ABSTRACT
        The study assesses the feasibility of implementing a
specific model designed to increase women's participation in the
administration of a state's public school systems. The model
intervenes to affect the structure of opportunity, the structure of
power, and the social composition of peer groups in a state's
educational system. The researchers use participant observation
methods to collect data from the field testing of the model--Project
ICES, a program that involves a state department of education, an
institution of higher education, a state umbrella organization for
educational administrators, and local education agencies to train and
place women administrators. Data is analyzed to identify variables
affecting the ease of implementation for each element of the model.
(Author/IRT)

THE ICES MODEL: INCREASING WOMEN'S

PARTICIPATION IN EDUCATIONAL

ADMINISTRATION

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While women comprise a majority of the teachers in American public schools, they occupy only a fraction of the administrative positions in those schools. Two-thirds of all teachers in the United States are women; however, only 19.6% of all elementary school principals, 1.4% of all secondary principals, and .1% of all superintendents are women (Fischel and Pottker, 1974). Despite social change, the enactment of Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972, and an increase in the number of women preparing for administrative positions, women remain underrepresented in the population of public school administrators. Even documented efforts to hire women have failed to impact significantly the percentage of women in line positions (Carlton, 1978).

There is a clear need to develop model intervention strategies to increase women's participation in educational administration. ICES: A Project of Internships, Certification, Equity-Leadership and Support provides such a model. The model links the major educational agencies in a state to select, train, and place a group of women with proven administrative ability. Currently, this strategy is being field tested in the State of Kansas under a grant from the Women's Educational Equity Act Program.

This paper discusses the need for individual and systemic change which the model addresses, describes the model, and reports on its implementation in one state. The validity of the model cannot be assessed until the end of the two-year implementation period.

Individual and Systemic Change

Reform strategies may focus either on changing individuals or on changing the social system in which they function. Recent interest in

"women's issues" has fostered an extensive body of literature exhorting individual women to learn new behavior patterns to gain success and advancement in the corporate world. Women are told how to dress (Molloy, 1977), how to "get yours" (Pogrebin, 1975), and how to "play the game" (Harrigan, 1977) to win in a man's world. For example, the best selling The Managerial Woman (Hennig and Jardim, 1977) tells women first to know themselves and decide whether they truly want a career that entails competing in a male-dominated system. The woman who does should learn to manage "the interaction between who she is and the environment in which she must work." (p. 159). This approach to change assumes that those women who want to change their lives can, if only they have the will and intelligence to do so.

Educational programs traditionally have tended to focus on changing individuals. A professional's training tends to stress cognitive change. The individual also may select from a wide variety of activities directed at affective and/or behavioral change. However, other perspectives on social change consider strategies directed at the individual to be weak tools for reforming institutions. Arguing that individual behavior and organizational structure are interrelated, they consider systemic change to be the more powerful approach to changing organizations (e.g. Katz and Kahn, 1966, pp. 390-451). This theory suggests that those who would change women's role in education should intervene by manipulating organizational variables.

Kanter's (1977) theory of organizational behavior explains women's

roles in corporations in terms of structural rather than personality
variables. In a hierarchical organization, the structure of opportunity, the
structure of power, and the social composition of peer groups determine women's
aspirations for advancement and their performance in administrative positions.
Where men or women see little chance for future mobility and growth, they
exhibit behaviors stereotyped as "female." These stereotypic behaviors
include limiting aspirations, seeking satisfaction outside of work,
identifying with peer group norms rather than management's production
goals and discouraging coworkers from seeking advancement.

Individuals who are low in power (i.e. cannot mobilize resources
because of job characteristics and position in the informal organization)
tend to exhibit behaviors stereotypically assigned to women in management
positions such as attempting to retain control in directive and authoritarian
ways, and restricting subordinates' growth and opportunities. The
coercive rather than persuasive style of leadership frequently leads
subordinates to dislike their powerless manager.

Finally, individuals in "token" positions, i.e. represented in a
very small proportion in a group, tend to be more visible and thus feel
more pressure to conform and to become "socially invisible." They may
find it difficult to gain "credibility," be isolated from informal net-
works, have few opportunities to be sponsored, be stereotyped and face
considerable personal stress.

