

Do Candidates' Gender and Professional Experience Influence Superintendent Selection Decisions?

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Abstract

With superintendents being overwhelmingly White, male, career educators, investigations into what factors contribute to the homogeneous composition of the position are warranted. This study examined whether superintendent candidates' and school board chairpersons' gender and candidates' professional background impact resume screening decisions. Chairpersons were selected randomly from across the United States to receive one of six types of hypothetical superintendent candidates' resumes and respond to a survey requiring subjects to rate their likelihood of recommending the candidate for an interview. Variables examined were candidates' gender, professional experience, and gender-similarity with the chairperson. An ordinal logistic regression was used to identify differences between groups. Results do not support the existence of gender-related bias by chairpersons but did find a preference for traditional candidates.

Key Words

superintendent selection, gender, professional experience

Introduction

Superintendents are often considered the most visible and influential figure within a school district. He or she wields great influence over the choice and implementation of district- and school-level initiatives, personnel selection decisions, achievement, and culture and climate.

Considering the substantial influence superintendents have on the success of their districts, selecting the best candidate to fill a superintendent vacancy is the most important and, yet, challenging function a school board must undertake (Hord & Estes, 1993).

Biases held by school board members against individuals based on demographic characteristics can hinder a school board's ability to select the best candidate and can also lead to costly litigation. Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, for instance, explicitly prohibits the discrimination of individuals based on sex, race, color, national origin, and religion.

Nonetheless, American superintendents are most frequently White, male, and career educators (Kowalski, McCord, Petersen, Young, & Ellerson, 2011). This is especially problematic if these attributes are not related to superintendents' performance but are the reason candidates are screened out of the superintendent selection process. To what extent these factors matter in the superintendent selection process are unknown and is the reason this study was conducted.

Background Literature

School districts, like most employers, often rely on certain selection techniques to predict the probability that a candidate will be successful in the position and for the organization. A standard approach to the selection process for

any organization is utilizing initial and substantive assessment methods (Heneman, Judge, & Kammeyer-Mueller, 2014).

Initial assessments reduce the costs associated with selection by preemptively decreasing the number of candidates to be assessed by substantive assessment methods, which require more time and resources.

This phase in the selection process is frequently referred to as screening and include examples such as resumes and cover letters, application blanks, biographical information, reference reports, handwriting analysis, and literacy testing (Heneman et al., 2014). Substantive assessments are subsequently employed to make more informed judgments about remaining candidates and can include personality tests, ability tests, work samples, personal inventories, clinical assessments, and, most often, interviews (Heneman et al., 2014).

Being successful during both types of selection assessments is important for a candidate to secure a job offer; however, initial screening decisions are the focus of this study because a candidate cannot proceed further in the hiring process until this barrier is passed first.

Candidate gender

Within American public schools, females comprise 76% of all teachers, 52% of all principals, and yet only 24% of all superintendents, which is vastly disproportionate (Kowalski et al., 2011; National Center of Education Statistics, n.d.).

In response to the conspicuous disproportion of female superintendents, Glass, Björk, and Brunner (2000) asked: "What deters large numbers of women from becoming superintendents? Is the position not alluring to women? Are preparation program entryways

blocked? Are school board members not inclined to hire women? Are search firms not bringing women into their pools?" (p.45). Many have postulated plausible explanations for the dearth of female superintendents; some of the causes are self-selected by females and others are external.

Self-selected

Sperandio and Devdas (2015) state that the superintendency is not the aspiration of many women but, rather, they aspire towards occupying roles more closely linked to students.

Grogan and Shakeshaft (2013) claim that care for students is what most often motivated females to become educators and is what compels them to seek roles which can directly influence students. They further argue that achieving personal satisfaction, rather than career advancement, might also be the primary driving force behind many female educators' career decisions.

To one day obtain a superintendency, one will likely need to relocate multiple times (Sperandio & Devdas, 2015), yet many women opt not to (Glass, 2000). Muñoz, Pankake, Ramalho, Mills, & Simonsson (2014) contend that women applying for superintendent positions give up too quickly.

Glass (2000) postulates that female educators: 1) are not in positions that normally lead to the superintendency; 2) are not gaining superintendent credentials in preparation programs; 3) are not as experienced nor as interested in districtwide fiscal management as their male counterparts; 4) are not interested in the superintendency for personal reasons; 5) enter the field of education for purposes other than pursuing leadership opportunities; and 6) enter administrative positions too late in their careers.

