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Introduction to the Study

Coloring Outside the Lines, the title of this book, represents two current aspects of educational administration, that we, the women authors of this study, hope to change. First we wish to alter the image of administration. Educational administration is a predominantly white male occupation, with 93 percent men (Schmuck 1999, ix), and 96.6 percent whites, in superintendencies nationwide (Chase 1995, 36). We would like to see many more women, white and of color, in leadership positions in our public schools. Second, coloring “outside the lines” refers to changing the lines that have been drawn, the unwritten rules, the culture or “medium within which we exist” (Cole 1996, 8) that defines educational administration. We argue that the dominant culture of educational administration is androcentric, meaning informed by white, male norms. Mentoring has been a part of this androcentric culture of educational administration. Women have been, and still are in many respects, on the borders, with “outsider” status in educational leadership (Tallerico, Poole and Burstyn 1994, 439). They may have gained entry into educational administration, but they are still seen as new and different. However, women are in a position as newcomers, to transform leadership through mentoring. It is from the borders and margins that we are best positioned to open up new forms of understanding.

Much has been written about mentoring in the literature of education, business, and the professions. (See for example, the extensive references on mentoring women in education in Hall and Sandler 1983; Johnsrud 1990, 1991; Stalker 1994). Yet many of the studies are limited in that they either advocate uncritically for mentoring as a necessary key to women's and men's career success (*e.g.*, Roche 1979; Schmidt and Wolfe 1980, 45; Lively et. al. 1992; Bizzari 1995; Didion 1995; Stevens 1995); assume traditional models of mentoring (Bova and Phillips 1982; Daloz 1991); or are practical, commonsense directives to women (*e.g.*, Sandler's 1995 "Ten Commandments of Mentoring"). A more promising line of research critiques the dominant framework of the mentoring literature (*e.g.*, Swoboda and Millar 1986; Haring-Hidore and Brooks 1987), suggesting that traditional mentoring relationships are hierarchical, with an inherent possibility to be dependent and exploitative, given the power differentiation inherent in the relationships. The work of L. K. Johnsrud (1990) and J. Stalker (1994), in this critical vein is cogent and well researched. However, they are conceptual pieces based solely on the literature, while calling for further research informed by the lived lives and actual experiences of women.

As a study of mentoring this book makes three main contributions. First, it is an empirical study, including fifty-one in-depth interviews with women administrators in mentoring relationships, either mentors or protégés, across three states in the United States: Maryland, Virginia, and Washington state. Four men administrators are also included in this study as mentors, with a total of fifty-five participants. When women today hold administrative positions, such as superintendent, the most prestigious and powerful position in the public schools, or school principal, we wondered what are their mentoring experiences. The literature on mentoring makes the point that for women, mentoring is rare, and that when they do receive mentoring, for women their experience too often is "debilitating rather than empowering" (Johnsrud 1991, 7). We wanted to know much more about the experiences of women being mentored into educational leadership in public school systems. We were interested in finding out who were the people doing the mentoring, and how they were accomplishing this work. What do these special relationships entail? Is mentoring a gendered and racialized practice? This book offers readers insights into the changing face of mentoring and educational leadership in public schools, and is intended to show some of the unspoken assumptions, the unwritten rules that those aspir-

ing to administrative positions in the public school systems often do not know. We show how women respond to those tacit rules, and how they are changing the rules.

Second, we use a feminist poststructuralist framework (Capper 1993; Davies 1994; Weedon 1997) to deconstruct the mentoring of women within the cultures of K-12 public school administration in which they work. The study examines mentorship from the perspective of women in professional relationships with a mentor in the field of education. We question the very assumptions of mentoring which has tended to be grounded in traditional leadership notions of power and authority. Rather than abandon mentoring, though, we explore possibilities for transformation and change towards new kinds of mentoring. We consider both the problems of mentoring for mentors and protégés as well as the benefits. We also take into account that schools are located in a broader context of a gendered and racist society. Following S. Chase (1995), we offer women's accounts of power and subjection / oppression in their professional lives as educational administrators, with a focus specifically on mentoring for educational leadership. We show that women are not reproducing the patriarchy. Instead, we show women leaders who are on one level, "same" with their male colleagues, conforming to the expectations and essentially presenting no problems, and simultaneously they are "other" (different / marginalized) and engaging in subversive and overt practices to change the system (Stalker 1994). Third, it is a collaborative, qualitative study by three women professors of educational leadership, who have their own mentoring experiences, knowledge of K-12 public schools, and the process of this research to share with the reader.