These variables and their effects are inextricably tangled. Kanter
explains that the relationships between structure and behavior are
cyclical. "To some extent, low opportunity, powerlessness, and tokenism

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constitute self perpetuating, self-sealing systems, with links that can be broken only from outside" (p. 249). Thus attempts to change individuals will not result in organizational change. Changes which address the variables of opportunity, power, and tokenism are needed.

"Systemic change" often is conceived in terms of structural changes in organizations such as altering the authority relationships or the technology of production. Kanter recommends organizational reforms ranging from decentralization to hiring members of minority categories in "batches" rather than singly and developing a women's network. The variables of organizational size and hierarchical structures also may be manipulated. However, Kanter recommends even broader social changes to improve work for men and women.

Systemic Change in Education

Systemic change is an appealing strategy for improving women's participation in educational administration. However, it is difficult to identify the "system" to be changed. A state's educational system consists of many locally governed districts and state level agencies with some regulatory authority. They constitute a "loosely coupled system" (Weick, 1976) of autonomous, geographically dispersed units. Local school districts may be joined to a larger system by the participation of individual members in professional associations, teacher unions, school board associations citizens groups and advisory councils. A plan to intervene in a state's educational system must recognize the characteristics of that system. No central authority can impose change or manipulate organizational variables easily. Communication is difficult.

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A change in one part of the system may have little effect on other parts. Thus designing an intervention strategy to increase women's participation in educational administration in a state is difficult.

One approach to systemic change in a loosely coupled system is to treat the process not as change in a single organization, but as the diffusion of innovation across systems. The specific "innovation" in this article is defined as hiring women in line administrative positions.

Research about the diffusion and adoption of innovations consistently shows that adoption of an innovation is a social process. Personal, face to face contact in existing social systems determines adoption (Carlson, 1965). In hierarchical organizations such as school systems, external contacts are made primarily by the highest level administrators (House, 1974). Carlson (1965) found that adoption of new math in a Pennsylvania county was determined by the friendship group of superintendents. Earlier adopters were those of higher status. The farther a superintendent was from the center of the friendship group, the later the district adopted new math. If adoption of innovation is a social process, and if school superintendents are the most likely members of the organization to have extensive contacts outside the district, the existing social systems and communications channels among administrators are the logical networks to use to inform them about an innovation.

However, the decisions of a few superintendents to attempt to hire women in administrative positions may not be sufficient to alter the proportions of women in school administration. Other decision makers are

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involved in training, certifying, and supporting women who wish to enter administration. An effective change effort must touch many points of the educational system.

A change strategy must also address the processes discouraging large numbers of women from seeking administrative positions. Some administrators complain that women will not apply for positions in their districts or note that they cannot find "qualified" women to fill vacancies. If administrators continue to believe that women are either unavailable or unqualified, any effort to hire women will fail. Presently, the stereotype that women do not even want to become administrators persists and is occasionally supported by research evidence (e.g. Cottrell, 1978). However, at least one study has shown that in a large urban school system the pool of teachers aspiring to administrative positions was equally divided between men and women (Lawrence and Adkison, 1976).

The fact that the female aspirants are less likely than their male counterparts to become administrators may be explained by the social composition of peer groups. Kanter (1977) explained that women in corporate positions traditionally dominated by women are discouraged by their peers if they seek mobility. The group's "anti success" norms lead women to deny ambitions. To maintain their friendships, women forego opportunities to prepare for other positions. When the administrative group is predominantly male, the women have no social support to replace lost friends if they become administrators.

Clearly if the pool of qualified women is to be increased, women

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who desire mobility must receive reinforcement in at least two areas. First they need evidence that mobility is possible for women in general. Second, their own specific ambitions must be encouraged in new peer groups. The new peer groups may consist of a women's network in the community or state or of men and sometimes women with whom they will work as administrators.

In summary, a strategy to increase women's representation in educational administration must intervene at several levels of the educational system. It must impact decision makers in many school districts. It must also affect the pool of qualified candidates. Because the system is decentralized and fragmented, a single decision maker cannot manipulate organizational variables at will. Instead, it must convince decision makers to promote change within their districts while developing a qualified pool of women to be hired.