Whatever the reason, women pursuing the superintendency is not proportionate to the number of women who have or are pursuing superintendent certification (Grogan & Brunner, 2005).

External

The most commonly mentioned explanations for female underrepresentation are a lack of encouragement for women to pursue the superintendency and biases held by school board members (e.g., Brunner & Kim, 2010; Sperandio & Devdas, 2014; Tallerico, 2000). In a direct retort to Glass (2000), Brunner and Kim (2010, p. 279) pronounce Glass' assertions as "myths and misunderstandings" and counter each, going so far as to state that they "can offer no explanation for the dearth of women in the superintendency other than the fact that long-held biases" are the root cause (p. 301).

Blaming the underrepresentation of female superintendents on school board members' biases during the selection process is so prevalent that it is considered almost axiomatic and described as "fact" (Brunner & Kim, 2010). Yet, the claim is supported largely by correlational (i.e., the disproportionately low percentage of female superintendents) and anecdotal evidence from female educators (e.g., Tallerico, 2000) and without evidence based on the examination of selection biases of school board members, this "fact" cannot be substantiated.

With 44% of school board members nationally being female (National School Boards Association, 2015), would those pointing to external discriminatory factors claim that men are discriminating against women or that women are discriminating against other women too? Are there other possible factors at play? Brunner and Kim's (2010) avowal may very well be accurate;

however, more evidence is necessary to uphold, or perhaps invalidate, the claim.

Conceptualizing the superintendency

The National Commission on Excellence in Education published *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 resulting in increased attention and criticism of American public schools. One result was a renewed interest in market-based school reforms, such as increased school choice options and school accountability standards and deregulation (Dudley-Marling & Baker, 2012). Neoliberalism, as it is often called (Harvey, 2007), has significantly affected public education.

One effect has been the implementation of voucher-based school choice programs in places such as Milwaukee, Cleveland, and Florida, and a more than 500% increase in attendance at alternative school choices nationally (U.S. Department of Education, 2015).

Arguably the most meaningful effect that neoliberalism has yielded on American schooling came through the passage of No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in 2001. NCLB enacted many market-based concepts such as high-stakes testing and accountability, deregulation, school choice initiatives, merit pay, and competition among schools (Dudley-Marling & Baker, 2012).

One of the results of the rise of neoliberalism has been a re-consideration of superintendent preparation and qualifications and a call by some (e.g., Eisinger & Hula, 2004; Hess, 2003, Quinn, 2007) for an infusion of non-educators, business and military leaders mostly, to improve educational outcomes. With nearly half of school board members nationally having business experience and relatively few having professional education experience (Hess, 2002), one might expect an openness to

superintendent candidates with professional experience; yet only about 5% of superintendents nationally are nontraditional (Kowalski et al., 2011).

This study does not intend to argue for or against the employment of nontraditional superintendents, but merely to gain a better understanding of school board members' views of such candidates.

Theoretical Framework

Superintendent selection decisions can be affected by school board members' interest and their attraction to homologous attributes of the candidates, as such, this study utilized the similarity-attraction paradigm for its theoretical framing. Byrne's (1971) similarity-attraction paradigm postulates individuals are attracted to others who are similar in held attitudes and beliefs which can influence selection decisions made by employers when such characteristics become known or perceived.

Attitudes, values, or beliefs are not usually recognizable for observers of paper credentials; however, demographic similarity between the employer and candidate on characteristics such as gender can lead to perceived similarity in attitudes and beliefs.

Such perceived similarity can lead to interpersonal attraction and bias in a selection decision (Graves & Powell, 1995). With 56% of school board members being male (National School Boards Association, 2015), if similarity-attraction effects are real in the screening decisions of superintendent candidates, then such effects might be contributing to the dearth of female superintendents.

Purpose and Advancement

The purpose of this study is to investigate whether superintendent candidate and school board chairpersons' gender and candidates'

professional experience impact superintendent resume screening decisions. In so doing, the study yields empirical evidence as to whether or not biases exist and the extent to which bias contributes to the disproportionate percentages of female and nontraditional superintendents. This alone makes this study significant because there is very limited research examining the influences of gender and type of experience on the selection of superintendent candidates.

