ABSTRACT
        This report includes three papers on longstanding
questions in educational administration. In chapter 1, "The New
Realities: The Social and Economic Context of Administrator
Preparation," Thomas A. Mulkeen outlines the changes that have
immediate impact for public education and preparation programs. A
shift in the U.S. economy from an industrial base to a knowledge and
information base, a rapidly changing and impermanent economy,
decentralization, and people-oriented institutions will require
changes in public education. In chapter 2, "The Politics of State
Educational Policymaking: Usefulness of the Kingdon Model," Susan
Tanner Holderness examines educational policymaking in New Mexico and
analyzes why policymakers act on some issues and not others. Certain
factors contributed to politicization of the state's controversial
standards for its gifted program. In chapter 3, "Coping in the
Superintendency: Gender-Related Perspectives," Jane C. Lindle, Linda
DeMarco Miller, and Joseph F. Lagana examine the coping strategies of
male and female superintendents responding to job pressures.
Interviews with 30 superintendents in Pennsylvania public school
districts found that men tend to relate stress in their positions
with politics, and women equate it with their gender. (Contains 86
references.) (JPT)

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ISSUES OF PROFESSIONAL PREPARATION AND PRACTICE

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Frederick C. Wendel
Series Editor

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CONTENTS

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FOREWORD

Issues of Professional Preparation and Practice is comprised of several papers that address long-standing questions in educational administration. The papers were originally prepared for the 1990 Annua! Conference of the University Council for Educational Administration.

Thomas Mulkeen's paper provides a basis for the examination of professional preparation programs. In "The New Realities: The Social and Economic Context of Administrator Preparation," Mulkeen outlines the forces of global change that have immediate implications for public education and for administrator preparation programs.

Susan Holderness provides an examination of educational policymaking in New Mexico. "The Politics of State Educational Policymaking: Usefulness of the Kingdon Model" contains an analysis of how and why policymakers choose to act upon some issues and not upon others.

How superintendents respond to job pressures is reported by Jane Lindle, Linda Miller, and Joseph Lagana in "Coping in the Superintendency: Gender-Related Perspectives." Coping strategies of male and female superintendents are compared.

Special thanks are accorded the members of the Editorial Board, Larry Dlugosh, Ron Joekel, John Prasch, and Ruth Randall, for their efforts in the review and selection of the papers for this ed·tion of the UCEA Monograph Series.

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Frederick C. Wendel, Editor
Lincoln, Nebraska
May 1992

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CHAPTER 1

The New Realities: The Social and Economic Context of Administrator Preparation

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> This book is not about things to come! It is not about the next century. Its thesis is that the next century is already here ...
>
> Peter Drucker, 1989, p. ix

From the onset in the 1980s of the school reform movement, policy makers have struggled with a variety of approaches to educational improvement. Initially, governors and state legislators responded to the criticism of schools with sweeping legislative mandates for change and an expanded regulatory role for state education departments. Generally, the states concentrated on low cost, highly visible, structural changes which focused on more rigorous academic standards for students and more recognition and higher standards for teachers. A doubt that educational excellence can be assured by mandated structural changes alone has grown. There is a growing understanding that, by defining the problems of schools in terms of a decline from earlier standards, policy makers were looking backward to the industrial era where the primary goal of schooling was to help students acquire information. The task ahead, however, is very different. The economy requires a nation that thinks for a living. The raw materials for workers of the future will be information and imagination (Toffler, 1980). In the new economy, the primary goal of schooling is to help students manipulate and apply knowledge. This emphasis on knowledge will require a transformation of the American educational system and may lead to fundamental changes in the organization and management of schools.

Global Change

The American industrial economy has been slowly unraveling since the 1960s. Our competitive advantage from high volume, mass production has gradually moved to developing countries, and economic development in Asia and Latin America is irrevocably altering the dynamics of international competition. Post-war technological and communications advances have made finances, physical resources, and finished goods more mobile so that the world has become a highly competitive workplace. A wholesale reordering of production technology is underway. Sophisticated technological and communications advances allow the production process to be fragmented into a variety of component operations that can be performed at different production sites across the globe. Increasingly, poorly paid production workers in third world countries are employed for simple assembly tasks while more complex functions are carried out by relatively skilled workers in advanced countries (Barnet, 1982). Much of the world's steel, textiles, rubber, automobiles, petro-chemicals, ships, television sets, and computer components are being manufactured abroad (Reich, 1983). As a result, America's share of the world manufacturing market has declined, factories have closed, and industrial employment has plummeted. These trends are expected to continue into the next century.

Society is evolving toward an economy based on the creation and distribution of information (Naisbitt, 1982) and is shifting from employment traditionally associated with heavy industry toward employment that requires the manipulation and application of knowledge (Reich, 1989). Since the 1940s, the most striking economic growth has been in high technology. New advances in computers and communications are transforming American lives in the home and in the workplace. Not only do industries producing microprocessors, robotic technology, and the fruits of biotechnology promise rapid growth in sales and employment, but computer-based technologies are transforming the nature and structure of other industries as well. The new economy requires a fundamental change in the manufacturing process. The key change is a shift from mass production to flexible, consumer-oriented manufacturing. The objective is to combine the customizing implicit in craft production at the cost savings of mass production while producing local products adapted to local markets through the functional flexibility inherent in computer software. As production becomes computer based, intelligent production machinery can shift processes in the middle of an assembly line. This flexibility enables manufacturers to produce customized, competitive products on shorter production runs while reaping economies of scale in research and development, raw

materials' procurement, and production balancing. Flexible production, however, multiplies the number of decisions made on the shop floor and people interact in constantly changing ways with production technology (Berryman, 1989). "You want to replace role skills with machinery, and train your people to do the more specialized work that a robot can't do" (*New York Times* January 3, 1990, p. A1). As a result, decisions are being delegated to production workers. New production techniques require of previously supervised workers, not only the ability to make decisions, but also the ability to self direct (Berryman, 1989).

America's economic future lies in being the premier producer of precision manufactured, custom designed, and technologically driven products—products that are built with ingenuity and care and represent the state of the art in their respective fields. The blend of sophisticated technology and traditional craftsmanship does not merely result in new production techniques that must be mastered. New production technology represents a much deeper change in the nature and structure of work. To compete in future manufacturing on a global scale, America's factories need to be retooled and workers retrained (Reich, 1983). As the rest of the world progresses, the industries that will sustain the next stage of America's economic development will be based on a skilled, literate, adaptable, innovative workforce able to move from challenge to challenge and from one area of expertise to another (Reich, 1983).

The new economy is based on a highly skilled workforce supported by the most advanced technology. What are the critical factors that characterize the new economic realities? What will be the role of public education in preparing America for a different economy?

1. *The new economy will be knowledge based.* Knowledge, learning, information, and skilled intelligence are the new raw materials of international commerce (Naisbitt, 1982). Problem solvers will be needed to resolve increasingly complex issues such as overpopulation, hunger, environmental abuse, inadequate energy supplies, increased poverty, and urban decay. Technologies, tastes, and markets are likely to be in constant flux. As a result, the new economy will need skilled workers who are able to think critically, evaluate alternatives, and meet the challenge of a variety of unpredictable situations.

Implications for public education. The new economy argues for fundamental changes in what we teach, to whom we teach it, and how we teach it. Clearly, the new economic realities negate the traditional notion of teaching for content mastery. In the new economy, knowledge-work will be the dominant occupation of most of those who graduate from schools (Drucker, 1973). Thus the purpose of schooling is to motivate, instruct, and

support children in doing the tasks that will enhance their ability to use knowledge. The new workforce will need a substantial knowledge base as well as higher order thinking skills. Workers will need the ability to communicate complex ideas, to analyze and solve complex problems, to identify, order, and find direction in an ambiguous and uncertain environment, to invent workable solutions to nonroutine and nonrecurring problems, and to think and reason abstractly. Workers will need a deep understanding of subject matter and the ability to apply knowledge in creative and imaginative ways, in novel contexts, and in collaboration with others.

Education becomes learning how to learn, how to evaluate information for making decisions, how to cope with change, and how to build a body of knowledge that evolves throughout life. Education with these emphases implies the need to examine basic philosophical beliefs about teaching and learning as well as the need to change the way curriculum and instruction are organized.

2. *The new economy will see rapid change and impermanence.* The shift from an agricultural to an industrial society took 100 years. Only two decades were needed to shift from an industrial to an information society (Naisbitt, 1982). The speed of change suggests not only that fields will not remain static, but that new fields will emerge that are now unknown. People entering the workforce will likely have several jobs or career changes over their working lifetimes. No longer will individuals be able to go to school, graduate, and consider their education complete. Formal education and training will no longer be limited to young people but will be available on a continuing basis to workers throughout their working lives. We are moving into an era in which the traditional separation between working and learning is disappearing, with learning becoming increasingly integrated into a person's worklife (Reich, 1989).