The book is not only for women who aspire to school leadership positions and those who will mentor them, but also for both women and men who have a critical role to play, and a responsibility to re-define mentoring in order to bring forth the best new leaders for our schools. Some mentors, for example, white males, may represent different styles, interests, and voices to those represented here, but they also have an interest in learning from, understanding, and accessing the talents and abilities of all potential leaders, not just those who are similar to them. And as Kristeva argues men can exist in so-called feminine mode and women can exist in so-called masculine mode; to think otherwise is to force men and women into patriarchy's straitjacket (Tong 1993, 230). Thus, women and men may find the issues and directions discussed in this book part of

their ongoing struggle in working towards pluralistic leadership. A brief description of the structure of the book follows.

In this chapter, we examine: (a) the context of women in educational leadership; (b) the concept of mentoring—what is mentoring / how is mentoring; and (c) briefly introduce the reader to our field study. Later chapters give details on the mentoring of women, white and of color, why it affects one's life and career, and how mentoring can be informed by feminist theory. In addition, three state chapters develop key ideas found in the complete dataset: on women's conflicts as they are mentored into educational leadership (Washington state); mentoring as caring and caregiving (Virginia); and cultivating feminist educational leadership through mentoring (Maryland). The concluding chapter pulls the threads together and critically discusses issues and concerns with mentoring, as well as outlining the potential for mentoring to transform educational leadership.

WOMEN IN EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP

Nationwide in K-12 education, women, white and minority, do not have adequate entry into the most prestigious leadership positions. K-12 public education has traditionally been and is still characterized by a feminized profession with a predominance of women in the teaching ranks and fewer women in leadership, especially at the superintendent level. As J. Blount (1998, 3) explains, educational administration is a "traditionally male-identified educational domain." Low numbers of women are in "executive positions in education [K-12 school administration] as well as even fewer numbers of female professors in educational administration (fewer than 2 percent)" (Gupton and Slick 1996, 90). Among practicing superintendents nationwide, only 7.1 percent (Montenegro 1993) / 7.5 percent are women (Pence 1995), and only 7.6 percent of high school principals are women (Pence 1995, 136). The male dominance of leadership is "striking because superintendents rise from the ranks of teachers, 70 percent of whom are women" (Chase 1995, 36). Likewise, a color gap exists. Only 4 percent of superintendents nationwide are minorities (Glass 1992, 55). Almost all minority superintendents are black or Hispanic, with most minority superintendents in school districts with enrollments of more than three thousand students (Glass 1992, 55). The "glass ceiling" is a term that has been applied to explain the underrepresentation of women

and minorities in leadership as a result of the presence of informal barriers that impose a ceiling on achievement. The number of women in educational administration has increased, “yet the glass ceiling has not been broken, especially in the high school principalship and the superintendency,” which are the most prestigious positions in public education (Schmuck (1995, 213). Women who are school superintendents are, as S. Chase (1995, 12) argues, “at once powerful individuals and members of groups that have been subject to racism and sexism throughout American history.”

So how do aspiring administrators gain entry to the profession? Educational administrators are encouraged to enter this professional realm through mentoring and role modeling. Mentoring, in addition to personal aspirations and talents, would seem to be critical for those aspiring to administrative positions (see Covell 1978; Daresh 1987; Daresh and Playko 1992; Klauss 1981; Pence 1995; Poll 1978; Price 1981; Shakeshaft 1989, 115–116; Stevenson 1974; Vertz 1985). D. J. Levinson and his colleagues, as early as 1978, reported that mentorship was critical for men’s advancement in educational administration. Typically, mentorship is the special and favored relationship that is cultivated whereby the mentor counsels, guides, and helps the protégé to develop both personally and professionally. In educational administration, mentorship has traditionally been cast as an “old boy network.” S. Gupton and G. Slick (1996, 91) put it this way, “older male executives and male professors typically prefer protégés who are junior versions of themselves.” An invisible network of older professionals have groomed their protégés, younger versions of themselves, for top-level positions. They have largely been white men, who promoted younger white men, who have been expected to maintain their leadership styles, standards and cultural mores.

As R. Hall and B. Sandler (1983, 1) suggest for women seeking leadership positions, “success often depends not only on what you know but whom you know—not only on hard work, but also on encouragement, guidance, support and advocacy from those who are already established in the system.” J. Alston (1999, 86) identifies one of the facilitators for black female superintendents’ entry into the superintendency is the provision of a mentor or sponsor. M. Rowe (1981, 102) notes the lack of mentoring of women and advises women strongly to “go find yourself a mentor.” Johnsrud (1990, 59) also affirms the importance of mentoring: “there is probably no other single relationship that can be instrumental in enhancing an

administrative career in higher education than a quality mentoring relationship" (1990, 59). This comment applies equally well to K-12 public school administration.

