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African American Female Principals of Urban High Schools and Their Negotiation of Work and Family Conflicts

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AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE PRINCIPALS OF URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS AND THEIR NEGOTIATION OF WORK AND FAMILY CONFLICTS

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ABSTRACT

Women account for approximately 60 percent of all high school teachers, but account for barely 30 percent of the principals of these schools. When the data is disaggregated to only examine African American women in education, the disproportion widens between women and men in leadership. As the demographics of the population in the United States change, there is expanding need for more culturally, ethnically, racially diverse leaders in the public schools. African American women because of their experiences often model transformational leadership with oppression regarding their race and gender. Such leadership is beneficial to minority students, who now make up more than half of the student population attending public schools. To recruit more women of color, organizations must provide support systems to help minimize the challenges that African American women might encounter in their leadership roles; one challenge is finding a balance in home and work. In this study, the researcher identified support systems and strategies that benefit African American women who are principals in urban schools as they balance home and work.

The narratives of six, African American mothers who were principals of urban high schools were used to develop a case study of how societal expectations and stereotypes affect their navigation of work and family conflict. In addition to narratives, document analysis and observations were used to develop and identify support systems and strategies that have allowed

women in leadership positions to maintain a balance between work and life. Additionally, in this study, the researcher identified the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education that have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining a healthy work and family balance.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my parents.

This work is also dedicated to my supporting husband, Harvey, and our children, Hannah and Ethan, who have encouraged me throughout this journey.

This work is dedicated to the host of other family members and friends who have prayed for and walked with me throughout this process.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Background of the Problem

Shonda Rhimes, mother of three, writes and produces three, television drama series: Grey's Anatomy, Scandal, and How to Get Away with Murder (Lewis, 2015). During an interview, Rhimes answered with the following when asked how she balances her professional and home life: "Nobody ever asks a man how he balances it all. Men go to work and take care of their families all the time. So when people ask women, 'How do you go to work and take care of your family?' you are somehow suggesting a woman is not as capable as a man" (Lewis, 2015, p. 23). The central purpose of this study was to identify support systems and strategies that have allowed women in leadership positions to maintain a balance between work and life. Additionally, in this study, the researcher hoped to identify the challenges and barriers that exist in society and in the field of education that have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining a healthy work and family balance.

Does society view women as less capable than men? By 1980, the percentage of men and women earning college degrees was the same. Despite those gains, in 2012, less than five percent of Fortune 500 chief executive officers were women (Sellers, 2012). The trend of

underrepresentation of women in leadership exists even in the female-saturated field of education, where more than 78 percent of the workforce consists of women; however, women constitute only 51.2 percent of public school principals and only 18 percent of superintendents (Brunner & Grogran, 2007; U.S. Department of Education, 2015). Researchers documented internal and external obstacles for increasing female representation in educational leadership (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010; Lyness & Thompson, 2000; Loder, 2005; Shakeshaft, 1989). The internal obstacles are traditional social expectations of women that derive from social and gender roles, and the external obstacles result from discrimination, "Good Old Boy" network, and lack of sponsoring (Young & McCleod, 2001). Some women find balancing work and life too difficult, with the result that they must choose between the two (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). Factors that require women to make the choice between family and career have a long history.

Women have pursued equity with a passion for social change and justice (Astin & Leland, 1991). In the 1800s, what historians referenced as the "Cult of True Womanhood" set the quality parameters for women, that is, a "true" woman was a pious, submissive wife and mother who was concerned exclusively with home and family (Giddings, 1984). The Feminist Movement of 1970s encouraged women, mothers in particular, to refute that definition of "womanhood." Consequently, women increased their participation in the labor market. Despite the increase of women in the workforce, society has yet to redefine expectations for women regarding their time and gender roles (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010).

Loder (2005) found that even when women worked the same number of hours as men, women's domestic responsibilities were rarely decreased. Loder (2005) discovered that the participants in the study female, educational leaders were still responsible for the majority of the

childcare and housecleaning duties despite having spouses. In contrast, Jacobs and Gerson's (2004) found that male leaders rely heavily on their wives for domestic duties. The issue underlying work-family balance is that of gendered divisions of paid and unpaid work stemming from societal expectations, which have long been a fundamental source of gender inequalities (Lewis, 2009). Women have struggled with an expectation that has not been equally imposed on men (Loder, 2005). Gender inequalities imposed by society are not the only challenges women must overcome to ascend to higher positions in the field of education (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010).

Eagly and Carli (2000) and Shakeshaft (1989) unearthed many challenges that women face on their quest to obtain leadership positions in education; nevertheless, women continue in their efforts to overcome these challenges while attempting to find balance in their work and home lives. Although more women earn college degrees than men do, many women have been relegated to only middle management positions (Cheung & Halpern, 2010; U.S. Department of Education, 2000). For example, women hold 50 percent of all management and professional positions in the United States, but they represented less than five percent of Fortune 500 chief executive officer positions in 2012 (Sellers, 2012). Young and McCleod (2001) attributed internal and exterior barriers to women ascending to higher levels of management roles. Shakeshaft (1989) described internal barriers as personal barriers, for example, barriers in one's confidence in the woman's values and self-efficacy. Women have encountered external barriers in the form of societal pressures and stereotypes. In addition, women also face organizational barriers as they attempt to clench high-level positions while maintain a healthy work and family. These organizational barriers are often referred to as the glass ceiling effect (Eagly & Carli, 2000; Shakeshaft, 1989).

The glass ceiling is the clear barricade preventing females from ascending to the top of company pyramids (Hell, 1996; Powell, 2012; Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). This barricade results in the lack of females occupying leadership and elder managerial roles in many professional arenas (Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). Women have been referred to as the "weaker" gender and others often assume that they are too emotional and lacking the skills needed to lead organizations (Trinidad & Normore, 2005). Critics have asserted that educational leadership roles are masculine positions and women lack the leadership capacities to lead effectively in education (Cadezas, Killingsworth, Kensler, & Brooks, 2010). Proponents of women leaders have found women to be more favored by their subordinates when compared to men (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). The glass ceiling effect is not the only hurdle women must overcome to obtain leadership positions.

Societal stereotypes have also produced obstacles to women pursuing leadership roles in education. Gordon and Galloway (2008) found that societal stereotypes produced gender biases and cultural expectations for women and men. Gender stereotypes are common and often are conveyed through media messages, television, music, and religious and cultural institutions (Spencer, Steele & Quinn, 1998). Parents were found to convey expectations of gender role conformity as early as infancy, specifically Eccles, Jacobs, and Harold (1990) found that parents hold gender-typed expectations of their sons and daughters in the first 24 hours following birth. As a result, women battle the opposing demands of fulfilling societal expectations versus fulfilling their professional aspirations (Vasquez-Guignard, 2010). Sandberg (2013) found that women who choose to pursue their professional aspirations need support from organizations to balance home and work successfully.

Organizations have explored offering support systems to women via childcare options, flexible work schedules, opportunities to work from home, part-time employment, and mentoring programs. When women have organizational support, they have greater job satisfaction. Additionally, they are more committed to their organizations (Marcinkus, Wahlen-Berry, & Gordon, 2007). Despite support offered by some organizations, women, especially principals, need support systems at home to aid in balancing home and work. Women principals receive less support with childcare and household responsibilities as compared to their male counterparts (Parkway & Carrie, 1992). Consequently, women often feel stressed and frustrated while trying to balance competing values required at home and work (Perrew & Hochwarter, 2001). Alcorn (2013) found that working women who have children were more stressed than any other segment of the workforce. The uneven burden of childcare and household responsibilities that women so often shoulder has been a pediment to their advancement to school administration (Parkway & Currie, 1992).

As previously noted, family and home responsibilities present challenges to women in achieving leadership positions in education (Myers & Ginsberg, 1994). Nevertheless, women with strong support systems at home have found success in finding a balance; however, many women in educational leadership lack such support (Young & McCleod, 2001). Women principals were found to be not only deprived of support at home, but also at work. Support at work strongly affects women's desire to pursue careers in educational leadership and essential in aiding women to sustain a balance in their work and home life. Role models, mentors, and networks provide women with the support that they need in the workplace as they ascend to leadership roles and simultaneously balance home and work (Baugartner & Schneider, 2010; Young & McLeod, 2001).