Implications for public education. An age of technology and scientific advancement requires rising levels of education. In a world where the precise skills to be learned cannot be anticipated or communicated in advance, life-long learning becomes essential with educational opportunities distributed flexibly over the working life cycle. Existing elementary, secondary, and postsecondary institutions will never be able to respond fully to the evolving economic system. Schooling cannot keep pace with an economy that has become complex, technical, and mutable. Formal schooling should, however, become the foundation for learning throughout one's life (Naisbitt, 1982). Changes in the workplace will require industry and education to allocate substantial funds for investment in the development of human resources. Opportunities for professional and personal development must be available on a continuing basis, and there must be an

institutional framework to reinforce and direct study and training programs for employees.

3. *The new economy will see an increase in the decentralization of organizations, institutions, and systems.* Traditionally, organizations have followed a hierarchical structuring with power flowing from the top down. Managers dread chaos and rely to an excessive degree on structure, process, and control as means to assure order in an organization. Increasingly, however, centralized institutions are being replaced by smaller, less formal, decentralized units (Naisbitt, 1982). Networks are replacing hierarchies as the prime model for getting things done inside and outside corporations (Naisbitt & Aburdene, 1990). Much of the impetus for this change has come from the inability of hierarchical structures to solve problems effectively. In the new economy, the issue is not how to organize to produce efficiently but how to organize to make decisions (Peters & Waterman, 1982).

Problems generally tend to be solved in groups with people talking with one another, collaborating, sharing experience, and providing unique perspectives. Business organizations have become scenes of collective entrepreneurship that require experts to direct their skills toward the objectives of the organization. By itself, specialized knowledge is not significant unless it is transformed into organizational achievement (Drucker, 1989).

Implications for public education. The new economy is so fundamentally different from an industrial economy that the transition requires a basic restructuring of education. If educators are to meet the demands of the technological new world, administrators of hierarchically organized schools will need to abandon the rigid, efficient organization of the factory after which schools were modeled in favor of structures that push responsibility for decision making downward to teachers and students. Administrators will need to flatten out the hierarchies that were the norm in industrial era organizations and become institutions run by people who are professional colleagues. Educators must fundamentally redesign the structure of schools, especially with regard to the way decisions are made, the results viewed and pursued, and the ways schools are organized and managed (Schlechty & Joslin, 1986). Goodlad proposes decentralizing authority to the local school (Goodlad, 1984). Sizer advocates that large, comprehensive high schools reorganize themselves into smaller units through the creation of "schools-within-schools" and that control of school programs be placed with teachers and principals at the individual school (Sizer, 1984). Further, when decision making rather than efficiency is the primary organizational goal, the concept of decentralization needs to be applied at the individual classroom level with increased use of problem solving by peer groups opposed to the traditional, whole group instructional unit.

In the new economy, most important work will be done by groups rather than by individual experts. Experts must have the ability to share their skills broadly and transform them into the needs and goals of the entire organization (Reich, 1989). Others must be prepared to learn from experts. Young people need to be taught how to work collectively and cooperatively. They need to learn how to accept criticism from their peers, ask for help, give credit to others when appropriate, articulate their own needs, discover what others need, and discern mutually beneficial outcomes (Reich, 1989). The more knowledge-based an institution becomes, the more it depends on the willingness of individuals to take responsibility for contributing to the whole; for understanding the objectives, the values, and the performance of the whole; and for making themselves understood by other professionals (Drucker, 1989).

4. *The new economy will be people oriented.* The new institutions of society are organizations of "knowledge-workers"—human organizations run by people who are professional colleagues. In a professional organization, everyone shares equal responsibility for the group's performance and productivity. In a professional organization, everyone has the responsibility to lead and leadership needs to be learned. In a professional organization, everyone needs to give and receive feedback, and techniques for constructive feedback need to be learned. In professional organizations, there is no hierarchical ordering; everyone is equal. Egalitarianism requires learning and practice.

Implications for public education. Educators will have to think through and redefine both the rights and responsibilities of professionals in educational institutions. Perhaps the most important future task of state government is to set standards and to restructure statutory and regulatory systems for public education to encourage and support building-based decision making. Teachers need to be assured that they are respected and trusted, that they are involved in the decision-making process, and that they will be reinforced and supported in their efforts to experiment and take risks. While tight control and mandated programs may define minimal standards, they also mitigate against structuring the learning of subject matter to encourage the development of higher order cognitive thinking. The factory model of schooling presumes that competence is the ability to retrieve the "right facts" from a cognitive warehouse of facts. By definition, there are no right or wrong answers in the higher order cognitive world—only better or worse thinking (Berryman, 1989). The state has every right to demand improved student outcomes, but educators in schools must become empowered agents in their own school improvement process. In return for increased autonomy, school faculties must be responsible for improving student outcomes.

5. *The new economy will see major demographic shifts.* Demographic shifts are changing the face of the nation. The movement of minorities into the larger urban areas, and particularly to the core cities of these areas, is particularly noteworthy. Twenty-three of the nation's 25 largest city school systems are "minority/majority" as opposed to a low percentage of minority population in these districts in 1950. By the year 2000, minority enrollment is projected to reach 90 percent in these cities, with 53 major cities having a minority/majority population (Usdan, 1984).

Forty-seven percent of Black and 56 percent of Hispanic adults are classified as functionally illiterate or marginal readers. Disproportionately high percentages of children suspended from school are minority. Disproportionately high percentages of students placed in special education programs are minority. The curriculum for the poor focuses on basic skills; the curriculum for the middle and upper class focuses on higher order thinking skills. Thirty-one percent of Hispanic youth drop out of urban schools (Astuto, 1990).

The new economy is producing an extraordinary number of well-paying, challenging jobs. But the essence of the new economy is knowledge-based innovation in which workers are engaged in a continual cycle of learning, unlearning, and relearning (Toffler, 1990). Workers need to master new technologies, adapt to new organizational forms, and generate new ideas. The two-tier educational system designed to produce leaders and workers for a mass production economy is no longer adequate. In the new economy, thinking and problem solving must be a regular part of the schooling program for all of the population, not just the elite few. As the labor force becomes increasingly multicultural and job content changes rapidly and in confusing ways, educators need to believe that all children can become competent thinkers. The challenge to American public education is to respond effectively to the children of poverty and to keep alive their hope for an economically viable adulthood (Clark, 1990).

Implications for public education. A generation after the war on poverty, nearly one-fifth of America's young children still grow up poor; often sick, hungry, and illiterate; and deprived of safe and adequate housing, of needed social services, and of special educational assistance. Most often, the children of poverty are members of a minority group. The nation has a stake in improving the educational opportunities of minorities and, to a large extent, the challenges for school leaders in the next decade derive from the social context in which they find themselves (Astuto, 1990). The young population among Blacks and Hispanics is increasing, and as the minority cohort grows, its members will constitute an increasingly important segment of the workforce. Unless the quality of education received by minorities is

improved, a persuasive case can be made that society's social and economic fabric will be threatened.

Implications for Administrator Preparation

Traditionally, educational administrators have been trained within a functionalist paradigm to serve as managers in industrial era schools. Moving from an industrial era to an economy that focuses on knowledge-based innovation suggests that, rather than preparing administrators for efficiency and product enhancement, administrators must see their role in a wider, more intellectual context. The dominant principle of organization has shifted from (a) management to control an enterprise to (b) leadership to bring out the best in people.

The challenge to school leaders is to respond effectively to the children of poverty while working to restructure schools to meet the needs of all 21st century learners. Administrators must be educated as intellectual leaders so they can fashion a vision of society and its schools and create organizations capable of developing human potential. Hence, preparation programs should place an emphasis on administrators' ability to create and communicate a vision, to serve as catalyst and facilitator, to develop organizational creativity, to redistribute the decision load, and to work with individuals and groups in a democratic environment.

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CHAPTER 2

The Politics of State Educational Policymaking:
Usefulness of the Kingdon Model

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John Kingdon, in *Agendas, alternatives, and public policies* (1984), developed a "revised garbage can model" to explain preenactment decisions in Congress. After examining health and transportation policy domains over a period of four years, Kingdon wrote a series of cases and developed a model to explain "how an issue becomes an issue." An issue becomes an ISSUE when government officials pay serious attention to it. Kingdon distinguished between the *govermental* agenda (the list of subjects getting attention) and the *decision* agenda (the list of subjects within the governmental agenda that are up for active decisions). While not a precisely predictive model, the Kingdon model describes process patterns (Malen, 1987). Kingdon argued that neither the rational-comprehensive model of decision making nor incrementalism (Lindblom, 1959) described the processes he investigated. Instead, Cohen, March, and Olsen's (1972) model of organizational choice, which includes streams of participants, choice opportunities, problems, and solutions that come together in a "garbage can," served as a point of departure for Kingdon's work. Cohen et al. (1972) described organizations as "organized anarchies" with three properties: problematic preferences, unclear technology, and fluid participation. The mix of garbage (the streams) in the can and how the garbage is processed result in outcomes; outcomes are dependent on the coupling of the streams. Outcomes are neither linear, rational, nor predictable because of myriad human factors which are part of any decision making episode. This is a very different model than rational decision making, and the resultant change is not necessarily incremental.

Kingdon added to and altered the "garbage can" model and characterized the policymaking process as one of three process streams flowing through the system, joined by fortuitous events and policy entrepreneurs. Ultimately, only a few issues arrive on the governmental and decision agendas; Kingdon's model explains events up to the point of an issue's reaching the decision agenda.

