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# Women and Leadership in American Universities

## Abstract

*This paper explores and analyzes the status and characteristics of women in the field of university administration in the United States. The literature describing the characteristics of women in this employment category is reviewed. This is followed by an analysis of literature pertaining to barriers women encounter when aspiring to and pursuing leadership positions within the university setting. Finally, a discussion of factors which facilitate careers in educational leadership is undertaken. The career facilitators identified include networks, mentors, and leadership training for women.*

## Résumé

*Cet article explore et analyse le statut et les caractéristiques des femmes dans le secteur de la gestion au niveau universitaire aux États Unis. La littérature décrivant les caractéristiques des femmes dans ce secteur d'emploi est révisée. Ceci est suivi par une analyse de la littérature portant sur les obstacles que rencontrent les femmes lorsqu'elles désirent obtenir des postes de leadership dans le milieu universitaire. Finalement, une discussion des facteurs facilitant les carrières en leadership scolaire est entreprise. Les facilitateurs de carrière identifiés incluent les réseaux, les mentors et la formation en leadership pour les femmes.*

## Canadian Women in University Administration

In Canada, women are a small minority within the field of university administrators. In fact it is difficult to obtain information regarding exact numbers of women in management positions within the various Canadian universities let alone comprehensive studies of women in this role. However, as affirmative action policies are adopted and diagnostic studies are undertaken

to ascertain the status of women within these institutions more data have become available. These data are often merely statistical and minimal. In other cases no information on women managers is available. For example, Concordia University chose to limit its affirmative action study to women faculty members (Concordia University, 1989). McGill University, however, does provide statistics regarding women holding academic administrative leadership appointments during 1990-91 in its affirmative action report. At this institution 35 such positions were held by women while 370 were held by men (McGill University, 1991). In Quebec only 3% of university administrators are women (*Conseil Supérieur de l'Éducation*, 1984). In 1985-86, 11.2% of university administrators in Canada were women whereas they were only 3% of administrators in 1970-71 (Statistics Canada, 1989). Today only five of Canada's approximately 65 universities have female presidents (McKay, 1991).

Canadian literature on women in university management is in its infancy. For example, Margaret Gillett has provided an excellent historical account of the past women wardens of Royal Victoria College at McGill University in *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women and McGill* (Gillett, 1981). Gillett's work, which made a major contribution to Canadian women studies literature, provided only a brief one paragraph mention of "other" women managers (Gillett, 1981, p. 428). However, in a recent article Gillett discusses the contributions of women as leaders in the faculty of education as well as the leadership provided to the university community by women of this faculty (Gillett, 1991). Unfortunately, such accounts are rare. Anne Innis Dagg and Patricia J. Thompson provided no discussion of women administrators in their recent book *Miseducation: Women and Canadian Universities* (Dagg & Thompson, 1988). Similarly, Anne Rochon Ford's *A Path Not Strewn with Roses: One Hundred Years of Women at the University of Toronto 1884-1984* also ignores the issue of women in management (Rochon Ford, 1985).

Compared to the American literature which provides a wealth of information concerning women in higher education administration both Canadian and Quebec sources are scarce. Perhaps the lack of a journal specializing in women's issues in educational management such as the *Journal of the National Association of Women Deans, Administrators and Counsellors* has contributed to this dearth of information. Another contributing factor may well be the lack of women's colleges in Canada as opposed to the United States where many women higher education leaders were traditionally found. Given the comparative lack of substantive Canadian data on this subject area a review of American literature can provide Canadian women with insight regarding this career option. It also highlights the urgent need for equivalent Canadian data.

### **The Status of Women Administrators in American Higher Education**

In the United States, few women occupy administrative positions at the university level, especially senior management positions, and less information exists regarding these women than women faculty members. Since 1975 there has been little change in the patterns of male domination of senior positions, i.e., positions of chief executive, as well as academic, planning, business, and student life officers. In fact there has been no change in the percentage of women holding chief executive officer positions, and there has been a decrease in the percentage of women chief student affairs officers. Only slight percentage increases of women chief business, academic, and planning officers have occurred (Etaugh, 1984).