The underrepresentation of women in high-level leadership positions is thought to be connected to mentoring. Mentoring and role modeling are essential for success in educational administration, and women have had limited access to both. As Nicolson argues:

This informal model [of mentoring] is more effective in terms of career advancement and motivation than any formal system could be. The system cannot work for women in the same way because there is not the long term continuity or the number of women to make this possible, and neither is there a tradition of such practice. (1996, 106)

While most women have not had mentors, many of those who have been successful in acquiring administrative titles currently have or have had mentors in the past. In a study of aspiring school administrators by S. Edson (1995, 43) of those women "who identified mentors in 1979–80, 42 percent (or fifty-nine women) became principals or beyond by the end of ten years, whereas only 17 percent (or twenty-four women) who did not have mentors were able to advance." Similarly, Gupton and Slick's (1996, 92) survey of 151 women superintendents, assistant superintendents, and high school principals revealed that the majority of those women leaders had "significant numbers" of positive role models and supportive mentors in their lives. Mentoring, or the lack of it, has been a means of excluding other potential leaders from the system. In turn, with transformation, mentoring could become a means of opening up opportunities for those traditionally denied access, such as women and minorities. If the top management is held primarily by men and a few women who may have been enculturated into white, male-administrative norms, women, white and of color, may be at a disadvantage in not only finding a mentor, but in also identifying with and internalizing any mentoring that is given. Thus, M. Lang and C. A. Ford (1988) point out the need for building community and mentoring, particularly amongst women of color, if women of color are to succeed. C. Hetherington and R. Barcelo (1985, 14) call for cross-cultural mentoring or "womentoring," arguing that women, white and of color, need to work together if women are to be successful.

Furthermore, while it is agreed that mentors are almost essential for those aspiring to educational leadership (*e.g.*, Aisenberg and Harrington 1988, 47; Edson 1995, 43), insufficient details are given on just what it takes to establish, maintain, and benefit from mentoring relationships. Researchers (Merriam 1983, 171; Moore and Salimbene 1981, 64; Stalker 1994) conclude that more research is needed to clarify the actual workings of mentoring. At the same time, mentoring has been uncritically accepted by many educators as desirable, almost a panacea for women, and in need of formal implementation.

In many school districts and in professional educational organizations, such as state associations of school administrators, mentoring has become a formalized process. Since the 1970s, when mentoring became recognized as important to success in educational administration, efforts were made to actively recruit and promote women and minorities into administrative positions. Organizations began using formal mentorship to help guide the way of underrepresented groups to executive ranks. Formal mentorship programs of school districts and educational organizations range from being voluntary to being mandated at the state level (Pence 1995, 126–127). For example, in 1986 the U. S. Department of Education allocated seven million dollars for a project named LEAD which was to encourage the mentorship of underrepresented groups in administration. In a number of states participating in Project LEAD (Leadership for Educational Administration Development), centers were formed whereby administrators and university people came together to formally pair up mentors and protégés / mentees and provide a structured environment for them to network:

The program designated mentors and protégés from different school districts. A steering committee matched mentors and protégés and developed plans for four statewide dinner presentation meetings. During the school year, mentors and protégés discussed important educational issues and shared their plans with other participants. These four dinner meetings served as the major activity to help mentors and aspirants clarify their work together and learn new ways to work together. (Pence 1995, 128) (Also see U. S. Department of Education 1992)

Likewise, the president of the Confederation of Oregon School Administrators developed a mentorship program including twenty

selected administrative protégés (women and minorities) matched with twenty practicing administrators in districts other than their own. In this program, the mentor pairs meet and devise a plan for developing leadership skills, with meetings bringing together all participants to share their experiences (Schmuck 1995, 213). However, such formalized programs, which rely on an organization matching mentor and protégé, overlook the fact that “mentoring relationships demand a personal connection that cannot be mandated” (Johnsrud 1990, 62).

