not really important, yet, the earlier data, in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 and in the rest of Manitoba make that statement a myth.

Russell has a different view of the impact of the Affirmative Action Policy. He notes the impact of the policy did not affect him directly. He says,

. . . probably not directly because the positions, where I've applied for positions and didn't get them or where I thought I should be in line for something. I don't think that I was beaten out by a female. So I don't think if it was an issue. I don't think it's affected me directly, but certainly did give me cause to think of whether or not it was going to limit my future.

These comments are significant in that they point to strong male support for the policies. If this is taken at face value then it would seem to speak to the importance of male support and the perception of fairness. Russell's career was just ahead of the initiatives of the Affirmative Action Policy.

The respondents also suggest that the policy changed and will continue to change the pattern of who we see as administrators at the high school level and that generally the policy improved the learning environment of our schools by providing both female principal and male principal role models for staff and students of our schools. Bill further comments on how the learning environment is improved by equity policies when he said,

It gives everybody a positive attitude towards opportunities.

If an individual aspires to a position, it's open to them.

When you don't have a group of people that are somehow feeling that they are not valued, or that their opportunities are limited, however, if this is reversed everybody fully participates in a healthy environment.

The views of younger male teachers who aspire to administrative positions in the Division lies outside of the scope of this study; however, the charts and tables below do explore further some aspects of this issue. Tables 5.3 to 5.12 look at the ways in which it

is possible to argue that current male administrators have, to a degree, seen their careers stay one step ahead of affirmative action effects or as Bill put it, “Maybe I was just before the wave . . . ”, while female administrator’s careers paralleled the affirmative action policy as they were able to “ride the wave”.

Tables 5.3, 5.4 and 5.5 in chapter 5 further look at this aspect by presenting year-by-year administrative appointment by level and by gender. In these Tables the key reference points of 50% and 65% are shown to indicate three years in which female administrative appointments exceeded what might be considered a representative proportion. The distinctions shown here between simply more female competition than has previously existed and an over representation of female appointment links directly back to George’s comments about unwelcomed competition and leads into a fuller discussion of backlash to the policy which is taken up later in this chapter.

Role Models, Mentors and “Trailblazers”

Earlier in this chapter several principals commented on the importance of role models, mentors and “trailblazers” and the ways in which the initial developments of the Affirmative Action policy began to create a pool of female administrators who assumed these roles. The literature and the respondents point to the need for all three within the profession in order for aspiring administrators to be successful. Role models differ from mentors in that role models provide an example of what one can achieve, whereas, a mentor provides support and guidance which could be provided to the protege both prior to achieving the position and well after the administrator is working in the position. A mentor often teaches the aspiring administrator how to be recognized. A trailblazer is an individual who is the first or one of a small number of individuals to achieve a certain position. The study points to these trailblazers as often beginning as ‘tokens’ but then these administrators provide the role models for future aspiring administrators.

“The under-representation of women in senior posts in education is often attributed to the absence of role models” (Hall, 1996, p. 14). Hall also suggests that role models demonstrate the possibility of attaining a certain position or leadership role and a way of doing that job once the position has been achieved (Ibid. p. 55).

Pence, 1995 in Dunlap and Schmuck, suggest that there are both formal and informal mentorships. They define a mentorship as a way “. . . to help guide the way of under-represented groups to executive ranks” (p. 126). They also are of the opinion that, “Formal and informal mentorships provide mentors and proteges an opportunity to discuss and reflect on situations and solutions” (p. 126). A mentor, according to Pence, “. . . is usually a designated, more experienced person who influences the career development and socialization of a less experienced individual in the organization” (p. 127). Some mentorships are formalized by organizations and others are informal arrangements that are often initiated by the mentor who sees promise or talent in a less experienced protege. Both Pence and Nolf found that, “mentorships can be very valuable to aspiring and neophyte administrators” (Ibid, p. 136). With the alarming rate of retirees from school administration we need veterans to pass along their “craft”

In the study, two of the male respondents indicate that they did not have role models. Sam indicates that he had people that he admired but “. . . I have no one that I tried to emulate”. This statement would suggest that his definition of a role model is someone that he would want to be just like, as opposed to someone who has had a positive influence on his life, career or ambitions. The female respondents indicated that female administrators provided role models that allowed them to view administration as a realistic career aspiration.

Role models provided the female respondents in this study with a legitimate and politically powerful influence in looking at possible women’s career aspirations and career paths. Jane spoke of the impact of the Central Superintendent being a female when she said, “Well, I think the greatest gift that I’ve ever had is a female superintendent. And I think that that’s been in itself, a role model”. Nancy states that, “I’ve had some wonderful, wonderful female role models, some wonderful male role models, some people that have just been very very supportive, you know, when you have the little bit of encouragement and people that say you can do it, thing, that has helped me along the way”. Sarah indicates that, “I mean even the fact that we had a female superintendent helped. Because . . . I could talk to her - like I often saw how men talked to male superintendents, in a relaxed, easy manner”.

Nancy talks of the importance of mentors and of having someone who believes in your abilities and encourages you to apply for administrative positions when she says,

I really think that women and administration kind of come about because someone believes in them and encourages them. I think women hold back and don't apply as often as men do. I think women - we tend to think we have to be so prepared to go into it that we often don't take the opportunity that men do before we do and I'll be honest, in my case, it was often the question of people tapping me on the shoulder saying you can do this, I want you to apply. Not so much that I didn't think I could do it but a question of I don't think I'm ready. . . . I would honestly say it took someone else to say, hey look at that, you examine that, you can do that.

Nancy stresses the point that women are less likely to step forward without the encouragement of a mentor or sponsor. These sponsors can be women or men, part of the majority or part of a minority group, but there is a need for women and minority role models and mentors.

The data from this study indicate that six of the seven female respondents identify female role models and all but two identify female mentors and one of those two respondents did not identify the gender of the mentor. It is interesting to note that the Aboriginal female respondent had two male mentors, one white and one from a minority and in addition she identified one white female as a mentor.

Five of the male respondents identify role models, all of whom were male and all seven of the male respondents identify mentors. Four identify only male mentors, one named one male and one female, and two suggest that they had two female mentors. All of the mentors were from the white majority group.

The importance of trailblazers was emphasized by Nancy when she suggests that if it were not for trailblazers creating a foundation the equality movement might not have happened.

People like Jan Schubert and Pauline Clarke, yourself, Ethel Arnott, Maxine Zimmerman - the woman who had been at

St. John's and then Grant Park, Heather Sharman. That's how affirmative action, there were some trailblazers, and some pioneers that went before myself and the pool of women and men that I was appointed with and there was a foundation of, there was a foundation there that allowed it to happen. . . . There were women in place in administrative positions so we weren't, there wasn't a huge risk being taken with us. You saw others in a variety of positions .