According to Kingdon, the policymaking process is more "free form" than traditional notions that suggest a rational progression from clear problem statements, to systematic collection of information to generate alternatives, to a rational choice among suggestions for the one best solution, and, at last, to implementation of the policy. The model Kingdon constructed to explain preenactment decisions provides the descriptive power of other organized anarchy models, but reinjects some structure to the process which can allow a better understanding and some broad predictability in policy analysis.

During a qualitative case study of gifted education policymaking in New Mexico, Kingdon's categories offered a way to illuminate some of the themes and patterns appearing in the data. The model appears to have explanatory power for educational policymaking. The model captures the messiness of policymaking and seems descriptive of educational policymaking.

This study transfers Kingdon's explanations of why legislatures attend to some problems and not to others in state educational policy. Kingdon was concerned with neither actual enactment nor implementation of policy; instead, he was interested in predecision activities that account for serious consideration of issues. His model of political dynamics was generated in the federal level with health and transportation issues. The data of this case are from the state level, in the domain of education, specifically in education of the gifted. The model is argued to be descriptive of the scene and to lend interpretive power in understanding the data of the study.

The Case

Special education services are mandated in New Mexico, and "gifted" has been one of nine designated exceptionalities since 1972. Through the Public School Reform Act of 1986, the definition of "gifted child" was included in statute for the first time: IQ two standard deviations above the mean, and outstanding achievement, creativity. or critical thinking. After the implementation of the definition, the number of gifted children in the state, especially minority children, decreased significantly. Yet the legislature has not changed the definition. Through more than four years of

inquiry, the researcher addressed two questions: Why were gifted issues included on the decision agenda in 1986? and Why have they not been included since 1986?

Usefulness of the Kingdon Model

The remainder of this paper describes how Kingdon's modified "garbage can" model of decision-making is useful in explaining why the definition of "gifted," enacted through New Mexico's Public School Reform Act of 1986 (S.B.106), has persisted despite continuing controversy. The controversies surrounding the S.B. 106 definition are collapsed for the purpose of this analysis to one issue: The underrepresentation of minority students in the state's gifted programs. The data are organized as two separate cases; the data are examined using the concepts of streams of problems, policies, and politics, coupled by entrepreneurs when windows are open. Case One explains why gifted was an issue on the decision agenda in 1986. Case Two explains why gifted, specifically the underrepresentation of minorities issue. has not been on the decision agenda since 1986. The question driving this study --- Why has the definition of gifted enacted as policy in New Mexico's Public School Reform Act persisted, despite continuing controversy?---is at least partially answered through Kingdon's modified garbage can model.

Data Analysis

The analysis of the data suggests that "gifted" was on the decision agenda in 1986 for five reasons. First, the window was open for the gifted issue because reform was conceived so broadly and the items considered by the Public School Reform Committee (PSRC) were so far-ranging that any subject relating to education could be considered. Second, a countable problem was identified—the rapid and seemingly unchecked growth in numbers of students identified as gifted in the state. Third, the identified problem had equity overtones as the PSRC was told that all students were neither identified as gifted nor served in gifted programs in the same way by the state's 88 school districts. Fourth, a viable alternative was generated that would both save money and restrict gifted services to the "truly needy" gifted on a standardized basis across the state. Finally, a policy entrepreneur was on the scene to couple the streams of problems, policies, and politics, taking advantage of the window that reform provided.

The analysis further suggests that the gifted issue, specifically the issue of the underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs, has not been on

Table 1.

Why Gifted was on the Decision Agenda in 1986:	Why Gifted has not been on the Decision Agenda since 1986:
1. Window was open: Reform	Windows opened and closed due to inactivity: Memorials
2. Problem was identified as countable: Growth in costs; underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs	Problem has not been adequately identified for legislators; do not see connection between numbers and program; statutory definition of gifted
3. Problem had equity overtones; no standard means of identifying gifted students, and no standard programs	Equity argument missed; no visible participants/crisis/drama
4. Viable alternative available: Make ID standard, save money, provide services only to needy gifted	No viable alternative with technical feasibility and budget workability available
5. Entrepreneur present: SDE Director	No entrepreneur on scene; policy

the decision agenda since 1986 for four reasons. First, the problem has not been clearly identified to the legislators as something they should squarely address. Second, no highly visible participant or crisis/drama has been associated with the issue, and the equity argument has not been invoked. Third, no viable alternative has been suggested that meets the dual tests of technical feasibility and budget workability. Fourth, a policy entrepreneur has been critically missing on the scene, someone to nurture and develop the elements that are present, to couple the three streams at an opportune time. A summary of these points is provided in Table 1.

By proposing a straightforward and "doable" policy solution to the problem of too many identified gifted students in the state, the Public School Reform Committee helped the gifted issue to reach the decision agenda in 1986. But the issue has not been on the decision agenda since; policy makers need both a reason to act and a means to do so. Neither has been articulated to date.

The issue of underrepresentation of minorities in gifted programs has been raised but has not attracted adequate attention to precipitate action. And even those who acknowledge the problem do not know what to do about it. The policy community has not offered any palatable solutions nor has it been sufficiently motivated to do so. The SDE's single recommendation to return the authority for setting the definition of gifted to the State

Board of Education begs the original question raised in 1985 of legislative dissatisfaction with the gifted program as designed and implemented by the State Board of Education.

No one wants to open the debate on gifted education; maintaining the status quo, while less than desirable because of potential charges of discrimination, may be preferable to approaching an emotional and value-laden subject. While gifted education is seemingly a minuscule policy area, both in terms of program cost and number of students affected, its debate encompasses basic problems in schools and society: excellence and equality (Fetterman, 1988a). In identifying gifted children, are schools identifying special privilege or special need? There are not easy answers, but one point seems clear in New Mexico: The education community prefers to seek those answers on its own turf (if at all) not in the legislative branch. But what combination of factors would it take to open that search? Perhaps that has been the legislative intent through the memorials of 1986, 1987, 1988, 1989, and 1990, to allow the SDE/SBE to frame its own questions and work towards the answers. Perhaps the legislature has been waiting for a comprehensive plan to be presented before it removes the statutory language specifying identification criteria for gifted students. And on the other side, perhaps the SDE has been unwilling to invest staff time and energy as long as there are statutory definitions that affect gifted programs. Thus SDE responses to the memorials have been nonspecific and limited. Perhaps someone should "cross-the-street" and collaboratively work out a plan to identify and serve all gifted children in the state.

Conclusion

Examining the data of this study through Kingdon's model is helpful in seeing what kinds of action and information were present in the first case and missing in the second case in policymaking. By explaining why the subject has not been on the decision agenda, the model can provide a potential strategy for moving the issue towards the agenda. Based on the analysis presented here, the final section develops strategies that can be used by those seeking to affect policymaking.

Summary and Implications

Although the Kingdon model was developed in the federal legislative level with macro policy domains of health and transportation, this study demonstrates that the model holds in the state level for the micro policy domain of gifted education. The fact that the model retains explanatory

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power with different policy areas and levels of analysis is an important finding of the study. This section reviews the findings, then explores the implications of further use of the Kingdon model for analysis of the process of state level educational policymaking.

Findings

The extension of the Kingdon model to a different level of analysis is significant; the literature reveals no other attempts to extend the model to the state level. While there are substantial differences between the state and federal legislative levels in size, scope, and professionalism, the modified "garbage can" model helps to explain why an issue became an issue in the first case of this study, and why an issue has remained a nonissue in the second case of the study. Furthermore, even though Kingdon presented his model based on broad policy areas, this study has shown that the model's categories are helpful in examining a single, discrete policy initiative. Extending Kingdon's categories to New Mexico education policy highlights aspects of state educational policymaking that may require modification of the model. The problems, policies, and politics streams look slightly different at the state level. Those differences will be explained in the following sections.

Transferring the Model to the Education Policy Domain

The federal health and transportation policy domains, upon which Kingdon based his model, while important, are not comparable to the state education policy domain. Education is a dominant issue for state governments. The observation has been made that educational policymaking is mostly concerned with dollars, not with the pedagogical and philosophical concepts centered on teaching and learning (Halperin, 1978). Education is the single largest budget item in New Mexico, consuming half of the state's revenues.[1] Although historically occupying little of the legislators' attention in this state, the legacy of the 1986 omnibus public school reform bill, the activities of the state's "Education Governor," and the national impetus for educational change have kept education in the spotlight in New Mexico during the period of this study.

Education, as a public good, attracts a different kind of stakeholder than do other policy domains. Except for the specific gifted advocacy groups, there are no special interest lobbies that stand to benefit substantially from any outcome. Neither administrators, teachers, nor the general public would derive any direct benefit from changing or eliminating gifted

programs. That observation applies to many education programs, in contrast to other policy areas particularly at the federal level (health and transportation, for example), where there are active, paid lobbyists and organized interest groups with high stakes in policy outcomes. This point may be important in using Kingdon's model in the education domain in general at the state or federal levels; it is certainly important in using the model in the discreet policy area of this study. The peculiarities of the education policy domain affect all three streams of the Kingdon model.