Women and minorities may also have special needs in mentoring and their voices need to be heard because the dominant culture of educational administration is androcentric, or that of white male-identified norms:

Women administrators have additional difficulty learning their administrative role because there are conflicting attitudes about the stereotypes of what it means to be female and what it means to be an administrator. Developing relationships with veteran practicing administrators provides a link for neophytes and protégés that are important for learning the tasks and challenges of a new position. These relationships can especially be important to a woman or minority who is “different” from the stereotyped image of an administrator who is white and male. (Pence 1995, 125)

Perceptions of difference, different experiences or styles of leadership is not the problem; it is prevailing attitudes and assumptions concerning women in leadership:

It is not viewing women as different from men that harms women, but rather identifying women and women’s styles of leadership as inferior to men and men’s styles of leadership. (Shakeshaft 1989, 115)

When mentoring does occur, in whose interest is mentoring? Women and minorities tend to feel that the powerful men who mentor them may be doing this as much to enhance their own careers as to help their protégés (also see Kanter 1977). Women may feel used in these relationships. As Johnsrud (1991, 8) argues, academic women are now being warned against engaging in traditional mentoring relationships, and to seek alternatives such as “peer pals, col-

legal networks and other developmental relationships” (Hall and Sandler, 1983; Kram, 1983; Nichols, Carter and Golden, 1985; Pancrazio and Gray, 1982; Shapiro, Haseltine, and Rowe, 1978; Swoboda and Millar, 1986). In the traditional mentoring relationship, the imbalance of power and the hierarchical nature of the relationship puts one person, the mentor, in a superior role, with the protégé dependent on the mentor’s largesse. In alternative mentoring, women are encouraged to engage in more participatory and equal relationships of affiliation, collaboration, and sharing.

Finally, in using labels, such as “men,” “white male,” “women,” and “women of color,” this is not to imply common issues or conflicts. There may be as much variation within as between gender and ethnic groups, which are the two subjectivities / identities that are the focus of this book. For instance, placing personal and family relationships as more important than career success / goals / ambitions can also be a source of conflict for some men as well as for those particular women discussed in this book. And for many women such concerns may not exist. Some men also may be in need of some of the kinds of mentoring outlined in this book. While our focus here is on the intersection of race and gender, we also have to take into account the multiple identities of people, for example, Democrat, Catholic, gay parent, single mother, and so on, and how this plays into their perspectives on mentoring and leadership. Our goal is to work towards pluralistic schools and society unconstructed by gender and race. We believe that as a result of a policy of exclusion in educational leadership the leadership potential for our schools has been impoverished, and that attention needs to be given to the voices and experiences of those who might bring new awarenesses and insights to our schools.

THE CONCEPT OF MENTORING

Definitions of mentorship in the literature are varied, as evidenced in the following long list of synonyms:

Words such as teaching, coaching, advising, training, directing, protecting, sponsoring, guiding and leading are among the terms used [for mentoring]. Similarly, words such as mentee, protégé, apprentice, learner and novice, used to describe the person being mentored, hint at the diverse nature of the mentoring activity. (Stalker 1994, 362)

In studying this topic, we found ourselves faced with word choices: mentoring or womentoring; protégé, protégée or mentee as the most common. Although our interviewees used the word mentee at times, as well as the word protégé, we as researchers decided to standardize our own usage. Mentee has yet to be used officially in standard English dictionaries, and protégée as the feminine form of protégé seemed outdated, therefore we decided to use the term protégé. We acknowledge that the words have slightly different connotations. Protégé is reminiscent of earlier times when men chose other men to sponsor and groom them for a particular role. Interestingly, in the end, this study confirms that this connotation is still relevant, which is perhaps our best reason for using the word protégé, since we hope to help change traditional mentoring practices.

The traditional mentoring model is that of the *mentoring dyad*, an “intense, lasting, and professionally centered relationship between two individuals” (Moore and Salimbene 1981). However, not everyone experiences this “strong, intense relationship.” According to B. Sandler (1995, 105) “25 percent of professionals, or fewer, have had the strong, intense relationships that we traditionally call mentoring.” People may have supportive relationships that they use for their professional or personal gain, but they may not identify these relationships as mentoring. In contrast to the dyad, more recent mentoring models emphasize peer relationships, and multiple ways of mentoring across large social networks (e.g., Stalker 1994).

In what follows, we review some of the most commonly used metaphors for mentoring to illustrate the different forms that mentoring may take between these two extremes of the dyad and the large social networks of peers. It should be noted that many of the writings combine elements from various metaphors. Thus, the teacher metaphor may be dominant, but the mentor may also be likened to a parent or guide.

WHAT IS MENTORING?

What are the interactions like in mentoring relationships is a question we sought to clarify. Two types of interactions were identified by K. Moore and A. Salimbene (1981, 56): the superior / subordinate (what we call “mentor as boss” interactions); and the relationship between faculty members and students (what we call “mentor as adviser”). We suggest some additional types of interac-

tions found in mentoring relationships: mentor as teacher, mentor as guide, mentor as parent, mentor as spiritual or philosophical guru, mentor as gatekeeper, mentor as public role model, and mentor as friend or peer.

