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ABSTRACT

Designed as a forum for research and discussion of significant ideas and issues shaping the evolution of community and junior colleges nationwide, this journal focuses on those issues affecting two-year college women students, faculty, and administrators. The 1990 edition of the annual journal contains the following articles: (1) "Leadership in a Different Voice," by John E. Ravekes and Carol Cross; (2) "Perceptions of Gender Discrimination: A Community College Case Study," by Ann M. Weeks and D. Camilla Wygan; (3) "Do Community Colleges Practice What They Preach about Non-Traditional Work?" by Catherine B. Smith; (4) "A Profile of Experienced Women Chief Executive Officers in Two-Year Colleges," by Sandi Sanders and James O. Hammons; (5) "Women's Studies at Ohio Two-Year Colleges: A Survey and Suggestions for a Successful Program," by Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh; and (6) "On Being a Change Agent: Teacher as Text, Homophobia as Context," by Amy Blumenthal and Mary L. Mittler. The American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges (AAWCJC) statement of philosophy is attached. (JMC)

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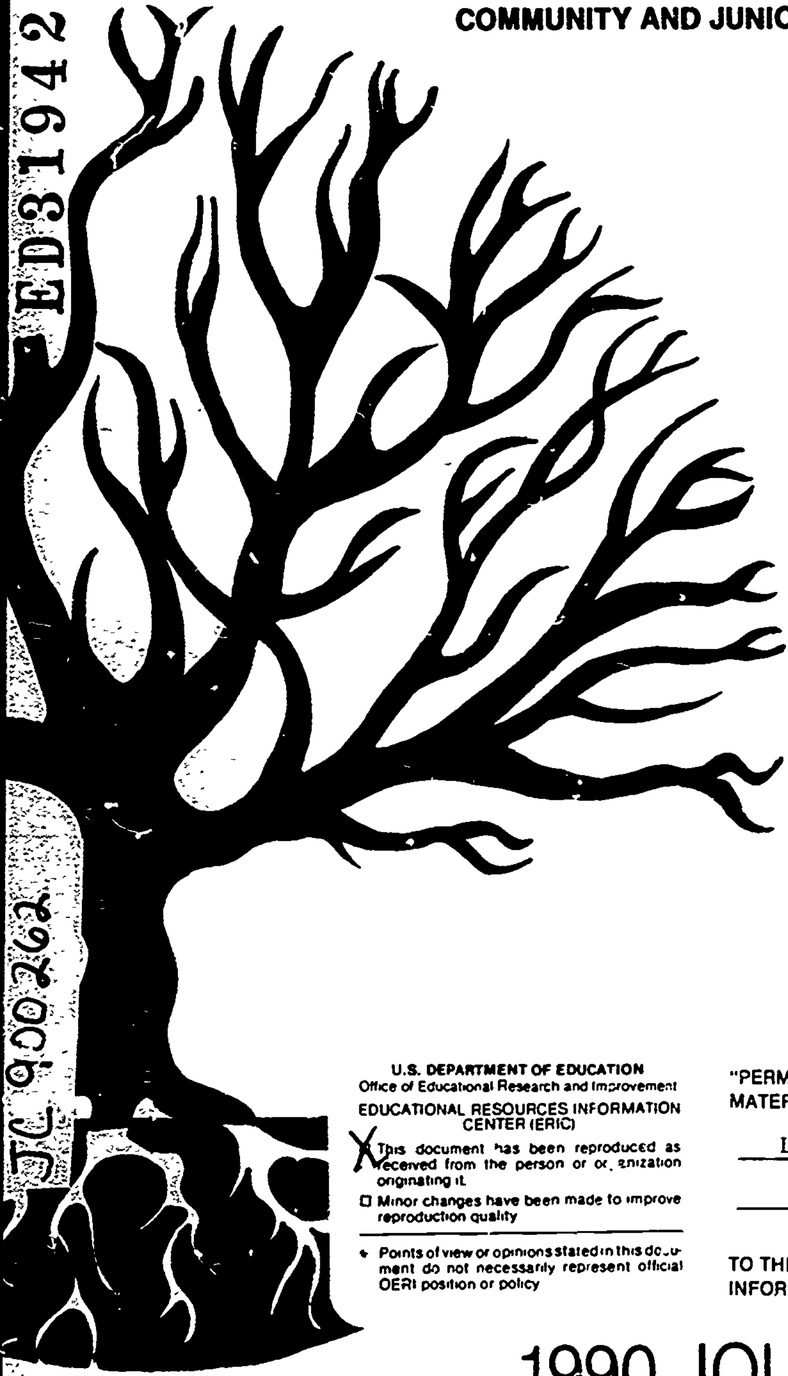

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1990 Journal
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Preface

The *Journal* of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges (AAWCJC) provides a forum for research and discussion of significant ideas and issues shaping the evolution of community, technical and junior colleges nationwide — "the only sector of higher education that can truly be called a movement, one in which the members are bound together and inspired by common goals." (*Building Communities: A Vision for a New Century,* 1988).

This movement is increasingly characterized by the significant participation of persons and groups once almost invisible in higher education, including persons of color, ethnic and religious minorities, the disabled and, of course, women, whose gender identity encompasses numerous other identities including any or all of those just described.

Indeed, as the Council of the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges whose role is to serve as advocate for women in the two-year college, the AAWCJC acknowledges and accepts responsibility for addressing issues of concern to and promoting access for community, junior and technical college women. This the AAWCJC pledges to do in a manner that respects the fullest range of each other's multiple identities and roles, in the belief that as women we share a common identity — and perhaps even a common destiny as we shape the identity of the two-year college.

"Diversity in Leadership" is the national agenda chosen by the AAWCJC for 1989-91, and this issue of the *Journal* reflects the attempt of its editorial board to showcase a range of issues which speaks to this theme.

The six articles selected for publication provide insights and raise questions. They also affirm values, and are united by the unspoken and spoken assumptions that the quality of "connected leadership" attributed to women is necessary to the achievement of excellence and equity within the two-year college; that women of diverse backgrounds and experiences can and do succeed in the highest ranks of two-year college administration, that as students, faculty and staff engaged in the process of choice, women (and men) require role models encompassing a full range of non-traditional as well as traditional careers and life options.

They are also united by the assumption that special programs reflecting the contribution of women to all academic disciplines are valuable resources within the two-year college, and deserve administrative support, that women are indeed still victimized by hidden patterns of gender discrimination, and that the need for personal and professional integrity on the part of faculty who fear discrimination based upon sexual preference can be explored in dialogues reflecting collegiality and trust.

The American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges is proud to publish this issue of the annual *Journal.* We welcome your active support of our activities, and look forward to meeting common goals in the spirit of collaboration that has always been a hallmark of AAWCJC.

Leadership in a Different Voice

Carol Cross, M.A.
John E. Ravekes, Ed.D.

This article hypothesizes that the lack of female perspectives on the topic of leadership is due to the fact that many women "lead" under a different paradigm than the prevailing dominant conception that equates leadership with power, authority, and hierarchy. After a brief discussion of theories on female development by Gilligan and Belenky et al. *that suggest that women often operate in a connected, rather than an autonomous mode, the authors posit the existence of a "connected leadership" that is ignored by traditional leadership models, but may be more prevalent in women. Several possible role models for connected leaders are set forth with a call for further exploration into the idea, particularly by such connected leaders themselves.*

In all the recent clamor about leadership in community colleges, why is it that female voices are so seldom heard? Most pontifications on this subject come from males, and are replete with the kind of terminology and examples that speak more to the male perspective than the female — that is, sports analogies (how much have we heard about team-building?), comparisons to war or other competitions, and similar authoritarian and directive metaphors. As the male author of this article observed, "Even I know something is wrong when the major authority quoted on leadership this year has been Attila the Hun!"

One common response to this query is that the number of women's perspectives on this issue is limited because the number of women in community college presidencies or other such leadership positions is so low. Judged by the yardstick that less than 15% of all two-year college presidents are women, goes this argument, the female perspectives are not so underrepresentative of the actual population. And, the rationale may continue, questions exist as to whether there really are any gender differences in leadership philosophy or behaviors at all. Numerous research studies of college presidents, school superintendents, and other such leadership positions (Smith, 1982) have shown no significant divergence in opinions or characteristics between men and women in the ranks (although evidence is not conclusive on either side of the debate over gender differences among presidents).

Such responses only demonstrate the great difficulty we have in hearing the female voice in leadership because these arguments presuppose the equation of leadership with positions of power, authority, or hierarchy. This poses two problems for discovering female perspectives on leadership. First, few women currently inhabit such high-status, high-power jobs. Second, recent studies on women's development (Miller, 1976; Gilligan, 1982; Belenky *et al.*, 1986) lead us to believe the entire issue of hierarchy may have greater importance in men's psychologies than in women's. That is, there is reason to believe that many men feel power or the ability to achieve one's goals emanates from rank, from being high up on the hierarchical ladder, from being "the boss" or being "in charge." Women, who have traditionally been relegated to low-ranking, low-status roles in society, are familiar with achieving one's goals from the bottom of the ladder, and do not necessarily feel compelled to have a title to make their influence felt. (No matter how much we insist that the man is "head of the household" in traditional family arrangements, how many of us deny that the woman is equally, if not more, instrumental in determining how the family operates?)

We believe that the lack of female perspectives on leadership actually comes from the fact that the current debate has been framed primarily by a male perspective, one that largely ignores, excludes, or is irrelevant to the group experience of women. Concepts that may be central to woman's ideas of leadership — ideas growing out of family perspectives, of growth and nurturance and emotional development — are often screened out by the male filter, perhaps admitting them as "staff development" or "organizational culture" or the like, but not leadership. As has happened too frequently in the ongoing dialogue between the sexes, the terms of the debate are framed in a way that clearly favors the predominant male view. Women may accept that viewpoint, and model their behaviors after the male perspective, or may not, and operate in their own realm by their own rules. In the end, both lose. Like the proverbial ships passing in the night, both sides are denied a real sharing of perspectives that could lead to a synergistic blending that would empower both sexes beyond what they can experience by themselves. And that means our institutions lose, for they are being denied the fullest possible leadership, the kind of leadership necessary to tackle the many problems facing us.

Developing New Paradigms

Thomas Kuhn (1970), a renowned philosopher of science, argues that all scientific progress has come as a result of paradigm shifts — a change in the fundamental organizing principles by which we filter, order, and make sense of a situation. The differences between the Ptolemaic and Copernican universes lay not in observable events — for both could predict planetary movements equally well. But the central organizing principles — the idea that the sun, not our world, was the center of the universe — had profound implications going far beyond charting celestial arrangements. Copernicus, Newton, and Einstein all changed the very difinition of their sciences because of their radical reinterpretations and alternative explanations of existing data. They altered the way that, first, the scientists and, eventually, all Western society thought about the universe.

Likewise, feminist scholars are beginning to discover that men and women have distinctly different paradigms through which they view the most essential aspects of their lives — their sense of morality, their epistemology, even their metaphysics. Seminal work in this field has been done by Carol Gilligan, whose book, *In a Different Voice: Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (1982), is a cornerstone of this new arena of inquiry. Gilligan, a psychologist and educator at Harvard, was one of the first to publicize the fact that many of the experiments upon which most prevailing psychological theories are based either included no female subjects or else threw out the data on females because it did not fit with the predominant (i.e., male) findings. Gilligan, who was interested in the moral reasoning theories developed by Piaget (1965) and Kohlberg (1981, 1984), ran parallel investigations into the moral development of young girls and women and discovered divergent results. Whereas Piaget and Kohlberg posited a moral schema based primarily on impersonal rights and generalized principles, Gilligan found her female subjects debated moral questions more in terms of personal responsibilities and specific circumstances and relationships.