Dominance of the State Department of Education

The state policy community identified in this study is smaller and more loosely-coupled (Weick, 1977) than the policy communities Kingdon described; the education policy community in New Mexico is small and fragmented, dominated by the SDE. Overall, the New Mexico legislative branch is much smaller than the federal branch, with 112 part-time legislators and two permanent interim committees, the Legislative Education Study Committee (LESC) and the Legislative Finance Committee (LFC). In the everybody-knows-everybody atmosphere of the state, a limited number of political actors play a large part in determining policy outcomes. In New Mexico, the State Department of Education is critically important, both as an illuminator of problems and as a generator of alternatives. And the generation of alternatives in the policies stream is not a separate process, nor is it controlled by a different dynamic from the politics stream as Kingdon suggest.

In contrast to the federal policy level, in which information comes from myriad highly specialized and sophisticated sources, state education agencies are virtually the only providers of information for state educational policy decisions (Rosenthal & Fuhrman, 1981). Information provided to legislators may be divided into four kinds of knowledge, in decreasing order of importance: (a) information on upcoming trends and comparisons with other states; (b) facts and figures; (c) information about interest group politics; and (d) in-depth studies or program evaluations (Van Horn & Hetrick, 1987). The data of this study verify these patterns. Although the Legislative Education Study Committee regularly invites members of interest groups, academics, district educators, and others to participate when it convenes task forces and study groups, the SDE normally provides the data or information for task force activities. Guiding questions for LESC-sponsored studies, such as the one conducted by the subgroup on gifted education in 1986, include requests for information on comparisons with national trends and the experiences of neighboring states, compiled

numbers which express program data and costs, and requests for comprehensive studies of multiple issues.

There may be a dynamic in the relationship between the SDE and the legislature that affects educational policymaking in New Mexico. During each session, the Legislative Education Study Committee sponsors both bills and memorials. Ideas for bills and memorials may come directly from individual legislators and their constituents, or they may come from interest groups. Bills and memorials are often the culmination of interim studies conducted by the LESC or conducted by the State Board and SDE and reported to the LESC. The State Board/SDE studies are frequently the result of a previous year's memorial. SDE staff members have expressed impatience with the annual stack of memorials to which they must respond,[2] but memorials do provide a way for the LESC to get direct information from the professional-across-the-street. Because memorials represent a burden of work to the SDE staff, the street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1980; Weatherly, 1979) may have adopted a coping strategy of responding only to the letter of the memorials rather than conducting full studies and providing detailed information and proposals.

The SDE might prefer legislative involvement in education to be restricted to annual appropriations. The legislators, on the other hand, are taking a more interested and proactive position on education, at the least demanding results for the money, and at the most believing they know what is best for the children and schools of the state. There is no parallel for this type of single agency domination and control of information in the federal level, and the streams of this study are thus slightly different from the Kingdon model.

Blending of Policies and Politics Streams

The data of this study indicate the forces driving the policies stream did not seem so different from the forces driving the politics stream. In both cases, political stream elements like elections and the taboo of tax increases influenced the generation of alternatives, not after the ideas were formulated but as the choices were developed in the policy community. Political factors also served to keep the policy stream hidden from interested participants (parents and teachers) in the first case; by the time advocates of gifted programs discovered there was an issue, the alternative had been specified. The fact that the advocates were then able to substitute an alternative is interesting and important but outside the scope of this application of a preenactment model. In the second case, there has been no initiative taken by anyone in the policy community to devise an alternative policy. This lack of initiative is partially explained because the policy

community consists primarily of the SDE. There are so many competing education interests to be developed that there simply is not enough staff time, energy, or motivation to develop the necessary alternatives.

Although a micro policy domain, the complexity of issues surrounding gifted education has made even the experts shrink from considering them. Two points are tantamount. One, the cost/funding dimension adds tremendously to the difficulty of the subject. As long as gifted remains an exceptionality of special education, subject to the same requirements, protections, and funding considerations, the subject cannot be simply addressed; any change in numbers of students identified as gifted will change the dollars that flow through the special education weighting of the funding formula to local districts. The data of the study show clearly that cost was a significant factor for the issue in 1986; an SDE staff member concluded the definition was changed to "conserve fiscal resources drastically diminished by an economic crisis in the mineral extraction industries." The data are less clear, but there is evidence that cost has been a consideration in not addressing the issue since 1986. As long as identification criteria are directly related to special education funding, the legislature is likely to keep control; that constraint makes the generation of policy alternatives more difficult.

The suggestion of removing gifted as an exceptionality of special education, a way around the direct cost problem, is also quite complex. As demonstrated in the weeks following the release of the Public School Reform Committee's draft legislation, the proposal to remove gifted from special education aroused the loosely organized, but highly vocal, advocates for the gifted who equated the exceptionality status with program protection, funding, and survival. For an alternative that includes removing gifted as an exceptionality of special education to be palatable, program administration and funding issues must be addressed.[3]

Implications

When conceived broadly, Kingdon's constructs can be helpful in understanding state educational policymaking. Kingdon's model has the descriptive power of some previous models in the "organized anarchy" tradition that allows it to capture the messiness of the process. But the model has additional power. By reinjecting some structure to the process, Kingdon emphasizes the organized part of "organized anarchy." The streams of problems, policies, and politics that are joined when windows are open to make ISSUES out of issues provide a structure and have explanatory power for policy analysis. The streams may even have some predictive power for

those seeking to affect policymaking. The following section describes how the model can be useful for those attempting to affect the policymaking process.

Recommendations for those Seeking to Affect the Policymaking Process: What it Takes to Make an Issue an ISSUE

The policymaking process cannot be characterized in linear, rational terms although many scholars have attempted to do just that. The policymaking process is irrational, messy, and unpredictable; however, there are important patterns in the chaos. Understanding those patterns is important to those desiring to affect policy.

The following sections examine the categories of Kingdon's model and illuminate strategies for advocacy.[4] Points to consider in recognizing policy windows are described, and ideas for turning an advocate into a policy entrepreneur are presented.

Factors in the politics stream contribute to the context of decision making. Few of those factors, such as the public mood, elections and changes in administration, partisan or ideological distributions, and interest group activities, can be controlled by advocates, but advocates can recognize and acknowledge them and sometimes influence them. Advocates need to understand that politics is often carried on at a level of language and cognition, where meaning is created (Edelman, 1972, 1988).

> It is not "reality" in any testable or observable sense that matters in shaping politic consciousness and behavior, but rather the beliefs that language helps evoke (Edelman, 1988, p. 105).

Advocates should be aware of these factors and use the knowledge this awareness affords. For example, the public can be made aware of programs through media coverage, displays in public places, sending speakers to organizations' meetings, and including mention of the targeted program whenever and wherever possible. That awareness by the public may be important if a policy issue concerning the program develops. Similarly, by apprising candidates of certain education programs and discussing the merits of the programs, advocates can nurture an awareness that may also be important if the candidates are elected. Education interest groups, such as teacher and administrator organizations, should be informed about advocated programs, and court or thwart such groups. Attempts to influence activities in the politics stream can be on-going, not just undertaken when advocates are seeking to effect change. The receptiveness fostered in the politics stream contributes greatly to a specific issue's becoming an issue on a policymaking agenda.

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The problems stream, like the politics stream, is associated with visible participants. In Kingdon's terms, a condition becomes a problem when someone believes something should be done about it. To receive attention in the policymaking arena—to reach the decision agenda—a problem must be made explicit to policy makers. There are several mechanisms by which problems are illuminated. The first is indicators, such as budgets and reports. In developing an issue, advocates could both generate reports that document their concern and make efforts to ensure that reports produced in other quarters receive the attention of policy makers.

Educational policy makers rely primarily on state departments of education for information (Rosenthal & Fuhrman, 1981); this information is often aggregated from data provided by local school districts. Advocates must familiarize themselves with the kinds of reports and the content of the reports prepared by the SDE. Some reports are made on a regular basis, and advocates can learn the cycle so they will know when to expect certain kinds of information. Reports are also generated by the SDE and others in response to legislative memorials; these reports can be expected, and sometimes input can even be provided for them. Other reports are made in response to internal or external inquiries and are more difficult for advocates to anticipate but are no less important.

Problems are also made evident to policy makers through feedback. Some feedback comes through routine monitoring activities; others can result from complaints over implementation (or lack thereof) of existing programs. Feedback may be given directly to legislators from their constituents, or it may come to them through organizations or through school districts and the SDE. Advocates can clearly use this mechanism by offering feedback themselves and by discovering and using feedback supplied by others.

The third mechanism in the problems stream is focusing events. These events may include the personal experiences of policy makers, crises, and fads. While they may not create these events, advocates can take advantage of the events if they recognize them. Crises and fads, while not easily manipulable, can still be used effectively by skillful advocates to illuminate a problem. Attracting the attention and support of a highly visible participant, such as a legislative leader or the governor, can enhance the visibility of a problem and its corollary demand for action.

For advocates, a dominant aspect of the process may be to get their definitions accepted in the policymaking arena, to construct reality (Spector & Kitsuse, 1987) for policy makers. Certainly the framing of the problem affects the choices offered for solution.