Mentor as boss or superior. In the boss or superior model, mentoring is premised on one person having greater power and responsibility than the other. The superordinate who is also a mentor (for not all bosses are mentors) has the best interests of the subordinate in mind. But there is clearly a differentiation between the ability of one of the people in the relationship to garner resources than the other. The subordinate is dependent on the superordinate for his / her professional success. In this hierarchical, power relationship, the positive aspect is that a powerful mentor can open doors much more readily than a peer. The disadvantages are the potential for abuse, exploitation, and dependence (Gupton and Slick 1996, 93; Johnsrud 1990, 64). In addition, amongst other difficulties, when the supervisor is the mentor, there is a danger of other staff members under the same supervisor perceiving favoritism (Hennecke 1983; Johnsrud 1990, 63).

Mentor as adviser. This view is one typically associated with the graduate student in the university and the professor who serves as major professor or mentor. The professor is seen as a wise adviser in formal and informal settings initiating the protégé into the academy, and socializing her / him into scientific research norms, ethics, and a professional orientation (*e.g.*, see Schmidt and Wolfe 1980). May (1990, 285) argues that the mentor teaches the student a “wide range of subjects ranging from specific techniques and experimental procedures to ways of thinking about research, science, and life in general. Much of what a student learns in a graduate program is obtained by modeling ideas and behavior on those of someone who has mastered the field.” It is also argued that the once intimate and one-to-one relationship between mentor and protégé in the university has been replaced in many cases with “large research laboratories, employing dozens of technicians and professional staff as well as many graduate students and postdoctoral associates . . . large teams perform research under the direction of a busy, harried, and often remote supervisor” (May 1990, 287). Guidelines are sometimes developed by universities to outline the mentoring responsibilities of graduate faculty to their students. For instance, at Stanford

University the Graduate Student Academic Advising Guidelines for departments states that mentoring: “requires role modeling, intensive constructive dialogue, and especially a willingness to be hard-nosed. Most crucially it involves avoiding the two opposite dangers of nonconstructive hand holding and too much nurturing on the one hand and on the other zealous efforts to train students to deal with the challenge of working independently without guidance” (LaPidus and Mishkin 1990, 285).

Mentor as teacher. Another frequent metaphor is that mentoring is a form of teaching. For instance, F. Parkay (1988, 195–196) writes that mentoring is an adult teacher-learner connection between two people whereby the teacher provides the student with a customized and individualized curriculum that is maximally growth promoting in all ways, for example, Socrates and Plato, Aristotle and Alexander the Great, Anne Sullivan and Helen Keller, and Freud and Jung. Mentoring is seen to go beyond formalized teaching in the following ways:

First, the mentor-protégé relationship matures and develops over time, usually several years. Second, the degree and quality of caring a mentor extends to the protégé is similar to the intimacy that exists among family members. The relationship is deeper and more holistic than the teacher-student relationship; likewise, the psychological bond between mentor and protégé is more potent, more emotional. Third, the protégé learns from the mentor not only the objective, manifest content of professional knowledge and skills but also a subjective, nondiscursive appreciation for how and when to employ these learnings in the arena of professional practice. In short, the mentor helps the protégé to “learn the ropes,” to become socialized into the profession. Finally, the essence of mentoring is to be found in the way the mentor inexplicably “teaches” him or herself to the protégé who, over time, internalizes much of this ego ideal—i.e., the set of “ideal” goals one has for oneself. (Erikson 1978; Parkay 1988, 195–196)

In the example just given, the view of mentoring that emerges can best be described as a combination of teacher-student, adviser and a parent-child relationship. Speaking of his own mentor, Dr. Herbert

Thelen, a professor at the University of Chicago, Parkay writes: "Not only was he more intelligent, experienced and well-known than I, the child, could ever hope to be, but he might (or so my unconscious imagined) turn against me, his 'son.' . . . The parent-child dynamics I have described are to be found, I feel, in all mentor-protégé relationships" (Parkay 1988, 199).

Mentor as guide. Another view of mentoring in the literature is that of the professional guide who socializes others into their professions in a nurturing, nonthreatening manner (e.g., see Nichols, Carter and Golden 1985). For instance, mentoring is used as a concept to explain teachers socializing new teachers into the profession (e.g., Gehrke and Kay 1984). On mentoring guidance for faculty, and specifically the professional challenge of gaining tenure in higher education, N. Aisenberg and M. Harrington write:

Another woman tells of critical help [mentoring] she received during a recent, and positive, process of tenure decision. "I was very lucky to have a female chairperson who took me through tenure the way you would want a mother to stand by you as a guide, who really cared about you but wanted you to have your own independence. And tenure is normally for people here a pretty horrible process." (1988, 47)

In this case, the mentor is assisting the protégé to be guided and socialized into the profession, with its productivity demands of teaching, research, and service. We see some overlap with the parent metaphor, for the mentor acted "the way you would want a mother to stand by you."