Gilligan (along with Lyons, 1983) went on to argue that because most infants are tended predominantly by a mother or other female, men's first psychological experience is usually one of differentiation or autonomy from their major caretaker. Therefore, she postulated, men usually place great emphasis on individuality, hierarchy, and competition for power or status. Women, on the other hand, having a more intense early development experience of bonding rather than separation (again, based on the fact most babies are cared for by other women) tend to see the world more in terms of connections and attachments between many different individuals, and of cooperation and mutual nurturing. Those who advocated a moral system based on rights were predominantly male and generally defined themselves in what Gilligan called a mode of separation: most women saw their identities in terms of intimate relationships, which Gilligan labeled a state of connectedness, and argued for ethics of responsibilities. In her own words:

> (In) the women's descriptions, identity is defined in a context of relationship and judged by a standard of responsibility and care. Similarly, morality is seen by these women as arising from the experience of connection and conceived as a problem of inclusion rather than one of balancing claims.... For the men, the tone of identity is different, clearer, more direct, more distinct and sharp-edged.... In these men's descriptions of self, involvement with others is tied to a qualification of identity rather than to its realization. Instead of attachment, individual achievement rivets the male imagination, and great ideas or distinctive activity define the standard of self-assessment and success (160-163).

Such basic gender differences in moral perceptions were corroborated for women's epistemology in the study of female learning styles conducted by Mary Field Belenky, Blythe McVicker Clinchy, Nancy Rule Goldberger, and Jill Mattuck Tarule. Their book *Women's Way of Knowing: The Development of Self, Voice, and Mind* (1986), echoes many of Gilligan's findings, but applies them in a different context. Working with an instrument based loosely on the hierarchy of epistemology positions developed by William Perry in his study of undergraduate men attending Harvard (1970), these women interviewed 135 women attending nine different formal and informal educational institutions about how they learned and what they accepted as truth. Again, this study discovered a different paradigm for truth and learning than the universal principles of understanding proposed by Perry.

...feminist scholars are beginning to discover that men and women have distinctly different paradigms through which they view the most essential aspects of their lives.

Interestingly, they found that women used metaphors of voice and speech in describing their learning styles, in contrast to the more traditional equation of reason with sight. They discovered that women relied more heavily on intuitive and nonrational learning than was predicted by the Perry model. They also found significant numbers of the most cognitively-developed women advocating what the researchers termed "connected learning" over "separate learning." Based on these findings, the researchers concluded:

> People who experience the self as predominantly separate tend to espouse a morality based on impersonal procedures for establishing justice, while people who experience the self as predominantly connected tend to espouose a morality based

> on care (Lyons, 1983). Similarly, we posit two contrasting epistemological orientations: a separate epistemology, based on impersonal procedures for establishing truth, and a connected epistemology, in which truth emerges through care (102).

While the concepts of separate knowing were well developed in prevailing theories such as Perry's (it is this theory of objective, rational truth that forms the basis of most college curricula), the authors found the idea of connected knowing to be more unexpected. They explain it as:

> (a) conviction that the most trustworthy knowledge comes from personal experience rather than the pronouncements of authorities . . . . Connected knowers develop procedures for gaining access to other people's knowledge. At the heart of these procedures is the capacity for empathy. Since knowledge comes from experience, the only way they can hope to understand another person's ideas is to try to share the experience that has led the person to form the idea (Belenky *et al.*, 112-113).

The authors do not claim that such an epistemology is unique to women, nor even more dominant among women than among men, since their study included no males and there had not been any work examining "connected knowing" among men. Their work does demonstrate that there are significant numbers of women who reject impersonality and hierarchy/authority in deciding what they believe is true, turning instead to connections, contextual explanations, and personal experience as the basis for truth

We contend that it is possible men and women may see leadership in two different lights — one, a "separate" leadership that emphasizes individual achievement and hierarchy/position, another, a "connected leadership based on relationships within a group and mutual nurturing and development. Given the findings of these two major studies, and related research in several other social science disciplines, we believe it is reasonable to extend these different paradigms to the realm of leadership. Yet, if there is such connected leadership, what does that mean? How can we make sense of the idea of group leadership? And why haven't we heard much about this concept in the almost ubiquitous national discussion of leadership?

Speaking About Leadership

The women cited above discuss the difficulty they have in conveying these new concepts in their fields because of the way the male perspective dominates the very vocabulary of their pedagogy. Miller (1976) complains that traditional psychology equates connection with loss of identity or inequality, and calls for new psychological terms to discuss relationships without assuming a domination/subservience orientation. Belenky *et al.* (1986 5-6) charge the same of education:

> We believe that conceptions of knowledge and truth that are accepted and articulated today have been shaped throughout history by male-dominated majority culture . . . . Relatively little attention has been given to modes of learning, knowing, and valuing that may be specific to, or at least common in, women. It is likely that the commonly accepted stereotype of women's thinking as emotional, intuitive, and personalized has contributed to the devaluation of women's minds and contributions . . . . It is generally assumed that intuitive knowledge is more primitive, therefore less valuable, than so-called objective modes of knowing. Thus, it appeared likely to us that traditional educational curricula and pedagogical standards have probably not entered this bias.

If dominance of the male perspective is found throughout education — which, at least at the elementary school level, is a traditionally female occupation — it is probably even more relevant in dealing with leadership, which has long been viewed as a predominantly male role. Leadership has always been a difficult subject to define, because it means so many things to so many people that it is hard to find common ground for discussion. But if we step back and listen to the din of the debate, we find the concepts of power, autonomy, and hierarchy largely shaping how we think about the entire subject.

For one thing, leadership is generally conceived as one person, generally with authority, influencing many others, usually lower down in the hierarchy. For example, the recent ACE publication on leadership (Green, 1988 : 3) explained: "Leadership is commonly thought of as a process, a transaction, between an individual leader (or possibly, a group of leaders) and followers." Implicit in such a broad definition are concepts of limited opportunities for leadership, a one-way flow of influence, and inequality between leaders and those led. This negates the common female experience of mutual reciprocity and interweaving influence important to those operating in a connected mode.

In contrast, see how Belenky *et al.* (1986 : 178-179) describes the world of those who view life through the connected state, rather than one emphasizing separation:

> They spin visions of the ties between persons, which can best be suggested by the metaphors of webs and nets .... (They) suggest a complexity of relationships and the delicate interrelatedness of all so that the tension and movement in one part of the system will grow to be felt in all parts of the whole. In the complexity of the web no one position dominates over the rest. Each person — no matter how small — has some potential for power; each is always subject to the actions of others ....
>
> (I)n the image of the net, even the least can affect all others by the slightest pull on the gossamer thread.

There is growing recognition of the web-like features of organizations, especially colleges, we believe such ideas have much to do with recent discussions about institutional climate, organizational culture, and the proposals for servant leaders or collaborative leadership. But, on the whole, advocates are not really positing relationships of equality and reciprocity; they are trying to fuse their hierarchical notions on top of the web metaphor. Therefore, it is up to "the leader" — usually, the president or the top administrative staff — to establish a positive institutional climate, to develop collaborative leadership, to "serve" his or her followers.

Perhaps that is true . . . perhaps a college can not operate completely as a net, but requires some hierarchy. The author who is a president has not yet been able to imagine a way to maintain organization and accountability without reliance upon a "chain of command." However, he would not deny that there is an "invisible" power structure that operates outside the recognized hierarchy and that has significant influence over the activities and the atmosphere of the campus. Perhaps this is the realm of the connected leaders.

Nonetheless, we still end up focusing on the one leader, rather than the many threads. Most of the literature or speeches on leadership at community colleges are by presidents (or university faculty instructing students whom they urge to become presidents); many studies on leadership involve only presidents (Vaughan, 1986; Roueche *et al.* 1989), and most "in-service" leadership development activities (AACJC Presidents' Academy, the League for Innovation's Leadership Institutes) only enroll presidents or people who are ready to move into presidencies. In short, even if we acknowledge the more connected mode of our institutions, we are focusing almost all of our "leadership" attention on the 5,000-10,000 top administrators at our colleges, and virtually ignoring the connected leadership capabilities of the hundreds of thousands of other employees.

But there is another model — one offered, again, by women. For the past ten years, the organization publishing this journal, in conjunction with the League for Innovation and Maricopa Community College District, have sponsored the National Institute for Leadership Development for women in community, technical, and junior colleges. Over 1,100 women have gone through the basic *Leaders* project, which aims not at developing presidents (that is covered through a separate seminar for women to whom that applies), but at maximizing each woman's effectiveness in her institution, no matter what her role may be. Although restricted to women with master's degrees, it works with people at all levels of the college hierarchy — faculty members, department chairs, librarians, "low-level" and "high-level" administrators. And while it works to help women "move up the ladder" if that is what they want, it clearly sends the message that every one of the participants can be a leader at her college in whatever position she holds.

> *It is unfair and unrealistic to think that only top administrators should demonstrate "leadership," if leadership is thought of as influencing the college to improve, to try new things, to innovate, to offer more services.*

In addition, there are women who are excellent role models as people who have foregone positions of "authority" in order to have a national influence on community colleges in a different capacity. One prime illustration is Judith Eaton, the woman who recently resigned her presidency at the Community College of Philadelphia to join ACE and direct a Ford-funded project close to her heart, improving minority transfer rates between community colleges and four-year colleges. Is she any less a leader because she now works cooperatively with colleagues rather than directing a large staff, or because she now reports to a board that she once chaired?

Certainly, Carolyn Desjardins and Mildred Bulpitt qualify in our minds as real leaders for their roles in running the National Institute for Leadership Development. These women have been a major influence on the way that a significant number of the women in community colleges view themselves and their jobs. They are also central to the growing national women's network among community college personnel. Few presidents have such direct impact on the people they direct as these women do on the colleagues they nurture.

Or who on a national level have had more impact in helping motivating community college faculty to become better teachers than Suanne Roueche, director of the National Institute for Staff and Organizational Development at the University of Texas at Austin, and K. Patricia Cross, formerly on the faculty at Harvard University and now head of the Community College Program at University of California, Berkeley? Suanne Roueche edits the popular and useful *Innovation Abstracts,* which offers new teaching techniques on a weekly basis, and runs what — in the opinion of the authors — is the best cross-disciplinary conference on community college academics in the country. Pat Cross directs another grant-funded project on classroom research and is an almost omnipresent speaker on the subject, one cannot pick up an issue of the *Chronicle* without seeing an ad for some educational conference at which she is appearing (she was the keynote speaker for at least three different meetings in November 1989 alone). She was one of the most formative minds on the AACJC Futures Commission and will be heavily involved in overseeing the forthcoming $1.8 million Kellogg-funded Beacon Colleges grant. (Still, we have heard at least one colleague ask, "Why is she running a Community College Leadership Program? After all, she's never been a president.")

The point is, all of these women have the capabilities to assume presidential positions, but are finding other roles for which their talents are better suited. This is replicated in every college across the nation — there are unsung heroes all around, faculty members and other-than-top-level administrators, who are setting goals and driving their institutions in new directions, pulling their end of the gossamer string and rearranging some aspect of the college's operation.

For community colleges (indeed, for all of our society) to accomplish the formidable tasks ahead of us, we need to nurture and energize and activate that entire web within our colleges, not just the tip of the hierarchical pyramid. It is unfair and unrealistic to think that only top administrators should demonstrate "leadership," if leadership is thought of as influencing the college to improve, to try new things, to innovate, to offer new services. Yet all discussion is aimed at that level, ignoring the wealth of talent, intelligence, and energy in the bottom nine-tenths of the hierarchical pyramid.

It is hard for men to get out of that mindset, since for most it is so ingrained in their fundamental psychological, ethical, and epistemological orientations. So it is likely that it will be up to women to explore, articulate, advocate, and yes, even fight for, this new style of leadership — leadership in the connected mode. It is a great opportunity for women, as well as a great responsibility. It represents a unique *entre* to showing how our special experiences and value systems can be used to mobilize the human resources necessary to get us out of the stalemates in which we seem to be mired for many of our fundamental educational concerns.