Sophie also spoke of the importance of the women, "who . . . walked the ground first and created the path. That was, I think, very, very significant to open doors for someone at my age to get in, right at that time because there were women I could look at and say they're doing this . . .". She also comments, "And it was just Maxine Zimmerman who had just decided that I would probably make a great administrator. Those were her words - and I disagreed with her . . . She just wouldn't give up".

Several women interviewed recognize that their gains have been fought for and not won easily. There is nothing inevitable about what has been achieved. This is evidenced in Leevan's comment,

I know there had been trailblazing before my entering [administration]. And if they hadn't been working as hard and diligently as they had, I'm not sure that I'd be where I am today. . . . So I really think they, they really filled the trailblazing role for myself, both as a woman and as an Aboriginal person (Leevan).

We owe some gratitude to these people because you were the pioneers and we are kind of the settlers. The Affirmative Action policy - it has had a major impact (Nancy).

I think the people that we're ahead of us, like yourself, who, you know walked the ground first and created the path. That was, I think, very, very significant to open doors for someone at my age to get in, right at that time because there were women I could look at

and say, 'they're doing it' right? (Sophie)

The male respondents could easily name male superintendents who have been either role models or mentors. Two of the seven respondents, Terry and Bill, acknowledged the impact of a female superintendent.

Two of the respondents point to the difference in equity within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 and another urban school division in Winnipeg. The point is made that in the other division there is limited opportunity for females to advance to a high school principalship. Prior to the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy and later the Employment Equity Policy and as is certainly evidenced in other school divisions, the move to a more gender balanced administration is not 'natural' or 'inevitable'.

The data also suggests that getting to a 'critical mass' of female administrators is powerful and that only at that point is the issue of equity taken seriously. Only when there is a high enough number of female high school principals is there a need to consider a female as chair of the group. This was evident when it was mentioned by one respondent that Sophie would now be chairing the Secondary Council.

The data suggests that role models, mentors and trailblazers have been important to all the respondents but are of particular importance to the female respondents of this study.

Broadening the Affirmative Action Agenda: The Race Relations Taskforce, 1989-90.

1990 was a critical year for the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 with the publication of the Final Report of the Taskforce on Race Relations. Statistical data on the race/ethnicity of administrators are not collected by the Division or the Province and the interviews did not focus explicitly on matters of race and ethnicity. Nevertheless, the interface of race with gender and affirmative action initiatives did emerge at a number of different points and was of central importance to several principals' views of the development of affirmative action in the division as well as "unfinished business".

Emerging from these interviews was the significant perception that the necessary policies and strategies that could be effective in promoting gender equity - in a context where women represented a substantial majority of teachers in the system but were significantly under-represented among administrators - might be quite different from those required to support a representative administration in terms of race and ethnicity where under-representation is both a feature of the teaching force as well as administration.

A significant effect of the Race Relations Taskforce was to criticize as limited, affirmative action initiatives up to that point in time and comment upon the lack of attention to race/ethnicity. Recommendation number one stated,

That a detailed review and revision of all existing policies, rules, regulations, practices and procedures be undertaken to determine whether or not any or all of them contribute to racial discrimination, or have an adverse effect on any ethnocultural or Aboriginal group in schools (p.12).

From this point on efforts were made to see that the affirmative action initiatives in administrative appointments draw attention to and consider race/ethnicity as well as to gender.

Leevan suggests that the Employment Equity policy should go further. "I know we have a policy, but I'm not so sure it's implemented to the maximum that it could be, or even to - I'm not so sure even to the full allotment". She also talks of the stresses of being fast-tracked, which was one of the by products of the Employment Equity Policy, when she comments,

Things were moving so fast. Like what's happening here?
At that time, although I was looking for something I wasn't sure administration was it. There's nothing that can describe my first appointment. It is a very demanding, very fast paced, and sometimes a very thankless job.

Both Sam and Terry comment on the benefits of a diversified teaching force and a diversified school administrative team. Sam comments:

And I have no problem, I think I applaud, if you need a black principal in a certain community, in a certain school, with a little less skills, then the black principal brings the ability and skill and talent, you bring to that place, that the white person doesn't bring or Chinese or Aboriginal. I think though, too many times , we ignore that part as being important. . . . it is important. It is extremely important. . . . They can deal with their community better than I did. That means . . . not that I can't deal with them . . . but the history and the culture are part of their make up and allow them to do and say things on a level and get to the parents and community, that I can't. I think that's important when dealing with parents. . . . Whatever it is . . . language, tradition, history, the social network, the community we live in, because we know each other. I have a connection.

Later in the interview Sam qualifies his support for Affirmative Action by referring to people who have been promoted when they are not ready when he states:

. . . some of the fast-tracking of ethnic groups has hurt this Division. We've got some wonderful talent in the Division in administration, in a number of things. Some fast-tracking has left us - with some quick talent. . . . Which I think, in the long run will hurt their ethnic culture more than help them. There is no doubt. . . . The skill level of some of my colleagues is less than it should be. No two ways about it. . . . It is a poor scenario when we put people in places of authority just because they're black, white, woman, yellow, green - that's not good.

Terry remarks in a similar vein when he says: "If there is an ethnic imbalance that you want to represent or that is the goal of a community and all things being equal you might appoint the person from that ethnic background".

The implementation of the affirmative action policies for Aboriginal and visible minority groups, within the Division, was an important but complex undertaking and formed an extensive part of the interviews. This is the area where the most criticism and concern was expressed. Michelle comments:

And I think that the Division did make some errors in some placements, appointing people strictly on [its Affirmative Action agenda], people who didn't have the skills. And the schools were left to deal with the pieces. I guess, in hindsight that is something that was a negative aspect of the Affirmative Action Policy.

Terry also comments on the same issue with some ambivalence when he says:

And I think right now systemically there are - whatever is happening in that regard they are not acts of commission they are acts of omission. Things are being done with the best of intentions and so on but I think we still have to be prudent that, I mentioned earlier, I have always, I don't apologize for that business of the cream rising to the top and I think you have to provide opportunities for it and it has to be perceived that way by everybody in the organization or it will not be given the legitimacy that it deserves.

Russell takes up the different and unfair ways in which race plays out in the ways in which administrators are judged. He comments:

It's unfortunate every time you see a weak female administrator who people can point at and say, "Oh yeah, it's because she's Philippino", "it's because she's Black", "it's because she's Native" that she's there and she's doing a bad job. If we look at all the numbers of administrators we've worked with in our lives, who are White, who were just the shits, you know, you say, "How the hell did that person get into the job?".