Although female role models, mentors, and networks are beneficial to women who pursue leadership positions, such supports are scarce in the field of education (Young & McLeod, 2001). Female mentors often have less time to mentor; those who have the time choose not to mentor other females for fear that their colleagues might perceive their selection of female protégés as discriminatory along gender lines (Ragins, 1989). The "*Queen Bee Syndrome*" has also prevented women from mentoring other women and serving as role models; Ng and Chiu (2001) described the Queen Bee Syndrome as the phenomenon of women who have made it to the top finding reasons not to help other women who aspire to break through the glass ceiling. Men have also contributed to the lack women succeeding to the top (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) found that men's negative attitudes towards women executives have persisted for years. Conrad and Poole (2005) discovered that men in leadership have given "token" management positions to women where they are titled "managers," but who actually lack power or influence in the decision-making process. These attitudes are known as "Good Old Boys" attitudes (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010).

The "Good Old Boys" attitude in education has contributed to the lack of women represented in top educational leadership positions. Women rarely attain jobs as superintendent and secondary school principals in education. Some researchers (Eagly & Carli, 2007; Halpern & Cheung, 2008; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010) attribute women's inability to penetrate the barrier of Good Old Boys network, where a wealth of experience and knowledge exists from men who have served in these roles, as the reason women do not attain jobs in top leadership positions. The lack of sharing and Good Old Boy norms ensure that women are less likely than men to serve in certain leadership roles in education (Hearn, 1990; Shepard, 1999).

One role where women are less likely to serve is the role of secondary school principal; approximately 30 percent of secondary school principals are women (Brunner & Grogran, 2007; U.S. Department of Education, 2015). Paddock (1981) found the dual roles of principal and homemaker as the biggest cause of stress for female principals; the norms of a high school principal 60-hour workweek were developed around a life cycle of men and outdated assumptions about men's roles in family and society. Glass and Franceschini (2007) found that many educational leaders, despite gender, reported high stress levels. Stress in educational leadership is caused by multiple factors: lack of funding, state assessments, community demands, negative media, and board relations (Glass & Franceschini, 2007). Brunner and Grogan (2007) found that female leaders experience more stress than their male counterparts do because of the challenges presented by managing time between work and family. Many administrators find the job unmanageable with the increased accountability involving student achievement.

The No Child Left Behind Act (2001) mandated that schools annually test students in mathematics and reading; schools were judged by their adequate yearly progress—changing the role of school principals. With the increased public scrutiny of school performance, the duties of principals increased. Consequently, principals' traditional responsibilities of fiscal management, community relations, personnel management, and operations management were augmented with instructional leadership (Glass & Franceschini, 2007). Making academic progress according to the No Child Left Behind Act (2001) is challenging to principals, especially those in urban areas, where students are of more likely to come from a home of lower socioeconomic status when compared to students in suburban schools.

As student populations become more ethnically and economically diverse in public schools in America, studying urban schools is more of a priority. Running an urban school is

increasingly complex, taxing, and social-service-oriented; urban principals today confront many problems (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003). In spite of these challenges, African American women are assuming the role of principal in of some of the Nation's toughest urban schools; however, not at the same rate as African American men (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003; Case, 1997; Loder, 2005). Even with African American women surpassing African American men in the number of earned masters and doctoral degrees in education, African American women are yet underrepresented in leadership roles in urban schools (Brown, 2005; NCES; 2014; Sanchez-Hucles & Sanchez, 2007). Some reasons given for the slow progress of women of color in leadership include lack of experience, inadequate career opportunities, racial differences in speech and socialization (Wellington, Kropf, & Gerovich, 2003). For those Black women in leadership, they are more likely to work in urban school environments and less likely to have a family; many find balancing the challenging demands of urban schools and family life overwhelming (Hoyt, 2007).

Loder (2005) found that Black women are more likely than White women are to prioritize their goals of beginning families over their expressed desire to become principals. Many assumed a principalship when their children were older. As a result, African American women stayed in middle management positions longer when compared to White women. Even though, Black women relied more on their kin as a support when attempting to balance work and family life, Baumgartner and Schneider (2008) found that women in educational leadership simply believed they could not balance both work and family. This belief is evidenced by the statistic that only 10 percent of African American, female educators are principals (Godon & Goalloway, 2008). Therefore, the struggle continues for women, especially African American women, to overcome the trials and obstacles of balancing work and family life at a time when their skills and knowledges are most needed in the high needs area of urban, educational leadership.

Statement of the Problem

Sanderg (2013) and other authors (Halpern & Cheung, 2008) encouraged women to pursue top leadership positions by debunking traditional, societal expectations held for women and recruiting personal and professional support systems; however, many women continue to struggle to achieve success in balancing work and family life. Women are frequently challenged by societal expectations regarding their social roles and gender stereotypes. Young and McCleod (2001) identified family and home responsibilities as obstacles to women achieving educational leadership positions and as the source of work–family conflict. Moreover, in one study, over 60 percent of women cited family responsibilities as the largest barrier in achieving success in their careers (Morris, 2002).

Despite the challenges of balancing work and family life, the number of working mothers has increased over the last 40 years (Loder, 2005). The uneven burden of childcare and household responsibilities has created a substantial barrier to women advancing in school administration (Edson, 1981; Parkway & Currie, 1992). Female principals received less support from family for childcare and household responsibilities than did male principals (Young & McLeod, 2001). Marriage is seen as a barrier for women, but not for aspiring men; this increases in disproportion when men are compared to women, specifically African American women, who are more likely than White women to be unmarried (Pigford, & Tonnesen, 1993). For instance, only 52 percent of African American women are married by 30 years old—this number decreases significantly for African American educational leaders, who must forgo their dreams of having a family to pursue tough leadership jobs in urban schools (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Many women, not only African American women, see balancing work and life as an impossible task such that they end up choosing between the two, leaving a disproportionately

low number of women represented in educational leadership roles (Baugmgartner & Schneider, 2010; Gordan & Galloway, 2008; Young & McCleod, 2001).

Very little research has been dedicated to women, especially minorities, in educational leadership roles balancing work and family life (Loder, 2005; Brown, 2005). Some African American women find success with balance; however, what is not clearly known are the support systems and strategies that assist with this success in both their family and work lives. With emerging literature (Bloom & Erlandson, 2003; Dillard, 2005; Sernak, 2001) supporting the benefit of African American, female principals in urban schools, the need to help them achieve balance in their work and family domains is paramount.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study is to identify support systems that have allowed women in leadership positions to create a balance between work and life. The secondary purpose of the study is to identify the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education which have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining balance in work and family life. This information can help to better prepare aspiring female administrators and allow them to balance career and family successfully.

Research Questions

The central question—What are the experiences of African American women in balancing home and work life?—was supported by the following subquestions:

1. What challenges do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools face in balancing work and family life?

2. What type of support do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools perceive to be helpful in achieving balance in work and family life?
3. What strategies do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools employ to balance work and family life?

Significance of the Study

This study was designed to contribute to the body of research in the field of educational leadership by examining the historical context of African American women in leadership positions and how they balance work and family. In addition, in the study, the researcher examined current African American, female leaders in the field, the challenges they have faced, and the support systems and strategies they have used to navigate successfully both roles. Perspectives on African American women's experiences within the principalship are lacking in education literature (Loder, 2005). Many researchers (Allen, Jacobson & Lomotey, 1996; Bell & Chase, 1994; Bloom & Erlandson, 2003) have focused on comparing the leadership orientation and experiences of African American, female principals' to that of male principals and White, female principals, but little has been offered to African American women in the way of strategies for overcoming barriers and maintaining a balance in work and family (Loder, 2005). In addition, research on African American, female leadership in urban schools is rare. There is a large void in research relating to Black women in urban schools and their strategies of balancing of work and family. In identifying these support systems and strategies, as well as the challenges that exist, educators can better prepare all women, including African American women, as they aspire to educational leadership positions.