This does not mean that connected leadership can be fostered simply by moving more women into presidencies. We take issue with the contention in ACE's latest leadership book (Green, 1988 : 5) about women's and minorities' leadership roles in colleges that "their influence can be most strongly felt if they are duly anointed in positions of leadership such as presidencies and deanships." At least in this matter, we do not see appointing more women as presidents automatically bringing this different leadership paradigm to the forefront of community college management, although we do believe some female presidents are attempting to forge a leadership style more in line with this theory. Whether, as Schmuck argues (1987), women leaders feel the need to assimilate themselves into the predominant male culture, or, as Barrett and Bieger found (1987), male and female academic leaders share more characteristic similarities than either sex does with traits registered by teachers of both sexes, it is likely women presidents will have the same regard for hierarchy as do male presidents. People generally do not choose to work their way into positions high up in the hierarchy if they do not give value to hierarchy. Birnbaum's study of male and female presidents (1989) revealed that nearly 80% of the respondents favored self-determined "directive" action over more collaborative "enabling" action to achieve leadership goals.

While presidents and top administrators are obviously influential in determining the overall impact that the "invisible" power structure or connected leadership framework may have on the college, it is up to those who inhabit those positions to foster its development. This means that those who hold such roles — male and female — must speak up to give credence to the domain of the gossamer net. The power of connected leadership must be explored, developed, and unleashed if our institutions are to achieve their maximum potential.

Carol Cross, formerly on the staff at AACJC, is Corporate Director for Partnership Development at Synergistic Educational Technology Systems (SETS) and an '88 Leader. John Ravekes is President of Essex Community College and a former board member of the Presidents Academy and the American Association of Community and Junior Colleges.

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Perceptions Of Gender Discrimination A Community College Case Study

Ann A. Weeks, Ed.D.
D. Camilla Wygan, M.S.

Fifteen years after Title IX of the Education Amendments was to have ended discrimination against women in colleges and universities, the women administrators and faculty at a community college were convinced that de facto *sex discrimination was still being practiced on their campus. An affirmative action report produced for a regional accrediting agency discredited their perceptions. More in-depth analysis of the data, however, showed that a persistent pattern of discrimination could be tracked through search committee procedures and routes for advancement in the administrative hierarchy.*

Research for this study was compiled as background information for an affirmative action consultant at a specific community college. When it was suggested that the unpublished data might be of interest to a wider audience, the findings were gathered into this paper. To focus on a common problem, rather than single out a particular institution, a fictional name has been used to refer to the college.

Fifteen years after Title IX of the Education Amendments was to have ended discrimination against women in colleges and universities, the women administrators and faculty at *Eastern Valley Community College* were convinced that *de facto* sex discrimination was still being practiced on their campus. Although anecdotes and individual tales of gender-based devaluation were plentiful, there was no factual evidence to support the perceptions of institutionalized discrimination against women.

In fact, a college affirmative action report, produced for the regional accrediting agency, presented data which suggested a strong institutional pattern of sex equity. Men and women in the same rank with the same experience and credentials received equal pay. All permanent full-time professional positions were filled through search procedures. Faculty promotion and tenure, and long-term administrative appointments, were awarded by the President only after he had received departmental rankings and recommendations. Committee assignments and course loads were equitably distributed within rank. A scanning of this official institutional data in the manner recommended by Sandler, Hall, Shavlik and Touchton (1986) would show that in matters of sex equity, the college's hands were clean.

In his article, "The Illusion of Inclusion: Affirmative Inaction in the Eighties," Stetson (1984:12) wrote that "Administrators . . . are often more concerned with what is factually correct than what is perceived to be true. Yet, what is perceived to be true *is* true in its consequence."

The perception of discrimination at *Eastern Valley Community College* was persistent, damaging to morale and counter-productive. This present study of quantifiable measures of equity was undertaken with the hope that rumors could be laid to rest, or that factual evidence would be available as a basis for discussion with the college administration.

The literature on sex discrimination in colleges and universities emphasizes comparisons of faculty rank and salary. Mary Gray reported in "On Campus With Women" (1988) that "Women are getting jobs initially in colleges, but they're not getting promotion and tenure." In the same report, Joyce Bennett Justus found in a study of nine California campuses and 14 comparable research institutions that females were clustered in lower academic ranks and in non-tenure track positions; women faculty members were paid less than male professors at all ranks; women were promoted more slowly than men; and women received tenure at lower rates than men.

Five years earlier, Sadker (1983) reported that the typical rank for a female member was that of untenured instructor and the salary gap between female and male faculty continued to widen. Rohter (1987:19) pointed out that since starting salaries for women have been consistently below those for men, increases based on percent of salary have widened and will continue to widen the gap. Bers (1983:19) limited the discussion of salaries to community colleges. Her findings showed that between 1972 and 1980, faculty and administrative salaries of community college women moved towards men's salaries by only one-half of one percent and that women, as a group, were at the bottom of the salary ladder.

The issues of discrimination perceived by *Eastern Valley* women were broader than salary and rank. As Tidwell (1981:118) discovered, compliance with affirmative action criteria ". . . is sometimes only a sham and a mechanism for token appeasement that supplies institutions with only *prima facie* compliance." The definition of discrimination is broadened by Stokes (1984:18) to include the psychic barriers that keep women administrators at the lower and middle levels. The results of her survey of 168 middle and lower level administrators showed that 87% of the female respondents believed that informal networks excluded them; 87% believed that they worked twice as hard as their male colleagues; 79% believed they were less influential on superiors' decisions; and 74% felt it was difficult to receive recognition for their accomplishments.

In many ways, colleges reflect the larger society. Benokraitis and Feagin (1986:7) state: "Women's employment paterns in the mid-1980s are virtually the same as they were in 1960. That is, women dominate occupations that are low-paying . . . and the earning gap increases as educational level increases." Like Stokes, Benodraitis and Feagin were concerned with issues other than salary, rank and tenure. They discussed both subtle and covert sex discrimination and defined covert discrimination as ". . . behavior that consistently, purposely, and skillfully attempts to ensure women's failure . . ." (31).

It was a perception of just this type of covert discrimination that was operative at *Eastern Valley.* Administrative decisions such as the denial of support staff for female adminstrators seemed to suggest that this definition would have been appropriate at *Eastern Valley.*

As the literature would recommend, the first step in the *Eastern Valley* study was to assess salary, rank and tenure for faculty. *Eastern Valley* is unionized and faculty salaries are contractually increased on a step system within rank. While women faculty in the aggregate earn less than men faculty, the discrepancy was not as great as the 7.5% to 13.2% reported by Conciatore (1989:3). Furthermore, there was no disparity by sex between faculty on the same step with the same degree and years of service.

At *Eastern Valley,* recommendations for faculty promotions come from the departments and are usually accepted by the President within fiscal limits. Promotions and tenure track positions in general have been limited for the past six years, but women have been hired for tenure track positions in lower numbers than have men. Despite the emphasis on sex equity during this time, the percent of *Eastern Valley* women faculty who were tenured fell from 68% in 1975 to 61% in 1985. More disquieting information was found in the data on administrative salaries. Unlike the faculty salaries, salaries for female and male administrators differed markedly.

As Bers discovered in 1981 (24), and Lafontaine and McKenzie rediscovered in 1985, although women comprised 29% of the administrators nation-wide in community colleges, only 23% of the community college administrators earning over $30,000 were women. At *Eastern Valley* the statistics were much worse. While 52% of the administrators were women, fewer than 11% of the administrators earning over $30,000 were women.

ADMINISTRATIVE SALARIES
1986-87

	Under $30,000	Over $30,000
Men	4	27
Women	27	7

How did the upper level of the administrative hierarchy at *Eastern Valley* come to be weighted toward men even though these positions were all filled through searches? The search procedures followed at *Eastern Valley* were standardized: in-house posting; advertising in local and national media with affirmative action statements; appointment by the President of a committee which includes both faculty and administrators; review of applications; consensus on who will receive invitations for interviews; interviews; reports submitted to the President. In only two areas was there cause for concern. Since 1983, search committees were not allowed to rate or rank candidates, thus giving the President wider latitude in his selection. The other concern was the composition of the search committees themselves. As the chart at the bottom of this page shows with remarkable consistency, 75% of search committee members were male and 88% of successful candidates were male.

Within *Eastern Valley's* administrative hierarchy, two routes for advancement are possible outside normal search procedures. One is through a job audit. Job audits were begun in 1985, but were not announced to the college at large, nor were the procedures included in the 1986 staff handbook. Audits must be requested of the President by the administrator's supervisor. Between 1985 and 1987, eight job audits resulted in promotions and/or salary increases for seven men and one woman.

The second, and more traditional, route to promotion is by gaining experience in an acting position. Acting

COMPOSITION AND OUTCOMES OF SEARCH COMMITTEES
BY SEX OF MEMBERS AND POSITION FILLED — 1984-1987

Position	Sex of Search Committee Members		Sex of Successful Candidate
	Males	Females	
Dean of Enrollment Services	4	1	M
Dean of Community Services	5	2	M
Director of Financial Aid	4	1	M
Asst. Director of Building & Grounds	4	1	M
Asst. Dean of Community Services #1	3	2	F
Asst. Dean of Community Services #2	4	1	M
Director of Safety and Security	4	1	M
Director of Counseling Services	5	2	M
Director of Inmate Education	5	2	F

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positions are appointed by the President without a search and provide an opportunity for on-the-job, informal learning. Sagaria (1985:20) considers informal learning especially significant in providing administrators "... opportunity to alter and enhance their skills to attain positions of increased responsibility." The difference that experience makes to the promotability of women is underscored by Bernice R. Sandler, director of the Association of American Colleges' Project on the Status and Education of Women, in an interview with McMillan (1986:28). "Institutions are still less likely to take a chance on women," she noted. "Men are hired for their potential to learn new tasks, while women are hired for their achievements."

The administrative "acting positions filled at *Eastern Valley* over a three year period were documented by sex and years of previous experience to see what happened to the people who had filled them.

experiential level of the men and women chosen. Only two men — those filling lower level technical positions — had previous experience related to their acting positions, but four of the five women had related experience. Even more significant were the outcomes. Not one woman was promoted after filling an acting position while five of the six men were.

In summary, there is evidence to indicate that the women at *Eastern Valley Community College* were correct in their perceptions of gender discrimination by the administration. It would seem to be true, to paraphrase Astin's (1980) title, that administration was the hard core of sexism at *Eastern Valley.* The leaderships of the union and the faculty governancing organization were apprised of these findings. Although they were personally outraged, contract negotiations and broader issues of governance made gender discrimination a low priority.

ACTING POSITIONS AT EASTERN VALLEY
1984-88

Title	Sex*	Years of Experience**	Subsequently Promoted
Acting Dean of Academic Affairs	M	0	yes
Acting Dean of Enrollment Management	M	0	yes
Acting Dean of Community Services	M	0	yes
Acting Associate Dean of Curriculum and Instruction 1984-85	F	3	no
Acting Associate Dean of Curriculum and Instruction 1985-86	M	0	yes
Acting Assoc. Dean of Student Services	F	1	no
Acting Asst. Dean of Community Services	F	0	no
Acting Registrar 1984-85	M	12	yes
Acting Registrar 19987-88	M	4	no
Acting Director of Placement and Transfer	F	12	no
Acting Director of Financial Aid	F	20	no

*Sex of person filling acting position.
**Experience related to acting position.

While the numbers of men and women given this learning opportunity were about equal, it is significant that four of the six most important positions were filled by men. It should also be noted that there was a marked difference in the

Without support from these organizations, the women did not choose to risk open confrontation. Some of them were outside union protection. Many had families to support.