Inter Organizational Cooperation

One agency cannot accomplish rapid systemic change in a decentralized and fragmented system. The probability that change will occur is increased if several organizations direct their efforts at different levels of the system. Formal administrators' organizations provide both a formal framework and an informal system through which innovation may spread. They maintain many channels for the face to face communication essential to diffusion. State department of education personnel also occupy positions in formal and informal channels of communication. They are in a position to affect the adoption of an innovation. If the pool of qualifed women is to be expanded, universities with administrator training programs must be involved. Finally, if support systems for

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women are to develop in the employing school districts, those systems must participate in a change effort. A coordinated effort among administrators' organizations, the state department of education, universities, and school districts can facilitate rapid change.

If each organization's efforts to increase women's participation in administration are coaligned, the cooperative effort can impact each level of the state's educational system. Superintendents and other key decision makers will adopt policies to hire more women administrators and to provide them some social support. In turn, the superintendents are assured that there will be qualified women candidates for those positions. Women aspiring to administrative positions will see visible evidence of effort to employ them.

The cooperation of administrators' professional associations, the state department of education, universities, and school districts increases the liklihood of change. Certainly the cycle of low opportunity, power-lessness, and tokenism which limits owmne's participation in educational administration is more likely to be broken if this cooperation occurs.

The ICES Model

The ICES Model is a strategy to increase women's participation in educational administration. It is a two-year project which trains a well qualified group of women and places them in administrative positions.

The ICES model contains two major elements: structure and program. The structure addresses systemic change by involving the key agencies in a state's educational system in the project's decision making structure. The programmatic element promotes both individual and social change. A

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specialized training program is designed to insure cognitive and affective changes in participants which will make them clearly competent administrators. By training and placing participants as a group, the project negates the effects of "tokenism" on individuals.

The ICES Structure

The structure links the state education agency, the state umbrella organization of administrators associations, and a state university in an executive committee. Cooperating school districts are loosely tied to the executive committee. This structure is essential to implementing state-wide innovation. It was shaped by the following premises:

1) Sex role socialization and sex-role stereotyping in administration have persisted because there has been little coordination among various agencies involved in changing schools;

2) Statewide change requires leadership of all major educational institutions;

3) Innovative districts which begin to change policies and practices to promote women's participation serve as models for other districts who will follow.

In the field test, the ICES Executive Committee includes an Assistant Commissioner in the Kansas State Department of Education (SEA), the Executive Director of the United School Administrators of Kansas (the state professional administrator association umbrella organization), a faculty member from the Department of Administration, Foundations, and Higher Education at the University of Kansas and a Coordinator, a full-time project staff member. Local Education Agency Administrators participate

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in the decisions shaping a major portion of the program--the internship

experiences. Figure 1 provides an organizational chart for the Project.