The high school principals in the Winnipeg School Division No. 1, who participated in this study, feel that the impact of the Divisional Affirmative Action initiatives were many. They felt that these initiatives changed the gender representation among administrators at the secondary level, and also had an impact on their own career paths. However, there were concerns raised about the ad hoc nature of the initiatives, about equity being addressed in waves and that there was no long term vision for the policy. One respondent suggested that there was a need to give the policy more 'teeth'. Although these issues were raised by a couple of the respondents the overall view of the initiatives was positive

It could be argued that it is only the success of the policy and the ongoing political work that women and minority activists have had to do to make the policy a success that have given rise to the feelings of ambivalence. Harry's interview illustrates that a move to a more gender balanced administration is not always 'natural' or 'inevitable' as evidenced by what has happened in another urban, Winnipeg, school division. Administrators who worked outside of the Division (male and female) recognize the importance of the policy and have experienced what happens when there is not policy in place in a school division.

Backlash is evident in several of the interviews and both male and female respondents comment on the issue. Nancy suggests that there was backlash to the policy when she says,

I know, certainly talking to some men, our colleagues, yeah, yeah, because they are trying to perpetuate the old boys network and I think that they have basically said, you know, 'unless you are female and perhaps Native and disabled. . [you won't get an administrative appointment]. . . it's unfortunate and I think there has been a little of this amongst our colleagues.

Samantha also feels that there was some backlash when she comments,

There is the occasional comment regarding the Affirmative Action policies that you do hear on staff, 'if you are white and male you are now at the bottom of the heap in terms of getting anywhere. But I think in terms of what we see around us I think competent people will get the jobs they seek. I think the reality of it isn't there.

Harry suggests that most male teachers felt that they would not get ahead but that that was appropriate. He seems to say that the males on staff had an understanding of what the Division was doing when he says,

Was there any backlash? Probably. I'm not sure how it manifested itself though. Certainly the guys on our staff understood what the Division was doing and never made a chippy comment to me. And there was some of them that had ambitions and knew that they would never get anywhere. I mean they weren't happy about it, but I think that they saw a greater good - or they certainly led me to believe that. I never really ran into any nasty stuff on that but I'm sure there was some out there. People are ambitious, they're trying to get somewhere. If there's a rule in their way they want to attack the rule.

Bill, on the other hand, has not noticed any backlash. He comments, "I haven't noticed any particular backlash. There have been a few negative comments by some people, but I think we're past that now". This comment illustrates a kind of minimizing of negative comments. If the comment is not directed at the you then it's 'just words' and if it is directed at you it becomes a lot more significant because it may represent a threat to your job, identity, and self-concept. It also clearly suggests that men tend to say, 'it was an issue in the past' and women tend to say, 'it's still an issue'.

Grant sees it a bit differently when he comments that, "There's no question a lot of males have felt that they have been short changed because they were left out because they weren't female, when it got down to positions". Later in the interview he goes on to say that,

Yeah, people have told me that they feel they don't have a shot at [administrative positions]. . . like why should I apply? That's been a familiar response. . . . But my position has always been that you've still got to have faith. . . if you're really good you're still going to make it . . . still the original intent is to get the best people. That's the backlash I've seen. I've even heard that from females who are white saying, 'I don't have a shot at it, they're just trying to hire Visible Minority females'.

Leevan suggests that there was backlash directed toward the Aboriginal candidates when she states,

. . . 'they' meaning us Aboriginal people, just got in because we were Aboriginal and it had nothing to do with our skills or the preparation we did during the selection process.

The issues of a more gender balanced administration also extends into the area of ethnicity and ethnicity coupled with gender. As mentioned earlier, these issues were addressed by the Winnipeg School Division in 1988, when there was a recommendation to expand the existing Affirmative Action Policy to an Employment Equity Program for all levels of employees including administration, custodial, clerical, teaching and non-teaching personnel.

Several of the principals identify the Aboriginal/Visible Minority issue as the main piece of 'unfinished business' in affirmative action. Several also comment on the complexities and ambiguities associated with trying to make this happen. It provides a different challenge because with women they were always 'there' within the profession and Aboriginal teachers 'aren't there'. The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 had 112 Aboriginal teachers out of approximately 2200 total teachers working for the Division in January of 2000; however, 12 Aboriginal staff (teachers, vice-principals, principals) resigned to pursue other employment during 1998-1999. The draw to other positions outside of the Division is ever present. Often the financial and leadership possibilities are irresistible. Another factor that impacts on the small number of Aboriginal teachers was

suggested by the Divison's Aboriginal Consultant when she indicated that the traditional careers of Aboriginal peoples are nursing, law, and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, not teaching. The visible minorities also have a small pool of teachers to draw from in terms of administration. Also as of January of 2000 the numbers of teachers were as follows: Chinese 12; Portuguese, Spanish and South American 39; Vietnamese 5; Filipino 20; East Indian 16; South East Asian 3; and Black 8 (Winnipeg School Division Board Minutes, January 26th, 2000 and April 25th, 2000). Harry emphasizes this point in a previous quote. Given the lack of representation of Aboriginal teachers within the profession, recruiting Aboriginal teachers into administration becomes problematic, assuming that every Aboriginal teacher does not necessarily have the skills, dispositions and interest to do the job.

Samantha speaks of the need for on-going affirmative action initiatives, for first nations people, when she says,

I do think we need on going affirmative action policies. We need affirmative action for first nations people. I think we need to really look at who our kids are, who our communities are and make sure that when you look around the administrative tables and see that overall mix is represented at the table. I see it in terms of community and you know that you really need to look at the community you are serving and if you are leading that community the leaders should reflect the community when you look back. . . . there should be cultural representation.

Grant speaks of visible minorities when he says, “. . . the issue isn't there any more for women's advancement . . . which isn't the case for visible minorities. I think that's a different issue right now”. He goes on to say, “. . . into the visible minority area, I'm not sure it's working yet”.

There have been several initiatives on the part of the Human Resources Department of the Winnipeg School Division to recruit more Aboriginal and visible minorities. The Human Resources Department track numbers of teachers within the

school division, however, there is no formal self-declaration within the Division and it is important to recognize that the figures below, are based on information voluntarily provided to the Division during the hiring process. They, therefore, should be considered conservative figures.