In the four years between the first

rumors of intentional sex discrimination and this study, the deck had been stacked against women. All but one of the senior administrators were men. New hires, promotions, and staff reorganizations resulted in all but two of the mid-level women reporting to men supervisors. The women learned too late that the time for vigilance and action is at the point of suspicion, not at the point of confrontation.

While the validation of their intuitive perceptions of discrimination did not result in redress for the women at Eastern Valley, it did have positive outcomes. Over 30 women faculty, administrators, and clerical staff members formed an intentional, supportive sisterhood. Under the influence of this group, the College became almost devoid of the back-biting and competition from women faced by women on other campuses. This supportive environment helped the women develop skills and confidence. The one female administrator who achieved a job audit was counseled and assisted throughout the procedures by the other women in the group. The women learned from each other how to overcome the barriers identified by Stokes. They formed networks, learned how to influence their supervisors' decisions, and began to ask for recognition of their accomplishments.

Some women learned how to move out and upward in the administrative hierarchy. Twelve of the 34 female administrators, including five of those earning more that $30,000, left the college in a 14-month period, most for positions of higher authority and higher salaries.

This study suggests that traditional affirmative action data may not reveal hidden patterns of gender discrimination. Researchers who are interested in evaluating equity in postsecondary education may need to look more critically at a broad range of administrative decisions. Indeed, the whole range of what is included in affirmative action reporting may need to be reassessed if community colleges are to achieve greater gender equity in administration.

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Do Community Colleges Practice What They Preach About Non-Traditional Work?

Catherine B. Smith, Ph.D.

Community colleges work to change student perceptions of occupational opportunity, offering non-traditional vocational training for women and men. Yet, in the role of employer, these colleges have mixed success in providing students with non-traditional models to emulate. Most non-traditional workers, by gender, are in professional and faculty ranks. Data from Michigan colleges suggests that the rate of change in other occupations employed in community colleges is quite slow.

Introduction

Women outnumber men in Michigan community college headcounts, accounting for 56% of all students enrolled in Fall 1989. Many college resources are devoted to counseling and recruitment efforts that help awaken women students to non-traditional career fields (as well as opening other fields to male students). Changes in counseling and curriculum are typical of community colleges across the nation as these institutions work to expand the opportunities and career preparation available to women who are increasingly likely to head households. Yet, national patterns of vocational choice have been very slow to change.

While overall occupational segregation has been reduced somewhat across the nation in recent years, most of that change occurred as college-educated women entered traditionally male fields in management and professional work; "the heavily male crafts occupations and the heavily female clerical occupations remained as segregated . . (in 1981) . . as in the 1960's" (Beller, 1985). Much of the community college effort to ensure sex equity in vocational education has concentrated on those job clusters which have been slow to integrate men and women, yet evidence of success is mixed. In Michigan, for instance, the ten community college occupational programs with the highest female enrollments include four concerned with secretarial and office jobs, one nursing program, a commercial art program, two business management programs and two programs involving computing (Jacobs, 1989). What is missing? The programs in electronic technology, law enforcement, electrical repair, architectural drafting, machine shop and other technical programs that are growing in enrollment and in importance in the labor force do not reflect high female enrollments.

Current Efforts In Community Colleges

When colleges and states ask how best to encourage women students to enter new career areas, they focus on changing practices of counselors and developing new curricula. A recent resource manual for improving vocational sex equity, for instance, stressed that counselors must "assist women to move beyond the sex-role stereotypes which limit the options they are willing to consider and choose" (Lovelace, McIntyre and Nies, 1988 : 21). Community colleges have also been willing to look critically at their own programs to search out gender barriers. For example, a study by Daxton *et al.* pointed out that women students were "disproportionately represented in business and office programs that usually lead to lower paying jobs" (1987 : 39). Another critical assessment of vocational programs asked why women and minority students had higher attrition from high tech programs. In that assessment, Leach and Roberts found that greater gender awareness on the part of instructors and increased skills development and tutoring of students reduced the problem of differential program attrition (1988).

But success in retaining students in non-traditional programs is not the whole answer. One national study of men and women who received CETA training in fields not traditionally female found that female workers were much less likely than male workers to get a job in the non-traditional field. The authors concluded that "non-traditional training alone may not be an effective way of reducing the occupational segregation of low-income women" (Streher-Seeborg, Seeborg & Zegeye, 1984).

In search of solutions, community college program staff and educational researchers alike have emphasized the importance of connecting students with real workers in non-traditional fields. As part of one suggested outline for a course in non-traditional career selection, Thomas *et al.* suggested that "one of the best ways to obtain information about job requirements is to TALK with people who are currently working in the occupation," but these authors also acknowledged a general lack of availability of role models for women in non-traditional courses (1973 : 3, 115). To address that deficiency, one college initiated a mentoring program, affording each student a chance to "shadow" a mentor of the same gender who pursued a non traditional vocational career. Female auto mechanics, electronics technicians and maintenance workers, as well as male clerical, nursing and child care workers were recruited as non-traditional mentors (Gerios, 1987).

These programs, curricular changes and mentoring opportunities are examples of conscious efforts colleges have made to expand the horizons of students. Yet colleges also send signals about work life and job preparation in many less formal or conscious ways. On a long-term, unplanned basis, students get some of their best chances to observe real work opportunities and barriers in their daily environment, including the community college work environment. While students form ideas of what is possible from the media and from their own jobs, the community college campus offers a regular opportunity for students to observe gender barriers or opportunities when they interact with faculty, consult counselors, seek administrative decisions and use college services. Are community colleges making the most of this opportunity?

On the whole, American higher education has not committed itself to creating non-traditional employment patterns in its own institutions. Richardson and Vangnes, in fact, described the concerns of higher education administrators across the board as "focused initially on compliance with regulations rather than the broader concept of equal opportunity," and found that most literature on equity centered on faculty ranks alone (1987: 366).

Community colleges have attempted to be consciously proactive in preparing students for non-traditional careers in terms of gender. But have employment patterns shown evidence of deep commitment to these principles across the workforce? Only a consideration of gender patterns in each community college occupational category can show if community colleges practice non-traditional employment and make it more than a slogan.

Data Sources

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) data were collected from all 29 Michigan community colleges in Fall 1987, providing basic information needed to consider gender and racial employment patterns in the colleges. All presidents of these institutions agreed to public release of data.

The EEOC survey collected information on broad categories of employees: faculty, executives/administrators, professional nonfaculty, secretarial, technical, skilled craft and service workers. Data were collected for full-time, part-time and newly hired employees.

Findings

Michigan's community colleges reported 7,302 full-time and 6,179 part-time employees in 1987. Men narrowly outnumbered women among full-time and part-time employees, but women outnumbered men among the full-time employees newly hired in the three months preceding the survey, as Table 1 shows.

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE MALE BY CATEGORY OF WORK, 1987

	% Male	No. of Workers
Full-time	52.2%	7302
Part-time	51.7%	6179
New Hires	40.1%	322

Men outnumbered women among full-time faculty members, executives, service and skilled craft workers, while women outnumbered men among professional nonfaculty, secretarial and technical workers, as Table 2 shows.

The community college microcosm offers students a world where women employees are most often encountered in faculty positions. Nevertheless, there are more full-time female secretaries than there are full-time women faculty. Male employees also are most likely to be employed as faculty; in fact, more than a third of all the employees of Michigan's community colleges are male faculty members. Apart from faculty, students are most likely to see men performing as service workers or as executives. Community colleges employ similar numbers of men and women, but with real differences in the kind of work men and women are likely to perform.

These differences in occupations of men and women are compounded by the greater numbers of part-time female workers in most categories. For men, part-time numbers exceed full-time numbers only in faculty and secretarial jobs. Still, the large number of women in the role most visible to students —faculty— is an indication that community colleges are practicing what they preach about nontraditional occupations in their major occupational category. Unfortunately, EEOC data do not distinguish faculty by program, so that possible gender

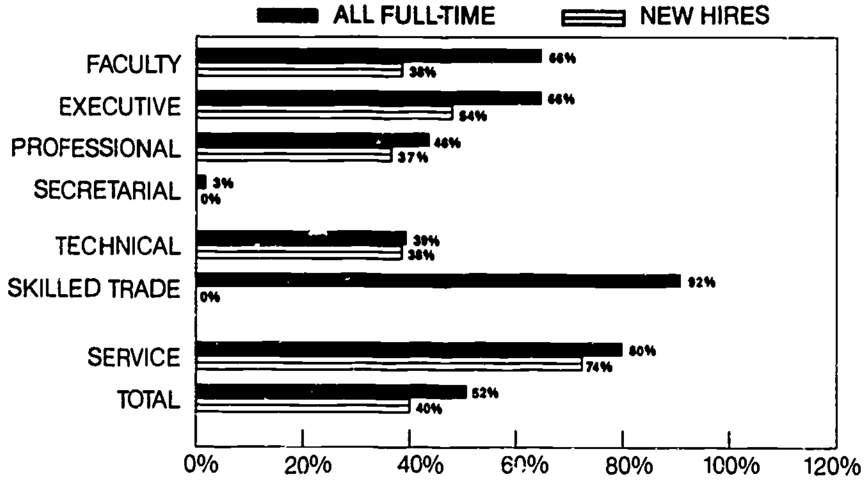
TABLE 2
GENDER OF FULL-TIME AND PARTTIME EMPLOYEES, BY OCCUPATION

	FULL-TIME		PARTTIME	
OCCUPATION	Men	Women	Men	Women
Faculty	2026	1023	2654	1876
Executive	563	287	1	5
Professional	234	280	33	103
Instruct Asst.	n/a	n/a	20	14
Secretary	42	1374	177	617
Technical	235	368	162	237
Skilled Trade	106	9	15	15
Service	606	149	132	118
Total	3812	3490	3194	2985

patterns in areas of assignment cannot be considered.

The established workforce of a college gives one indication of the role models it offers students. Perhaps an even more vital sign is the composition of newly hired employees. Graph 1 shows that recent hiring holds some possibility for modifying the gender patterns shown above. The proportion of males in the total full-time work force for each occupation is shown in contrast to the proportion of male workers hired in the last three months before the survey.

GRAPH I
PROPORTION MALE BY JOB



Newly hired employees include a greater proportion of women in the ranks of faculty, executives, professionals, clerical and service workers. Proportions of males remained about the same for technical workers. Too few skilled trade workers were hired for a calculation to be meaningful. Overall, Michigan community colleges are hiring more women and hiring them into almost every type of position.

Since Michigan's community colleges vary greatly in size — from 66 full-time faculty and staff at one college up to 740 at another — it is possible that employment practices at a few large colleges cover up different patterns at the many small colleges. To examine how typical the overall pattern was, data in Table 3 on the next page show how many colleges employed more men than women and how many employed more women than men in each occupational type, for full-time and part-time workers. There were too few new hires (322) to do a similar analysis for the 29 colleges.

Data from table 3 shows that most patterns true for the state totals are true for individual Michigan colleges as well. Men outnumber women as full-time faculty at 97% of Michigan's 29 community colleges. Men outnumber women as executives and service workers at all but a few community colleges; women outnumber men as secretaries at all colleges and as technical and professional workers at more than half the colleges.

The professional nonfaculty category is the one most difficult to classify as male or female, based on EEOC data. Not only are the proportions of men and women nearly equal, but also some colleges employ more men while others employ more women The professional category

TABLE 3
PERCENT OF COLLEGES BY GENDER DOMINANCE BY OCCUPATION

	FULL-TIME*			PART-TIME*		
OCCUPATION	More Men	M=W	More Women	More Men	M=W	More Women
Faculty	97%	0%	3%	72%	3%	14%
Executive	93	0	7	n/a	n/a	n/a
Professional	24	7	55	n/a	n/a	n/a
Secretary	0	0	100	3	0	83
Technical	14	21	65	7	0	41
Skilled	52	3	3	n/a	n/a	n/a
Service	93	3	3	n/a	n/a	n/a

*Number may not add to 100% because some colleges have no employees in a particular category. If fewer than half the colleges had employees in a category, it is marked n/a. M=W indicates that the number of men employed in the category equals the number of women.

appears to be the least gender-linked job category in Michigan community colleges, and perhaps the best example of a truly non-traditional employment pattern. Further, technical jobs employed small numbers but appeared to be less sex-typed than most other categories of work.