Furthermore, although research screening decisions has been extant for decades (e.g., Mayfield, 1964), and many studies have examined the public educational context (e.g., Reis, Young, & Jury, 1999; Young, 2005), rarely, if ever, have school board members been the subjects of such research. Therefore, by examining the school board members' selection decision-making processes, the current study serves as a potentially seminal work for a new stream of future research examining school board members' perceptions and bias directly.

This study seeks to address the following research questions:

- 1) *Does a superintendent candidate's gender affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview to the candidate?*
- 2) *Does a superintendent candidate's gender-similarity with the school board chairperson affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview to the candidate?*
- 3) *Does a superintendent candidate's type of experience (educational vs.*

military vs. business) affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview?

Method

The study's population is all school board chairpersons of United States' public school districts. To determine the necessary number of participants, a statistical power analysis was conducted using procedures as set forth by Cohen (1977) with an alpha level of 0.05, a *beta* of at least 0.20, a medium effect size, and a sample size of 139 or more was suggested via simulation using G*Power for logistic regression.

In addition to an overall study sample size, Peduzzi, Concato, Kemper, Holford, and Feinstein (1996) recommend at least ten responses per treatment group in a logistic regression analysis. Since similar research within social science has yielded approximately a 35.7% response rate (Baruch & Holtom, 2008), 480 subjects were selected randomly by Market Data Retrieval to be sampled with an anticipated receipt of 168 responses.

The sample was derived using a balanced stratified random sampling process based on gender, with male ($n = 240$) and female ($n = 240$) participants being randomly assigned in equal proportions to one of the six experimental conditions.

The survey instrument was delivered using a mixed-mode process which included a blind copied email, a second blind copied email, an individualized email, and a USPS-delivered packet, each in two-week intervals, with respondents to a delivery step being excluded from any subsequent survey deliveries. Included in each survey delivery was an explanatory cover letter, a superintendent candidate resume, and an electronic survey instrument. The cover letter

detailed the purpose of the study, solicited participation from the recipient, provided directions for participation, and assured confidentiality regarding their responses and participation.

The USPS-delivered packets also included a stamped, pre-addressed return envelope. This mixed-mode delivery process allowed for an increased response rate compared to a single U.S. mailed-only solicitation of participation (Kaplowitz, Hadlock, & Levine, 2004; Miller & Dillman, 2011).

With 177 responses, the response rate (37%) exceeded the 35% suggested by Baruch and Holtom (2008) for organization-level research. Both delivery methods utilized in the delivery process yielded relatively proportional response rates: 101 subjects responded via email (21%) and 76 responded by mail (20% of the remaining 379 solicited by mail).

Responses were evenly distributed amongst all of the treatment groups as suggested by Peduzzi et al. (1996), with males and females responding in comparable numbers to each. A check that the random assignment resulted in comparable treatment and control groups was conducted by analyzing the variance in demographic traits of respondents (e.g., school district size and number of superintendent selection committees participated in). No statistical difference was found, suggesting that the random assignment was effective.

Experimental manipulations

The independent variables in the study are gender of school board chairperson, gender of superintendent candidate, and type of professional experience of superintendent candidate. The hypothetical superintendent candidates' resumes varied only in the gender

and type of professional experience of the candidates, with subjects randomly assigned one of six potential candidate gender/experience combinations: male with educational background, male with business background, male with military background, female with educational background, female with business background, and female with military background.

Business and military backgrounds were utilized since these types of leaders are often proposed as alternatives to traditional superintendent candidates (e.g., AASA, 2016; Hess, 2003; Quinn, 2007).

To reduce the opportunity of confounding, all other information, such as level of educational attainment (EdD, JD, DBA), institution of educational attainment, total years of professional experience, years of experience at each step/level in career, current location, type of undergraduate degree (i.e., business management), candidates' surname, and look and format of resume, were all constant by design.

Demographic information, such as that of age and ethnicity were indistinguishable in the resumes by holding constant all years and lengths of service at each level of the profession in each resume as well as using the same surname for each candidate.

Content validity

Unlike other similar studies (e.g., Young, 2005), gender was operationalized in the resumes using gender-specific first names, "Patricia" or "Tom," rather than gender-specific title pre-fixes such as "Mr." and "Ms."