In 1989 there were:

- 44 Aboriginal teachers
- 46 Aboriginal teacher assistants
- 6 Aboriginal clerical staff
- 8 Aboriginal custodial/trades staff

In 2000 there were:

- 112 Aboriginal teachers
- 141 Aboriginal teacher assistants
- 20 Aboriginal clerical staff
- 31 Aboriginal custodial/trades staff
- 16 School Administrators/Area Service Directors
- 5 Child Guidance Clinic Divisional and Suburban Staff

In 1993, the Winnipeg School Division began several recruiting initiatives to expand the pool of Aboriginal and visible minority teachers within the school division. These initiatives included meetings with officials at both the University of Manitoba and the University of Winnipeg to discuss preparing student teachers for the interview and hiring process. Through these discussions it was decided that interview teams from the Division would come to both universities to interview prospective teachers in the spring of each year. The University of Winnipeg would include candidates from the Winnipeg Education Centre. In addition, advertising/recruiting information and invitations for Aboriginal and visible minority applicants were sent to: University of Regina; University of Saskatchewan; Brandon University; Lakehead University; Red River College; Sagkeeng First Nations; St. Boniface College; Keewatin Community College; Calgary Board of Education; and the Weekend College Program.

Harry suggests that the problem lies in the small number of visible minorities in teaching and leadership roles and also the need for better educational preparation.

The biggest problem in terms of employment equity . . . is that Aboriginal people aren't getting into positions of leadership in anywhere the numbers that they should be getting in. We haven't interviewed an Aboriginal teacher in seven years, [for administration] that I know of. The problem is, in terms of the multicultural side, that a lot of these so-called disadvantaged groups have to obtain a higher level of education before an employment equity system can work.

The difficulty lies, however, in the small number of visible minority teachers from which to draw. When one examines the small number of Aboriginal and visible minority teachers within the Winnipeg School Division, in spite of several ongoing initiatives to hire more teachers with background that reflect the communities and populations of our schools, the small numbers seem to call for different strategies and different recruiting techniques. The Division must work to establish a larger pool of these teachers so that there is a group from which to draw for leadership positions. It is important to note that not all teachers have the interest, skill or ability to enter administration and other leadership roles.

This chapter focused on the high school principalship and specifically on the data collected from the high school principals, during the interview process. The final chapter will highlight the major finding of the study, and provide a postscript on developments in gender representation in the high school principalship in the Winnipeg School Division between 1997-98 and 2001 – 02. It also will explore some of the issues and aspects of the study that need further research.

CHAPTER VII

Summary and Conclusions

Introduction

In 1990 John Naisbitt, author of the best selling book Megatrends, confidently predicted that the 1990s would be "the decade of women in administration" (p. 216) and that by the early years of the twenty-first century we would look back incredulously on the time when gender was a powerful determinant of career paths and career ceilings. He suggested that:

In the first decades of the third millennium we and our children will look back at the later half of the 20th century and remark on how quaint were the days when women were excluded from the top echelons of business and political leadership, much as we recall when women could not vote. How naïve were the men and women of the 1980's, we will say, those people who believed in something called a "glass ceiling" and thought it would forever exclude women from the top (Naisbitt, 1990, p. 240).

Looking back with hindsight at the last decade demonstrates that in Canada, as well as the USA, Naisbitt's predictions were at best premature. Other authors (Tierney, 1997, Henley and Young, 2001) have argued that instead the 1990s were characterised by the development of neo-liberal and neo-conservative political climates that emphasized individual rights over group interests and by seeking to minimize all level of government involvement in people's lives undermined affirmative action initiatives that have been developed to produce a more representative workforce.

In the province of Manitoba the 1990s did see some increases in female representation in school administration. At the beginning of the decade Rees (1990) reported that women constituted some 24% of all principals and 30% of all vice-principals in the province, while in 1998 these figures had risen to 36% and 42% respectively, and by the end of the decade to 39% and 43% respectively. (Manitoba

Education and Training, 1999, Manitoba Education and Youth, 2002). While these changes were not insignificant, in a profession where 65% of teachers are women they would suggest that the pursuit of gender equity and a representative school administration in Manitoba constitutes "unfinished business."

Yet within this overall provincial picture, developments within the province's largest school division, Winnipeg School Division No. 1, provide an important exception. Here the 25 years between 1972 and 1997 saw the overall proportion of female school administrators increase from 23% in 1972 to 56% in 1997. It is these changes within the context of the development and implementation of a divisional affirmative action policy that has provided the focus for this thesis.

The research reported in the preceding chapters had two primary foci: first it provided a quantitative analysis of changes in administrative appointments in the Division between 1972 and 1997 and the impact that these changes had on male and female career paths; and, second, a qualitative analysis of high school principals' perspectives on the impact of gender and of the division's affirmative action initiatives on their own careers and the careers of their colleagues. Data for the first part of the study were obtained primarily from the minutes of School Board meetings which detailed all administrative appointments, from data provided by the Human Resources Department, and from the division's annual directory of schools which lists the names of each school's administrative team as well as its student enrolment. Data for the second part of the study come from a series of interviews conducted with high school principals between July and December 2000.

Summary

A Changing School Administration

In 1972 there were 26 female school-based administrators in Winnipeg School Division representing 22% of all school-based administrators in the division. By 1997 these numbers had increased to 80 women administrators or 56% of all school-based administrators in the Division. In Table 7.1 these changes are broken down by school type (elementary/junior high and secondary) and position (vice-principal and principal).

In analyzing these developments two key benchmarks were chosen for this study: first, the figure of 50% which would indicate what is referred to here as “gender balance” and, second, 65% which, based on the profiles of the teaching profession in Winnipeg School Division (and Manitoba as a whole) would indicate what is referred to here as “gender representation” or a gender representative school administration.

Table 7.1
Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions
in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by Level 1972 and 1997

	Elementary			Secondary			Total		
	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total
1972	1 (7%)	23 (33%)	24 (28%)	2 (11%)	- (-)	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	23 (27%)	26 (22%)
1997	24 (71%)	39 (55%)	63 (60%)	13 (57%)	4 (29%)	17 (46%)	37 (65%)	43 (51%)	80 (56%)

Applying these benchmarks to the division's overall administrative profile in 1997 shows an overall picture of a division that had reached, and moved beyond the position of “gender balance” but was not yet at the point of “gender representation”. Broken down by position and level, the picture was one where at the level of elementary vice-principal women exceed the representative benchmark of 65% while at the level of high school principal they still fell considerably short of even the “balance” benchmark.

Chapter IV of this thesis provided an overview of affirmative action initiatives in the Division, over the period of the study, divided into three phases: Early Struggles (1972-1985); an Interventionist Phase (1986-1992); and, a Broadening of the Agenda (1993-1997). Chapter V elaborated on changes in the gender representation within the Division, primarily looking at developments in five-year intervals. Although it is beyond

the scope of this thesis to talk of how Affirmative Action initiatives *caused* changes in the gender representation of the school-based administrators in the division, this section of the chapter brings together and summarizes these two dimensions of the study.