The majority of women college presidents in the United States are found in private institutions and close to half of these are women's colleges. A substantial number of these are members of religious orders, although this has become less and less the case in the 1980s than it was in the 1970s (Etaugh, 1984). Nor have women made major in-roads into the "dean" position. Their percentage remains small, their disciplines remain traditional; thus, in 1972 women held only 13.7% of the deanships in over 1,800 American institutions (Austin, 1977). Sixty percent of these were in nursing and home economics, two were in law, and none were held in dentistry, engineering, medicine, or pharmacy. These statistics had not changed in the early 1980s and coeducational schools, large institutions with enrollments of over 5,000 students, and public institutions had the fewest women deans, as contrasted with two thirds of the women's colleges where at least half of deans were women (Etaugh, 1984). However, the decline of women's colleges has resulted in fewer professional opportunities for women in higher education. In fact, the proportion of women administrators and faculty members has declined in both former single-sex institutions and those who have remained women's institutions (Kilson, 1976).

Women are more often found in the area of student services administration than in academic management positions. Positions where women are often found include bookstore manager, registrar, health services director, financial aid director, and affirmative action coordinators. These are all positions which are in line with the stereotype of women as helpers. Chief of student services also falls into this category. A 1980 study produced interesting descriptive information regarding characteristics and career paths of women chiefs of student services (Evans & Kuh, 1983). Over 60 titles were reported by the persons holding the senior student services position. Sixty-one percent of women held the title of dean as opposed to 47% of men. Men were however more likely to have vice-president status than women (41% as opposed to

35%). This may reflect institutional size differences. Women of student affairs were less likely to have tenure than their male counterparts and those who held academic rank were more likely to hold rank at the level of instructor or assistant professor than men. The males were more likely to have associate or full professor status. This may, however, be a reflection of the women's relative youth and lack of seniority as compared to the men studied. Seventy percent of men were over 40 years old as opposed to 48% of women which led Evans and Kuh to state:

This may be evidence of the impact of affirmative action practices, indicating that colleges have recently become more sensitive to the need to employ women in top level positions. Perhaps there are greater numbers of younger women with the appropriate kinds of experiences and interest for taking on these responsibilities. (Evans & Kuh, 1983, p. 21)

However, a recent American study found that women directors of student services are more often found in private and religious universities and colleges and their progress is still slow in public institutions (Scott, 1985). This is similar to the pattern found in other categories of university administration.

Women administrators cite different factors as contributors to their selection as university administrators. A comparative study of male and female administrators in the University of North Carolina system reported 83% of the women studied as citing a history of taking risks, achieving change successfully, and being progressive. Only 17% of the male administrators cited these reasons (Dellimore Barrax, 1985, p. 297). Men and women cited equally (38%) the importance of possessing appropriate credentials and a reputation from involvement in organizations. However, only 33% of women cited "responses given to questions during interviews revealing communication skills or institutional match" as opposed to 50% of the men interviewed. Women regarded strong recommendations from "right" persons as being more important than did men (33% versus 17%). These same percentages also applied to the perceived importance of social and personal characteristics.

Other factors which women viewed as more significant to their career advancement than did men included experience from previous administrative positions and contacts. Mentors were cited by more than 75% of both groups as having played a significant role in their advancement. High percentages of both males (78%) and females (67%) considered that visibility gained through campus committee work had had an important impact on their attainment of administrative appointments.

The issue of committee work has been addressed by Julia K. Muller (1978) in her study of women's interest and involvement in university governance. This study of 251 University of Southern Illinois employees showed women to be as interested in serving on committees as their male colleagues.