Discussion

Overall, Michigan community colleges enroll more female than male students and employ almost equal numbers of men and women. More female than male full-time workers were hired in the three months preceding the survey. The single largest category of employee is faculty, for women as well as men. Yet, if full-time workers are considered alone, women secretaries outnumber women faculty. These patterns hold for individual colleges as well as for the state as a whole.

While Michigan community colleges offer students an example of an occupational category that is clearly not gender stereotyped (professional) and another that is rapidly becoming less stereotypically male, particularly in its part-time ranks (faculty), secretarial and skilled craft positions in community colleges are as gender-typed as they are in the nation as a whole. Executive, service and, especially, technical jobs are less gender-typed but, from data on new hires, are changing only very slowly.

What is the lesson for students? If students want to continue their education through the baccalaureate or master's level, they have the best prospects for community college jobs that are not gender-stereotyped. Students interested in becoming accountants or computer programmers after completing a baccalaureate degree can seek out examples of both men and women in these roles at community colleges. Similarly, students interested in college teaching will easily find role models at Michigan's community colleges. Female students interested in college executive roles will not fare so well, however.

Students who are interested in non-traditional occupations for their gender and who intend to finish their education/training at a level that prepares them for skilled trade, secretarial, technical or service work will find fewer cross-gender role models. Male students will have as much difficulty trying to observe male clerical workers as women students will have trying to emulate female skilled workers on campus. Many high-tech occupations for which the colleges train students may not have many representatives in the Michigan community college workforce, even among technicians; nevertheless, the broad categories of "skilled trade" and "clerical" are found at each college, mostly in gender-stereotyped ways. The fact that so many technical workers are women suggests that colleges can avoid gender stereotyping in jobs that do not require baccalaureate training, although the possibility of men's technical specialties and women's technical specialties cannot be evaluated using aggregate data.

Will this make a difference to students? When students observe only opposite-gender workers in their broad vocational area, they may get a very misleading idea of how well their skills and personality might fit that occupation. Prediger and Hansen's work on personality/gender patterns in careers showed "substantial systematic and stereotypic" differences in the personality patterns of men and women pursuing the same careers, and found this to be particularly true in occupations that were not traditional for one gender (1976). A female student who looks at her college work environment may conclude that "skilled trade work is not for me — I'm not like those male workers in personality or behavior." She will not have the chance to recognize a level of comfort with female skilled workers and may not see that her personality is suitable for a craft.

Who can change that perception? Government efforts to enforce affirmative action requirements do not necessarily speed changes in employment patterns. On the other hand, Beller (1982) found that formal Equal Employment Office (EEO) contract compliance procedures used with employers significantly increased the likelihood that women would be employed in male-dominated occupations. Similarly, in public schools, Eberts and Stone (1985) found that EEO enforcement contributed to a decline in the apparent sex-discrimination in promotions of teachers to administrative positions.

On the other hand, Leonard (1985) found no evidence that enforcement activities helped protected groups; instead, a formal promise by an employer to expand opportunities best predicted extension of jobs to women and minorities. Leonard concluded that the setting of an affirmative action goal by the employer is the most significant factor in changing employment patterns. Hitt *et al.* (1983) agreed that commitment from higher administration and developing receptivity to recruitment of women and minorities were vital to effective affirmative action.

Conclusion

Colleges serve both as suppliers of trained labor and as employers Michigan's community colleges, like many across the nation, have made great strides in integrating men and women in the student body and in professional and faculty work forces and moderate progress in increasing numbers of women administrators. Yet most community colleges do not prepare students who can be hired directly into these positions without further education (unless the technical training caps earlier baccalaureate training). Setting formal college goals to reduce gender typing of employees in trade, clerical and service positions may be the best strategy colleges can adopt, one that will give community college students, by example, real incentives to cross gender barriers in their own selection of courses and careers.

Formal goals to reduce gender typing in the executive ranks, for instance, could show real institutional commitment to gender equity. Executive levels, being very visible, send strong signals about hiring preferences Craft and secretarial levels are also visible in that these workers are physically present in the more accessible areas of college life. The student may see the accountant or programmer by seeking out that office — but everyone deals with secretaries and sees skilled workers as they pursue their craft in almost every area of the campus. If students need to see and believe that men and women can succeed in non-traditional fields, what better opportunity has a college to transmit that model than in its own department offices and repair crews?

Community colleges can reduce barriers to non-traditional employment through employment decisions, as well as through choices in curriculum and classroom activity — if the commitment is there to practice what the faculty and counselors preach.

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A Profile of Experiencea Women Chief Executive Officers In Two-Year Colleges

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A study of women who have served as chief executive officer of more than one two-year college was designed and conducted by the authors. Data gathered from interviews with each CEO was used to develop an extensive profile of the experienced woman CEO, including family and education backgrounds, career patterns, professional characteristics, personal relationships, and reactions to the presidency. The profile provides a number of important insights, but perhaps most importantly, it illustrates that women from diverse backgrounds and experience can become CEOs in community colleges.

In 1975, out of 929 public two-year colleges in the United States (American Council on Education, 1982), only 20 women had managed to achieve the chief executive officer position. A decade later, the number had multiplied almost five times and there were 91 female Chief Executive Officers (American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges, 1986).

Of the 91, many have proven to be successful chief executive officers, and several who are currently serving in that capacity are recognized nationally for their efforts toward excellence in higher education. The success enjoyed by these women CEOs should serve as encouragement to other women who have aspirations to become college presidents.

However, many capable and experienced women who are currently employed as faculty members and administrators in two-year colleges are reluctant to seek CEO positions. Anderson (1983) and Taylor (1981) found that their reluctance stems from a variety of reasons, including self-image, tradition, scarcity of role models, lack of support from other women professionals through network systems, expectations of spouse and family responsibilities. Numerous other factors have also been identified as limitations on women's career advancement, including lack of experience, reluctance on the part of search committees to appoint women chief executives, politics, and stereotypic views of women's abilities.

As one considers these limitations, several questions come to mind. What are the characteristics of successful women chief executive officers? How did they overcome the obstacles that other women face? Do successful women CEOs possess special talents and/or skills, or were there important factors in their career development that enabled them to achieve a high level of competence?

To answer these and other questions, we designed and conducted a study of women who had served as CEOs of two-year colleges more than once. The study is unique in that it creates a never before seen profile of the experienced woman CEO. It describes family and educational backgrounds, career patterns, professional characteristics, personal relationships, and reactions to the presidency of successful women CEOs. And, most importantly, it illustrates that women from diverse backgrounds and experience can become CEOs in community colleges.

Interviews with 17 women chief executive officers of two-year colleges who had served as head of more than one institution were used to develop an extensive profile of the experienced woman CEO. These 17 women talked candidly about their lives and their profession. They shared the personal and professional experiences, and they were open about their thoughts and opinions.

One of the most striking aspects of the profile was the fact that the women CEOs did not have a set of unique, common background characteristics or experiences. In contrast to the findings of earlier studies of women CEOs (Freeman, 1977; Hennig and Jardim, 1977; McCorkle, 1979; McGee, 1979), the experienced women CEOs of today's two-year colleges come from quite varied backgrounds.

Family and Educational Background

The birthdates of the women ranged from 1930 to 1948, and the average age of the CEOs was 47. These CEOs were younger than those included in previous studies. The women CEOs also included middle, youngest, and firstborn children as well as only children. In comparison with previous studies that suggested that the success of each woman was influenced by birthorder, some of the women in this study were highly successful even though they were the middle or youngest child in their family. Varying amounts of parental attention were received by the women. For example, one CEO came from a family of 11 children and grew up in poverty. Another received little support and attention from her parents and felt she had been independent from an early age. Although one maintained contact with her mother, she was raised in a foster home. Others had traditional family backgrounds.

A number of previous studies have focused on the relationship of successful women and their parents. These studies have found a direct relationship between the educational attainment of the mother and the ambition level of children. However, the women in this study did not have mothers who had pursued professional careers. Only a small number (four) of the CEOs' mothers were identified as professional; six of the mothers did not complete high school; and only three had earned college degrees. Although a majority of the CEOs' fathers were professionals or white collar workers, only a small percentage had strong educational backgrounds. Five of the fathers attended college, but four did not complete high school.

The educational background of the women CEOs was also somewhat different from CEOs included in other studies. Some of the other women in this study had experienced difficulty in completing their high school education. The high intelligence level of each CEO was obvious, but two had dropped out of high school and began college several years later after starting families.

The CEOs had attended a diverse group of educational institutions. Ten attended public colleges and universities, and seven attended private, coeducational institutions. The undergraduate educational background of the CEOs was also varied. Eleven different disciplines were represented, and only two had majored in education. Seven of the CEOs entered graduate school immediately upon completion of an undergraduate degree, but 10 waited from one to 10 years before beginning graduate school.

There were, of course, several common factors in the CEOs' backgrounds. One commonality the women felt was an important factor in their careers was an earned degree in a traditional academic discipline, i.e., English, mathematics, chemistry, or humanities. All the CEOs had completed graduate work through the master's degree, and fourteen of the seventeen had earned doctorates.

Many of the women obtained an extensive education despite financial difficulties and family obligations. Twelve of the women in this study indicated they received scholarships that enabled them to attend college. Eleven were married and/or had children before completing an undergraduate degree, and 15 of the CEOs were married before completing graduate degrees.

Another characteristic that was identified as being important to 13 of the CEOs was a sense of autonomy. Four of the CEOs were forced by circumstances to be independent, and nine described themselves as independent by choice. To us, it seemed apparent that the characteristic of independence had helped the women accept positions that carried an element of risk. As one CEO stated:

> *"My mother could never figure out what I was doing. I didn't come from a home where education was reinforced. The environment was not supportive. I think my success came from an internal drive and a sense of independence. That, with a combination of personality factors, and I think a real distaste for powerlessness. That had a very deep effect — a real deep psychological effect on me."*

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Factors In Career Development

Many studies of successful women CEOs include information concerning various factors that aided or hindered career development. Among these factors are career planning, influence of a mentor, relationships with co-workers and supervisors, personal mobility, discrimination and risk-taking experiences. The findings of this study indicate that the factors identified as being an important part of career development for the women differed, as did the degree to which these factors influenced the CEOs.

For example, career planning, which has been identified as a needed component of career development, was not an important part of the women CEOs' careers. Although many of the CEOs had envisioned various careers while in high school, they all began their college education without the benefit of career planning. While almost all the CEOs advised women who aspire to the position of CEO to follow a traditional route to the presidency, most of them did not. Only four CEOs followed a traditional route to the presidency (faculty position to department or division chairperson to dean or vice president of instruction to CEO). While all the CEOs had college teaching experience and had held the position of dean or vice president, several had also held a variety of other administrative positions.

The role of mentors in the career development of women has been discussed extensively in earlier studies, and many reported the advantages of having strong mentors. The women CEOs in this study did not acknowledge the help of mentors. In fact, when asked to name people who had served as mentors to them, they indicated that the word "supporter" better described these special friends and supporters than did mentor. A CEO described her relationship with "supporters" in this way:

> *"I was a hard worker and fair and honest. I was capable of making my boss look good. So, from that standpoint, I think I was treated well by people I reported to. I think they helped me when I needed it because they*

were assisting a good employee."

Ninety-four percent described themselves as risk-takers. Examples cited by the CEOs as illustrations of risk-taking were varied and included changing jobs, moving from staff to line positions, assuming difficult responsibilities and demanding promotions. The women were all willing to make a move to become CEOs or to take a second CEO position. Only four CEOs in this study were promoted to CEO as in-house candidates.