Mentor as parent. Mentors are frequently seen as like loving and wise parents, nurturing their young, and promoting their professional growth and development. Children use the advice, guidance, resources, and protection of their parents as long as they are needed, and then they move on with their lives. The goal of the parent-mentor is for the protégé, seen initially as child-like, to be brought fully to adult status through the equivalent of the novice stages of infancy, childhood, and the teen years through to mature, equal, and responsible adult status. E. Bolton (1980) suggests that "the primary function of a mentor is to provide a transition from the child-parent relationship to the adult-peer relationship in the course of development. The mentor must

then be a combination of these figures in order to guide this transition successfully” (Bolton 1980, 199). Obviously, care, concern and love are elements of the parent-child type relationship, and also greater power on the part of the “parent” figure, and dependence on the part of the protégé.

Mentor as spiritual or philosophical guru. When mentorship is seen in terms of spiritual guidance, emphasis is placed on conceptual development according to some philosophy. A mentoring relationship with a guru is similar to that of rabbis or priests with their followers, and is based on the spiritual authority they are given. As an example, the mentor may be an ardent feminist or human rights activist and the protégé has never thought of him / herself in those terms and has never explored the particular literature or principles. The mentor may be the one responsible for awakening certain possibilities, ideas or consciousness within the protégé (see Kanter 1977; Carter 1982).

Mentor as gatekeeper. When one is defined by oneself and others as a member of a certain group, certain rights, responsibilities, and privileges are granted. Elders of the group may look out for and promote the well-being of younger members, and those who do not belong may be ostracized or treated less well than insiders. This type of gatekeeping mentoring is embodied in the practice of the “old boy network” that has traditionally operated in educational administration whereby male-to-male relationships of men with like values and norms were established, and women and men of color received little or no opportunity to participate in educational administration. The gatekeeper invites the upwardly mobile into the select circle of the power elite (Moore and Salimbene 1981, 58). Mentors operating in this way have a strong influence on the careers of their protégés’ (Roche 1979a). The negative aspect of this type of mentoring is the reproduction, carbon copy, mirror image outcome of the relationships and leadership that may ensue.

Mentor as public role model. Here established professionals are highly visible in a public role and serve to inspire and give guidance and direction to younger professionals, in a similar way that basketball heroes serve as role models to thousands of young aspiring basketball players. For example, a woman professor may be a mentor to many young women who look up to her and try to follow her example

and advice, even though they may never have the opportunity to meet her and know her personally (see Aisenberg and Harrington 1988, 47). This is a type of mentoring that does not apply to the women in this study, all of whom are in specific, cultivated mentoring relationships with one or more mentors.

Mentor as friend or peer. The friendship approach to mentoring is similar to the peer relationship. Friend-as-mentor is an egalitarian relationship, one where the needs of both parties are negotiated and reciprocated. The personal and the professional are closely intertwined and connected. The mentor attends to the protégé as a whole person, rather than strictly differentiating between appropriate work needs. In our study, we found some apprehension and consciousness of the dangers of an intensely personal mentoring relationship turning into an accusation of sexual involvement. Most mentors and protégés are conscious of the need to not put themselves in a position of compromise, and to always act with integrity and professionalism. But many felt this kind of talk and innuendo occurs anyway, regardless of the professional nature of the relationship, because many people cannot believe that two individuals are capable of an intense Platonic and professional relationship. From a critical standpoint, however, there should be awareness of the sexualized environment of educational administration and the inherent power relations (Shakeshaft 1995). Thus, there may sometimes be problems when mentoring is intensely personalized. But we need to remember that claims such as that “men fear mentoring women” because of the possibility of a sexual harassment lawsuit (see Scott 1996, 35) is really part of an ongoing power struggle between men and women, and part of the sexualized environment of educational administration (Shakeshaft 1993, 101).