However, an important finding of this study was that men were more likely to be involved in governance activities than women. Furthermore, they were more likely to serve longer terms on committees. This led Muller to state:

The women's movement probably has influenced women's attitudes and interest in governance areas, but women apparently have not yet become integrated into senates and councils. Although most university committees today have a token woman or two, this effort is not enough to ensure that women serve proportionally on all committees and councils. (Muller, 1978, pp. 14-15)

A Florida study of 534 women administrators in the Florida public community college (57%) and university (43%) system found five factors received very high importance ratings. These factors were: formal education (95.9%), communication skills (94.4%), willingness to accept additional responsibility (91.4%), personnel administration skills (82.0%), and timing (80.1%) (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4). A number of other factors were also cited as contributors to career development by the respondents in the Florida study:

Factors offered by respondents were: willing to take risks, ability to formulate goals, availability for excess work time, availability for travel, professional accreditation, budget constraints, knowledge of policies and procedures, expertise in field, political knowledge, power base, ability to work successfully with men, knowledge of fiscal operations, ability to evaluate how organizations function, dedication to career progression plan, and school from which doctorate received. (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4)

Timing is also a key factor for both groups. In addition, at the community college level willingness to relocate was identified as being important to career development, whereas the university target group reported research and publications as a primary factor (Kuyper, 1987, p. 4).

Louise H. Allen in her essay "On Being a Vice-President for Academic Affairs" also cites research and publication as important factors. However, she offers aspiring vice-presidents the following advice:

But a career leading to major academic office also involves progressive administrative responsibility, which is to some extent incompatible with a scholarly career. Therefore choices, conscious or unconscious, must be made between conventional scholarly research and administration. . . and papers will reflect management problems more often than the cutting edge of knowledge in a discipline. (Allen, 1984, p. 13)

Once women obtain administrative positions they perceive and experience their positions and career differently than do their male colleagues according to the findings of Anne E. Austin in her study of mid-level university administrators (Austin, 1985). Austin found that job satisfaction of women was linked to two major factors: 1) skill variety and 2) perception of the degree to which the organization is caring and supportive. For men several factors were related to high job satisfaction. These were: 1) age, 2) autonomy, 3) feedback from the job, 4) skill variety, 5) degree to which the organization is cooperative, and 6) degree to which the organization is caring. Finally, of the two genders, women were less likely to perceive the organization as caring and supportive than the men were. This may be indicative of actual sexual discrimination occurring in the institution, although this factor was not tested for.

The fact that women were less likely to perceive the institutions as caring and supportive may also explain differences in commitment to the institution. Males in the Austin study were more likely to indicate their commitment to the institution was of primary importance than the women administrators. On the other hand women indicated a greater degree of commitment to a career in higher education than their male counterparts. Perhaps women perceive fewer corporate opportunities than men explaining their greater commitment to higher education. However interesting its findings, the Austin study is limited by the fact that all of its 230 subjects were recruited from one large institution.

In fact, other evidence suggests that women are obtaining upward mobility more often within the same university than by going to another institution. The findings suggest, however, that women are willing to relocate but this is less often the route to career advancement than intrauniversity mobility (Sagaria, 1988). This would indicate a university environment supportive of the women that are **known** to them. Male administrators on the other hand are hired both internally and externally, although intrainstitutional mobility is more frequent as well (Sagaria, 1988). This would suggest that women administrators as a whole may still be seen as risky business and organizations may seek to minimize the risk by promoting a "known entity". Sagaria explains,

Because characteristics of good administrators are not easily measured, the unwritten standards shared by decision makers can be more influential than those set forth in job descriptions or the charges to search committees. These unwritten standards call for a person who can fit socially and be easily accepted by peers. This leads to the replication of "like" people for administrative positions with backgrounds and social characteristics similar to those making hiring decisions. . . . The effect may be that organizations such as universities. . . tend to filter out women candidates unacquainted with hiring officials. (Sagaria, 1988, p. 310)

### Barriers to Advancement

Barriers to advancement begin before women enter the work force. The case of women in educational administration reflects this. Catherine Marshall points to American statistics which indicate that while women are a majority in the field of education they only make up 28% of education doctorates and that more women with these credentials enter careers other than school administration than is the case of their male counterparts. Marshall also points out that women made up only 8% of educational administrators in the United States in 1983 (Marshall, 1984). Thus, women have few role models to emulate and few women who can act as mentors or sponsors should they choose to pursue graduate studies in the field of educational administration. The fact that women with appropriate graduate credentials are less likely to pursue careers in school administration than males with similar credentials suggests less receptivity to women administrators in the school system which forces women to consider alternate career paths.

The university, however, is a product of this society and as such mirrors society's attitudes, making it difficult for women to see themselves as appropriate for the field.