Discrimination was briefly discussed by the women CEOs during the interviews. The majority (14) of the CEOs indicated they had been forced to overcome negative perceptions about women administrators. Seven reported specific instances of discrimination. A CEO who felt she continually faced prejudice described her experiences:

> *"You are constantly doubted. The question is always asked: Are you really good, or have you gotten to where you are only through affirmative action?"*

Many of the CEOs indicated that problems had occurred only during the early stages of their career. The CEOs in this study have been tremendously successful, even in the beginning of their careers. If they were discriminated against initially, it may be that many have developed skill in deflecting discriminating tactics and no longer feel that discrimination is a problem for them.

Personal Lives

Researchers have previously found that women CEOs often sacrificed family life in order to advance professionally (Hennig and Jardim, 1977; Weishaar, Chiaravalli, and Jones, 1984). The CEOs in this study, however, reported that they had achieved relatively successful personal lives.

Eighty-eight percent of the CEOs had been married, and 59% were married at the time of the interview. Relationships with the husbands of the 10 who were married were such that six of the husbands had relocated when their wives accepted a second CEO position. Two husbands lived apart from their wives and met them on weekends. Although 10 of the women had been divorced at least once, seven stated that there was no relation between their divorces and career development. More than 70% of the CEOs had children, and the size of the families ranged from one to five children. Each CEO managed to balance career and family demands in different ways. One CEO involves her children in campus activities, and she believes they benefit from her professionalism:

> *"My children are very proud and very pleased with what I do. My daughter now believes that she'll be a college president. There's no question about it. It's difficult working in a position such as mine and raising children, but I feel I am protecting their welfare more by doing the work that I do than by staying at home."*

No one described the balance she maintained between the roles of CEO, wife, mother, friend, and volunteer as being easy. All the women indicated it was extremely difficult, but they did feel it was possible.

The CEOs felt that some sacrifices were necessary in order to achieve the CEO position; however, all stated that the sacrifices they had made were worth it. The sacrifices they mentioned included loss of time to pursue other interests, loss of privacy, and problems in personal relationships.

Although all the CEOs had made sacrifices, it was apparent that the amount of sacrifice varied. As one CEO stated, "You make choices, and those choices make it impossible for you to do some other things." However, these women appeared to have been fairly successful in maintaining a life that included work, family and social activities.

Perceptions Of The Presidency

The women in this study were positive about their experiences as a CEO of a two-year college. Although each had both positive and negative things to say about the position, all had enjoyed and felt challenged by the position. All but one CEO indicated that if they could start over, they would want to become a CEO again. They all felt that the responsibility was awesome, but the position provided tremendous rewards. The majority of the women stated that the most positive aspects of the position were the following: the challenge of leadership; the satisfaction from resolving conflicts and using political and analytical skills, and the opportunity to make a difference in people's lives. A poignant example was used by a CEO to illustrate her feelings about continuing in the job despite difficulties and frustrations:

> *"The Japanese have a little doll that just has the head and body, and it's built in such a way that when you push it down, it won't stay down. It comes back up. Those are my traits. And in the Japanese tradition, when someone launches into a new adventure, it's always traditional to give this doll. When you give the doll, which has two black eyes, you paint one eyeball. When the person who receives the doll feels that he or she has accomplished their goal or task, then you paint the other eyeball. I haven't painted my other eye yet for I haven't achieved all that I plan to achieve."*

Each woman president had specific suggestions for women aspiring to this type of position. As mentioned before, following a traditional route to the CEO position was strongly recommended, together with obtaining a doctorate. Additional advice included being ready whenever opportunity knocks; becoming involved in campus activities; supporting each other as women; learning to deal with aggression; clarifying goals; and understanding the demands of the job.

Conclusion

The information gathered from the study all relates to a central premise. That premise is that women with different backgrounds, experiences, abilities, responsibilities, and goals can attain the position of chief executive officer in a two-year college. Based upon this study, it would appear that women who want to be CEOs no longer have to fit a particular mold. The career success of many of these women could not have been predicted because they did not fit the profile of women CEOs developed in earlier studies. The current study revealed very few commonalities in background and experience, yet each of the women was able to attain success in the field of community college education.

A vital element contributing to each CEO's climb to the top position was their ability and willingness to take advantage of career opportunities for advancement and to take chances. The women were not content to remain in staff and specialist positions. They continually responded to new challenges and worked hard to excel in each position so that their ability was recognized. Several described how they tailored their interests and knowledge to the needs of the institution. Opportunities didn't just happen; they became available to the CEOs because others recognized their ability and because they continued to look for and to take advantage of new circumstances. The women accepted the need for mobility and were willing to take career risks. Other women who aspire to the position of CEO can develop these same skills and attitudes regardless of their background.

The reasons usually listed for why women have traditionallly not sought CEO positions are apparently not as important as they were. Certainly, they did not serve as deterrents to the CEOs in this study. Many of these women did not have a strong self-image initially; a number of them faced economic hardships; and a large majority had family responsibilities. They had to face and overcome the traditional attitudes of search committees and stereotypic views of women's abilities. These experienced women CEOs have demonstrated that barriers can be overcome, and that, for women, two-year colleges are truly "opportunity colleges."

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Women's Studies at Ohio Two-Year Colleges: A Survey and Suggestions for a Successful Program

Andrea Tuttle Kornbluh, Ph.D.

A 1989 survey of Ohio two-year colleges provides preliminary information on women's studies offerings and programs in two-year colleges. The history of the Women's Studies Program at one school, University of Cincinnati's Raymond Walter College, suggests four key elements of a successful program: faculty initiative and autonomy; support from the administration; a multi-faceted approach combining academics, advocacy and community outreach; and access to information about women's studies.

Although women's studies courses and programs were first developed over twenty years ago, and more than 500 such programs currently exist (Andreadis, 1988), little is known about the history and current state of women's studies in two-year colleges. Excellent guides exist to programs at four-year schools and universities (National Women's Studies Association, 1989), but no such centralized listing exists for two-year colleges. We do not know how many programs there are around the country, what kinds of courses they offer, what level of institutional support they enjoy or whether women's studies programs are gaining or losing ground at the nation's two-year schools. It would appear, however, that community and junior colleges, with their predominance of women students, women faculty and women administrators, would provide a logical base for a variety of women's studies courses and programs. This paper offers a preliminary look at the state of women's studies in Ohio two-year schools and suggests ways to build and strengthen such programs based on the experience of the Women's Studies Program at Raymond Walters College at the University of Cincinnati.

Women's Studies in Ohio Two-Year Schools

In July 1989, a brief survey requesting information about women's studies courses and programs was mailed to 64 two-year colleges in Ohio; 46 responded. The colleges surveyed represent all the Ohio two-year institutions listed in the *1989 HEP Higher Education Directory*. The survey, which is based on the 46 responses, gives an overview of the status of women's studies statewide. In response to the question "Does your college currently offer women's studies courses?" Thirty-two percent (14 schools) of the respondents said "yes." Only one of the colleges had taken the next step beyond offering courses by creating a Women's Studies Certificate Program. It would appear that women's studies have not lost much ground over time. In response to the question "If you do not currently offer women's studies course, did you ever offer such courses?" only three institutions (nine percent) said "yes." The predominance of women students at two-year schools was confirmed by the response to the question "What proportion of your student body is female?" Seventy-five percent of the respondents indicated that their student body was between 50% and 70% female; 45% of the colleges were more than 60% female.

The summary of courses offered at these schools showed a range in the number of offerings. Six schools offer one women's studies course, three schools offer two courses, one school offers three courses, two schools offer four courses and two schools offer five courses. One school offers 13. From the course titles listed, it appears that the most frequently offered course is some variation of "Women in Literature," as listed by nine schools. Five schools offered courses titled "Women's Studies," "Women in Culture and Society," or "Introduction to Women's Studies," all of which seem to be interdisciplinary courses. Sociology/Social Science offerings included one each of the following: "Women and Work," "Black Women in American Life," "Women in America," and "Women's Equity Issues in Comparative Cultures." Each of the following was also offered: "Psychology of Women," "Human Sexuality," "History of Women in America," "Women in the Business World," "Women in the Scientific Community," "The Biology of Women," "Feminist Political Philosophy," "Women in Film," Sociology of the Family," and "Images of Women."

Colleges not offering women's studies courses, as well as those with courses, wanted to investigate women's studies programs.

Many of the survey respondents expressed a desire to learn more about women's studies. The question, "Would you be interested in more information about developing a women's studies program at your school?" was answered "yes" by more than half the respondents. Colleges not offering women's studies courses, as well as those with courses, wanted to investigate women's studies programs. A useful way to learn about developing a program is to examine closely the history of women's studies at one particular school. Raymond Walters College, a two-year branch of the University of Cincinnati, offers its own Women's Studies Certificate Program and more women's studies courses than any other Ohio two-year college.

Raymond Walters College Women's Studies

Raymond Walters College (RWC) was established as a branch campus of the University of Cincinnati in 1967. Located in the suburb of Blue Ash, RWC had a student body of 3,700 students in fall 1988. Seventy percent of the current students are female. Like other two-year schools, RWC has a diverse student body; less than twenty-five percent of those enrolled fit the definition of "traditional" student. RWC students are both older (58% are age 23 or older) and more likely to be employed (82% combine work and education) than traditional college students. One third of the students enrolled at the college take classes only at night.

Raymond Walters College hosts a well-developed Women's Studies Program. It is the only two-year college in Ohio to offer students a certificate in Women's Studies. Faculty from history, sociology, business, chemistry, biology, English, psychology, foreign languages, art and philosophy teach thirteen women's studies courses. The Women's Studies Program has a part-time coordinator and receives grant money for course development, faculty travel, and general promotion of the program.

The typical RWC Women's Studies student is described as follows: she is female (about six percent are male), more than 23 years of age (only one-third of the students are younger), and she is white (although women's studies courses attract a higher percentage of Afro-American students than the college as a whole). Less than one-third of the Women's Studies students are married, but more than 38% have children living at home

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For those with children at home, 22% of the youngsters are under the age of five. Additionally, more than half of the Women's Studies students are full-time students enrolled in a degree program. Two thirds are employed. When asked, "Do you consider yourself a feminist?" 49% of the students enrolled in Women's Studies courses said "yes" (Winter 1989 survey).

Faculty Initiative and Autonomy

The Women's Studies curriculum at RWC is almost as old as the college itself. The program exists because of the work of women faculty members who first created courses, convinced their departments to allow them to teach these offerings, and then created a certificate program which received college endorsement. This work of course development was done in addition to other teaching and committee responsibilities.

The minutes kept of the Women's Studies faculty meetings, college course catalogs, and early issues of the University of Cincinnati *Women's Studies Forum* help trace the history of the program. As early as 1975, RWC English Department faculty offered a course titled "Women in Literature." In 1974, when the main campus of the University of Cincinnati started its Women's Studies Program, an RWC faculty member was appointed to the Women's Studies Advisory Council. Several individual faculty members developed additional courses in such disciplines as biology, business, and psychology in the late 1970s and early 1980s. But before 1984 no local campus group of faculty existed, nor did an organized Women's Studies Program.

In winter 1984, two faculty members began to organize a group of faculty interested in women's studies. They invited faculty who, as they described it, "think about their academic matter from the perspective that gender is a major category of human experience," to an informal exchange of information. For the next several months, these informal meetings provided a way for faculty and librarians to talk about feminist research and teaching. An interdisciplinary group of faculty women attended and began a series of projects. A librarian, for example, put together a short bibliography of basic feminist texts in various fields suggested by group members. The group also planned community outreach, proposing the creation of a non-credit course or "study circle" on feminist books. Such a course, they hoped, would attract women who were not yet ready to take credit courses.