An issue must be clearly identified as a problem, in the problems stream, before it can be eligible for consideration on the policymaking agenda. But

agreement on a problem is not sufficient to ensure that the issue will be addressed. In addition, there must be at least one viable alternative in the policies stream. Kingdon associates the policies stream with hidden participants, a policy community that draws widely on assorted groups, including legislative staff members, academics, lobbyists and interest group representatives, and research organizations. In the state arena for education policy, the policy community is more limited than the Kingdon model suggests.

The policies stream of Kingdon's model is teeming with ideas; the stream is a primeval soup of mutations, combinations, and recombinations of ideas. Perhaps because the education policy community is more limited at the state level, there do not seem to be as many ideas "floating around." This limited community presents disadvantages for advocates because it is located largely within the bureaucracy of the SDE, an agency advocates cannot easily influence. But if advocates understand that without a solution to attach to it, no problem can reach the policymaking agenda, they will understand the importance of ensuring that there is such a solution.

A viable alternative must fit with dominant values and the national (state) mood. That is, it must be able to "float" in the politics stream. Advocates cannot change dominant values and the public mood, but they can discern values and mood, and they can check alternatives for fit. Additionally, a viable alternative must meet the dual tests of technical feasibility and budget workability. Before an alternative has a chance of being joined to a problem in the policymaking arena, advocates must demonstrate that, were the alternative to become policy, it could be implemented at not too high a cost. Technical details and budget ramifications may be outside advocates' expertise, but advocates must ens 're that those considerations are not neglected as alternatives are developed and considered.

Even when there are elements that argue strongly on behalf of an issue, the time might not be right to consider an issue in the policymaking arena because other issues are more pressing. Advocates must understand the importance of this timing and its relation to the capacity of the system. Kingdon concludes that the system can simultaneously handle many specific, routine items but only a few general, nonroutine items, that require more information from the bureaucracy and more consideration by the legislature, may be dealt with at any time.

The time is right if the window is open. Some windows are opened regularly and predictably through such events as the budget cycle or expected, important addresses. Issues that have fiscal impact will be considered during the budget process. And mention of an issue in the governor's annual address to the legislature, for example, can enhance or

enable the issue to reach the agenda; it opens the window. Some scholars suggest there are swinging pendulums in movements so if an opportunity is missed; it will come around again.

Other windows open unpredictably and fleetingly. An advocate may be able to take advantage of some and may miss others entirely, or a window may open before elements in the streams are available to be coupled. The best that advocates can do is to be prepared for the predictable windows and to be alert for the unexpected windows.

Issues networks (Kirst & Meister, 1983) can be established, whereby initiators of issues generate a policy movement by creating a network of advocates. The coupling of the three streams does not just happen; a policy entrepreneur provides the coupling. An advocate can be that entrepreneur, someone who is invested in the issue for personal or professional reasons, and someone who is willing to see the issue through. In addition to knowing the elements of each stream thoroughly, the entrepreneur must : . sensitive to opportunities (windows) to push an issue forward. Patience and judgment are required; sometimes opportunities must be allowed to pass by if couplings are incomplete. The entrepreneur must have resources and the skill and will to use them. The resources come from being ready and understanding the policymaking scene with its complexity and serendipity. The skill comes from an application of strategies as suggested in this plan; the will comes only from the individual. In a game metaphor, the entrepreneur functions as the team coach/owner/broker.

While concluding there was no critical entrepreneur to couple the streams in the second case of this study, the researcher identified several "policy players." These players had the potential to impact policy significantly. Their influence, however, was not steady or intense enough to earn them the designation of entrepreneur. They disappeared and sometimes reappeared on the scene without enduring to provide essential coupling.

A third category of participants also suggest itself: policy spectators.[5] Such spectators may have a policy position; they may even be considered advocates, but their roles are passive or reactionary. Yet they have the potential for moving along the continuum from spectator to player and on to coach/owner/broker (entrepreneur).

Following these recommendations does not ensure enactment once an issue reaches the policymaking agenda. An enactment does not necessarily mean implementation that is consistent with expectations. But those are other dynamics, important for consideration by advocates, yet not the focus of these recommendations. Instead, this section has concentrated on describing the complex, intertwining components that must be dealt with to make an issue an ISSUE. The elements are neither orderly nor sequential,

but they are identifiable through the Kingdon model. According to Kingdon, the key to understanding policy change is not discovering where an idea came from but discovering what made the idea take hold and grow.

Notes

[1] In 1990, the New Mexico budget for public education was close to $1 billon.

[2] In 1990, 17 memorials were addressed to the SBE/SDE.

[3] For a discussion of gifted and special education, see Dodd (1987) and Fichter (1987).

[4] "Advocacy" will be used in a broad sense throughout this section to mean efforts supporting continuation or change in a policy area. In the same way, "advocates" are those who get involved in the support of efforts, but they are not necessarily leaders or even members of groups.

[5] See Firestone's (1989) description of the public spectacle of the legislative education policymaking game.

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CHAPTER 3

Coping in the Superintendency:
Gender-Related Perspectives

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Back₃round

The drive for restructuring and leading school reform must include research on the development and responses of educational leaders, including the superintendent. Although considerable literature exists describing the volatile life of the superintendent (Blumberg & Blumberg, 1985; Boyer, 1985; Cuban, 1976; Hencley, 1960; Pitner & Ogawa, 1981; Williams & Willower, 1983; Wirt & Christovich, 1989; Ziegler, Kehoe, & Reisman, 1985), research that rigorously assesses the issues facing superintendents and what they do about those issues (Lindle, Miller, Lagana, & Chmara, 1989; Wirt & Christovich, 1989) is rare. In fact, little literature exists in any discipline which links coping mechanisms with the stressors people experience (Pearson, 1986).

Of equal concern in the identification of conflict and coping in school administration is the possibility of gender-related responses. The theory of administration and the skills which have been passed to school administrators appear to have an androcentric base (Shakeshaft, 1990). In contrast, Jones (1990) failed to find statistical evidence that gender differences existed in a synthesis of the findings of 147 research articles published in the first 22 volumes of *Educational Administration Quarterly*. The purpose of the research reported here was to focus on gender related perceptions of conflict and coping as identified by practicing superintendents.

Theoretical Framework

The literature on conflict and stress is extensive, yet peculiarly discipline-bound.

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Ask a physiologist about stress and get a physiological explanation; a sociologist would proffer a sociological response; a psychologist would explain stress psychologically; an organization behavior advocate views   stress from that perspective (Feitler & Tokar, 1986, p. 256-257).

In addition, much of the study of stress and conflict is divorced from a holistic view of persons in their environments (French, Rodgers, & Cobb, 1974). The study of stress, conflict and coping for school administrators is part of an emerging literature which also represents diverse perspectives and conceptual frameworks (Lam, 1984).

The design of this study was influenced by the diversity of the literature and by the recent indictments of the relevancy of administrative theory (National Policy Board, 1989; Thomson, 1989; Jacobson, 1990). The design incorporated a four-pronged conceptual approach. The first prong involved the conflict research and literature from organizational studies. The second prong included theory concerning political conflict and superintendent turnover. The third conceptual approach involved emerging literature on personal and social support systems. Finally, the literature on differences between the world-views of men and women and the influence of those views on educational administration was used to analyze the responses.

Three typologies from the conflict literature were considered for their relevance to the position of superintendent. The three typologies were the classical typologies of conflict presented by Deutsch (1973), a typology of conflict for school administrators (Lam, 1984), and the Occupational Stress Evaluation Grid (Murphy & Schoenborn, 1987).

Deutsch's typology (see Table 1) categorizes conflicts according to the issues and perceptions of the participants. The variety of conflicts presented in this typology range from overt, clearly recognized confrontations to subtle conflicts where neither the issues nor the conflicting participants are easily recognizable.

Table 1.

Deutsch's Typology of Conflicts					
	Objective	Experienced			
Type of	Between	Between	Type of Misperception		
Conflict	Parties A & B	Parties A & B	Contingency	Issue	Parties
Vertical	yes	yes	no	no	no
Contingent	yes	yes	yes	no	no
Displaced	yes	yes	no	yes	no
Misattributed	yes	no	no	no	yes
Latent	yes	no	---	---	---
False	no	yes	yes or	yes or	yes

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Lam's (1984) typology of conflict for school administrators represents an attempt to address the conceptual gap between studies of organizational dynamics and occupational stress. Lam deliberately grounds his work in the organization of schools. Table 2 depicts Lam's map of the stressors within the organizational processes unique to education.

Table 2.

Lam's Typology of School Administrators' Stress			
Types of Stress	Extra Organizational	Intra-Organizational	Intra-Pesonal
Role Based	Control & Direction	Authority Structure	Commitment vs. Satisfaction
Task Based	Resource Adequacy	Maintenance Function	Functiona/role Ambiguity
Boundary-Spanning	Program Demands	Supervision	Personality
Conflict-Mediating	Value Compatibility	Staff	Role

The Occupational Stress Evaluation Grid (Murphy & Schoenborn, 1987) presents a complex hierarchical matrix of stressors and remedies (See Table 3). The focus of this typology is on the person-environment fit (French, Rogers. & Cobb, 1974; Kahn, Wolfe, Quinn, & Snoek, 1964; Harrison, 1978).