This was done to prevent confounding due to assumptions made by respondents about the marital status and/or age of hypothetical candidates. Patricia and Tom have been

empirically shown to be analogous in terms of attractiveness and connotations of age, competence, and race (Kasof, 1993; Mehrabian, 1988, 1990).

The operationalization of all independent variables was evaluated to determine content validity using a series of expert panels. A panel of actively-serving local school board members identified the names Patricia and Tom as being female- and male-associated, respectively, and the surname “Williams” as being non-associated with any specific ethnicity.

All of the above-mentioned forenames and surnames were validated using Lawshe’s (1975) Content Validity Ratio (CVR) at .99. A CVR score can range from 0 to 1, with 1 indicating complete consensus amongst the panelists. Lawshe (1975) suggests a minimum of at least five panelists with a minimum CVR of .99 in order to establish content validity; however, more panelists are suggested for lesser values of agreement. CVR can be calculated $(n_e - N/2)/(N/2)$, where n_e is the number of panelists indicating a certain response and N is the total number of panelists.

In addition, professional background was manipulated between educational experience (teacher, high school assistant principal, high school principal, and assistant superintendent of curriculum and instruction) and military and business experiences determined equivalent by two panels of experts.

ROTC instructors and business teachers were selected as the panels of experts for professional background experiences because these individuals have the unique experiences of having worked both in education and in the military or business field, respectively, making them uniquely qualified to compare the education occupation to that of their former

industry. The military and business experience panels provided military (Ensign, Lieutenant, Lieutenant Commander, and Commander) and business (sales representative, assistant sales manager, manager, and vice president of sales) positions equivalent to those included in the traditional resume with a high level of validity (CVR .99).

Dependent measures

The dependent variable—the likelihood school board chairpersons would extend an interview offer to a superintendent candidate—was rated using a 10-point Likert-type item with higher ratings indicative of greater likelihood of recommending candidate for an interview.

A panel of experts comprised of actively-serving school board members experienced with superintendent selections indicated their view of the level of importance that each of the items have on a superintendent selection decision. The panel’s responses indicated a high level of content validity (CVR .99), interrater reliability $k = 0.445$, and internal consistency $\alpha = .932$ while assessing that each of the items are important considerations in assessing a superintendent candidate.

Analysis

Dissimilar to decades of similar research (e.g., Bon, 2009; Reis et al., 1999; Rinehart & Young, 1996; Young, 2005), the results of this study were analyzed using ordinal logistic regression rather than an analysis of variance technique. The reason for the deviation is Likert scales are ordinal and are not most appropriately treated as continuous data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2013; Blaikie, 2003; Jamieson, 2004).

Results

Table 1 reports the parameter estimates of the ordinal logistic regression analysis of school board chairpersons’ likelihood to extend an

interview offer to the hypothetical superintendent candidates. Main effects for candidate gender, candidate professional background, school board chairperson gender,

and interaction between candidate gender and chairperson gender are presented, as are Wald Chi-Square statistics, significance levels, odds ratios, and 95% confidence intervals for each variable.

Table 1

Ordinal Regression Results

Variables	Logistic co-efficient	Standard error	Wald	P value	Odds ratio	95% C
Candidate Gender						
Female	0.126	0.388	0.106	0.745	1.13	0.53-2.43
Professional Background						
Business	-2.153	0.360	35.773	< 0.0001	0.12	0.06-0.24
Military	-1.498	0.339	19.519	< 0.0001	0.22	0.12-0.41
Education	Ref					
Chairperson Gender						
Female	-.081	0.369	0.048	0.827	0.92	0.44-1.90
Gender-Similarity						
Female-Female	-0.265	0.531	0.250	0.617	0.77	0.27-2.17
Male-Male	Ref					

Research question 1: *Does a superintendent candidate's gender affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview to the candidate?*

According to the results of this study, candidates' gender did not affect chairpersons' decisions on whether to

interview the candidates. Specifically, females were 1.13 (95% CI, 0.53 to 2.43) more likely to be offered an interview, but the difference was statistically insignificant, with Wald $\chi^2(1) = .106, p = 0.745$. As a consequence of these results, the null hypothesis, that female and male

candidates are offered interviews in equivalent ratios, was not rejected.