The Women's Studies group set itself the dual goal of promoting women's studies at RWC and promoting the examination of women's experiences. They viewed the group's organizational form as an important issue as well. Nominally attached to the college's history department, the Women's Studies group did not fit any available pattern of faculty organization. The committee members saw their group as taking a grass-roots approach which they valued, and they were not willing to try to force it into the existing committee structure. The group's internal rules were designed to reflect a non-hierarchical approach: there was no chair and membership was open to everyone in the college community. While group members saw a certain value in becoming an official committee, they rejected that model and instead created a new category of organization, a voluntary committee.

In the fall of 1985, the RWC group began sharing their experiences with other two-year institutions involved in women's studies. The RWC faculty presented an interdisciplinary roundtable on "Women's Studies in Community Colleges" for the regional meetings of the National Women's Studies Association at Miami University (Oxford) in October and to the Association of Two-year Colleges at its November meeting in Springfield. Those presentations stressed the process of designing a certificate program, organizing the women's studies group, and integrating more courses with gender-based topics into the program of the average student. Group members also talked of their decision to avoid what they saw as legalistic organizational structure. They compared the faculty who chose to join the group with those who did not, noting that Women's Studies faculty shared common interests in studying women and in feminist action.

Multi-faceted Program

The RWC Women's Studies program is multi-faceted. It combines an academic certificate program, advocacy for college women and community outreach. Each of the three elements contributes something unique to the program. The most highly organized of these efforts has been the certificate program.

At their first meeting, the women faculty members had announced their desire to create a certificate program. Committee members began by putting together a list of women's studies courses already being taught at RWC. They studied the college's course catalog to see how women's studies offerings might fit in to the course of study of existing programs. The main campus Center for Women's Studies staff served as an important source of information and support. A year after their first meeting, in the spring of 1985, the Women's Studies Certificate proposal was passed by the RWC college faculty.

For the student, the certificate program provides both a formal way to demonstrate a concentration in Women's Studies and encouragement to sample women's studies offerings from different disciplines. The program offers two options. First, a student can design a course of study around the certificate. To do so, she must take 45 credit hours at the college, 15 of which must be Women's Studies and nine of which must be Freshman English. The other option allows students pursuing a degree program to earn a Women's Studies certificate, too. Those students must complete 15 hours of women studies courses in addition to the courses required for graduation from the degree course. Sometimes, a women's studies course will fulfill requirements or serve as an elective toward another degree.

For the faculty, the certificate program offered the opportunity to create a vision of women studies as more than just an individual course. The program created an interdisciplinary approach as the route to a certificate and provided faculty with something concrete to give their students in recognition of their work. The certificate program also made possible joint listings of women studies courses in the college catalog and the creation of a Women's Studies brochure listing the courses offered by individual faculty and giving the program more visibility. The faculty also gained the power to accept new courses as part of the program. As a result of a grant to the program, the faculty can also apply for stipends for the development of new courses to enrich the school's women's studies offerings.

From the beginning, the RWC Women's Studies group sought connections with women in the non-academic community and experimented with ways to accomplish this. In winter 1985, the campus group invited community people and organizations to a panel discussion titled "A Woman's Place, A Woman's World." The panelists included a woman student, the woman mayor of a neighboring town and the woman editor of a local suburban newspaper. After the event, the faculty members were rather critical of it, noting that there had been no speaker from a poor family or from a dual-career family and no speaker who had a full-time career. In the future, the faculty decided, there should be no more emphasis on class diversity in such programs. This public program caused the faculty group to ask themselves which group of community women they wanted to attract. In an attempt to bring together a more diverse group of women, in the spring of 1985, the group sponsored a public series of programs on issues in women's health. However, few community women attended.

A commitment to community outreach, along with the question of whom to target, has continued as the group struggles to define the audience and find the best forum to reach community women. This year, the RWC group plans to hold a free all-day Women's Studies Film Festival open to community as well as college women. This desire to relate to the non-academic community has provided a basis for promoting the program in the community and for discussions with community women on issues of common concern.

> *Community and junior colleges, with their concentrations of female students and faculty, could become the next wave of the Women's Studies movement.*

In addition to academic issues concerning women's studies on and off-campus, the group also addressed women's issues on campus, such as salary inequities, maternity leave, parental leave, child care, sick leave to care for family members, job sharing, and part-time work. Rather than taking on its own campaigns around these issues, however, the group has usually defined its task as pushing the local chapter of the AAUP to take up these issues. Perhaps the group's greatest service in the area of advocacy has been the creation of a regular space (Women's Studies meetings) where faculty could discuss these issues and plan strategy.

Administrative Support

Although the faculty formed the backbone of the women's studies effort, administrative support was crucial in both the development of the certificate program and the successful grant application which provides funding to the program for six years. A founding member of the Women's Studies group also served the college as Assistant Dean. As a supportive administrator, she was able to help shepherd the program into existence and then successfully apply to the Board of Regents of the State of Ohio for an Academic Challenge Grant to strengthen the program. That six-year grant approved in 1988 provides Women's Studies faculty with their own budget for course development stipends, travel to women's studies conferences, program publicity and outreach, and a part-time coordinator for the program. In addition to economic support for the development of Women's Studies, the grant has helped to provide both publicity and legitimacy for the program.

Access to Information About Women's Studies

Raymond Walters College also benefitted from its connection to the University of Cincinnati. That connection gave RWC faculty access to the university's impressive Women's Studies Program, with its resources, its faculty, and its staff. The Women's Studies faculty at the University welcomed the interest and participation of the faculty from the two-year college in activities at the main campus. Staff at the Center for Women's Studies provided help in designing courses and in developing the certificate program. As part of this cooperation, RWC students who transfer to the University of Cincinnati are able to use RWC courses for the four-year certificate program.

Conclusion: Building Women's Studies at Two-Year Schools

The survey of Ohio two-year schools suggests there is much interest in learning more about how to develop women's studies programs. The experience of program development at Raymond Walters indicates several ways to enhance women's studies at two-year colleges. First, the development of a women's studies program depends in large part upon faculty initiatives. A women's studies program is based upon courses developed and taught by faculty. In order for faculty to undertake this work, which is usually in addition to their other responsibilities, they need autonomy. This may also mean the creation of new organizational forms. Second, in the step from individual courses — which many two-year schools offer — to a formal women's studies program, administrative support becomes an important element. Supportive administrators can help faculty win endorsement of a program and may be able to help faculty garner additional financial resources which can support progress from individual courses to a program in Women's Studies.

Finally, access to information about women's studies is essential. In the case of Raymond Walters College, the connection to the University of Cincinnati's main campus gave faculty easy access to a fully-developed women's studies program. However, such support could be provided to two-year colleges which have no link to a university through research and resources at the national level as well. Through organizations such as the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges and the National Women's Studies Association, a network of faculty and students in two-year colleges could be created. At the most basic level, this could provide for regular exchange of information about course offerings and resources. A national survey of community and junior colleges could also be undertaken to discover the state of women's studies and develop a guide to two-year women's studies offerings. Perhaps summer institutes designed especially for women's studies staff and faculty at two-year colleges could be organized.

Community and junior colleges, with their concentration of female students and faculty, could become the next wave of the women's studies movement. The potential is there. Any plans for such work, however, will have to take into account the fact that faculty at two-year schools have heavier teaching loads than at four-year schools, that they may have less opportunity to offer courses of their own design, and that significant numbers of students combine paid work and domestic work with school work.

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Winter 1989 Survey of 64 Raymond Walters College Women's Studies students.

On Being A Change Agent

Teacher as Text: Homophobia as Context

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Through a dialogue between an administrator and a faculty member, this article challenges assumptions about the classroom as a value-free setting for instruction. Instead, the authors suggest, the classroom reflects and reinforces the values and assumptions of the dominant culture. These values and assumptions, largely spoken and hence unquestioned, nonetheless exert a powerful and often censorious influence over teacher and student interaction. This being the case, what are the risks and responsibilities assumed by an untenured lesbian faculty member, for whom silence about issues of identity and choice constitutes a challenge to personal and professional integrity? Additionally, what role must administrators play in securing and maintaining an environment where the rights of all students and faculty are both acknowledged and allowed expression within responsible limits?

"Disneyworld? No, I've not been there, at least not yet. We are taking the kids in June."

"Sorry I had to miss class Wednesday. My car wouldn't start and Pat had already left for work."

"I know what you mean. I still remember how nervous I was at the thought of my first date . . . what to say, how to act, what to wear."

Innocent enough remarks. College teachers say such things to students all the time, in and out of class. And while recognizing that some limits must be observed, most teachers would agree that such remarks are not necessarily inappropriate, nor in and of themselves distracting to the teaching/learning process. Students also find such comments acceptable, and from these bits of information, fashion their image of who we are beyond the classroom walls.

But what if the context changes? What if the teacher is gay or lesbian? What if there are children, but no husband/wife? What if Pat is a lover? What if that first date that gave rise to those "common feelings" was boy/boy, or girl/girl? What then?

Professorial self-disclosure occurs most often in the context of seemingly mundane remarks. So mundane, in fact, that few realize the importance of what is actually being said. But gay and lesbian teachers know. Even if their colleagues are aware of their orientation, at what point may they, can they, should they make themselves known to their students? And is there a point at which they *must*?

In preparing a paper on ethical issues in higher education, Mary Mittler, Assistant Vice President/Dean at Oakton Community College sent a memo to several faculty members requesting comments on ethical dilemmas they experience in their work. Amy Blumenthal, Assistant Professor of English and ESL Specialist, responded. During the following semester, the two engaged in a written dialogue within which they explored the questions posed above. This is an edited version of that dialogue.

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AB: As a faculty member, one of my more persistent dilemmas involves 'coming out,' letting others know that I am a lesbian. As an educator, I want to be a positive role model for all my students and a special support for lesbian and gay students. I am sure that the great majority of my students assume that I am heterosexual, especially if they learn I have a child. To let this false assumption stand feels dishonest. I also believe that one of my professional obligations is to be a change agent, especially when that change leads to greater understanding. And while I strive for honesty in all other areas of my life, at this college, I have never "come out" in the classroom. This creates a split in me that I think is not good for me or my teaching.

MM: You raise issues any thoughtful educator faces: role modeling, personal honesty, forming vs. informing students, risk-taking, limit-setting. And, while there may not be any official policies prohibiting personal disclosure in an academic setting, we both know policies don't have to be official to be real. In light of this, let's start with your need to be a role model to gay and lesbian students. Whether covert or overt, in the classroom or out, I think self-disclosure goes on all the time. Everything you bring into the classroom — dress, attitude, behavior — will be "read" by students, probably more eagerly than your formal class materials. You, as a teacher, are another kind of text and I think your students will take from you what they see, according to what they need. Ellen Hart argues that "gays are not as invisible to themselves as they are to others (Hart, 1988)." If this is so, and I think it is, don't gay and lesbian students see you as they need to without a formal declaration?

AB: Maybe, but aren't they seeing yet another "professional in the closet?" Doesn't this set up silence and invisibility as a model for what "good" lesbian and gay professionals do? Of equal importance is what constant self-censorship does to someone, to me. I teach best when I am *whole,* when I don't have to *think* about censoring myself.

MM: But, don't we all censor our behavior at one time or another? Role playing, as well as role modeling, is a fact of life. We're all nicer to some people than we'd really like to be, act differently around friends than around strangers. So here you stop short of the outright confession. Aren't we all entitled to "pick our spots" for disclosure?