Figure 1

AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS FOR PROJECT ICES
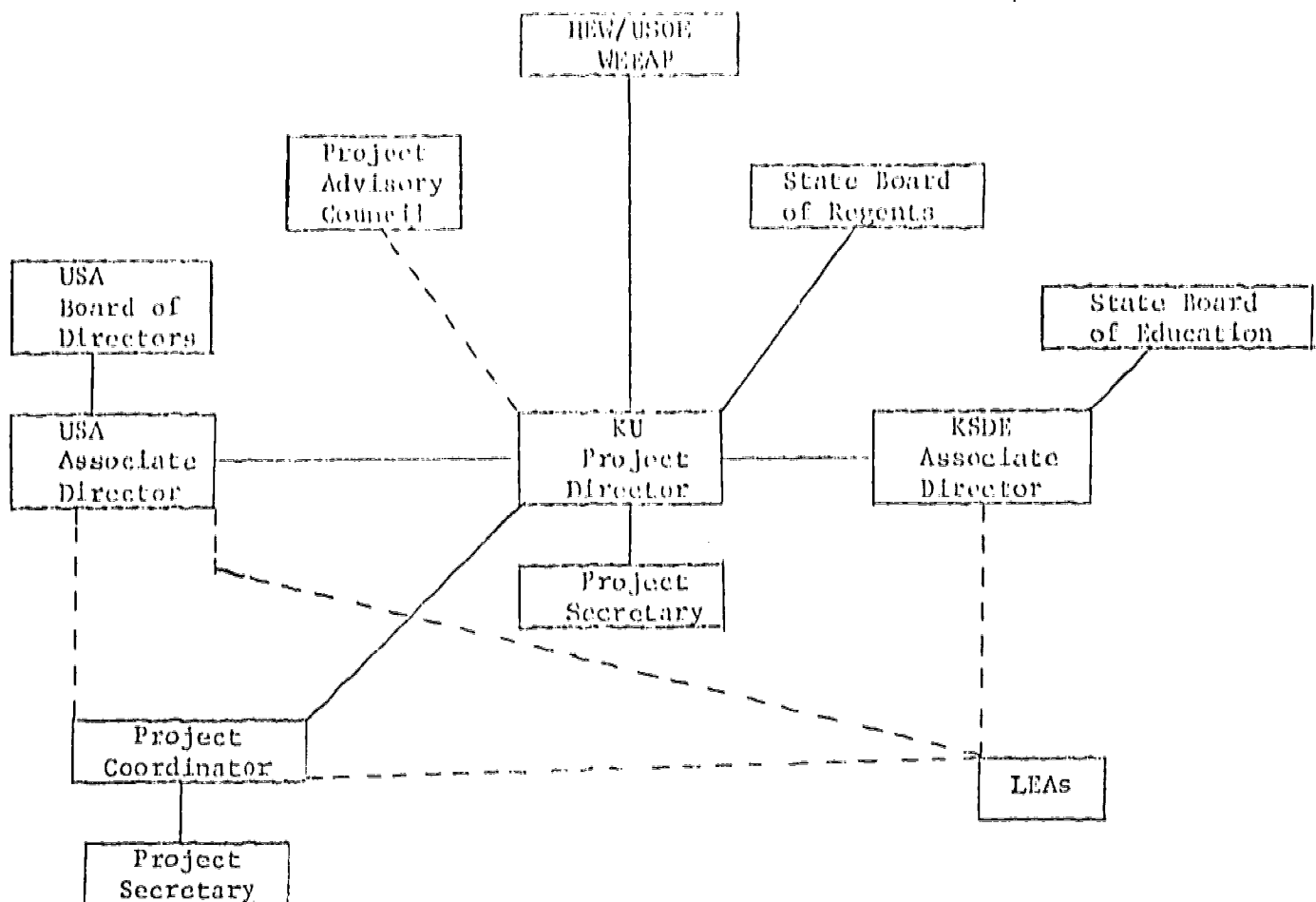
The roles and responsibilities of each component are as follows:

1. <u>Administrator's Professional Organizations.</u> In every state there are members of several key national professional organizations. Prominent among these organizations are the American Association of School Administrators (AASA), the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP), the National Association of Secondary School Principals (NASSP), the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD), the Association of School Business Officials (ASBO), and the National School Public Relations Association (NSPRA). Most states have affiliates of each of these national organizations. In many states, all or some of these discrete branches are coordinated by a state-wide "umbrella" organization which gives direction to, and enhances communication among, the memberships of the various associations. It is this umbrella organization which is the component of the model for the project. The umbrella organization

  a. develops and administers the internship program with the assistance of the other component agencies,

  b. assists in the delivery of the other three programs (certification, equity-leadership, support) within the project,

  c. serves as the primary liaison between superintendents and principals and the project,

  d. provides the facility for housing the project coordinator and secretary,

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e. supervises the coordinator on matters concerning the
    internship program,

f. contributes to the overall leadership of the project.

2. Institution of Higher Education. Universities and colleges
traditionally have maintained the role of recommending to the
state education agency individuals who have completed course
work and who are deemed competent potential school administrators.
This course work generally includes such areas as educational
finance, educational law, personnel, supervision, curriculum
planning, and philosophical foundations of education. By
state law, these courses must be completed before the awarding
of administrative certification.