These findings mirror those of Bon (2009) who found no statistical difference in the likelihood of principals to extend an interview offer to male vs. female assistant principal candidates. Reis, Young, and Jury (1999) found female assistant principals to be more likely to receive an interview offer at a statistically significant difference. This study also found a preference for female candidates, but not to the same extent.

These results are completely contrary to what one might expect considering the significant disproportion of female superintendents in relation to the proportion of overall educators who are female.

These results are also contrary to the postulations of many (e.g., Alston, 2000; Bjork, 2000; Blount, 1998; Brunner & Kim, 2010; Grogan & Brunner, 2005; Shakeshaft, 1989; Tallerico, 2000) who state the school board member discrimination against female superintendent candidates is a primary factor for the dearth of female superintendents. Other factors might need to be explored in order to better determine the causes of female underrepresentation.

Research question 2: *Does a superintendent candidate's gender-similarity with the school board chairperson affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview to the candidate?*

The interaction was not statistically significant; therefore, there

was no evidence of a gender-similarity attraction effect from the data. Female chairpersons were 0.77 (95% CI, 0.27 to 2.17) times as likely to offer an interview to a female candidate than male chairpersons were to offer an interview to a male candidate.

However, the difference was not statistically significant (Wald $\chi^2(1) = .250, p = .617$) and was at least partially a result of the fact female chairpersons seemed less likely to extend an interview to all candidates (OR = 0.92; 95% CI, 0.44 to 1.90). The null hypothesis of chairpersons offering interviews to gender-similar and -dissimilar candidates was not rejected.

Research question 3: *Does a superintendent candidate's type of experience (educational vs. military vs. business) affect the chairperson's decision to offer an interview?*

This study yielded strong evidence that superintendent candidates' professional backgrounds affect chairpersons' decisions to extend an interview offer.

Traditional candidates were found to have odds ratios of 8.33 (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 35.773, p < .0001$) compared to business candidates and 4.55 (Wald $\chi^2(1) = 19.519, p < .0001$) compared to military candidates, which translates to traditional candidates being overwhelmingly more likely (833% and 455%, respectively) to be offered an interview compared to nontraditional candidates.

Perhaps the statistic most surprising to the researcher is the low

business background odds ratio of 0.12 (95% CI 0.06 to 0.24). Considering that 47% of the participants in the study self-reported having business experience in their professional backgrounds, one might predict a more favorable likelihood of business-type superintendent candidates' being extended an interview offer, at least in comparison to military-type candidates.

Military candidates did not fare much better than their business counterparts, with an odds ratio of 0.22 (95% CI 0.12 to 0.41). Military leaders are often held up as examples of alternatives to traditional superintendent candidates (e.g., AASA, 2016; Hess, 2003; Quinn, 2007) and, therefore, a more favorable perception of military candidates was expected.

Whatever the reasons which led to these findings, the null hypothesis—traditional and nontraditional candidates being offered interviews in equivalent ratios—was rejected for both business and military candidates.

Conclusion

Candidates' gender did not affect chairpersons' interview offer decisions. In fact, females were slightly (13%) more likely, albeit not statistically significantly, to receive an interview offer.

This conclusion is surprising because it fails to provide evidence to support the claim by many (e.g., Brunner & Kim, 2010; Sperandio & Devdas, 2014; Tallerico, 2000) that school board members' biases is a predominant cause of the dearth of female superintendents, at least in at the screening stage of the selection process. Notwithstanding, the results of this study do not invalidate the

claim that such biases exist, but rather this study did not find evidence to support the claim that such bias influences screening decisions.

Contrary to Byrne's similarity-attraction paradigm, no evidence for gender-similarity effects was found in this study. Male school board chairpersons were 1.30 times more likely to offer an interview to a male superintendent candidate; however, without any statistical significance (Wald $\chi^2(1) = .250, p = .617$) the null hypothesis was not rejected.

As previously noted, overall male school board chairpersons indicated higher likelihoods of interviewing all candidates compared to females, to which the insignificant difference in gender-similarity odds can be partially attributed.

The results of this study provide strong evidence that traditional superintendent candidates are the overwhelming favorites to receive interview opportunities for superintendent vacancies compared to nontraditional business (OR = 8.33 [Wald $\chi^2(1) = 35.773, p < .0001$]) and military (4.55 [Wald $\chi^2(1) = 19.519, p < .0001$]) candidates.