In this study, the researcher offers African American women a plausible approach to balancing work and family life while serving as educational leaders. The researcher also provides

support systems and strategies that female educational leaders have used to balance successfully both domains of family and work. There is a growing shortage of leaders in education, especially in urban schools. Women dominate the education workforce, for they account for more than 70 percent of personnel (U.S. Department of Education, 2015); therefore, it would be negligent to overlook or discourage their much-needed leadership in our public schools. In fact, with the support systems and strategies that allow women to balance both work and life, women can acquire these leadership positions while balancing both work and family.

Organization of the Study

In Chapter One, the researcher has introduced the study by providing the statement of the problem and the purpose and significance of the study. In Chapter Two, a review of literature is presented as it relates to the disproportionately low number of women, especially women of color in leadership positions in education. In addition, Chapter Two, the struggle of women educational leaders to maintain a balance in work and family is explored. In Chapter Three, methodology of the study is identified. In Chapter Four, an analysis of the data collected from interviews and observations of the participants is shared. In Chapter Five, the study's findings, implications, and recommendations for further research are summarized.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITEATURE

Introduction

"Much has changed, yet, only to remain the same," was a phrase used by social thinker, Vilfredo Pareto in his description of the progression of racial equality in the United States shortly after the Civil Rights Movement began (Carson, Garrow, Harding, & Hine, 1989). Although Pareto used this moniker to reference race, Sandberg (2013) surmised a similar sentiment when examining the progression of women in leadership. Thirty years later, when women have become 50 percent of the number of college graduates in the United States, men still hold the majority of leadership positions in government, industry, and education (Sandberg, 2013, p. 1). Researchers have attributed multiple factors to this leadership disparity between women and men. Obstacles for aspirant, female leaders include the Good Old Boy system, lack of mentoring, the glass ceiling, and family responsibilities; the latter is the focus of this research.

Much has changed, yet, only to remain the same. More families are comprised of two, full-time, employed parents than 30 years ago; however, the mother is still responsible for 40 percent more childcare and approximately 30 percent more housework than the father (Milkie, Raley, & Bianchi, 2009). Women in educational leadership have admitted to struggling as they attempt to juggle family obligations with the responsibilities required to lead a school (Shakeshaft, 1989). Consequently, the role of principal is not appealing to many women in

education. With women comprising more 70 percent of the educational workforce, the recruitment of women in educational leadership positions is vital (Shakeshaft, 1989). Moreover, as United States' schools are becoming more culturally and ethnically diverse, there is an increased need for more diverse school leaders, especially Black female leaders (Anderson, 2016).

African American women desiring to advance into educational leadership positions struggle to negotiate work–family conflicts. In a rare study about female educational leaders of color and their struggle with work–family balance, Loder (2005) examined the differences and commonalities in how female administrators from different racial identities negotiate work–family conflicts. Loder (2005) uncovered White women relied more on their spouses, while Black women relied on women kin and extended family. However, Loder (2005) admitted her findings were suggestive because of the small sampling.

Although the literature pertaining to female educational leaders of color and their negotiation of work–family conflict is scarce, in Chapter Two, the researcher uses it as a launching pad to explore other contributions to the lack of women of color in educational leadership. The literature review begins with the historical context of women's struggle for equity and end with a compilation of support systems for working women who desire to balance family and work. In the historical context of women's struggle for equity, authors in the literature illuminate the historical and contemporary societal expectations of White and Black women. Next, the roles of women in education, specifically in the realm of educational leadership were addressed. Then, in the literature review, the authors examined societal and cultural norms for women in the United States and their contribution to the long history of external and internal impediments endured by working women yet today. The researcher

concluded that the literature review a synthesis of the research and identify strategies and support systems that other researchers deemed effective and beneficial.

Historical Context

For over 100 years, women have fought to dispel societal stereotypes of inferiority founded on the intersection of gender and class. In 1918, Susan B. Anthony stated, "There will never be complete equality until women themselves help make the laws and elect the lawmakers" (p. 103). Anthony, a social reformer and activist, played a pivotal role in the Women's Movement and strongly believed that the inclusion of women in the voting process was paramount in changing the future of women. However, even with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, granting women the right to vote, the fight for justice, social change, and income equality yet continued (Astin & Leland, 1991).

The fight for justice differed for White women and women of color; women of color needed more than voting rights to attain equity for their race (White, 1985). Unlike the White feminists, Black feminists were actively fighting against organizational and institutional racism. The struggles created by the societal stereotypes and discrimination derived at the intersection of race, class, and gender contributed to the unique experiences of African American women (Giddings, 1984; White, 1985). Consequently, splintering among racial lines occurred within the Women's Movement (Giddings, 1984). This section explores historical and contemporary literature that uncovers the unique challenges faced by women of color through history, beginning with slavery and ending with women's roles in educational leadership.

History and Definition of Black Feminism

According to Ula Taylor (2001), the Black feminist movement emerged in two waves. Taylor (2001) proclaimed the first wave developed from the outgrowth of the abolitionist

movement and ended with the ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment. The second wave was related to the monumental historical period of the Civil Rights Movement when Title VII and Title IX of the Civil Rights Acts were passed in 1964. During the first wave, women were working in the fields and in the main house of plantations, while also tending to their own families (Steckel, 1996). Despite the multiple roles that Black women maintained, they had no control of the social and economic conditions bestowed on them (Taylor, 2001).

In slavery, Black women were viewed by slaveholders as androgynous; they were viewed as profitable labor units and were considered no less than men (Giddings, 1984). Society stripped Black women of their feminine characteristics by requiring from them an equal amount of work as Black men in the fields, while conveniently embracing their feminine characteristics to rationalize using Black women in the role of "mammy" for slave owners' children (Burgess, 1994; Davis, 1995; Giddings, 1984). Black women were defined by the factors of race and gender, but Black women were voiceless in defining of themselves. Abolitionists responded to the situation by protesting against the sexual exploitation of Black women and campaigning for equal rights (Davis, 1995). One such abolitionist was Sojourner Truth who, during her speech, flexed a muscled arm and proclaimed she could out-work, out-eat, and out-last any man. Then she challenged: "Ain't I a woman?" (Flexner, 1979, p. 49).

Freedom for Blacks was finally attained when the Thirteenth Amendment was passed (Flexner, 1979). Black women had endured slavery and had emerged intact; they were physically and psychologically strong. Therefore, their convictions concerning the rights of women were deeply rooted in experience as well as theory. Many Black women abolitionists were feminists; yet their race was always prioritized over gender. For Black women, it was the issue of race that

sparked their feminism. As a result, Black women were active in the second wave of the Black Feminist Movement (Giddings, 1984).

Similar to their presence in the slave era and the movement, Black women were very involved in the second wave: the Civil Rights Movement. While in the fight, Black women were not embraced by the Women's Liberation Movement (Giddings, 1984). Many Black women did not have the option to be liberated from the home because of their economic conditions that dictated that they must work; consequently, working African American women, who worked in the homes of liberated White women, exposed a serious flaw. Society was less sympathetic to Black women as they still struggled to balance work and home during a time of "liberation" for women (Davis, 1995). The lack of sympathy derived from society's view of Black women as strong, almost superhuman beings (Davis, 1995; Giddings, 1984).

Perception of the Black woman: the strong Black woman. The image of the strong Black woman has been embraced in the Black community for many years. The cultural reference emerged from slavery when enslaved women had simultaneously to balance their lives as mothers and wives with the demanding workloads as slaves. The characterization of Black women as strong continued well beyond slavery. In *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, referred to as the Moynihan report, Moynihan (1965) attributed the deterioration of the Black family to the strong Black woman (Beale, 1970; Burgess, 1994; Cleaver, 1997; Davis, 1995; Dugger, 1988; Giddings, 1984).

In the section of the report entitled "Tangle of Pathology," Moynihan (1965) cited problems of the Black family began under slavery and were worsened by the continued discrimination; Black men had suffered the worst and experienced dismal levels of employment after World War II, resulting in an abnormal prominence of women (Giddings, 1984). A unique

fact of the Black family life is the often reversed roles of husband and wife; the wife was "dominant" in majority of Black families which was not true of White family structures. This matriarchal pattern reinforced the image of the strong Black woman (Giddings, 1984, p. 325).

Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2009) examined the cost that African American women paid to carry this façade of having an inherent source of strength. Beauboeuf-Lafontant postulated that the moniker, the strong Black woman, was intentionally established as a way of dismissing the real issue that Black women face within society. Beauboeuf-Lafontant (2009) wrote, "These women 'took charge' of their families not because they wanted to be dominant, but because, if they did not pay the rent, buy the food, cook it, and look after the children, no one else would" (p. 24). Black women acted out of necessity, but their dominance was viewed as a problem by society rather than the result of a problem. This reality left Black women, like many other women, with the quandary of how to balance home and work; however, society continued to ignore the stress this balancing act caused these quasi-strong, Black women, many of whom admitted to seeking professional counseling, crying out as Sojourner Truth once did: "Ain't I a woman?" (Beauboeuf-Lafontant, 2009).

Women's Roles in Education

The Civil Rights movement was a pivotal moment towards equal employment opportunities for women and minorities in the United States. During the movement, activists called attention to existing inequalities in both the workplace and in fields of education by initiating organizations, programs, and legislation. The persistence of the activists led to President John F. Kennedy creating the Committee on Equal Employment in 1961 to safeguard federally funded projects by mandating that employment practices exclude racial bias. Congress passed the Equal Pay Act of 1963 was passed that prohibited sex-based wage discrimination

between men and women in the same establishment who perform jobs that require substantially equal skill, effort and responsibility under similar working conditions. The Equal Pay Act addressed discrimination by gender, but neglected race (Blount, 1998; Dana & Bourisaw, 2006). With the passing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, employment discrimination finally included other prejudices; Title VII of the Civil Rights Act prohibits employment discrimination by race, color, religion, sex, and national origin. Despite the passage of the Act, employment discrimination persisted because of ambiguities in the legislation and to the lack of enforcement (Blount, 1998; Brunner & Grogran, 2007). President Lyndon Johnson, an advocate for equality in hiring practices, signed an Executive Order in 1965 that required government contractors to use affirmative action policies in their hiring to increase the number of minority employees. Affirmative action policies initially focused on improving opportunities for African Americans in employment and education, but also benefited women.

In the nineteenth century, a dramatic shift in the teaching profession occurred; women began to saturate the previously, male-dominated field (Blount, 1998). At the beginning of the century, only men were considered acceptable candidates for teachers in American classrooms; however, as society's opposition to the formal education of women and expanded roles outside the home lessened, teaching was accepted as a suitable career for single women, even concluding it was " a woman's true profession."

Teaching was an expected career choice for African American women (Alston, 2000; Tillman, 2006). The Black community viewed education as an instrument to "uplift" the race. African American women accepted this role and used education to conquer barriers of race and gender (Davis, 1995; Murtadha & Watts, 2005; Tillman, 2006). After the Civil War, African

American women migrated to the North, however, the work environments were extremely hostile (Loewenberg & Bogin, 1976).

Despite the challenging work environment, the number of African American, female teachers continued to increase throughout the 19th century. Consequently, African American women established a new work identity that resulted in a new life experience very different from the previous one in the slave era. This new role strengthened during the Progressive era. The Progressive Era included the Women's Movement, the expansion of educational opportunities, and the creation of social services for marginalized groups, including African American women (Loewenberg & Bogin, 1976). During this period, many Black women, were seeking educational advancement. Black women began to create and integrate schools. As African American women continued to open their own schools, and managing staff members, the belief that education would "uplift" the race became more plausible (Giddings, 1984; Green & Dantley, 2013).

Women as Principals

Schwager (1987) argued that women's teaching opportunities were configured to set limits on the extent to which women might resist their traditional role. Beecher (1991) posited that teaching was an avenue to prepare women for marriage. Beecher argued that society considered women as well suited for teaching because of their natural maternal skills. Single women, Beecher maintained, made particularly good choices for teachers because market forces supported their lower wages; thus they were cheaper to hire than men who might have families to support. Women were only allowed to teach until they got married; once married, they were expected to quit working outside the home and to take on the role as caregiver of their families and homes; thus, they supported teaching as preparing women for marriage and motherhood. As women became more common in education, local and state officials developed the domain of

administration, which had positions held only by men from the very beginning. With abbreviated careers because of family responsibilities, women rarely attained educational leadership positions. In addition, the nature of educational leadership work underwent structural changes after women began to dominate the educational field, and it favored men. For example, the longer hours and heavy responsibilities increasingly required that administrators have a helpmate at home (Blunt, 1998, p. 108).

With the mention of administrative roles, teachers began to lose autonomy, status, and authority to their male supervisors - a dynamic that resembled the family structures and societal roles that were expected during the late 19th century. On this subject, Blount (1998) stated, "I argue that it was not coincidental that teachers' independence and decision-making powers were stripped away just as women dominated the profession numerically" (p. 37). Such findings support Schwager's (1987) postulations that the teaching profession perpetuated the inferior status of women and the dominance of men; yet, women continued to pursue careers in teaching. By the end of the century, 70 percent of all teachers were women; yet more women held office in the male-dominated political arena than in leading schools and districts (Sandberg, 2013).

Today, women have increasingly aspired to be principals, and the position has become more accessible to them (Grogran & Shakeshaft, 2011). The latest statistics from the U.S. Department of Education (2012) show that 30.1 percent of high school principals nationwide were female; however, the majority of female principals continue to serve elementary schools. Although progress is evident with the statistic of 51.6 percent of all public school principals are female, if women are to attain the top position of superintendent, serving as secondary schools principals is paramount; more than 70 percent of superintendents previously worked as high school principals (Grogran & Shakeshaft, 2011). The statistics for the number of female high

school principals continues to be inconsistent, but the average growth in numbers has been two percent. Women are still underrepresented, although their numbers are higher than those from preceding decades. Eagly's (1987) social role theory was employed to understand better the decades of underrepresentation of women in educational leadership roles and the reasons why many have struggled to balance their work and family lives.

Social Role Theory

The primary purpose of this study is to understand how women can maintain balance in the dichotomy of their work and family lives. Eagly's (1987) social role theory was used to frame an understanding of why women struggle to balance the two realms. Social role theory examines gender differences in multiple contexts of society, such as connections between individuals, groups, and economic systems (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). Eagly's (1987) social role theory derived from roles in which social group members are overrepresented comparative to their numbers in the population. The behaviors exhibited by the group within the role define society's perception of the entire group birthing group stereotypes. For example, Koenig and Eagley (2014) found women, more often than men, are observed in paid and unpaid roles that involve caring for children, so perceivers assume women possess communal traits, such as social sensitivity, warmth, nurturance that are thought to enable the behaviors required by those roles. In contrast, men's association with the employment role, especially male-dominated occupations, favors a pattern of assertive and independent behaviors (Eagly & Steffen, 1984). As a result of these conflicting roles based on gender, men and women tend to adopt these role assignments as they interact in society. Additionally, when one gender, particularly women, rejects society's preconceived roles, she contends with feelings of guilt and shame as she attempts to balance the traditional role of taking care of family and nontraditional role of leadership. Social role theory

extends beyond stereotypes based on gender to include race, income, sexual orientation, political parties, and educational level (Kite, 1996; Eagly & Steffen, 1984); however, for this study only gender and race will be examined.

Societal Expectations

In American society, gender and race provided the strongest biases of classifying people; they surpassed educational level, age, and occupation in the speed and ubiquity of categorizing others (French, Seidman, Allen, & Aber, 2006; Pahl & Way, 2006). For example, despite all of his accomplishments, people often respond to President Barack Obama because of one of his identities, the Black identity (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Some question his leadership because of his Black identity and the association of subpar with Black. Similarly, the same associations are made with highly accomplished women; people respond to these women because of their female identity and question their ability to lead solely because they are female. Both examples demonstrate how society often classifies others by gender or race. This type of classification evokes mental associations, or expectations about one's mental and or physical abilities. These associations are pervasive and influential even when people are not aware of them. Despite how far women have come in the United States, aspiring female educational leaders, especially women of color, still face multiple barriers (Grogran & Shakeshaft, 2011). Some of the barriers that women leaders encounter are self-efficacy, the glass ceiling, and gender stereotypes, all of which derive from societal expectations.