University programs may actually promote ideas that perpetuate male dominance. There are a growing number of critics who argue that both the general area of organization theory and education administration and supervision literature are based on assumptions that organizations are run by men and that management is an area where male appropriate behaviors are preferred. Educational administration programs seldom include these arguments in their curriculum. (Marshall, 1984, p. 5)

Women in educational administration doctoral programs differ from males on several counts. They are older, have less financial support, are in lower positions in the work force (i.e., tend to be teachers while the males are more often in line management positions), have lower career goals, have had a higher incidence of perceived discrimination, and are more likely to be divorced (Marshall, 1984, p. 5).

In fact, the doctoral degree is an extremely important goal for women aspiring to university management positions to achieve, yet less than one third of all women administrators hold it, as compared to more than half of their male colleagues. Furthermore, 80% of all university presidents and 90% of all women university presidents have completed doctoral degrees (Tinsley, 1985). Thus, while a doctoral degree will not guarantee a university presidency, a lack of this credential will more than likely guarantee that this position will not be obtained.

Felice J. Dublon, in a study of women doctoral students in higher education administration, found her sample population to be in the majority single and childless, which coincides with the Marshall findings. However, contrary to Marshall, the women in this study report high career expectations and over half of respondents had expectations of obtaining chief executive officer, vice-president, dean, or chairperson positions (Dublon, 1983).

Women doctoral students report, however, a desire to have both career and family and expect to be committed to both roles. When role conflict was anticipated it seemed to be the result of having too many responsibilities and not enough time, in other words, role overload, as opposed to being in conflict as a result of any given role per se. Redefining expectations is seen as the most effective strategy for reducing the strain of various competing roles (Dublon, 1983).

According to a contemporary study of college and university administrators the technique women use most often to cope with role overload, which results from combining family and career, are in order of usage: 1) organization, 2) empathy, 3) delegation, and 4) stalling. Women administrators also report fewer children than men, leading one to conclude that number of children and spacing of children is another important role management strategy (Bird, 1984). This is supported by Villadsen and Tack who discuss the impact children have on a woman's career and refer to the literature suggesting that many professional women are either reluctant to have children, will have fewer children and/or will wait longer than the nonprofessional woman to have her first child. They cite research from the Educational Testing Services as stating that marriage and motherhood are the "main impediment to the professional advancement of women with doctoral degrees" (Villadsen & Tack, 1981, p. 21). Villadsen and Tack further found compartmentalization, delegation, lowered housekeeping standards, and physical and intellectual or artistic pursuits as effective coping strategies. Other coping strategies included cutting down on the following: "publishing", continued education, vacations, and time spent with friends.

An Indiana study of 48 women holding higher education management positions identifies the thirties as being a critical period for career women in terms of their self-concept and general life satisfaction (Evans, 1986). Evans found younger and older women to be most content explaining that women in their twenties may not yet have encountered many of life's hardships or transitions, and women over forty "have fought the battles and are now at peace with themselves" (Evans, 1986, p. 18). However, the women in their thirties are often struggling with both career and family and having difficulty finding a balance between their personal and professional lives. Many women were concerned about their lack of patience which may be related to this stress. This led Evans to conclude that contrary to previous studies that show midlife to be the most conflictual phase in adult development, the thirties may well be the most difficult period of life for career women and services such as flexible work



schedules, day care, and other support systems should be provided for women at this stage.

In addition to the distinct possibility of role overload women must often contend with a variety of problems which may undermine both self-esteem and possibilities for advancement. These include:

- Small numbers of women heighten their visibility.
- Social etiquette is often inappropriately interjected into the professional setting.
- Women's abilities are more likely to be questioned, downgraded, or trivialized.
- Difficulties with collegiality result in a feeling of isolation.
- Women are more likely to be judged by appearance than by achievement.
- Women's communication patterns are interpreted as less powerful. (Reisser & Zurfluh, 1982, p. 23)

A Florida study found that the following 19 barriers were experienced by more than 50% of its female university administrator respondents. These were:

- Ignored during important discussions.
- Collegial relationships excluded women.
- Strong women, those resisting various overtures, are trapped by colleagues into a more militant stance than they prefer.
- Women serve as mother figures to whom others bring private trouble and from whom they expect comfort.
- Cast as a sex object, resulting in negation of other characteristics.
- Difficult to receive recognition for accomplishments.
- Have to work twice as hard and expend more energy than the average man in order to succeed.
- Credit given to men for their (women's) ideas and proposals.
- Passed over for promotion because they are "not strong enough, too emotional, etc."; yet, men with similar disqualifications were selected.
- Lower expectations for success.
- More likely to assume personal responsibility for failure than males.
- Less influential on their superiors' decisions than male colleagues.
- Less access to power.
- Interrupted often in group discussions.
- When a woman is the lone female in a group she is likely to be isolated, treated as trivial, or ignored.
- Others assume that someone else makes the decisions, irrespective of women administrator's actual power and authority.
- Any job a woman does is downgraded the moment she has proved she can do it.
- The higher women advance in administration the greater are the barriers to their success.
- Women are not addressed by their titles (Dean, Ms., Dr.) as often as male colleagues. (Stokes cited in Reisser & Zurfluh, 1982, p. 23)

Organizations often cite lack of qualified female candidates or women's refusal to relocate as reasons for not hiring women in management positions. A study of Pennsylvania higher education institutions did not confirm these perceptions. It was found that while the majority of women had built their careers within one institution, a fair number reported that they were either willing to move or in fact anticipated moving. Men, however, are also more likely than women not to build their careers within a single institution (Moore & Sagaria, 1980).

The unwillingness of search committees to recommend women for administrative positions is another potential barrier to women's advancement into university leadership positions. Betty F. Fulton (1983) studied the influence of search committees on women's access to leadership positions, specifically chairperson and dean positions. This study indicated that while the search committees supported the candidacy of both women and minority group members these recommendations often were not followed through by appointing that candidate. The Fulton study showed that despite the fact that there were no women in 23.4% of the searches and women were only 12% of the available pool, they made up 15.3% of the recommended candidates. In addition women were recommended in 50.9% of the searches in which they applied. However, women were appointed in only 17% of the searches and the majority of these positions were in the fields of nursing and home economics. Female appointment would decrease to 7.5% of the searches if these two traditionally female fields were eliminated. These findings led Fulton to conclude that search committees were not obstacles to women's advancement but that university administrators who make final hiring decisions must shoulder the blame for women's poor representation within university administration.

Lafontaine and McKenzie (1984) have proposed a typology of responses which women adopt when faced with negative institutional perceptions and barriers. These individual responses include 1) implicit acceptance and 2) lack of feminist consciousness, as responses from women who do not perceive their treatment as problematic. For women who do perceive their treatment as problematic four responses are common. These are: 1) withdrawal, 2) benign resignation, 3) substitute authority, and 4) struggle for authority. While all four responses are problematic for women leaders and undermine their effectiveness, the fourth option, struggle for authority, can be the most dangerous. Confrontative strategies carry with them great risk whether they are interpersonal confrontations or collective. This led Lafontaine and McKenzie to warn,

In conjunction with preexisting apprehension concerning women as administrators such activity makes it easy for activists to be rendered ineffective labelled as intolerant, demanding, overaggressive, domineering, or difficult because of their un-

willingness to separate their politics from their profession, these women may find themselves becoming isolated, thereby further undermining their effectiveness as administrators. In extreme situations they may face the possibility of demotion or dismissal. (Lafontaine & McKenzie, 1984, p. 23)

Thus women must walk very warily in order to survive, to say nothing of thrive, in higher education administration.

In addition to learning from effective leaders and participating in professional development activities, Eleanor Smith (1985) tells women to consider donning all of the following in order to help overcome institutional barriers and advance within the university hierarchy.

- Acquiring an institutional perspective and make it known that they have such a perspective.
- Knowing but not concentrating solely on details.
- Focusing on doing things right.
- Understanding institutional climate and culture; learning to read the political landscape.
- Developing a record of sound management and excellent leadership skills and decisiveness.
- Being thoroughly prepared when making reports and presentations.
- Avoiding unnecessary public criticism of colleagues.
- Staying in good physical health.
- Being good to and comfortable with themselves; enjoying being female and not taking themselves too seriously. (Smith, 1985, p. 31)

In addition to the above, women must learn how to access information and recognize and befriend sources of power, according to Smith.