Such an underwhelming response to business candidates is surprising, considering that 47% of this study's respondents have business experience, the most common professional background of respondents.

Limitations

As with any study, this study contains certain limitations. Simulation studies have the potential to yield results dissimilar from than those of an actual event.

For instance, although board chairpersons may not have demonstrated gender bias in their superintendent selection process in this simulated study, when these

board chairpersons are conducting selections in the field setting, results may differ. In addition, screening decisions are made usually with a slate of resumes to assess, rather than just one as with this study.

The data were collected in a cross-sectional study, making the findings indicative of respondents' perceptions at one point in time, rather than over time. The prioritization of reducing potential confounds across the professional backgrounds contributed to the creation of resumes with less than ideal quantities of information.

For example, resumes were only one and a half pages, rather than two or three pages as one would expect from a candidate with decades of experience in the field, as a superintendent usually has.

Recommendations for Future Research

More research is necessary on the selection decisions of school board members to better understand the superintendent selection process and the factors that contribute to the disparity of female superintendents.

Although this study did not detect biases by chairpersons against female candidates, further research is warranted to conclude whether or not this study marks a positive turning point away from a stereotypical male-dominated view of the superintendency.

Since the results of this study present clear evidence that traditional superintendent candidates are the preferred candidates of school board members over business- and military-type candidates, more research is warranted on the effects that *traditional* superintendent candidates' gender have on the

likelihood of school board members offering an interview.

An additional recommendation for future research would be to employ resumes which include a moderate to substantial amount of detail and depth of information without confounding results. This can be done by disregarding different professional backgrounds as a manipulation and focusing solely on traditional superintendent candidates.

By so doing, one can create a detailed resume rich with industry-specific information that can provide an accurate screening experience that even more closely simulates actual superintendent screening decisions.

Evaluating the perceptions of school board members from specific types (i.e., rural, urban) and sizes (i.e., < 1,000; 1,000-10,000; > 10,000) of districts might provide valuable insight into the possible existence of gender-related biases in specific contexts.

Such insights will not only help encourage and guide female superintendent aspirants to more fruitful opportunities but will also provide invaluable information about the type of contexts that might need an enhanced focus in anti-discriminatory practice research and training. If the disparity of female superintendents is not largely due to school board member biases as many have posited, then researchers, practitioners, and activists need to identify other potential factors to examine and correct in order to rectify the disproportion. A simultaneous examination of self-selected factors and external factors might prove useful to that end.

This study was designed to examine whether superintendent candidates' and school board chairpersons' gender and candidates' professional background impact resume

screening decisions by school board chairpersons. While the results did not support the presence of gender bias in the superintendent selection process, it did indicate overwhelmingly that the professional experience of superintendent candidates matters.

Specifically, candidates with traditional experience are highly favored over nontraditional candidates, suggesting that even with the neoliberalistic influence of late, a preference for nontraditional superintendent candidates has not gained traction in the minds of school board chairpersons as some (e.g., Eisinger & Hula, 2004; Hess, 2003, Quinn, 2007) have hoped.

For traditional superintendent candidates, or those to aspire to one day be, this is promising information. For anyone interested in becoming a nontraditional superintendent candidate, these findings suggest that there is still a preference for those with educational experience at some level prior to pursuit of a superintendency. Such experience may provide a candidate with greater credibility amongst the educational community they are attempting to

join (Thompson, Thompson, & Knight, 2013) as well as increased social acceptability by selecting board members.

In sum, this study's findings support the notion that the superintendency may be becoming more accessible to candidates of both genders (at least from the employer selection perspective) and that board member discrimination against female candidates, an oft-cited explanation for the underrepresentation of female superintendents, may not be as present as many (e.g., Brunner & Kim, 2010; Sperandio & Devdas, 2014; Tallerico, 2000) postulate.

This should provide hope for female educators aspiring for the superintendency, but it again raises Glass, Björk, and Brunner's (2000) question: "What deters large numbers of women from becoming superintendents?" Are issues related to self-selection out of such positions more of an explanation than discrimination at the selection level? If so, what can be done about it? Although beyond the scope of this study, these questions warrant further investigation.

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