Societal expectations are difficult to alter because of culturally installed male dominance existing in virtually every aspect of modern life. One aspect of male dominance in society is leadership; the characteristics associated with leaders are defined in argentic terms, which are reflected in men more often than women are. Consequently, men are more accepted in roles of

power, specifically leadership roles, than women are. Hence, society is more accepting of women in roles that involve support and caring, which runs contrary to what many believe to be effective leadership. As a result, society presumes that leadership is a more masculine role, fit for a man. This thought leads to the natural conclusion that effective leaders exude masculine traits or characteristics. Bolman and Deal (2008) found powerful women were perceived by society as distasteful and unfeminine; leaving female leaders in the quandary of how to be an effective leader, while maintaining their femininity.

Flynn and Anderson (2003) conducted the Heidi and Howard study to test college students' perceptions of female and male leaders. The case study involved a real-life successful leader, Heidi Roizen, who used her "out-going personality" and vast network to become a powerful leader in the technology sector. Flynn and Anderson (2003) assigned half of the students to read Heidi's story and the other half to read the same story with the character's name changed from Heidi to Howard. The students admired both Heidi and Howard, but admitted that Howard was more appealing and characterized Heidi as selfish and not the type of person you would want to work for; the only difference between Howard and Heidi was gender. Flynn and Anderson (2003) concluded because society characterized women and men against each other, professional achievements are more likely perceived positively when accomplished by a man. Heidi violated society's expectations for women and was perceived negatively. Not desiring to mirror "Heidi," many women choose not to pursue leadership positions because of their awareness of society's expectations of women and the costs in rebelling against them, which, in turn, results in internal barriers.

Self-Efficacy

Adkinson (1981) posited that gender role stereotyping, gender role socialization, and career socialization resulted in low self-efficacy for women who aspire to attain leadership positions; in fact, women are less likely when compared to men to pursue leadership roles. In addition to low self-efficacy, women struggle more often with low self-confidence when considering leadership positions than men do, which may contribute to the scarcity of women in top leadership roles. Self-efficacy is closely related to self-confidence; however, self-efficacy and self-confidence are not conceptually identical. Self-confidence rarely changes, as it is the generalized sense of competence that has been considered as a personal trait. In contrast, self-efficacy is a personal belief, a self-judgment, towards one's task and specific abilities; thus, it is subject to change. Despite the differences, Adkinson (1981) found both low self-confidence and low self-efficacy were internal barriers that contributed to disproportionately low number of female leader aspirants; many have resigned to society's belief that leading is for men.

Although both men and women struggle with self-confidence and self-efficacy, women are more likely to be limited by it (Gibson-Beverly & Schwartz, 2008; Kumar & Jagacinski, 2006). Historical and societal expectations contribute to the limiting of women in career-related decisions by reinforcing the notion that male characteristics are synonymous with success in the workforce; therefore, women fail to realize their own capabilities and lack the self-confidence to pursue higher positions (Hackett & Betz, 1981). Women, more often than men, underestimate themselves. For example, medical students' self-evaluations revealed females were more likely to rate themselves lower while the faculty evaluations showed the females outperformed the males (Lind, 2001). This trend continues in other areas including politics, law, and educational

leadership; women underestimate themselves in stereotypically male domains (Lawless & Fox, 2002; Daubman, Heatherington, & Ahn, 1992; Beyer, 2002).

Researchers (Shakeshaft, 1989; Ryan, 1976; Hanscot & Tyack, 1981; Young & McCleod, 2001) debated that the internal barrier of self-efficacy stemmed from a "victim blaming" culture that exists; they argued society blames women for their underrepresentation in leadership roles, rather than blaming the structure of society for creating beliefs that women lack the abilities to succeed in the role of leadership. Young and McCleod (2001) rejected the "victim blaming," and attempted to discover what prompts women to enter the field of educational leadership. Young and McCleod found that women who had garnered support from others and were afforded role models who were more likely to pursue leadership roles—rejecting societal expectations and increasing their self-efficacy. Shakeshaft (1989) argued that low self-efficacy and self-confidence is not an internal barrier, but rather an external barrier to women and one that flourishes in and can be traced to the male-dominated society. Although the debate continues regarding whether low self-efficacy is an internal or external barrier, Eagly and Carli (2007) agreed that the glass ceiling is an external barrier challenging women who seek leadership positions.

Gender Stereotypes and the Glass Ceiling

Although, women are more likely to attain a leadership position when compared to two decades ago, women leading schools at the secondary school level in the United States remain rare (Glass, Bjork, & Brunner, 2000). Nationwide, only approximately 30.1 percent of secondary school principals are women (Henke, Choy, Geis, & Broughman, 1996; Shakeshaft, 1999). Given that 70 percent of all teachers are female, the number of female secondary school principals remains disproportionately low (Young & McLeod, 2001). Restine (1993) concluded

that this disproportion occurred because of the "glass ceiling," the clear barricade preventing highly qualified females from ascending to the top of schools and school systems (Hell, 1996; Powell, 2012; Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). This barricade results in the lack of females occupying educational leadership positions (Smith, Caputi, & Crittenden, 2012). This barrier might exist in different forms and is often based on attitudes by individuals or organizations (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010, p. 560). Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) identified the obstacles that comprise the glass ceiling as the Good Old Boys network, lack of mentorship, "Queen Bee Syndrome," contradictory leadership styles, and family responsibilities.

The "Good Old Boys" network. During the Progressive era when the teaching field experienced a large influx of women, American classrooms experienced an exodus of men; most men opted for school administration rather than the classroom and the role of educational leadership has remained largely dominated by White men. Although some organizations have acknowledged the value of the addition of women to their workforce, many men have contributed to preventing women from succeeding in many areas, even in education (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). Historically, men adopted the attitude that women were the weaker gender (Dubno, 1985). As a result, Dunbno (1985) found that males maintained a negative attitude towards female leaders, despite the advancement and achievements attained by women throughout and beyond the Women's Movement. This attitude of preference according to gender was referenced as the "Good Old Boys" attitude. Everett, Thorne, and Danehower (1996) speculated with the additional exposure to women as classmates and coworkers, men would grow fonder of women leaders, so the researchers duplicated the Dubno (1985) study; however, their research revealed, the "Good Old Boys" negative attitude persisted. Recognizing the disparity in the number of men and women in leadership roles, companies began to close the

leadership gap by giving women "token" management jobs; these "token" jobs were simply namesakes and often lacked power and influence (Conrad & Poole, 2005).

The "Good Old Boys" network prevents the advancement of Black women whom are neither White nor male. Baumgartner and Schneider (2001) devised a study to discover how female executives pierced the barrier around the "Good Old Boys" networks. The participants described the network as "group of peers that play together and work together according to their own set of rules" (p. 567). The common activities, which commonly excluded women, within this network were golf, football, drinking, and socializing at bars. Despite the perception, the participants advocated for aspirant female leader to penetrate this perceived barrier by inviting themselves to join and rejecting the perceived offensiveness. However, Loder (2005) argued that current members of the network find it even more difficult to maintain positions if they do not continue to honor the close ties, loyalty, or mutual support to of the group resulting in a barrier excluding "outsiders" (Loder, 2005). The "Good Old Boys" attitude negatively affects aspirant African American female principals because promotional opportunities are often negotiated between the "in-group" and exclusive to the "out-group" (Kimmel & Aronson, 2012). Evidence of the out-group dynamic is found in the current hiring practices' biases of secondary school principals; there are twice as many male secondary school principals as female (Kimmel & Aronson, 2012).