Early Struggles (1972-1985)

The period of time between 1972 and 1985 represented a time when important steps were taken to adopt and implement an affirmative action policy within the division. It was a period characterized by politicizing the issues and conscious raising with teachers, administrators and with the school board. It was a period in which the first Affirmative Action policy was adopted by the school board, and, perhaps more importantly, it was a time when a number of key advocates of affirmative action initiatives for women in administration moved into senior administrative positions.

However, despite the ambitious intentions of the 1980 school board recommendation that the division, "... increase the percentage of women in administrative positions by 5% each year for the next seven years and during the same period, balance the ratio of women to men in various administrative classifications so that it is proportional to the staff representation" (July 9, 1980, Board Minutes, p. 1032), overall increases in the number of female school-based administrators over this 15 year period were modest. (Table 7.2)

Overall the number of female administrators increased from 26 to 35 - or from 22% to 29% of all administrators. This period saw a significant increase in the number of female vice-principals at both the elementary and secondary levels - providing entry level administrative experience upon which future periods would build - and also saw the secondary principalship beginning to open up to female appointments. At the same time the number of female elementary school principals actually showed a significant decline in numbers.

Table 7.2
Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions
in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by Level 1972 to 1985

	Elementary			Secondary			Total		
	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total
1972	1 (7%)	23 (33%)	24 (28%)	2 (11%)	-	2 (6%)	3 (9%)	23 (27%)	26 (22%)
1985	8 (24%)	16 (23%)	24 (28%)	7 (32%)	4 (25%)	11 (29%)	15 (42%)	20 (23%)	35 (29%)

An Interventionist Phase (1986 - 1992)

The period between 1986 and 1992 was a time period that saw the implementation of various affirmative action initiatives in the Division. The Human Resources Department was charged with the responsibility of informing employees of the new promotion practices and leadership opportunities under the policy and to assist in the development of the skills required for administration and leadership.

During this phase the Board of the Winnipeg School Division voted to establish the Professional Development Program in order to provide some initial training and preparation for teachers who wished to apply for leadership positions with the Division. The Superintendents' Department indicated to school administrators that individuals selected as 'teachers in charge' should consist of one male and one female teacher and that responsibility should be shared or alternated between the two individuals.

In 1991, the Winnipeg School Division adopted the idea of an assessment centre to screen prospective administrators. The selection process for the teachers in the

administrative pool was also expanded to include references from the current administrator, an interview and the assessment centre experience. The Superintendents also encouraged principals to look at both female and male teachers as possible acting administrators when an administrative position needed to be filled on a temporary basis.

This relatively short period of time evidenced a significant increase in the number of female administrators - from 39 (33%) in 1986 to 62 (50%) in 1992. At the elementary level the number of female administrators grew from 28 (34%) in 1986 to 47 (48%) in 1992 while secondary administrators increased from 11 (29%) in 1986 to 15 (42%) in 1992. It was during this period of time when female secondary principals, in larger Level IV and V schools, reached the highest number of four or 29%.

Table 7.3
Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions
in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by Level 1986 and 1992

	Elementary			Secondary			Total		
	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total
1986	9 (64%)	19 (28%)	28 (34%)	7 (34%)	4 (25%)	11 (29%)	16 (44%)	23 (28%)	39 (33%)
1992	18 (72%)	29 (40%)	47 (48%)	10 (48%)	5 (31%)	15 (42%)	28 (62%)	34 (39%)	62 (50%)

Broadening the Affirmative Action Agenda (1993-1997)

At the same time that the number of women in administration was increasing in Winnipeg School Division #1 during the late 1980s and early 1990s increased attention was being given policy issues related to multicultural education, race relations, and in particular Aboriginal education. The report of a divisional Taskforce on Race Relations

in 1990 provided a focus for this and emphasized the importance of broadening the affirmative action efforts of the division to see that the teaching force and administration became more representative of the students and communities that it served.

In 1993, the Board of the Winnipeg School Division approved the adoption of the Employment Equity Policy. This policy focussed on the inclusion of ethnicity and cultural background in the selection criteria of administrative candidates. The prime objective was to achieve a workforce composition that would reflect the school community in terms of gender, disabilities, Aboriginal peoples, and ethno-cultural groups living with the community.

During this period of time at the elementary level the gender profile of the division's school-based administrators moved closer to a "gender representative" position with an increase in the proportion of female principals – from 44% to 55% - and a decrease in the proportion of female vice-principals – from 80% to 71%. At the secondary school level there was almost no change in the overall female representation in school based-administration from 1993 to 1997, with the high school principalship remaining as the one area where women were substantially under-represented.

Table 7.4
Female Representation in School-Based Administrative Positions
in Winnipeg School Division No. 1 by Level 1993 and 1997

	Elementary			Secondary			Total		
	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total	V-P	Principal	Total
1993	24 (80%)	29 (44%)	53 (55%)	13 (57%)	5 (31%)	18 (46%)	37 (70%)	34 (41%)	71 (53%)
1997	24 (71%)	39 (55%)	63 (60%)	13 (57%)	4 (28%)	17 (46%)	37 (65%)	43 (51%)	80 (56%)

The major findings of the study point to a radical change in the participation of women in school-based administration over the course of the study. The number of

female administrators evident at all levels increased during the twenty-five year period. These changes were first evident at the elementary level, however, by the end of the study in 1997, all administrative positions were viable career path options for women - although the high school administrative positions remained less accessible. The study shows that these changes in the gender representation of administrators in the Winnipeg School Division were not achieved by “fast-tracking” women’s administrative careers or by appointing women directly to the principalship of a school. Rather the dominant pattern shown in the study is of initial increases in the access and participation by women in administrative training and entry-level positions, with this participation then beginning to work its way through the administrative hierarchy as these women’s administrative careers developed. Since many of these appointments were relatively recent in 1997, it remains to be seen how these careers will develop and whether they will reflect the full range of opportunities at the most senior levels of school system administration.

A Postscript 1998-2001

The timeframe established for this study was the twenty-five year period from 1972-3 to 1997-8. However, by way of a postscript, Tables 7.5 and 7.6 provide a brief update on female participation in school-based administration in the Division from 1998 to the present.