Recent literature advocates strongly for mentoring with peers, usually as part of large social networks and multiple relationships. In this model, women are encouraged to form networks with multiple mentors across different age and ethnic groups. Mentoring is a more egalitarian and reciprocal relationship. Professional peers have many different things to offer women, whereas the traditional mentoring dyad can be too isolating or create a false sense of security when the protégé overrelies on the mentor and places too much trust and responsibility in one person: “putting all one’s eggs in one basket” (Gupton and Slick 1996, 93; Sandler 1995). These types of equal, helpful peer relationships “are seen as having a positive

impact on people's professional success" (Johnsrud 1990, 58) (Also see Sandler and Hall 1983; Hill et. al. 1989). The advantages of peer relationships are the mutual sharing, emotional and career support that can occur. A disadvantage is that sometimes peers compete with one another, and the sharing in relationships can become compromised. We found many women who either practice or believe strongly in the idea of forming these connections and sharing power with others. Unlike the "old boy's network" which only transferred power to select, favored individuals, the networking that women say they seek and want would be a positive force for all women in educational leadership. Network in this sense is a verb, an active, informal helping process of empowerment for many, not a noun connoting a club with select membership.

Such mentoring networks have not yet been fully realized. S. Gupton and G. Slick's (1996, 96) survey of 151 women public school leaders found that 20 percent "have never mentored anyone—male or female." In the present study, women had one or more mentors, and had experienced mentoring from many people, women and men. But the women complained that women did not yet have in place the networks that they desired. They envisage a network of women and men helping women and men. J. Stalker paints this picture of women as transformers of society: "women as groups of active agents; actors who are able to take and shape space to their own ends" (Stalker 1994, 370). Women leaders are transforming schools and society by their leadership, as we show in this book. However, the process is by necessity incremental and less revolutionary than one might want, for women are both accommodating of / "same," and separated from the dominant patriarchal structures / "other" (Stalker 1994, 370). However, the results of women's influence on mentoring practices and educational leadership are profound, and are likely to continue for many years.

HOW IS MENTORING?

Favoritism, jealousy and competition in mentoring. Women sometimes complain that women are not mentoring women. They say it is the powerful, established men who are doing the mentoring. Is this the case? If so, why? Are women, white and of color, truly supportive of one another? Or do the white men who hold the bulk of the power and positions make it difficult for women to secure power? Do women

end up in a colonized position, vying with each other for the seemingly limited patronage of their male mentor, and fighting with one another for recognition? S. Chase (1995, 5) points out that “even the most privileged women in the American work force [e.g., superintendents] are subject to institutionalized male and white dominance.” Why do some people seem to be favorites in the workplace, gaining the mentoring attention of superiors, and the advantages that ensue? Why are some women pushed to the margins despite their awesome talents and abilities, while others succeed? Why is the competition associated with advancement often a source of conflict for women, who may view the world differently, in more collaborative terms, and be uncomfortable with winning at the expense of others? As one woman put it:

In administration you need to get recognized to move ahead and to get recognized you have to do something that's particularly outstanding that is going to call attention to yourself and some people seem to go about that in a very personal way, trying to call attention to themselves perhaps even at the expense of the other people. I've always found that that was impossible for me to do. That what I enjoy doing is cooperating with other people and facilitating the sort of getting ahead for a group of people as opposed to me as a single individual getting ahead . . . I think it is a real problem, it has been a real problem for me. (Aisenberg and Harrington 1988, 60)

A further consideration is what happens in a mentoring relationship when the protégé becomes equal to or surpasses the mentor (Gupton and Slick 1996, 93). Jealousy has the potential to disrupt relationships and to poison efforts and motives. A common motif in the literature is that of the jealous powerful woman, the “Queen Bee” who guards and protects her exclusive status (see Benton 1980; Ginn 1989; Gupton and Slick 1996, 91–92). In this study, we include many counter examples to this motif, women who gladly and freely share power, knowledge, and their lives with each other, while acknowledging the existence of tensions and conflicts in these close relationships.

Stages in establishing mentoring relationships. S. Acker (1995, 61) suggests that protégés will not gain mentoring unless they give

evidence to the mentor that they are willing to stand apart from their peers and gain from the mentorship. Gaining the attention of a superior and cultivating a mentor is described in the following way:

Some teachers seemed able to display some special qualities that triggered Liz's [principal Liz Clarke] strongest sponsorship efforts. A subtle labelling process seemed to be at work. In the schools I studied or visited, heads, including Liz, rarely did any systematic observation of teachers actually teaching classes, although they would pass by or through the classrooms frequently. Judgments about teaching competence were not necessarily arrived at by direct empirical evidence derived from the classroom. . . . Mrs. Clarke had clear ideas about who was "like a rock" or a "good, average teacher" or "a brilliant teacher." In other words, mentorship is seen as a process of "labelling," encouraged by "triggering" mentorship efforts through appropriate behavior (such as agreeing to suggestions put forward by the mentor) and indications that the mentee is worthy of special efforts on the mentor's part. (Evetts 1989)