Lack of mentoring. Although the "Good Old Boys" attitudes serve as a barrier to African American women as secondary school principals, many leaders attribute their promotion in part to having had a mentor (Ridgeway, 2006a, p.281. Mentoring as a form of support is believed to be essential advancement and success of female leaders, especially African Americans (Diggs et al., 2009; Stanley 2006a; Tillman, 2001; Turner & Myers, 2000). For

African American women, it can be difficult to develop mentoring relationships because of the unique experiences occurring at the intersection of gender and race, many African American women prefer mentors of the same race (Cooper, 2006; Woods, 2001). Cooper (2006) and Thompson and Louque (2005) found mentors and mentees are not required to be the same race or ethnicity. Stanley (2006) found in less diverse environments, cross-race mentoring relationships reduce conflict in situations dealing with diversity. Although these are positive findings, many people of power, White men, rarely mentor women, especially Black women (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010).

The situation facing women of color is more complex than that faced by White women. Chief among the causes of additional complexity is the manner in which sexism has been emphasized without consideration of other forms of discrimination. White females, who share the same skin color as most male leaders, can more easily focus exclusively on gender discrimination and my overlook the influence of race when without a mentor (Sanchez-Huckles & Davis, 2010, p. 173). African American women and other minorities of color are more likely to experience covert discrimination and subtle prejudice and to be forced into out-group status and experience occupational segregation (Browne & Askew, 2006; Combs, 2003; Hyun, 2005; Leung & Gupta, 2007). Although many women admit mentoring relationships of encouragement, acceptance, and friendship, many fail to reach back once they have broken through the glass ceiling.

Sandberg (2013) found that, if a woman were to perceive herself as a "token" in a leadership, she would rarely mentor others because she would view other women as competition. Turco (2010) defined tokenism as the policy or practice of permitting a small number of members of gender, ethnic, or racial groups to educational, work, or social activities to give the

impression of being inclusive, when actually these groups are not welcomed. Rather than these "token" women leaders mentoring other women, they undermined and even sabotaged their female competitors. This phenomenon was called the "Queen Bee Syndrome" when a woman who attained a leadership role, especially in a male-dominated industry, used her position to keep other "worker bees" down. Some women view it as self-preservation. For others, it derives from internal barrier of lack of self-efficiency. They feel unworthy of the position, so they only want to association with men. Often, these queen bees were rewarded for not mentoring or advancing women and maintaining the status quo (Belle Derks et al., 2011).

Queen Bee Syndrome. Catalyst (2010) suggested that the Queen Bee archetype is far less ubiquitous than previous researchers had found. The researchers found that most women do not view their female subordinates as competition to be cut down. Rather, they view less-experienced female coworkers as potential talent and are actually more likely than men are to develop that talent through informal or formal mentorship. Catalyst followed the career development of 742 "high potential" leaders—both men and women—who worked in different fields from 2008 to 2010. The researchers questioned the participants concerning the assistance that they had received from other employees, specifically informal and formal mentorship. Many had received mentoring from a senior female and or male employee. Of this group, 65 percent of women who had received career support went on to return the favor to the next batch of emerging leaders, compared to 56 percent of men in the same situation. The study showed that 73 percent of women who admitted to developing talent were actually developing other women. This contradicts the idea that the majority of powerful women are queen bees who discriminate against the women they supervise (Silva, 2012, p. 3).

Although Catalyst (2010) indicated that the many of the participants were involved in mentoring subordinates, Silva (2012) conceded that this is rare and the idea of a queen bee does exist in society. The male equivalent to the Queen Bee is the Alpha Male boss who is not nurturing, but is rarely presented as specifically threating to one gender's career aspiration. Moreover, Ludeman and Erlandson (2006) found employees assigned these powerful men to four categories: commanders, visionaries, strategists, and executors, while describing the Queen Bee as "emotionally unpredictable," "vain," "sharp tongued," "easily threatened" and "cliquey." The employees admitted to preferring a male boss to a female one.

In addition, Young and McCleod (2001) conducted a study to discover the reason that men outnumbered women in leadership positions, specifically in education. Young and McCleod reached similar conclusions as were found in Catalyst (2010); they attributed the lack of female leaders to gender stereotypes and to the assumption that men are simply better leaders than women (Young & McCleod, 2001). Additionally, societal expectations and roles have contributed to the belief that women are not as capable as men are in leading organizations (Bell & Chase, 1993). The last component of the glass ceiling described by Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) was the difference in leadership styles.

Contradictory leadership styles. Eagly and Carli (2007) asserted that a gender bias exists such that men are associated with being leaders because they more commonly demonstrate assertive masculine traits that connote leadership, such as dominance, whereas women are less apt to be perceived as leaders because they are more likely to demonstrate communal qualities such as compassion. The male style of leadership has been deemed to consist of command and control whereas the female style is viewed as "facilitative and collaborative." Women are

expected to lead within a narrow banned described as the small range between not too "wimpy" and not too "bitchy" (Bronznick & Goldenhar, 2008).

In education, educational leaders' day-to-day interactions and styles of leadership contrast when they are determined by the gender of the leader (Chase, 1995; Gosetti & Rusch, 1995; Helgenson, 1999; Rosener, 1990). The researchers described females' leadership style as more transformative and inclusive when compared to their male counterparts. They further concluded the female leaders' propensity toward including others makes her more likely to adopt the collaborative management approach to leadership; Grogan (1996) concluded that this collaborative leadership style is more effective and that women are more likely to be effective principals than men. In addition, some researchers (Astin & Leland, 1991; Dobbins & Platz, 1986; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly & Carli, 2007) argued that male and female leadership do not differ significantly. Mertz and McNeely (1998) posited that a male or female dichotomy is too simplistic and suggested that researchers should examine leaders in a multidimensional approach, including context and ethnicity when examining effective leadership.

Balance in Work and Life

Persistent discrimination in hiring and promotion, lack of sponsoring and mentoring, and the entrenchment of the "Good Old Boy" network are barriers to female administrators, particularly aspiring and practicing principals, which have been well documented in the literature (Marshall, 1993; McGee Banks, 1995; Ortiz & Marshall, 1988; Loder, 2005; Schmuck, 1995; Shakeshaft, 1989). However, increasing evidence of another deterrent to women pursuing educational leadership positions has surfaced in the literature—family–work balance (Coleman, 2002; Haughton, 2002; Loder, 2005).

Female educators cited family and home responsibilities as barriers to attaining top leadership positions (Coleman, 2002; Haughton, 2002; Loder, 2005). Positions of leadership in education, such as a principalship, require a large amount of time, which might be overwhelming for women who also have responsibilities at home. Consequently, many women in administration have either never been married or are divorced or widowed. However, those who choose to maintain both— have a family and work as principals— struggle with successfully balancing both domains (Loder, 2005; Shakeshaft, 1989).

In some countries, the government has intervened to assist women in balancing home and work. For example, in Ukraine, the government had extensive systems of socialized support for childcare, such as state-run day care centers and a paid day off each month for housework (Williams, 2000). in 2009, the President issued an executive order to create the White House Council on Women and Girls. The purpose of the council was to ensure that American women and girls were treated fairly in all matters of public policy— in issues such as, equal pay, family leave, and childcare. Specifically, one of the aims of the council was to ensure that the administration evaluated and developed policies that established a balance between work and family (Mezey, 2011).

Prior to the executive order, researchers (Cheung& Halpern, 2010; Loder, 2005; Wrushen & Sherman, 2008) conducted studies to discover how women addressed work–family conflicts. Loder's (2005) investigated how female administrators of different races and ages negotiated work–family conflicts in a qualitative study. Greenhaus and Beutell (1985) defined work–family conflict as the incompatible demands between the work and family roles of an individual that makes participation in both roles more difficult. Loder (2005) interviewed and surveyed 31 female administrators; the participant pool was diverse—20 were Black and 11 were White, they

were urban and suburban schools, and the ages spanned those who were born pre-Civil Rights and post-Civil Rights. Loder (2005) found that much of the responsibility for managing work–family conflicts fell on female administrators. The participants admitted that the competing roles of wife and administrator greatly contributed to the dichotomy in their home and work lives; however, Loder (2005) found noticeable differences in the negotiation of this conflict between the Black and White participants.