The university (or universities) in the model

a. provides the overall leadership and coordination of
    the project and serves as its fiscal agent,

b. assumes the leadership for the development of the
    Advisory Council,

c. delivers the coursework needed for certification either
    through campus-based instruction or field-based
    individual or group practicums,

d. develops the workshops for the equity-leadership
    program in cooperation with the other two leadership
    agencies,

e. evaluates the model--both process and product, and,

f. assumes leadership for validation of the model with

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the assistance of the other two component agencies.

3. State Education Agency. Due to the growing complexity throughout public education the participation of the State Education Agency has become increasingly more important. The SEA efforts at aiding the local districts cope with the multi-faceted problems of providing education places them in a strategic leadership role (Knezevich, 1975, p. 262). With federal "pass-through" monies channeled to state agencies for distribution, the state role becomes even more vitally important. Current legislation such as P.L. 94-142 (the "special education mandate") and P.L. 94-482 (the education amendments of 1976 that include the vocational education title dealing with sex role bias) has clarified the role of the state agency in educational equity.

The state education agency

a. shares in the decision-making model for the project,

b. facilitates the certification process of the participants,

c. provides national visibility and credibility to the project,

d. serves as the key communication and dissemination agent for the project, and,

e. contributes to the overall leadership of the project,

f. coordinates internships within the agency.

4. Local Education Agencies. The cooperation of individual public school systems is crucial to the change strategy. Local

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administrators make the decisions to hire or promote

administrators. The districts provide the settings where

administrators learn and practice. The cooperating districts

play a crucial role at every stage of the Project.

Each participating local education agency

a. provides a nine month administrative internship for

project participants,

b. selects the intern(s) to fill those positions,

c. provides the intern(s) with administrative support,

office space, and assistance needed to perform duties,

d. assists in the development and supervision of the

intern(s)' individual program.

The cooperating districts may also provide extra supports for

the interns such as financial support for additional salary and

to attend special workshops, meetings, and conventions.

The Director and the Associate Directors each select three individuals

to serve on the project's Advisory Council. Council members are asked to

be familiar with equity issues, educational administration, and the

processes of recruitment and employment of administrators. The Council

helps to assure the face validity of the model as it monitors project

activities and recommends changes that ensure success in the state.

The structure allows the project to tap the major educational net-

works in the state and to work with select school districts. This model

can be implemented in any state whose state education agency, professional

administrators' associations, and universities commit themselves to the task.

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The ICES Program

The programmatic elements of the model focus on the preparation of women to become school administrators. Four sub-programs (Internships, Certification, Equity-Leadership, and Support) ensure that participants will complete the program with the formal degrees and courses needed for certification, specialized training in educational equity, a year's experience as administrative interns, and with a support system within their school district and across the state.

The Project participants, chosen by cooperating school systems, spend three semesters and two summers in the program. These participants spend the first semester as part time students and both summers as full time students. For the remaining two semesters they work as administrative interns in their districts. During that period they may also be enrolled in university classes and in field experience or independent study courses.

The four sub-programs are:

1. The certification program. Every state maintains a set of requirements which must be met prior to a person becoming certified as a school administrator. Women, as a result of sex role socialization or sex role stereotyping or overt denial, have been excluded in large numbers from the available pools of position applicants (AASA, 1971). The model assures that at the completion of the project the participants will be certified.

Upon entry into the program, the participants confer with the director to determine an appropriate program of study. They enter a graduate program leading to a Masters or Education Specialist degree. In

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addition, their program assures that they will have all formal courses required for administrative certification at the end of the program. Most participants will enroll as part time students at the sponsoring university (or in some cases at other state universities within commuting distance) during the first semester in the program as they complete their teaching year. They enroll as full time students in the sponsoring university for two summers.

During their internship year, most participants will earn academic credit for their work in the district. As necessary, interns will also enroll in formal classes. This intensive program insures that all participants are formally qualified.

2. The internship program. During the past decade the profession increasingly has come to believe in the value of internship programs. The terms "accountability", "competency-based" and "field-based" are inextricably intermingled into the vocabulary of the educator and all are consistent with an internship approach. Internships are best organized and managed when they are led by practitioners in cooperation with professors. The model assures that participants completing this project will have held at least two semester-length internships in significant administrative positions. These will be set up by superintendents, principals, and the project leadership.