These three typologies represent slightly different perspectives on the analysis of organizational issues which concern issues of stress and coping. Deutsch's contribution represented classic academic theory of conflict. Lam's typology provided an educational perspective on the stressors the sample/population was likely to identify, and the Occupational Stress Evaluation Grid provided a basis for identifying the interventions of su[:rintendents according to an hierarchical fit with their personal needs and their environment.

The literature on the political frameworks of stress and conflict has traditionally focused on turnover in the superintendency. Two classic models of political influences on the superintendency were consulted for the design of this study. These models included the Dissatisfaction Theory (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1970) and the work of McCarty and Ramsey (1971) on the character of the relationships among communities, school boards, and superintendents.

Table 3.
Occupational Stress Evaluation Grid

Levels	Stressors	Intervention	
		Formal	Informal
Sociocultural	Racism, sexism	Elections	Grass roots organizing
	Ecological shifts	Lobbying/political	Petitions
	Economic downturns	action	Demonstrations
	Political changes	Public education	Migration
	Military crises	Trade associations	Spouse employment
Organizational	Hiring policies	Corporate decision	Social activities
	Plant closings	Reorganization	Contests; incentives
	Layoffs, relocation	New managment model	Manager involvement
	Automation, market	Management consultant	and ties with workers
	shifts, retraining	Inservice/retraining	Continuing education
	Organizational priorities		Moonlighting
Work Setting	Task (time, speed,	Supervisor meetings	Slow down/speed up
	autonomy, creativity)	Health/safety meetings	Redefine tasks
	Supervision	Union grievances	Support of other workers
	Co-workers	Employee involvement	Sabotage, theft
	Erognomics	Quality circles	Quit, change jobs
	Participation in	Job redesign	
	decision making	Inservice training	
Interpersonal	Divorce, separation	Legal/financial services	Seek social support/
	marital discord	Leave of absence	advice
	Conflict, family/friend	Counseling,	Seek legal/financial
	Death, illness in family	psychotherapy	assistance
	Intergenerational conflict	Insurance plans	Self-help groups
	Legal/financial difficulties	Family therapy	Vacation/sick day
	difficulties	Loans/credit unions	
	Early parenthood	Day care	Child care
Psychological	Neurosis, mental illness	Employee assistance	Seek support from
	Disturbance of affect	(referral/in house)	family, friends, church
	cognition, or behavior	Counseling,	Self-help groups/books
	Ineffective coping skills	psychotherapy	Self-medication
	Poor self-image	medication	Recreation leisure
	Poor communication	Stress managment	Sexual activity
	Addictive behavior	Workshop	Mental health days
Biological	Disease, disability	Preplacement screening	Change sleep/wake
	Sleep, appetite	Counseling	Bag lunch
	disturbance	Medical treatment	Self-medication
	Chemical dependency	Health education	Cosmetics
	Biochemical imbalance	Employee Assistance	Diets, exercise
	Pregnancy	Maternity Leave	Consult physician
Physical/	Poor air, climate	Protective clothing	Own equipment,
Environmental	Noise exposure	equipment	decoration
	Toxic substance exposure	Climate control	Consult personal
	Poor lighting	Health/safety committee	physician
	Radiation exposure	Interior decoration	Letter of complaint
	Poor equipment design	Muzak	
	Bad architecture	Union grievance	

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The Dissatisfaction Theory is notable for its multivariate, political systems approach to the prediction of superintendent turnover. According to this model, the electoral process in determining board membership is highly influenced by the economic and social conditions of a school district. If a school board is relatively closed or school board members are unaffected by socio-economic shifts, then a community becomes dissatisfied with the board's membership and ousts board members in the next election (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1970, p. 216-217). Change in board membership usually signals change in the superintendent's office, usually within three years (Iannaccone & Lutz, 1970, p. 97-98). The key to this model is the notion of community representation by the elected members of the board. Environmental influences ultimately affect both board membership and the occupant of the superintendent's office. This finding has been validated in the last two decades (Lutz & Moore, 1989; Lindle, Miller, Lagana, & Chmara, 1989; Wirt & Christovich, 1989; Ziegler, Kehoe, & Reisman, 1985).

McCarty and Ramsey (1971) also developed some analytic models of the relationship among the community, board, and superintendent. Through interviews conducted in 50 communities with key personnel, McCarty and Ramsey identified community and board types which predicated characteristic roles for superintendents. In a separate study, Wirt and Christovich (1989) studied "urban executive officers" which included city managers, planning directors, and superintendents. They found characteristic conflict management styles based on the intensity of community interest. The styles that Wirt and Christovich identified were similar to the roles for superintendents that McCarty and Ramsey classified two decades ago.

McCarty and Ramsey's work, as well as the work of Iannaccone and Lutz, represents contextual studies of administration and conflict. Although their work does describe the conditions they found, clues and prescriptions are yet to be identified for superintendents working under these conditions both as part of a system and as an individual.

The literature on coping is not as rich for educational and organizational research as it is in studies of individuals and their personal development. The literature on social support is just dawning in a variety of fields such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, political science, and counseling (McIntyre, 1986, p. 421). In general, social support is considered a coping mechanism which provides emotional, physical, or informational aid (Pearson, 1986). Social support for an individual can include family members, friends, colleagues, and mentors. People who have been taught to identify and establish social support networks have increased their ability to deal with stress (Pearson, 1986; Levine, 1987).

The ability and inclination of school administrators to develop their own social support networks has not been well-documented (Teran & Licata, 1986). In fact, the study of principals conducted by Teran and Licata (1986) found their culture to be both clan-like and isolated.

Black and English (1986) provide suggestions to superintendents for ways to develop survival techniques, including the "private supports" of family and friends (Black & English, 1986, p. 279). Black and English report these suggestions from an experiential as opposed to a research base.

An experiential base is perhaps the only source for coping in school administration. Feitler and Tokar (1986) found that exemplary principals turn to avocational and recreational strategies first and then to their management skills. Bailey, Fillos, and Kelly (1987) studied school administrators and reported that coping strategies are not usually a result of training.

Networking is an important professional success strategy (Rose, 1985), but the research linking networks to the management of stress in school administration has yet to be done (Teran & Licata, 1986).

The contextual framework for this study represents an integration of three distinct areas of research on conflict, coping, and the superintendency. Classic organizational studies revealed a pathological approach to the identification of conflict through typologies. These typologies also represent a concern with environmental influences on interventions. Environmental influences were also an important consideration on superintendent turnover. Interventions for coping with personal, environmental, and political conflicts in the superintendency were found to be sparsely represented in the literature. The integration of the political, personal, and environmental stressors with intervention strategies now emerging in the literature represents a holistic conceptual framework for the study of the superintendency and conflict and coping.

This study included a focus on the men and women in the superintendency. Although less than 10% of the superintendents in the U.S. are women, the vast majority of the teachers in this country are women, leading many to refer to education as the feminine profession. These differences in the distribution of the genders in the hierarchy of education have become of great concern in the profession in recent years (Jones, 1990; Levine, 1987; Shakeshaft, 1990). The distribution of genders may be a source of stress and conflict itself (Levine, 1987; Williams & Willower, 1983). In addition, there is some inconclusive evidence that men and women may frame their work and responses in administration differently (Jones, 1990; Shakeshaft, 1989, 1990). The research on men and women in administration has been hampered by design and definition of constructs (Jones, 1990). Shakeshaft

(1981) has suggested that a more naturalistic paradigm is a necessary approach for defining the constructs and theories in educational administration which may differ between men and women. The inclusion of a differentiated sample in the study's holistic approach to coping in the superintendency provided an ethnographic opportunity to review the responses for gender differences.

Methods

The sensitive nature of the topic of the study, as well as the conceptual framework which required a holistic approach, influenced the design of the study. Face-to-face interview procedures were chosen as the most sensitive and efficient method of study, although further research should include other approaches to the documentation of conflict and coping in the superintendency.

The interview protocols were designed using a variety of perspectives from the literature on conflict, political and environmental influences on the superintendency, and coping. These protocols consisted of 14 areas with structured probes for all of the interview sessions. The probes were designed to enhance the length and quality of the responses (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 179).

Interview data were triangulated with newspaper reports, records from regional and state education agencies, and the professional organizations to which the participants belonged. Triangulation was chosen as a method to establish the credibility of the interview data (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, pp. 106-107).

Self reports are a limitation of this study. Interviews rely on the perceptions of an individual. To the extent that a person's perceptions are accurate, the study's results are accurate. As this is a descriptive study, these limitations must be taken into consideration in the interpretation of results; however, the results of the study should provide useful information for further research on conflict and coping in the superintendency.

Data Source

Interviews were conducted with 15 men and 15 women superintendents in Pennsylvania's public school districts. All respondents were chosen with a tenure period in their current position of five years or less, although many respondents had more than five years experience as superintendents. The five-year tenure period was chosen since many conflicts may arise at the beginning of one's tenure and the researchers wanted to tap fresh stories about conflict and coping in the superintendency.

The respondents' ages ranged from 40-63 years old. The women were younger (average age = 50.6) than the men (average age = 51.7). The majority of men and women were married and had grown children.