Loder's (2005) found differences between Black and White administrators with regard to prioritization of career, family goals, aspirations, and support systems. White administrators tended to prioritize their aspirations to become principals over their desires to start their own families. In contrast, Black women extended their time as assistant principals and delayed becoming principals until their children were older. Loder (2005) attributed this difference to the availability of potential spouses; delaying family and remaining unmarried posed more of a risk for Black women than their White counterparts. The choice to delay marriage is largely because of inequitable pool of potential spouses for minority women. Black women who were married with children relied more heavily on women kin and family for childcare and household support than did White women. Some Black women even used intergenerational living arrangements where their mothers or grandmothers lived with them and assisted in child rearing, cooking, and cleaning while they attained principalships. White women relied more on spousal support or hired help— housekeepers and nannies—to assist in household duties and childcare. Despite the differences, both groups expressed angst about their never-ending and seemingly fruitless attempts to negotiate an allocation between work time and family time that was mutually desirable for their spouses and children (Loder, 2005, p. 761).

Support Systems

Loder's (2005) study revealed the importance role of support systems for female administrators as they maintained balance in their work and family lives. Although the number of women in educational leadership positions has drastically increased over the last few decades, women are still responsible for more of the household duties than their male counterparts (Sandberg, 2013). Myers and Ginsberg (1994) conducted a qualitative study to compare the support systems of female and male principals. The researchers surveyed over 170 principals and examined three types of support systems: professional, personal, and family. Both female and male principals recognized the importance of support systems. They also agreed that coworkers and supervisors provided them professional support through mentoring; however, women and men principals differed in their personal and family support systems. Men attributed their spouses as providing personal support while the women attributed their mothers as providing such support. In the area of family support, men, again, acknowledged their spouses assisted them in childcare and household duties, while the female principals cited receiving almost no support from their spouses with childcare (Myers & Ginsberg, 1994). The females in Myers and Ginsberg's study need for family support to assume the greater work responsibilities required in their role as principal. As in other studies, women in this study struggled with balancing their work and family lives.

Similar to Myers and Ginsberg (1994), Marcinkus et al. (2007) concluded the importance of support systems when they conducted a study to understand how work and family related factors influenced the work–family balance for female professionals. The researchers found that married, female employees faced difficulties in maintaining a balance between work and family; as a result, their careers suffered. Furthermore, Marcinkus et al. (2007) attributed lack of help

from their spouses as the reason why women were prematurely exiting their careers; only 34 percent of husbands extended help to their working wives. Support was not only lacking in the home, but was also lacking at work. The researchers suggested implementing more flexible human resource policies and practices to maintain women in the workforce.

Forty percent of employed mothers lack sick days and vacation days, and nearly 50 percent of employed mothers are unable to take time off to care for a sick child. These policies can have severe consequences: families with no access to paid family leave often go into debt, and women decide to give up on their career aspirations (Sandberg, 2013). Work environments with family-friendly policies have been cited as paramount in assisting women balance their work and home lives (Seay, 2010). For such environments to come to fruition, Gbowee (2012) argued that more women were needed in leadership roles to give strong and powerful voice to their needs and concerns for work and family balance.

In addition to family-friendly environments, Hansen (1991) identified additional strategies to assist women in balancing their home and family lives. Hansen (1991) reviewed several years of research and concluded that the following strategies were helpful for working mothers to balance both domains: a supportive spouse, supportive supervisors, increased organization, forgoing leisure time, and intentional planning of special parent–child activities. The aforementioned support systems and strategies are needed for women to overcome the societal expectations for women. The use of the findings can help female educational leaders to resolve successfully the work–family conflict that prevails.

Summary of the Literature

The intention of reviewing dated and current literature was to make connections between the historical influence on societal expectations of women, specifically Black women, which

have produced educational leaders struggling to balance the domains of work and family. Findings from previous studies attributed social expectations, self-efficacy, gender stereotypes, and the glass ceilings as obstacles to women attaining leadership positions. In the last decade, managing family responsibilities has augmented the list of pediments for aspiring female leaders. Moreover, researchers (Halpern & Cheung, 2008; Loder, 2005; Sandberg, 2013) have devoted studies to discovering support systems to aid women in balancing the domains of family and work. Strategies have been suggested (e.g., supportive spouses, supportive supervisors, family-friendly work policies, increased organization, forgoing leisure time, and intentional planning of special parent–child activities; however, the research is still lacking, especially when examining the struggles of Black principals.

Loder (2005) targeted Black women in educational leadership, but did not address the unique responsibilities of high school principals. Additionally, Loder (2005) only found one common support system for Black women, the use of women kin. Case studies that reveal support systems and strategies for this subset of educational leaders are lacking.

This chapter provided a historical context of women's struggle for equity, as well as a compilation of support systems for working women who desire to balance family and work. The literature involving the historical context of women's struggle for equity shed light on the historical and contemporary societal expectations of White and Black women. Additionally, the roles of women in education, specifically in the realm of educational leadership were addressed, and strategies, along with support systems, were identified for female educational leaders attempting to balance work and family.

CHAPTER III

METHODS

Introduction

In Chapter Two, the researcher presented obstacles that women encounter as they aspire to attain leadership positions in their careers. The authors in the literature suggested that female leaders in education struggle in balancing their work and family lives; Morris (2002) reported that more than 60 percent of female principals admitted family responsibilities as an impediment to career success. Female principals received less support from family for childcare and household responsibilities than did male principals (Young & McLeod, 2001). Consequently, many more women become discouraged as they attempt to balance work and life as compared to men and they then leave the profession, leaving a disproportionately low number of women represented in educational leadership roles (Baugmgartner & Schneider, 2010; Gordan & Galloway, 2008; Young & McCleod, 2001).

As the demographics of the population in the United States change, an expanding need exists for more culturally, ethnically, racially diverse leaders in the public schools. African American women often model transformational leadership because of their experiences with oppression because of race and gender (Chin et al., 2007). Such leadership is beneficial to minority students, who now compose more than half of the student population attending public

schools (Chin et al., 2007). To recruit more women of color, Giddings (1984) argued that organizations must provide support systems to help minimize challenges that African American women might encounter in their leadership roles; one challenge is finding balance in home and work. Loder (2005) and Brown (2005) found that African American women find success with balance; however, the support systems and strategies that facilitated this success are not clear. Chapter Three outlines the approach to acquiring and analyzing additional data to discover the support systems that benefit African American, female principals in urban schools as they balance home and work. To accomplish this further analysis, three research questions have been articulated. In Chapter Three, the researcher discusses the methods that were used in this research to respond to these questions.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of the research was to identify support systems that have allowed women in leadership positions to create a balance between work and life. The secondary purpose of the study was to identify the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education that have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining balance in work and family life. This information can better prepare aspiring female administrators and one hopes illuminate a path to a successful balance of work and family life.

The central question—What are the experiences of African American women in balancing home and work life?—was supported by the following subquestions:

1. What challenges do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools face in balancing work and family life?

2. What type of support do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools perceive to be helpful in achieving balance in work and family life?
3. What strategies do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools employ to balance work and family life?

Rationale of the Research Design

Qualitative research. In this study, the researcher used a qualitative research approach to collect and analyze data regarding the perceptions of the participants. The purpose of qualitative research is to understand a phenomenon from the participants' perception. To accomplish this task, researchers, who are the primary instrument, commonly administer interviews, recordings, and observations to collect data (Patton, 2002). Often, qualitative research involves fewer but more purposeful participants allowing the researcher more flexibility. Qualitative research aids the researcher in describing the findings more richly as compared to quantitative research. African American, female principals were interviewed to discuss how they balance their work and family domains; therefore, it would be difficult to capture any relevant data without observations and interviews. In the study, the researcher investigated home and family balance for female principals through individual interviews, observations, and weekly logs.

Case study and use of narratives. A case study is a form of qualitative research and is prevalent throughout the field of education (Merriam, 2001). A case study is an intensive, holistic, description and analysis of a single instance, phenomenon, or social unit (Merriam, 1988, p. 21). Researchers who engage in case studies often discover shared patterns of behavior within a specific group (Creswell & Miller, 2000). This approach also allows the researcher to explore how people socially and physically interact and relate to contemporary phenomenon within the context of real-life (Thomas & Brubaker, 2000).