Margaret Holt (1980) has identified the importance of exhibiting a sense of humor and being able to relate to people at all levels within the university as being important characteristics for the female administrator. She further emphasizes the importance of understanding budgets and of obtaining a knowledge of the area of financial management through self-teaching, courses, and on-the-job training from a supportive colleague. Holt suggests combining all three approaches. In a similar vein MacConkey identifies a "sterling professional performance" along with "a sincerely warm human performance" as necessary for success in management (MacConkey, 1980, p. 39).

### **Career Facilitators**

#### ***Networking and mentors***

Women's career networking is a concept which began to develop in the 1970s as a tool to help women attain career success. Madelaine F. Green emphasizes the importance of a network's access role,

To be really useful to those who want to enter or change the power structure, a network must provide access, creating a bridge to the centre of the system or at least enabling women to get to the threshold. Networking is most effective then for women who have made some headway, who know who the key figures are and where to begin to tap information. (Green, 1982, p. 18)

However, as Green explains, all women need not have achieved the same level of success in order to engage in networking as more sophisticated members can bring along less seasoned women. Women need to form special networks as they are often locked out of the informal "old boys network", i.e., the locker room and golf course networks which often lead to important business contacts and alliances. Thus, women's networks can provide ambitious women with information, support, and access of an alternate kind. They may also reduce the stress resulting from multiple roles and isolation (Ten Elshof & Tomlinson, 1980).

While women's networks had their origin in the women's movements' consciousness raising support groups more formal networks have developed. American examples include the American Council on Education (ACE) Fellow programs (where women intern with college presidents and senior offices) and the National Identification program which identifies women ready for senior positions and provides a state wide structure for them to meet and discuss issues of common concern.

Another source of networking which provides both contacts and valuable professional experience is involvement in professional associations. Its benefits are described by one woman in the following manner,

What those outside involvements have done is to keep me sane and to offer exposure to a broad range of people which make appointments to boards and national committees a possibility. I believe it is more difficult to discriminate against women in higher education who have earned a reputation on the "outside" and it does facilitate one's personal development. (Elder, 1984, p. 19)

Mentors have played an important role in advancing male careers. In the male tradition a mentor was an older, more successful man who groomed his protégé for success. The mentor and protégé must also be compatible as the relationship must be sustained over a number of years. The relationship goes through several developmental phases during these years. The first phase involves teaching the younger colleague social graces, providing inside information, and the like. In the second stage the mentor provides psychological support and begins providing professional services and support. In the third

phase the mentor provides institutional support by publicly promoting the protégé's career and providing special access to necessary resources. The fourth stage is when the protégé obtains professional independence and the relationship becomes more collegial than hierarchical (Swaboda & Millar, 1986).

The grooming and mentoring relationship has often not been available for women. Men may not have wanted to groom women and those who did want to may not have been willing to risk the potential sexual innuendos or spousal jealousy which may have resulted. There is also a possibility of sexual relationships actually developing with its attendant difficulties and risks and, of course, there have always been very few women "at the top" who could serve as mentors to younger women.

Swaboda and Millar posit a different type of mentoring as useful to women. The model they propose is a combination of networking and mentoring, a type of group co-mentoring where colleagues give each other support, information, and access to resources and is described as follows:

Compared to the "grooming" model of mentoring, this emerging networking model entails more flexible and mutually interdependent patterns of training, information sharing and support. Networking-mentoring consists of an ever changing series of dyadic contacts in which each person plays the role of mentor or mentee to different degrees in each dyad. (Swaboda & Millar, 1986, p. 11)

While this model is acknowledged as being less quick and less certain, its advantages are that it involves less commitment and less intensity, therefore there is also less concern with long term compatibility and can include people from a wide range of backgrounds. Another major advantage of this model is that it fosters self-reliance as the individuals committed cannot count on another person to "bring them along".