3. The equity-leadership program. Six intensive workshops are scheduled into the project to provide the participants a considerable

advantage over conventionally trained administrators. These workshops
provide substantive programmatic information (e.g., conflict management,
power and policy) as well as an educational equity focus (e.g., recognizing
and remediating stereotypic curricular material, the law and equal
opportunity). This program is generally not available in the conventional
educational administration curriculum.

4. The support program. The support program utilizes the resources
of all participating organizations to provide the interns with technical
expertise, counseling, informal relationships, encouragement and
advice.

The project supports a full time coordinator responsible for
helping the interns identify and secure such assistance. It provides
funds for consultants with specialized skills related to interns'
projects. The coordinator and intern identify a "support team" of
administrators in the district who can offer advice and feedback to
participants during the course of their internship. Additionally, the
participants as a group may offer each other emotional support, provide
advise and expertise, and serve as sounding boards for each other.

Summary

The ICES model is a change strategy which attempts to intervene
in a system and to change individuals. The model links the major
educational agencies in a state to improve women's participation in
educational administration. It provides women in the project access to
the major formal and informal communications networks in the state. It
also trains a group of women to produce an exceptionally well qualified

cadre of administrators.

Declining enrollments and an oversupply of certified prospective administrators make it unlikely that any individual district will be able to hire simultaneously the women necessary to impact tokenism. However, at the state level it is possible that a large group of women can move into administration in one year. The model posits that a group of women trained together will be able to offer mutual support to offset problems relating to tokenism in a district. If put into operation, the model program will increase dramatically the number of women holding administrative positions in a state.

The Field Test

Currently, the ICES model is being field tested in the state of Kansas. The Women's Educational Equity Act Program funded the program from October 1, 1977 to September 30, 1979. At the half way point, several conclusions can be stated.

The Kansas experience shows that the model can be operationalized. Leaders in the major educational agencies in a state are willing to sponsor, cooperate and participate in a program designed to increase women's representation in administration. Many individuals have devoted significant amounts of time, effort, and resources to the program. Their enthusiasm is high. This enthusiasm seems contagious. Many administrators have requested that their districts be considered if the program continues. The structure allows individuals with diverse goals and perspectives to work together on a common project with a minimum of conflict. The program can operate smoothly.

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The project is conducting its activities as scheduled. The thirteen interns are completing their programs of study as planned. Their performance as students and as administrative interns has been outstanding. The interns are perceived as highly competent individuals, both in their districts and outside. They provide visible proof that stereotypes about women in administration are inaccurate. Even as interns, they appear to be successful administrators. Of course, the final test of the model is its success in the placement of women in administrative positions. This evidence will not be available for several months.

Conclusions

Evidence from the field test suggests that several elements of the model promote its success. The following have been identified:

1. The active cooperation of influentials in the state educational system is essential to gaining initial district cooperation. In the Kansas field test, the Executive Director of the United School Administrators played a leading role in publicizing the project and in securing the participation of superintendents. In other states, other individuals or organizations may be the most influential leaders. The Kansas experience suggests that a university stands to be far less successful if it chooses to implement such a program without involvement of other agencies.

2. External funding appears to be a crucial factor. Virtually none of the participants in the program would have been able to spend a year as a full time administrative intern without financial support. Few districts are able to offer salaries to administrative interns.

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Administrators, whether they are men or women, traditionally tend to take their training as part-time and summer school students. Usually their training is undertaken in mid-career, when they have family and financial obligations that preclude full time study. Consequently, few potential administrators are prepared to spend a year as unpaid interns. Some financial support for interns is required.

   3. There are advantages to an internship in the employing school district. Administrators select participants they are willing to support. In the field test many administrators have exceeded all expectations in the support they have given interns. They are more likely to offer this support to an individual they know (and hope to retain in their system) than to a transient. If they have no appropriate vacancies, administrators may be more likely to sponsor a candidate they have selected and assisted than a relative outsider.

   The ICES model can be implemented. In Kansas, it has brought women into the field of educational administration who would not have entered otherwise. It has demonstrated that women can be outstanding administrators. Finally, it has linked several organizations with responsibilities to promote educational equity for all groups in a successful program.

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