House (1974) identifies superintendents as place-oriented or career-oriented. Place-oriented superintendents are more concerned with keeping their jobs in a particular school district and may be a graduate of that system. Their ties to the community run very deeply. In contrast, a career-oriented superintendent will set personal goals for accomplishment. These goals may be educational in nature or they may be self-oriented. In any case, the career-oriented superintendent is willing to leave one school district for another to accomplish goals. Given the increasing turnover rate for superintendents (Wirt & Christovich, 1989), 60% of the superintendents in this study could best be described as career-oriented. Exactly 60% of the men and 60% of the women fit the definition of career-oriented.

Results

Survival is very much on the minds of both men and women superintendents. The holistic conceptual framework, that is, the linking of stories of conflict with strategies and tactics for coping, as well as the methods used in this research revealed important components of the concepts of conflict and coping for school administrators. For the purposes of analysis, and triangulation of the results, conflict themes were analyzed separately from the coping themes and then compared. Table 4 shows that the themes for conflict and for coping were very similar, but the respondents placed different emphases on each theme given either context of conflict or of coping.

Several points can be made from Table 4 concerning the relationships of the themes of conflict and coping in the superintendency. The most obvious point concerns the conflictual nature of board relationships and the lesser potential for the board to serve as a resource for the superintendent as compared to other resources. Another point concerns the interrelationship of external factors such as the economy, local community groups, state and political organizations, and networks for sources of both coping and conflict. Differences between the men and women superintendents' responses did not emerge until the categories concerning careers and politics in education were examined.

This section focuses on these three points: (a) conflict and coping in board relationships, (b) the influence of external factors on conflict and coping, and (c) political conflicts, career issues, and micropolitical strategies.

Table 4.
Themes and Emphases in Conflict and Coping

CONFLICT

Theme	n	%
Board Relations	25	83%
External Factors	23	77%
Career Issues	22	73%
Politics	19	63%
Personal Qualities	17	57%
Human Relations	5	17%

COPING

Theme	n	%
Personal Qualities	30	100%
External Factors	29	97%
Micropolitics	29	97%
Professional Skills	28	93%
Human Relations	24	80%
Board Relations	23	77%
Career Plans	14	47%
Luck	8	27%

Board Relationships

Conflict within the board and superintendent relationship is practically folklore (Crowson, 1987). Both the men and women reported board relationships as the primary source of stress and conflict in their work. Men (8) and women (9) felt the board created problems by not supporting the superintendent, and they mentioned the persistent blurring of the jurisdiction of boards' and superintendents' roles, also known in this folklore as 'policy vs. administration' (Crowson, 1987; Wirt & Christovich, 1989). The other complaint, levied by more men (10) than women (7), is the stress on the superintendent when board members fight among themselves. The men and the women tend to describe their concerns with infighting on the board in similar domestic terms.

My relationship with the board is changing, especially this year. Our school board members are fighting with one another. I've had to spend more time keeping peace within the family than I did before . . . male superintendent. Indi-

vidually [my relationship with the board] is fine, but most of my time is spent mediating their disputes. It is so bad that I can't get five of them to go to dinner together at the up-coming school boards association meeting. I have to go to dinner with two of them one night, and go to the banquet with the other three the next night. I tell them—I'm like a mother hen laying on the guilt with them—I say, 'Look what you're doing to me.' I want no part of their wars. They might see me at the convention talking to the other party and say, 'Oh look, so and-so has her in his pocket.' So I told them I don't want them thinking that. I'm not playing their games... female superintendent.

Both men and women felt there were aspects of school boards which were supportive of the work of the superintendent, but women tended to mention more of these aspects than men. More women (10) than men (7) felt that the superintendent had a role to play in the education of individual board members. More women (8) than men (5) felt that the electoral process resulted in board members who either deliberately or unconsciously represented the community. Often the women expressed a faith in the democratic process that establishes school boards and influences the work of the superintendent. These women tended to see the board as a resource. Women did not universally express this sentiment, and neither did the men.

External Factors

Men (12) and women (11) agreed that external factors also create conflict for their roles. Generally, the men (11) and women (10) attributed the most conflict to the influence of community groups. In contrast, when discussing how to cope with these factors, more women (9) then men (5) mentioned meeting with community groups as a useful strategy. In addition, more women (7) than men (2) suggested that civic organizations in the community were useful resources for their work, for the schools, or for the children's educational and personal needs.

External factors that proved to be resources for coping were similar for men and women. The most popular resource for men and women was networking and mentoring with other professionals and friends, but more of the women (13) than men (8) mentioned using this resource. Both men and women were specifically asked about their mentoring activities, whether as a protege or as a mentor. The women seemed to believe that men were universally involved in this activity. Men may not be as active as the women, or they do not talk about it. Finally, less than half of both men (6) and women (7) mentioned other superintendents as a coping resource.

Careers and Politics: Gender Differences

Among the conflict themes, men and women parted company on issues of career and politics. More women (13) than men (9) saw career issues,

such as compensation or career paths, as stressful issues in the superinten-
dency. Clearly for women, being a woman has had a direct impact on their
careers. The women frequently volunteered that their gender had an
influence on how they coped and on what the issues of conflict were. More
than one woman volunteered that being a woman affected her work and her
ability to find work.

> I had wanted to be an elementary principal, but I couldn't get a job. I would
> apply, and I would get interviews. Then they would tell me that I was too small.
> All they could see was that I was this little woman and they would say that they
> were afraid I wouldn't be able to handle the kids or that I wasn't imposing
> enough of a figure....
> I know I have to establish myself as a competent superintendent since I am a
> woman....I have to tell you another analogy the board gave me last night which
> shows that they think about me being a woman. They said, 'Dr. XX, how is a
> woman like a tea bag? Because the more hot water she gets into, the stronger
> she gets.'

On the other hand more men (12) than women (7) saw the politics of
education as a source of conflict and stress. The male superintendents
preferred a definition of politics which highlighted the legal connections of
education to party politics, and they tended to deny a political role for the
superintendent. At the same time, the strategies they described for accom-
plishing their work as superintendent frequently indicated a knowledge and
application of power, authority, and influence in the micropolitical sense
(Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Ball, 1987; Hoyle, 1986). When specifically
asked about politics in education and the role of the superintendent in
politics, the men tended to deny its existence or to denigrate its place in the
world of education. The women expressed a much more positive view of
both party politics and micropolitics.

Here are some examples of the contrasting views. A male superintendent
remarked:

> Politics in education is the impact of the affairs and activities of elected officials on
> education I think whenever any activities involving elected officials take precedent
> over the good of the order that is politics. . . . I don't think superintendents should be
> involved in political parties . . .

An example of the responses we received from the women is found in the
following:

> When I think about politics in education, I always start with the fact I am a
> teacher. Even as a superintendent I am a teacher. Every act of a teacher is

> political whether it is with kids, or parents, or colleagues. Everything in education is interpersonal skills. . . . Politics is everywhere. It's part of being a professional. A superintendent's political role is to give the critics of the district, the schools, the board, and yourself a forum. And you need to listen to them . . .

Although the men view politics as a major source of conflict both professionally and ethically, both men (14) and women (15) mentioned a number of micropolitical strategies for coping. More women (12) than men (8) suggested that studying other people's and group's agenda was a useful coping and micropolitical strategy. More women (11) than men (8) reported using information to persuade constituencies to follow the superintendent's recommendations. More women (11) than men (8) suggested than an appeal to the purposes of education, to valuing children, was a useful technique for superintendents to use with staff, boards, or community groups.

Other Themes

A few other results must be noted in this report. These points include (a) the assortment of personal qualities people use as an overriding theme for coping, (b) the influence of administrative training as a source of conflict or of coping, (c) the contrast between men and women on the coping mechanisms of human relations skills such as marketing the schools and building morale, and (d) differences between men and women on family life and work.

Personal Approaches

Men and women reported a variety of personal approaches to managing stress and conflict. With the exception of vacations, all of these tactics were fairly unique to individuals, and not particularly popular with any given majority. People listed methods such as keeping physically fit, having a calm personality, paying attention to their health, having hobbies, and other personalistic approaches to coping. These coping mechanisms are acquired through personal development rather than through professional development.

Administrative Training

Although the superintendents in this study find their professional skills an important coping resource, they often indicted their administrative training. More men (10) than women (8) felt their administrative training had been useful. Those who said their administrative training was a coping resource often condemned it with faint praise.

> I found the finance course to be very helpful, the nuts and bolts courses to be helpful. But I don't know how you prepare for this job. I think the week long

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courses which were more intense, and the in-basket simulations and problem-solving were helpful. . . .male superintendent.

Administrative training is surely a resource. It isn't so much what you learned there as the resources. I find it keeps guiding me to find the answers. I think some of the professors there are completely out of touch with what it's like out here. Some of them just aren't out to see what's happening. But you have to make the things you learn fit the situation. Put it this way. If you took this job without any training, you'd be in real trouble. This way, you've got your notes and other resources to go to. . . . female superintendent.