Pancrazio and Gray (1982) also posit a collegial networking model in place of the traditional mentor/mentee relationship believing that this strategy will help women advance as a group rather than as individuals. It is believed that these "new girl networks" are an important and useful alternative to the traditional "old boy network" which is criticized for being intolerant of difference and based on how well the individual conforms in the group culture. It is also criticized for leading to mediocrity.

Networks contribute to mediocrity of a profession in several ways. Since networking is based on favors, loyalties and personal influence, network members may tend to cover for each others

inadequacies or errors. Networks exist to maintain power hierarchies, pyramid style. (Pancrazio & Gray, 1982, p. 13)

The collegial network model which these authors propose is based on affiliation and support rather than competitiveness. Women are encouraged to take the following steps in developing the "new girl network."

- Seek out other women colleagues.
- Identify women colleagues who are at the hub of various networks.
- Share personal expertise.
- Learn to give criticism.
- Learn to accept criticism.
- Recommend women for jobs, committees, and tasks for assignments.
- Tolerate differences of opinions and style.
- Develop empathy for women who have succeeded but don't want other women to succeed.
- Communicate directly, honestly, and openly with professional women. Include men in the network.

Finally, significantly different from the male model, women are encouraged to accept, appreciate, and recruit many different types of women, not simply women who possess similar qualities to themselves.

In terms of traditional mentor relationships, McNeer (in her study of the role of mentors in the careers of women in higher education) identified two stages in a person's career when a mentoring relationship can be crucial to the mentee's advancement. The first important period is during graduate training when the mentor can provide both career socialization and assistance in obtaining the first academic position after graduation (McNeer, 1983).

The second opportunity for mentoring suggested by McNeer is when the faculty member decides to apply for a management position within the university. However, McNeer suggests that at this point the mentor does not need to be a person in a position of authority, but could involve friends, family members, colleagues, and even students who encourage her and support her or their interest in a career change. McNeer also divides mentors into two categories, primary and secondary. The secondary mentor was seen as less crucial but nevertheless supportive of career decisions.

It is possible that women are becoming more adept at developing mentor relationships or that factors within the organization are making it more possible for women to obtain mentors. In fact, Fowler (1982), in her study of mentor relationships of male and female assistant professors, found no significant differences between the two genders on the following variables: 1) perceptions of support or lack of support from departmental colleagues, 2) collegiality, and

3) awareness and use of the informal network. However, despite this, women were more likely to perceive sex discrimination within the work environment. Perhaps this is a reflection that women are accepted at the bottom rungs but not yet at higher levels. On the other hand the fact that the young women's entry level positions are using mentor relationships may bode well for their eventual movement into senior faculty and administrative categories.

Mentors are important in higher education not only for the advancement of the individual but also in terms of the training they can provide new administrators, a training that is often left to chance by universities which may value scholarship more than management training per se.

McNeer asserts that, "leadership development has not been recognized as an important activity in educational organizations. While maintaining the 'amateurish' mystique, informal training in the form of mentor-protégé relationship occurs (McNeer, 1983. p. 13)." Kathryn Moore (1982) affirms the importance of the mentor relationship for both the mentee and the institution and asserts that the institution should consider the mentor as both a valuable talent-scout and trainer.

#### *Leadership training for women*

Special leadership training programs for women have been developed to help prepare women for administrative positions within higher education in the United States. Examples include the eight-month internship program at the University of Michigan and the series of six weekend seminars at Wellesley. Rae André and Mary Edwards studied the effectiveness of these special institutes and internships offered between 1973 and 1977 (André & Edwards, 1978). These findings were often encouraging. Results included demystifying management, salary increases, and position improvements. The programs that included internships were especially beneficial to careers. Fifty-six percent of respondents whose training had included an internship had reported positive changes in their careers as opposed to participants from noninternship programs whose positive responses ranged from 9% to 32% (André & Edwards, 1978). However, women are cautioned that their leadership training cannot replace appropriate academic qualifications.