In this case, the protégé is seen as instrumental in helping set the conditions for the establishment of a mentoring relationship. Mentoring is thus often seen as occurring in stages, with an evolving relationship that begins with the establishment of a connection between people, through mentoring which leads to greater independence on the part of the protégé. For instance, mentoring has been described as progressing from: (a) peer pals, (b) guide, (c) sponsor, and finally, (d) mentor, which is the highest level of intensity and commitment (Shapiro et. al. 1978, 57). In contrast, for K. Moore (1982, 24), the stages are seen to involve first the mentor, who is typically in a higher level position, recognizing the talents of a protégé (she may have distinguished herself as a teacher-leader for instance, and may be invited to consider joining the administrative ranks). Second, the mentor poses a series of tests and challenges to the protégé, although this stage is said to be usually brief. Third, the mentor consciously chooses to work closely with the protégé and begins intentional mentoring. Fourth, the protégé is put to work purposively with personal growth and career development goals.

Still other researchers focus on the work that the mentors do to encourage protégés through the various stages:

There was a stage of getting her convinced that she can do it. And then there's the always inevitable stage of vice principalship and convincing them they don't know everything and they quit trying to act like they do. Then there's the period of frustrations—am I ever going to get one of those jobs? And you have to sort of take them through that. And that's a real tough one. You really have to hold some hands during that time because by that time they have got a vision and a dream and it doesn't look like it's going to happen. You have to counsel some patience and wait till the right thing comes along. Don't get too excited about this—your time will come. It will happen to you. So you go through that with them. Then, of course, there's the euphoria of when they get the job. Then there's the tears, or anger, or scared, actually it's fear after they have gotten it and they are faced with their first two or three big ones. I've really got to make this decision. Is it going to turn out all right? Is everyone going to hate me when I do it? Am I capable of doing a job this difficult? There's lots of stages through the whole thing. (Pence 1989, 130)

These references to stages of mentoring suggest the need to examine more systematically and in close detail the process of mentoring and the shift in relationship between mentor and protégé. In the example above, the mentoring that is occurring is primarily that of a junior novice being encouraged and counseled by a senior expert. Is that the only form of mentoring? Might there be other types of mentoring that women, white and of color, find more appealing and effective? In our study, some women did talk of stages in mentoring, and in some cases of being able to bypass stages, because the trust had already been laid down by many years of acquaintance and professional relationship. In later chapters, we conceptualize these stages, as well as detailing the types of relationships, and the outcomes that women anticipated and realized in their mentoring relationships.

Women's mentoring and an ethic of care. Conventional wisdom also holds that women leaders are perhaps moral leaders, with a strong emphasis on what has become known as an ethic of care (Noddings 1984, 1992; Beck 1994). Sometimes this is mistakenly assumed to be

oversentimental and emotional. C. Shakeshaft (1995) claims that women are uncomfortable using power—we care for others, we placate, we please, yet we have to learn how to use power, she argues. Is this the case? Do women, white and minority, have to learn to do things the white, male way, or are they able to do things differently and develop their own styles that may or may not use power, or power may be interpreted in another way? For instance, Mary Catherine Bateson, in her extraordinary biography, *Composing a Life* (1990) reveals the strength in leadership of five accomplished professional women. Each of the women in this book, Johnnetta Cole, president of Spelman College, Joan Erikson, dancer, writer, and jewelry designer, Alice d'Entremont, electrical engineer and entrepreneur, Ellen Bassuk, psychiatrist and researcher on homelessness, and Professor Mary Catherine Bateson herself, an anthropologist and professor, has enjoyed rich personal relationships, and mentoring from significant others. Further, each of the women display an incredible flexibility, an ability to adapt and adjust to whatever circumstances they find themselves in. Rather than a linear path to success in their professional lives, the women adapt and change in response to the unpredictable and sometimes fortuitous events and opportunities that occur in their lives. Bateson suggests that from their position on the margins of public life, women have been able to improvise and use the space and freedom that marginality provides. She argues that these women combine professional fulfillment with personal ideals of interdependence, an ethic of care grounded in reality, and imaginative creativity. What might also be seen as discontinuity, lost opportunities and marginal positioning for women, for example, following one's partner to new cities and countries and putting one's own career on a lower priority, Bateson turns into an affirmation of women's strength and ability to keep personal relationships intact while searching out new professional opportunities in the work world. On mentoring faculty as a dean, a position Bateson held for a number of years, she explains

The appropriate degree of caretaking in such roles as dean can only be accessible to professional and conscientious men and women if it is freed from cliches and practiced with judgment: the best caretaker offers a combination of challenge and support, yet adults dealing with women administrators are sometimes as fretful as infants denied the breast. To be nurturant is not always to concur and comfort, to stroke and