Human Relation Skills

Men (11) and women (13) felt that human relations skills were important coping resources. Again, the women tended to give multiple responses in this area. Both genders felt that marketing the schools was a primary resource for education and the superintendency, but more women (12) than men (9) mentioned this strategy. The most striking difference in men and women's responses on the theme of human relations dealt with the role of the superintendent in building morale. Eleven of the women mentioned morale building as one of their coping responses to their work. Only three men said anything about their role as superintendents in building morale.

Family Life and Work

Finally, men and women are experiencing a number of role challenges in their lives. Although the majority of the respondents were married, men and women approached families and their jobs differently. Most of the women (11) volunteered that they separate their jobs from their family lives. Several of the women said that this extended to not turning to their spouse as a confidant. One woman said that she felt that women approached this much differently than men, given the traditions of the superintendency.

I do keep some distance between my family and my work. I think men don't. The men often always have their wives at their side, but I don't wear my family like an appendage. . . .

The responses provided by the men would indicate that this tradition is changing. Eight of the men indicated that their families were a part of their job, and that their wives were one of their primary supports for work. The other seven men indicated in their responses the importance of keeping their families away from their work. Several indicated that their wives had their own work. Several indicated that their children's lives helped provide a diversion from the superintendency. This male superintendent's response

was typical of the men who separate their jobs and their family life:

I leave this office [to take time to have fun]. I know this job isn't totally me. There are other things in my life.... I take my family away on weekends. We don't live in this district, and I coach one of my son's teams....

Everyone needs to get away. Everyone needs to have a diversion, a hobby, like my coaching....

Summary

The responses of the men and women superintendents in this study reflected the literature on the conflicts in the superintendency. The holistic approach to the collection of data by linking discussions of conflict and coping was validated in the analysis of the results. The overarching themes of conflict and coping are similar but with different emphases for the sources of conflict and the resources of coping.

Men and women superintendents tended to agree on several of the sources and resources of conflict and coping. Board relationships are almost a given source of conflict and used to a lesser degree as a resource for coping. The external factors of community groups and of networking played varying roles in both conflict and coping for these superintendents.

The men and women of this study differed on the issues of conflict related to career and to the politics of education. Women reported more sources of conflict concerning the career issues of compensation and their career path. Men are uncomfortable with the politics of education, eschewing both party politics and micropolitics in their descriptions of the appropriate role of the superintendent. Yet, both men and women are likely to use micropolitical strategies in their work as superintendents.

The women superintendents tended to reveal more strategies and discussed a greater variety of coping resources than did the men in discussions related to micropolitics and human relations. Women reported being more involved in networking and mentoring relationships than men. All of the men in this study mentioned professional skills as important coping resources, and most of the men (10) felt their administrative training was useful. While most of the women separated their family life from their professional life, about half of the men reported doing this, and the other half said they included their families in their jobs.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The findings of this investigation have implications for further research. Participants in the project reported that they responded in many cases

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because they felt their administrative training had not prepared them for the intensity or types of conflicts they faced. The limitations of this study, including the location of the respondents, the limited tenure of the respondents, limitations of the methodology, and gender of the interviewers, also argue for further research to replicate and expand these findings.

There are some results worth interpreting related to the gender of the subjects. Gender is an overt and covert influence on the results of this study.

Overtly, the women reported career concerns which impinge on their levels of stress and conflict because they are women. They reported a sense that they had to "do better than men" and prove themselves as competent superintendents. They reported that their gender had prevented them from finding the jobs they wanted. They also reported that their gender was an issue with school boards, adding another dimension to the swamp of superintendent and board relationships.

The women of this study claimed another overt difference in their lives. The men's responses indicated that the issue of career and family may not be solely a gender issue. The traditions of the superintendency have included a perception of the superintendent and his family as "public property" (Blumberg & Blumberg, 1985). The role of the superintendent's spouse, usually a woman, has been as an addendum to a career and a set of stresses (Blumbert & Blumberg, 1985, pp. 174-175). Children have suffered in this arrangement, too (Blumberg & Blumberg, 1985, pp. 177-178). The women of this study viewed the mixing of family life with their jobs with a certain disdain, but at least half of the men also felt that including families in their work was not a good coping strategy. These men, some in two career families, may echo an emerging trend in a number of fields (Trost, 1988). In this study, the juggling of career and family life was more of an issue for men than the women seemed to realize. The gender differences in career/family relationships may be changing (Trost, 1988).

While the women lamented the conditions of employment that focus on their sex, men lamented the conditions of their work which were political in nature. Here the covert issues of gender differences emerge. The women reportedly were comfortable with the intricate and delicate strategies of relationships necessary for party politics and, especially, for the micropolitical context of their work. Men reportedly felt that politics had no place in education. Their definitions of politics tended to be legalistic. Even though they did report skills and strategies which are essentially micropolitical in nature, the men in this study were uncomfortable with labeling such behavior as political. The female distinction of politics. especially micropolitics, as part of the daily fabric of life, and the male discomfort with educational politics as somehow outside the realm of "legal" behavior on

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the part of the superintendent are examples of what Gilligan (1982) described as a developmental difference between women's and men's life cycles of moral maturity.

Gilligan's work (1982) refers to the classic studies of adult development as rooted in studies of men. The classic research resulted in conceptions of development as requiring a moral sense founded on logic and law. In contrast, Gilligan notes that women ground their moral conceptions on the maintenance of relationships over time. Systems of rules often sacrifice human relationships to the sanctity of the rules. Thus, Gilligan reports that women are often seen as developmentally immature because they would sacrifice a rule to the maintenance of a relationship.

In this study, the women report skill and comfort in the political relationships they must maintain in the superintendency. The men are uncomfortable in citing politics of education as an acceptable part of their work. The micropolitical aspects of educational politics usually are not studied in educational administration classes (Englert, 1989). The men of this study were more likely to be satisfied with their professional education than the women, an education devoid of reference to political aspects of the superintendency. While the men do engage in micropolitical strategies, these are not part of their "legal" training as superintendents. The men are less likely to see the political aspects of their job as acceptable.

On the other hand, like the women of Gilligan's research, the women superintendents of this study are quite comfortable with the relationships they must maintain through these micropolitical activities. They find their administrative training lacking precisely because it does not focus on intricate human relationships. Several of the women superintendents spoke expressly in these terms contrasting a man's approach to the feminine approach to the superintendency.

When I was a teacher and told men that were superintendents what I wanted to do, they would laugh at me. They'd say that I just thought it would be glamorous and that there was a lot of power and that I would find out that there wasn't anything. No glamour, no power. They said it wasn't exciting and it was not a powerful position. I think they're wrong. Now that I am a superintendent, I can see that I can make a difference. This is a powerful position, I can influence people to do things by persuading them to my point of view—or better yet, by making them think they thought of it themselves . . .

I think the biggest mistake is thinking that the superintendent's job is 'bricks and mortar.' When I first got interested in this, a professor [male] said to me that I wouldn't make it since I like people too much, and the superintendent has to work with 'bricks and mortar.' And I told him, 'Well, wherever I go, the job will be about people, to hell with bricks and mortar!' . . .

In several ways, these results validate the hypothesis that there is a difference between men and women in the way they see the workplace in

education (Shakeshaft, 1990). The men and women of the study may not be different in the performance of their work in the superintendency. In fact, this study can not speak to the behaviors of the participants, but clearly what the men and women said about some aspects of conflict and coping in the superintendency was different. These differences may be related to gender differences in what Schön (1983, 1990) would call their operating theories of educational administration. Undoubtedly, more research along these lines is necessary.

The results of this study have direct application for practicing and aspiring school superintendents. Knowing how to survive the wounds and avoid the scar tissue of the superintendency are topics in much of the professional literature (i.e., Black & English, 1986; *Executive Educator*, 1985). The most popular suggestions for coping reported by the people in this study were personal qualities. In other words, other studies on coping which found that coping strategies are not part of formal administrative training were replicated by these results (Bailey, Fillos, & Kelly, 1987; Feitler & Tokar, 1986).

Although this study did not explore the effectiveness of these strategies (March & March, 1977), the randomness of the superintendent's career may obviate the question of effectiveness. The behaviors of a superintendent may be part of a repertoire in the superintendency which spell neither success nor failure in and of themselves. Simply expanding an individual's coping repertoire may be useful for any practicing or aspiring administrator. Conversely, exploration of effective strategies and definition of successful coping mechanisms may provide a productive line of research.

Educational administration programs, which are under a challenge to improve their programs (Griffiths, Stout, & Forsyth, 1988; Murphy & Hallinger, 1978; National Policy Board, 1989), also can use the results of this research. The most significant contribution would be a casebook of conflict and coping strategies in the superintendency. Adding the micropolitical perspective to the body of organizational and administrative literature presented to administration students also is indicated by the findings of this study. In particular, differences among the students based on gender in responding to the casebook approach or to the concepts of micropolitics should be explored and taken into consideration by educational administration faculty.

This research is one step in conceptualizing the relationships between conflict and coping in the superintendency, especially as those dimensions are found in differences between men and women. The research which could be spawned by this study points to a new direction in improving the conditions of educational leadership as well as providing educational

leaders with a better repertoire to control those conditions. To paraphrase Cuban (1985), conflict may be the DNA of the superintendency, but we can provide educational leaders better response and coping mechanisms for conflict management than mere genetic reactions.

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