Despite the evident benefits of administrative training programs for many academic women, it must be stressed that supplemental programs do not substitute for academic credentials: the terminal degree, the tenure-track position, or, in the case of senior administrative posts, the successful faculty career. The training programs seem to work best as an added credential for persons already in place. (André & Edwards, 1978, p. 21)

The fact that a traditional academic career is almost always a necessary prerequisite to obtaining an administrative career in higher education is supported by Daniel Socolow in his study on access to administrative positions (Socolow, 1978). Socolow posited that in times of difficulty universities might want to consider nontraditional candidates to help improve the situation of universities. However, his study of job notices and eventual appointments advertised in several issues of the *Chronicle of Higher Education* found that this was not the case. Results indicated no new patterns of occupational mobility, little geographical mobility, and little mobility among different types of higher education institutions.

The importance of women's leadership training in improving women's self-confidence was cited by Patricia Stringer (1977), an early participant in the Administrative Intern Program (AIP) for women in higher education, funded by the Carnegie Corporation in 1973, in which 16 colleges participated. Stringer states:

Most interns agree that enhanced self-confidence is by far the most important result of the internship. This is amply illustrated by ex-interns, who exhibited the confidence to apply for, interview for and successfully work in administrative positions. (Stringer, 1977, p. 26)

Bernetta McGhee White also studied the impact of a women's leadership training program at North Carolina Central University (McGhee White, 1983). The participants reported a variety of changes resulting from the training with increased confidence being one of the most significant outcomes.

The importance of a positive self-concept and confidence in one's administrative ability was also stressed by Sandra Benton in her study of women administrators (Benton, 1979). The respondents reported that programs to improve self-concept would be an important strategy to adopt for the advancement of women into administration. Seventy percent of the women also expressed the importance of their having cultivated personal relationships with both men and women in positions of power within the organization as crucial to their selection for a senior management position. This suggests that women are beginning to use "the old boys network" successfully.

However, a study of male and female alumni of the Academic Administrative Internship Program (AAIP) of the American Council of Education has shown mixed results (Lief Palley, 1978). This study showed that while female and male alumni had approximately equal quantitative opportunities, women fare less well on qualitative indicators, i.e., size and status of institution. In addition, women administrators more often suffered a lack of marriage and family ties than the male respondents. Thus women were seen to be qualitatively disadvantaged regardless of quantitative opportunities.



### Conclusions

What can we speculate regarding the future of women in higher education leadership? Nancy Adler (1978) has warned of the need to be vigilant regarding what "breakthroughs" women have made thus far and to be wary of possible reversals of women's gains in the field of higher education. This position is supported by Manon Kilson (1976) who points to the decline in the status of women in universities. Kilson identifies the decline in women's colleges as significant in the decline of women in higher education in general. Also identified are the double constraints of economic recession and population decline as serious threats to the advancement of women. Given these factors it would seem appropriate to concur with the following perception:

If this analysis of the dominant trends for women's status in academe today is correct, we must agree with Lewis Carroll's Red Queen "that it will take all the running you can do, to keep in the same place. If you want to get somewhere else, you must run at least twice as fast as that." (Kilson, 1976, p. 942)

Women in university management face a number of challenges. Steps can be taken in order to facilitate their career development and progression. Management Education is an important tool which should not be overlooked. This can take many forms that can include in-house workshops, conferences, individual credit courses on specific subject areas, degree programs such as the M.Ed. and Ph.D. in Educational Administration, as well as certificate programs in general management. In addition, one should not overlook the option of simply reading books and journals dealing with management issues. Any one of these measures can serve to add to one's knowledge and confidence in the management role.

Finding a mentor certainly seems to be very helpful, although this is not always possible. However, often one can find one or more individuals who are helpful in terms of advice, support, or guidance without their being mentors *per se*.

Peer support, be it from males or females, can make the difference between a satisfying work environment and an intolerable one. Positive work relationships should be cultivated not just for one's career but for one's mental health. Having colleagues one can laugh with can go a long way towards reducing work related stress. Supportive networks of various types should be sought out and nurtured.

Finally, the need for Canadian studies dealing with women in management cannot be overemphasized. However helpful, we cannot assume that the literature related to American leaders also applies entirely to the Canadian

context. Studies which compare female and male administrators are needed as well as studies which compare women to women; for instance, how women's leadership style may be affected by different factors, e.g., culture, professional background, and age. This area of research merits greater attention from the Canadian academic community.

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