TABLE 7.5
ELEMENTARY/JUNIOR HIGH ADMINISTRATORS BY POSITION
(PRINCIPAL & VICE-PRINCIPAL), GENDER AND YEAR (1998 - 2002)

Year	TOTAL			VICE-PRINCIPALS			PRINCIPALS								
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total						
1998	54	59%	37	41%	91	20	74%	7	26%	27	34	53%	30	47%	64
1999	51	59%	35	41%	86	17	77%	5	23%	22	35	53%	30	47%	64
2000	60	65%	33	35%	93	24	83%	5	17%	29	36	56%	28	44%	64
2001	56	62%	35	38%	91	18	67%	8	33%	27	38	59%	26	41%	64
2002	63	<u>64%</u>	35	36%	98	22	<u>65%</u>	12	35%	34	41	<u>64%</u>	23	36%	64

TABLE 7.6
SECONDARY ADMINISTRATORS
BY POSITION (PRINCIPAL & VICE-PRINCIPAL), GENDER AND YEAR (1998 - 2002)

Year	TOTAL			VICE-PRINCIPALS			PRINCIPALS								
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total						
1998	20	56%	16	44%	36	13	62%	8	38%	21	7	47%	6	53%	15
1999	20	56%	16	44%	36	14	62%	8	38%	21	8	47%	8	53%	15
2000	18	50%	16	50%	36	12	57%	9	43%	21	640%		9	60%	15
2001	18	49%	19	51%	37	13	59%	10	41%	22	5	33%	10	66%	15
2002	19	49%	18	49%	37	15	68%	7	32%	22	4	27%	11	73%	15

On July 9th, 1980 the Winnipeg School Board set itself the task of creating an administration that would “balance the ratio of women to men in the various administrative classifications so that it is proportional to the staff representation” (July 9, 1980 Board Minutes, p. 1032). The above Tables show that by 2002 this vision had been achieved for all school-based administrative positions save the high school principalship. At this level the last five years have seen considerable fluctuation with female representation reaching a high of 8 or 47% in 1999 but falling back to 4 or 27% in 2002. These fluctuations serve to illustrate the dynamic, and perhaps at this level fragile, nature of the pressures for a gender representative administration, and while it might be possible to argue that this has become institutionalized within the division at all other levels it is not yet so at the high school principal level.

The Perceptions of High School Principals

Chapter VI in this thesis looked at the significance high school administrators attach to the impact of issues of gender and gender discrimination on their own and their colleagues career paths and the significance high school administrators attach to the impact of Divisional affirmative action initiatives on the changes in the gender representation among administrators. Fourteen high school principals – seven male and seven female – were interviewed in this study during the second half of 2000.

The significance of gender –public and professional stereotypes:

In discussing the significance of gender to their own careers and the careers of their colleagues virtually all of the high school principals interviewed saw gender role stereotypes as being significant factors in administrative careers, generally privileging men and discriminating against women. Sometimes this was discussed in an historical context of past practices and at times in the context of other school divisions, but it was also seen as very much a current reality.

These discussions identified parental and community stereotypes as one dimension of this issue – the perception that some parents have an expectation that the principal should be a man, and that male administrators were more likely to be respected by parents – but women in particular also saw these sorts of biases existing within the profession both among senior administrators and the teachers with whom they worked.

The significance of gender – networks and networking

All educators, by the nature of their work, are linked into a network of social and professional relationships or “networks”. Within the context of this study networks are important in two ways: first, in the extent to which they act as important routes into administration and supports to administrators, and second, in the extent to which they are inclusive and equally accessible to both female and male educators. In this study networks were seen as powerful influences on administrative careers and women principals often were able to point to the important role that male administrators had played in their careers by encouraging and mentoring them into administration. (Perhaps not surprisingly, the male administrators identified few female role models.) While the historical existence of an “old boys” network widely recognized there was not always agreement as to the amount of exclusionary power that it had exercised within the division on people’s careers, nor was there agreement among the male and female interviewees on the extent to which vestiges of that network still remained as a powerful force within the decision-making processes of the division.

The Affirmative Action Policy

Among many of the women interviewed, the Affirmative Action policies of the division were seen as central factors on their career development. They recognized the struggles that had led to the establishment of the policy and the ongoing struggles – that they were a part of – to continue to implement it. Among the male administrators there was widespread support for the policy and the positive impact that it had had on the division. In this regard it is perhaps worth noting that among them men interviewed most were veteran administrators who had been in senior positions for a considerable time and whose careers when viewed against the data presented in chapter V were able to stay ahead of the major impacts of the division's affirmative action policies as they worked their way through the system.

Among the principals there were differing perspectives as to whether the policy had achieved its objective and perhaps was no longer needed. In this regard, discussions of race and culture in the affirmative action/employment equity struggle raised a number of important issues. It was only here that some principals were prepared to suggest that the Division had moved too quickly but also that here, particularly with regard to Aboriginal teachers and administrators, that they saw the need for more to be done by the division. While a full discussion of this lies outside the scope of this thesis, it is important to note how different the context is for conceptualizing and implementing affirmative action policies in administration based only on gender as distinct from policies that attempt to address affirmative action for Aboriginal teachers and administrators. As this study has clearly shown, the challenge for increasing female representation in school administration was one of removing barriers and drawing on the vast pool of potential administrators that existed within a teaching force that was overwhelmingly female. In the case of Aboriginal administrators this situation was quite different. Here, the shortage of Aboriginal teachers within the system creates a different set of challenges and pushes the affirmative action agenda back into the teacher recruitment and training arena in a way that is quite distinct from the situation for non-Aboriginal women.

Implications and Recommendations

Implications for School Divisions

The findings of this study have broader implications for other areas including the administrator selection process, administrator preparation and professional development, the importance of the continuation of the Affirmative Action Committee, and future research. While reinforcing existing research (Brooks, 1994, Shakeshaft, 1989) that has identified the high school principalship as one of the most inaccessible positions for women educators, this research has also demonstrated that sustained change is possible, and has been achieved within one large, urban, Canadian school division. As such it stands as an important model for other school divisions across Manitoba and across North America.

As already noted, efforts during the 1990s to see that gender equity was accompanied by equity in terms of race and ethnicity has been identified as an area of “unfinished business”. As one respondent put it, “I’d like to see women and ethnic people get their fair representation at the high school level” (Leevan, p. 20). Many of the respondents indicated that there is still work to be done in this area. In addition, although the various strategies implemented by the division over the last 25 years have clearly been quite effective, there were also suggestions from the interviews that the Division look at improving the selection process (Grant, p. 40). Grant suggested that the Division work to improve the selection process so that good candidates have the opportunity to demonstrate their skills. Michelle suggested that the Division offer more training programs to better prepare candidates for the selection process. Without appropriate training programs and experience candidates will not be able to demonstrate the necessary skills. It was also stated that candidates should be selected based upon skill. George gave the Division “full marks” for what they have done so far and suggested that, the next step should be to see that gender representation is extended into the superintendency and that the Division should at the next opportunity make a concerted effort to hire a women as the Chief Superintendent.¹

¹ At the end of 2001 the Chief Superintendent Jack Smith retired and was replaced by a woman, Janet Schubert.