AB: Look at that word — "confession." It implies wrong-doing, guilt. However, in "coming out," I am saying that there is no confession of wrong-doing. There is honesty, yes, but not confession. This is not a question of what I *do,* but of who I *am.* And, yes, we should all be able to pick our spot for disclosure. Why can't that spot be in the classroom? Self-disclosure can be directly related to content. In English as a Second Language classes, controversial issues are included in many texts as a way of stimulating discussion and writing, teaching U.S. culture and history, and teaching appropriate conversation strategies. Most ESL reading texts, for example, contain articles on racism, sexism, ageism, but heterosexism — the belief that heterosexual orientation is the only acceptable dimension of human sexuality and the consequent prohibition and prejudice against any other — and homophobia haven't yet made it there. What are the effects of this omission? For one, I think it denies heterosexual and lesbian/gay students the opportunities to learn about and develop a better understanding of this part of our culture, to develop and practice the language and social skills they need to discuss or write about these topics. If it is a given that learning about the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movements is important for ESL students, then how can we justify not including the Lesbian/Gay Rights movement?

MM: You're right about the general lack of textbook material that is other than heterosexual. This is hardly unique to ESL classes. But the matter of using specifically gay and lesbian materials is still separate from the issue of self-disclosure in the classroom. Students come into your class expecting a separation between "course content" and "teacher." Consequently, if your self-disclosure as a lesbian creates a "hostile environment," one that infringes upon a student's right to learn, the institution must deal with the always horrible tension of conflicting rights. That's hard. Each student has an unwritten contract with the institution which requires it to provide — among other things — competent instructors who will teach the content specified in the catalog and course descriptions. What if the student claims that this term of the contract has been broken — that the instructor actually prevents learning by introducing distracting material that the student believes is inappropriate and personally offensive? As much as I might personally want to say, "Hey, maybe you need to hear this stuff. College is a place to learn about difference, so grow up and go back to class, or take a hike," neither I nor any other administrator automatically can or will.

If it is a given that learning about the Civil Rights and Women's Liberation movement is important for ESL students, then how can we justify not including the Lesbian/Gay movement?

AB: But there are two issues here. The first is whether the teacher's homosexuality has become the focus of the course. I agree that I am not *the* text for my courses. Then the second issue is institutional responsibility. What if a white student has a black instructor and complains to the dean that she cannot learn because the instructor is black and slants the course in a way the student finds objectionable? Or the instructor is Jewish and the student Palestinian?

MM: We'd need to investigate, of course, regardless of whether the complaint was based upon race, sex, sexual orientation, or culture. I think, however, that most administrators would feel more comfortable with racial or political controversies; they have been around longer, and have been discussed and experienced by more of us than gender-based ones. And few administrators would — publicly, at least — be willing to let their own prejudices in these areas blind them to the extent that their ability to adjudicate the case was seriously impaired. And, even if it was, peer/collegial/legal pressure would present a countervailing force. Homophobia is so widely spread in our society, indeed within our own institution, that a student's claim that gender or sexual orientation issues were being raised inappropriately by a self-proclaimed lesbian, and that such interfered with her ability to learn, might be met with more sympathy than a complaint based on race, for instance. Hence my caution: letting your students know that you're a lesbian must be clearly tied to content. If it is, the student may claim that the content prevents her from learning, but this is a claim not likely to win any more points than a student claiming that fractions interfere with her ability to learn math.

AB: But my role is not simply to give information to my students. I think my role is to guide learning and to model learning, to be a "learned learner." To me, this means not only should I be a support for gay and lesbian students, but I should challenge all students to examine their attitudes and behaviors, especially when these are oppresive to a large group of people. *The New York Times*, in an article published on June 25, 1989, noted, "In a nationwide survey of 1,481 adults in the spring of 1988, the National Opinion

Research Center found that 57 percent said homosexuals should be allowed to teach in a college or university." The amazing thing is this statistic was used as an example of Americans seeming *more* tolerant of homosexuals. What about the other 43 percent who feel that homosexuals should *not* be allowed to teach at the college level? I don't think this attitude will change unless more people begin to see — and get to know — teachers, doctors, lawyers, secretaries, librarians, marketing reps, carpenters, and accountants who are homosexual. That's what I mean by modeling: letting students, faculty, administrators, and the community at large know that I am a hard-working, conscientious educator who is good at her job, caring of her students and current in her field, and some of that maybe even *because* and not in spite of the fact that I am a lesbian.

MM: "Because . . ." ?

AB: Well, to the extent that I have faced both overt and subtle discrimination, and, as a member of a minority group, have had to struggle with issues that involve being seen as "other," I can bring an important perspective. I think I am especially sensitive to the need to encourage students faced with issues that involve race, sex, ethnicity, religion, politics, or sexual orientation, and at the same time, to lead others to examine their own biases. Just as I believe that I must be a professional, female educator, so too do I believe I must be a professional, female/lesbian educator. Each word there expands upon my role and enriches it. Some heterosexual teachers *choose* personal neutrality in the classroom, just as you made a *choice* in this dialogue to be neutral. Whether I "come out" to students or not is of far less importance than that I, too, have the freedom to choose.

I know that one of the consequences of "coming out" is the tendency students in general will have to gossip. Remember, this is an issue that is rooted in sexuality, and gossip about anything sexual flies fast. But since I am "out" in all other areas of my life, it is quite probable that I will be known as a lesbian without having ever "self-disclosed" in the classroom. And this, too, is all right. As students get to know and appreciate me and my skills as a teacher, those same speculations that may begin as not-so-idle "gossip" may serve to bring change and growth in both students' attitudes and actions. I have seen this happen time and time again when I have been the guest speaker for classes and community groups discussing homosexuality.

MM: But in such a setting, you have been asked specifically to discuss homosexuality, and the listeners are there for that purpose. To view the classroom in the same way as community meetings is unfair. In those meetings, you were the equal of those whom you were challenging. In a classroom, the challenge is different. The power issues are different. So to view the classroom in the same way as any other group where roles are balanced, and so is power, is patently unfair.

AB: I agree, but I do not believe that personalizing what may have been an abstract issue has to be done in a way that abuses a teacher's power. Having students read and write about heterosexism and homophobia does not mean that the needs of all of us in the classroom— teachers/students, homosexual/heterosexual — are not being met, if it is done in a way that draws on the connections between people and issues while still recognizing, celebrating, and learning from difference. By definition, this means that any one group must not be silenced. And while this is separate from issues of self-disclosure, and should be seen as important by heterosexual teachers also, you know as well as I that it is those of us who are gay/lesbian who must take the lead.

Are there risks? Of course. Job security, for one. The other day I came across an article entitled "Publish and Perish," in which a gay teacher discussed the aftermath of having published an article on gay/lesbian young adult fiction. Although he never referred to his own sexual orientation in the original piece, he received threatening letters and was denied employment (Mohr, 1984). I doubt that there were any official policies that were violated, but as you said earlier, policies don't have to be official to be real. I might not have to worry about job security in the same way were I tenured, but I'm not.

MM: No question about that. But tenured or not, the real issue of job security is whether or not you're doing your job, defined as teaching students the content of your course. There is danger that, should someone complain, the "real issue" will become not competence but "deviance." I can teach Henry James or Virginia Woolf quite easily without dealing with questions of their sexual orientation. It's been done for years. But if I choose to broaden the spectrum and include such an issue, is this proper and necessary? I think so, but there's the risk that others who hold more power may not. On the other hand, outside the classroom the need to educate faculty, administrators and staff is also great. Challenging a colleague's suggestion at a meeting that seating be "boy-girl-boy-girl," or displaying/reading from works such as this at the English department annual "brag party," or volunteering to sponsor a student gay/lesbian club are also ways of promoting awareness and change, and don't leave you as vulnerable to job action by those who may feel threatened.

Self-disclosure, "coming-out," creating and respecting boundaries: these are all complex and important issues, each involving questions of rights and responsibilities, both personal and institutional.

AB: But here too, there are risks. I am not so naive as to be unaware of how threatened people are by questions of sexuality. Perhaps many, if not most, teachers, administrators and/or students have a great stake in working in a space that is "safe" from these issues, or at least where there is the illusion of such safety.

MM: Yes, but while exploding the "college as haven" myth is risky, exploding the "classroom as haven" myth may be even more so. While the notion of "energizing" the classroom is an old one, the notion that a considerable part of that energy is sexual is simply not discussed as openly or as often at it should be. Given that, and given that *all* instructors need to establish boundaries in the classroom, won't these boundaries for the lesbian or gay teacher be more strongly or more openly challenged? Should the boundaries, then, be even more strict, even more clear?

AB: I don't think there can be any set formula for determining appropriate boundaries. What is appropriate for one instructor in one setting may not be appropriate for another in a different (or similar) setting. But your point is important. I think many lesbian and gay teachers do establish boundaries that are very rigid and very distant. I sometimes wonder if my own are too rigid and too distant because I fear my students will "find out." Energy that could be focused on my teaching and on my students' learning may be too focused on maintaining my boundaries. Why should I need to be afraid that I am somehow being unprofessional by being who I am in my classroom?

MM: In talking about being afraid, aren't you really talking about institutional climate? As an administrator, I work with faculty and other administrators, as well as students. There are gays and lesbians in each of these groups. Some I know. Some I don't. Some choose to be invisible. Others are "closeted" because they are afraid. I don't think anyone can do her best work, afraid. Because some of this fear may be related to the college environment, and because part of my job is to see that the environment is conducive to teaching and learning, I and every other administrator *must* be concerned about all of this. And yet, before now, I've not really talked with my colleagues about it. In some ways, then, what is most insidious may be how many educators are unaware a problem even exists.

AB: Yes. And many heterosexual educators don't realize that they come to their roles from a position of privilege. The casual mention of a wife or husband in or out of class, insurance benefits for heterosexual spouses, the ability to leave work without penalty to attend the funeral of a loved one — these are privileged acts that are not at this time rights for all of us. If self-disclosure leads to more dialogues of this kind, perhaps the risks we discussed earlier will lose some of their power. Maybe this is the real meaning of academic freedom.

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In 1958, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote, "Where after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home . . . the world of the individual persons; the neighborhood he lives in; the school or college he attends . . . Such are the places where every man, woman and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere" (Barrett, 1989). Through our actual conversations and through the structuring of this dialogue, each of us came to understand that some of our assumptions about ourselves, about others, and about our institution were not altogether valid. Self-disclosure, "coming out," creating and respecting boundaries: these are all complex and important issues, each involving questions of rights and responsibilities, both personal and institutional. Yet rarely do faculty members and/or administrators discuss them. We believe this must change, and now is the time.

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A Call For Papers About Women In Community Colleges

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AAWCJC JOURNAL
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The Journal of the American Association of Women in Community and Junior Colleges welcomes articles of interest to community, junior and technical college personnel. Publishing policy and selection of articles are governed by the editorial objectives and criteria listed below.

Editorial Objectives:

1. To publish articles of general interest to staff and students in community, junior and technical colleges.

2. To present research, model programs and teaching/learning strategies related to women staff and students in these colleges.

3. To provide a forum for discussion of critical reports, innovative ideas and controversial issues related to women in higher education, particularly in community, junior and technical colleges.

4. To disseminate information on leadership training opportunities for women and on the accomplishments of women in these colleges.

5. To serve as an advocate for equity and excellence in community, junior and technical college education.

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2. The manuscript should be current and informative, summarizing the basic facts and conclusions and maintaining coherence and unity of thought.

3. Controversial topics should be presented in a factually sound and reasonably unbiased manner.

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2. The *MLA Handbook*, second edition (1984) should be used for references in the text and bibliography.

3. Tables and charts should be clear, comprehensible and as brief as possible.

4. Descriptions of projects for which financial support, such as a grant, was received should include acknowledgement of that support either in a subtitle or in a footnote.

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AMERICAN ASSOCIATION OF WOMEN IN COMMUNITY AND JUNIOR COLLEGES

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AAWCJC is guided in all of its endeavors by a firm commitment to equity and excellence in education and employment for women in community, junior and technical colleges. That commitment is translated into action at the national, regional, state and local levels through the AAWCJC programs, activities and services developed and offered in accordance with the following principles:

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1. The achievement of equity for women is critical to the wise and just development and use of valuable human resources.

2. Equity is promoted through AAWCJC's efforts to improve access to:

   education opportunities;

   employment at all levels;

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