The continued struggle to increase female representation at the high school level, and particularly the large high schools, suggests that gender and the appointment of secondary school principals in the Winnipeg School Division should be ongoing and part of the annual report to the Board of Trustees.

Implications for Further Research

Based upon the findings of this study the following recommendations are made for further research:

1. Further research of this nature should be undertaken to respond to the same research questions but include Junior High principals.
2. The principals and vice-principals appointed after the implementation of the Affirmative Action Policy in 1986 would provide interesting information for a qualitative study. Unlike many of the high school principals interviewed in this study, these administrators would have had their careers more directly shaped by the policies.
3. A study that would interview male and female teachers, from the Winnipeg School Division, with ten years experience focussing on their career aspirations and their perceptions of the impact of the Affirmative Action Policy.
4. It would be interesting to do further research which would look at the four research questions of this study in terms of suburban, rural and northern Manitoba divisions. General data collected by Manitoba Education and Youth suggests that while there are a few divisions that have a significant number of women in administrative positions, overall in rural Manitoba men still dominate school administration.
5. Further research of this nature should include the Aboriginal and visible minority administrative career paths in the various school divisions in Winnipeg.
6. A study of the Superintendency. In Winnipeg School Division four of the five superintendents are female which is not common across Manitoba. In

2002 only four chief superintendents out of a total of more than 30 were women.

Significance of the Study

This study has documented the ways in which a single, large urban school division has been able to change the gender profile of its school-based administration over a 25 year period and the perceptions of some of its senior administrators as to the significance of gender to their career paths and of the importance of the divisions Affirmative Action policies. That these changes have been sustained and institutionalized through the 1990s when opposition to affirmative action strategies was generally increasing and their effectiveness questioned is a significant contribution an understanding of the potential for affirmative action efforts to promote equality and gender representation in school administration.

In our increasingly global world of gender and culturally diverse contexts, federal and provincial governments, individual school boards and administrators must continue to be proponents of employment equity and affirmative action initiatives and to cultivate a climate where both female and male administrators are valued and viewed as being capable of heading any school regardless of size and level of instruction.

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APPENDICES

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES AND WOMEN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS:
A STUDY OF CHANGING PATTERNS OF GENDER REPRESENTATION WITHIN
THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1
DURING THE PERIOD 1973 - 1998,
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP

CONSENT FORM

I, _____, agree to participate in the study about Affirmative Action Policies and the Changing Patterns of Gender representation within the administrative staff of Winnipeg School Division No. 1.

I have read the attached information sheet on this study. I understand that, if I agree to participate in the study, my interview (s) will be audio taped. Any information provided by me in the interview will be kept in strict confidence. My identity will not be revealed in the report compiled as part of the requirement for a dissertation. I will have the opportunity to verify that all information gathered is accurately recorded by the researcher prior to the release of the information. Upon completion of this research, all materials will be stored in a secured place until the completion of the dissertation when they will be destroyed.

I am free to refuse to answer any questions I consider too personal or objectionable. I understand that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I also understand that I may withdraw my participation, at any time.

I would like a summary of the results of this study. Yes ____ No ____

Please send the summary to the following address: _____

Should I have any inquiries or concerns about the research, I may contact:

Dissertation Advisor:

Principal Investigator:

Dr. Jon Young, Ph. D.
Department Head
Ed. Adm. and Foundations
Faculty of Education
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2
204 474 9017 (office)

Donna M. Wilson, M. Ed.
Doctoral Candidate
Department of Ed. Adm. and
Foundations
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2
204 7750231 (office)

(Date)

(Signature in ink)

(Date)

(Researcher)

Winnipeg, Manitoba

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION POLICIES AND WOMEN SCHOOL ADMINISTRATORS:
A STUDY OF CHANGING PATTERNS OF GENDER REPRESENTATION WITHIN
THE ADMINISTRATIVE STAFF OF WINNIPEG SCHOOL DIVISION NO. 1
DURING THE PERIOD 1973 - 1998
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE HIGH SCHOOL PRINCIPALSHIP

Dear _____

I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Administration and Foundations. I am conducting this study as part of the requirements for my dissertation. The researcher hopes to identify emerging patterns and themes in terms of career paths, barriers, and perceptions of how well the Affirmative Action Policies implemented by the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 have worked to breakdown the barriers to provide both females and males with equal access to the secondary principalship.

I will be asking questions about educational background, career history, support systems and networks, issues of gender equality and some general demographics. You have been selected for this study because of your educational administrative position and your knowledge of the topic.

The first interview, which will take approximately one and a quarter hours, will be audiotaped for later transcription so that I can analyze the data more completely. The second interview, which will take an hour or less, will clarify and confirm earlier findings

and will seek further explanation for emerging themes. All information gathered in the course of the interviews will be kept completely confidential as I will give you a pseudonym to protect your identity. You are free to refuse to answer any of the questions you are asked in this research. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time. You will also have the opportunity to verify that all information gathered is accurately recorded by the researcher prior to the release of the information.

If you wish, at the conclusion of the study, you will receive a summary of the findings. In addition, all audiotapes will be stored in a secure place until the completion of my dissertation when they will be destroyed.

While there may be no direct benefit to you as a study participant, it is my hope that this research will help illuminate the important gender issues facing female and male administrators.

Sincerely,

Donna Wilson

Telephone:
(204) 775-0231 (Office)

Winnipeg, Manitoba

June 2, 2000

Mr. Doug Edmond
Director, Research, Planning and Technology
The Winnipeg School Division No. 1
1577 Wall Street East
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3E 2S5

Dear Mr. Edmond:

Subject: Affirmative Action Policies and School Administrators

I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education, Department of Educational Administration and Foundations. I am conducting this research as part of the requirements for my dissertation. I understand that approval is to be obtained through your Ethics Review Committee prior to conducting research within the Division. My intent is to interview high school administrators within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1. I hope to identify emerging patterns and themes in terms of career paths, barriers, and perceptions of how well the Affirmative Action Policies implemented by the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 have worked to breakdown the barriers to provide both females and males with equal access to the secondary principalship.

I will be asking questions about educational background, career history, support systems and networks, issues of gender equality and some general demographics. The first interview, which will take approximately one and a quarter hours, will be audiotaped for later transcription so that I can analyze the data more completely. The second interview, which will take less than an hour, will clarify and confirm earlier findings and will seek further explanation for emerging themes. All the information gathered in the course of the interviews will be kept completely confidential as I give the respondents a pseudonym to protect their identity. The participants will be free to refuse to answer any of the questions

asked in this research and are also free to withdraw from the study at any time. Copies of the letter of consent and the interview questions are attached.

If you wish, at the conclusion of the study, you will receive a summary of the findings. In addition, all audiotapes will be stored in a secure place until the completion of my dissertation when they will be destroyed.

It is my hope that this research will help illuminate the important gender issues facing female and male administrators in the Winnipeg School Division. Should you require any further information or documentation with respect to the proposal, please contact me at the telephone numbers listed below.

Sincerely,

Donna Wilson
Telephone (204) 947-1674 (Office)

Winnipeg, Manitoba

June 2, 2000

Dr. David H. Jenkinson
Chair, Research and Ethics Committee
Room 230 Education Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

Dear Dr. Jenkinson:

On March 29, 2000, I received approval from the University of Manitoba, Faculty of Education Research and Ethics Committee to conduct a pilot study entitled, "Affirmative Action Policies and Women School Administrators: A Study of Changing Patterns of Gender Representation Within the Administrative Staff of Winnipeg School Division No. 1 During the Period 1973 - 1998, with Particular Reference to the High School Principalship". The pilot study has now been completed.

On May 18, 2000, I successfully defended my Ph. D. Thesis Proposal. Enclosed please find my Ethics Review Application for my study.

Sincerely,

Donna Wilson

Proposed Interview Schedule

Introduction:

Hello, my name is Donna Wilson and I am doctoral student in the Faculty of Educational at The University of Manitoba. As part of the requirements for my doctoral dissertation, I am interviewing administrators of the Winnipeg School Division No. 1 to study the Affirmative Action Policy to see if the implementation of this policy has changed the career paths of secondary administrators. Specifically, the study will examine the career paths of the thirteen secondary school principals in the Winnipeg School Division to see if the program has achieved the intended purpose of equalizing gender and ethnicity issues and has reduced or eliminated the systemic discrimination present in the past. I will be asking questions about your educational background, your career history, your support systems and networks, issues of equality and some general demographics. Confidentiality will be assured as I will give you a pseudonym to protect your identity. I will provide you will a summary of the findings at the conclusion of the project.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS TO GUIDE THE INTERVIEWS

DEMOGRAPHICS:

Tell me about your socioeconomic background.

(Possible probes)

Tell me about (Name). In other words, tell me about your family, age, birth order, what you like to do in your spare time (this information can provide the researcher with information about socioeconomic status).

Tell me about where you went to school? How many siblings do you have?

What is/was the occupation of your parents?

What education level did each of your parents attain?

What was your parents' attitude toward education?

Describe the support you felt for your educational decisions?

EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND:

Describe your educational background.

(Possible probes)

What made you select the field of education?

What influenced your attainment of your educational goals?

What degrees do you hold?

Who were your role models?

What made them role models?

Do you feel that gender was a factor in the attainment and/or lack of attainment of your educational goals?

CAREER HISTORY:

Describe your career path.

(Possible probes)

When did you decide to enter education as a profession?

Describe your experience as a teacher, department head, vice-principal, and/or principal. Describe any other leadership positions you have held.

Have you worked full-time continuously? If not, what interrupted your career?

What different positions have you held? For how long?

How did you first become an administrator?

When and how did you get your first appointment?

How many positions did you apply for before getting appointed?

Why did you decide to apply for administration? Were you encouraged by someone, if so whom?

How old were you at your first appointment?

What was your academic background at the time of your first appointment?

What was your second appointment?

Who initiated the move? How long was this after your initial appointment?

Did you apply for the position? If so why?

Did the second appointment fit with your career goal at the time?

What was your family situation when you received your first administrative appointment?

To what extent and how has The Winnipeg School Division No. 1 supported your career development?

What career goals do you have for the future?

(Possible probes)

Where do you wish to be at the end of your career? Is your current position it?

What are you currently doing to work toward or prepare in order to achieve these goals?

What do you feel is assisting or will prevent you from achieving your goals?

What do you feel is preventing or will prevent you from achieving your career goals?

Do you feel that your gender or ethnicity has influenced your goals? If you say yes, how specifically have you been influenced?

Have you ever had someone who "broke the ice" for you?

(Possible probes)

Who?

Would you consider this person to be a mentor?

What is your definition of a mentor?

Who were your role models?

What made them role models?

Would you consider mentoring someone or have you done so in the past?

Do you belong to any professional networks?

How are they helpful?

Has the Administrative Training Program assisted you in achieving your career goals?

(Possible probes)

How? What aspects of the program?

ISSUES OF GENDER AND EQUALITY:

Affirmative Action Policy:

(Possible probes)

What impact has the affirmative action initiatives had on your career?

What impact has these initiatives had generally in the Division?

What impact has the training programs associated with affirmative action initiatives had on yourself. What aspects of the program?

What impact do you feel these initiatives have had on particular principals and superintendents?

Internal Barriers:

(Possible probes)

Describe any internal barriers (lack of confidence and self-esteem) you have faced as an aspirant to, and as a secondary principal.

Systemic Barriers:

(Possible probes)

Describe the systemic barriers (androcentrism, gender role stereotypes, or discrimination based on organizational structure) you have encountered as an aspirant to, and as a secondary principal.

How do you think your leadership is affected by your gender?

(Possible probes)

What do you think is different about your approach to leadership?

What conflicts and tensions have you experienced as an educational leader?

Tell me about your experience/observations regarding gender equity policies.

(Possible probes)

Who benefits from affirmative action policies?

Do you feel that you have benefited from the Winnipeg School Division No. 1's Affirmative Action Policy?

Have you experienced any backlash from the policy?

How would you improve the existing policy?

Is there another way of addressing the issue of gender and equality?

Do you think that you benefited from Employment Equity Policies?

(Possible probes)

Who benefits from employment equity policies?

Have you benefited from the Winnipeg School Division No. 1's Employment Equity Policy?

In your experience, what impact has Affirmative Action and Employment Equity had on the advancement of women and men to the position of secondary school principals within the Winnipeg School Division No. 1?

Have you experienced or feel there is any backlash from the policy?

How would you improve the existing policy?

Is there another way of addressing the issue of employment equity?

By virtue of your position, many people would consider you a success.

Do you see yourself as successful? Why or why not?

(Possible probes)

What are some specific things you have done that have been successes, either personally or professionally?

What are some barriers you have had to overcome? How did you do that?

Do you like the position you are in now? Why or why not?

What advice would you give to individuals considering education as a career? Would you advise them to go into administration? Why or why not?