Narrative case studies capture the voice of the participants studied. Narrative methods are a result of the "narrative turn" in social science research, which was described as a response to the lack of human stories in traditional research in the 1960s. Early studies outlining the historical foundations of the narrative methods included oral narratives. The focus of these methods were life stories and personal accounts of one's experience with inequality, poverty, sexism, and other social and cultural experiences (Chase, 2005). Narratives have played a vital role in collecting responses and respecting the experiences of underrepresented groups in research (Gates, 1990).

In this study, the narratives of African American women were used to collect and build a case study of how societal expectations and stereotypes affect their navigation of work and family conflict. The media often portrays Black women as a source of strength, not hampered by the societal and social norms of women; however, the researcher hoped that, by using narratives, African American women might voice a more accurate account of their lives absent of societal censorship. Chase (2005) found that narrative case studies allow the researcher to explore how individuals are empowered or constrained by society. By using narratives, the participant African American, female, secondary school principals in the study were able to create a public persona reflective of their true struggles and challenges as they balanced a career and motherhood.

Observation. Merriam (1998) defined observation as a beneficial research tool only when it serves a formulated research purpose and is planned deliberately. For this study, an observation of the participants' work environment was used to gather a more holistic perspective of the schools where the principals serve and evidence of challenges affecting their work and life balance. Patton (2002) listed several benefits of observing the participants' work environments. One benefit was that the researcher would better understand and capture the context of the work

environment. In addition, the researcher can discover pertinent information that the participant might have qualified as nonessential if only relying on the interview. Patton (2002) identified as another merit of observing the work environment that the researcher can draw from personal knowledge while analyzing data.

Document analysis. In addition to interviews and observations, the researcher used document analysis. According to Merriam (1998), documents can tell the researcher about the inner meaning of everyday events, and they can yield extraordinary descriptions of human life. Further, Merriam found that personal documents were a reliable source of data concerning a person's attitudes, beliefs, and view of the world (p. 116). However, they are personal documents; therefore, the material is highly subjective because the writer is the only person to select what he or she considers important to record. Despite the subjectivity, personal documents reflect the participant's perspective, which Burgress (1982) concluded is most important in qualitative research. Furthermore, the insertion of document analysis allows the researcher to use triangulation to analyze the data and to produce a deeper insight into perceptions of African American women as they balance work and family (Patton, 2002).

Researcher as an Instrument

Role of the researcher. In qualitative inquiry, it is critical for researchers to clarify their roles to make their research credible (Patton, 2002). The researcher is the instrument of data collection and the data is mediated through a human instrument, it is imperative that the researcher reveal pertinent information about self. The qualitative researcher needs to reveal relevant information about himself or herself (e.g., experiences, biases, competence, and skill levels) to the consumer of the research to establish credibility (Greenbank, 2003). To reduce biases, the researcher maintained a personal journal explaining the researcher's personal

reactions and reflections and, in a separate journal, to explain how any bracketing might have taken place.

Background of the researcher. Patton (2002) asserted that the researcher plays an essential part in qualitative inquiry. Consequently, Patton continued by suggesting that researchers should disclose their background, biases, and experiences when conducting a qualitative study.

The researcher grew up in a diverse, midsized city in the southeastern region of the United States. She is an African American woman who grew up surrounded by successful women. Her grandmother, whose husband died early in her marriage, went on to earn her master's degree, to teach school, and to raise three daughters on her own. Her aunt was the first and only African American women in the researcher's hometown to own a funeral home. Her mother, although she did not have a college degree, accomplished high levels of success professionally. The ladies in the researcher's family instilled in her the importance of hard work, integrity, tenacity, and most importantly, independence. They often told her, "Black women, we, are strong and we can do it all!"

Therefore, the researcher thought, "I can do it all!" Subsequently, within 6 years of graduating high school, the researcher had studied abroad and had earned two college degrees. After earning her master's degree, the researcher began working in a public, urban district located in the southeastern region of the United States and has remained for 15 years. She holds a Bachelor of Science degree in mathematics, a Master of Arts in Teaching degree in secondary education with an endorsement in mathematics, and an Educational Specialist degree in educational leadership. The researcher's educational accomplishments have allowed her to serve in different roles for the district. She has worked as a math teacher, a professional learning

coach, and an instructional facilitator in four of the district's high schools. Although the researcher's professional life was evolving, so also was her personal life; she married in 2005 and had her first child in 2007. After giving birth to her second child, as much as she desired to move into higher levels of educational leadership, she succumbed to her struggles in attempting to balance her work and family lives. After 9 years in administration, she opted to return to the classroom because, as a mother and wife, she struggled to balance my work and family domains successfully.

The researcher wrestled with the decision to return to the classroom. She struggled with tainting the legacy of women in her family and in a broader sense the legacy of Black women. Reflecting on the struggles and obstacles that her ancestors overcame, her family and other African Americans perceived her admission of difficulty in balancing work and family as weak. A Black woman today is expected to make the same sacrifices as other Black women made in the Civil Rights Movement to help move African Americans forward; therefore, leading in urban schools is one avenue to advancing prospects for African Americans. Thus, she still has the desire to lead an urban school, specifically a high school. However, she found the literature on Black women who do balance family life while successfully leading urban schools lacking; therefore, her research topic was born.

Participants

Gaining access. The selection of principals for this study was determined by their gender, race, marital status, whether they have children, and a willingness to participate in the research. The researcher contacted two female high school principals who were mothers to help increase the number of participants, resulting in a snowball, sampling procedure. According to Patton (2002), snowball sampling is a technique where existing participants recruit future

participants from among their professional networks. Patton (2002) suggested that purposeful sampling is selecting information-rich cases strategically in an effort to sheds light on the research questions at hand.

After identifying high school principals who met the criteria to participate in the study through snowball sampling, the researcher contacted possible participants via electronic mail and supplied them with a brief explanation of the study. When a participant agreed to participate in the study, she was provided with a copy of the consent form to review and sign (Appendix A). The gave the participants the flexibility of determining a convenient time, place, and date for the interview, which lasted 60–90 minutes.

Ethical Consideration and Informed Consent

Multiple precautions were taken to protect the rights of the participants. After the successful defense of the prospectus, the researcher obtained approval from the dissertation committee to conduct research on the proposed topic. Then, the researcher obtained approval from the Institutional Review Board at The University of Mississippi. Next, the purpose and scope of the study were expressed to the participants verbally and in writing prior to the begining of the interviews. All participants signed a consent form prior to the interview; the consent form included the purpose, procedure, researcher's contact information, and participants' privacy policy.

In addition to these steps, specific practices were used to ensure participants' confidentiality at the highest level. Alpha and numerical combination codes were used to safeguard the confidentiality of all participants. Only the researcher had access to the codes that could identify the participants. The data collected from this study were kept in a secure file cabinet in the researcher's home, and to which only the researcher had access. The researcher

will destroy all audio recordings upon completion of the study. These steps were used to protect the confidentiality of the participants before, during, and after this study. All of the participants were invited to review their transcripts to ensure accuracy. Additionally, the participants also retained a copy of their weekly logs for further review.

Setting

The district located in the southern region of the United States consists of 213 schools that serve over 113,000 students. The district is considered urban and the student demographics are as follows: 76.7 percent Black, 12.2 percent Hispanic, 7.5 percent White, and one percent Asian. Approximately 85 percent of the students qualify for free or reduced-price lunches. The district employs approximately 6,400 teachers; African Americans represent more than half of the teacher population. There are 31 high schools, 22 of which are led by African American principals, of which 11 are Black women.

Data Collection

Creswell (2007a) identified beneficial data collection activities in conducting qualitative research as locating a site or individual, gaining access and building rapport, purposefully sampling, collecting data, recording information, and storing data. In this study, the instruments used for data collection included interviews of the participants, observation of the workplace, and document review of the Work–Life Log. The participants also shared their resumes, demographics of their school's student population, and descriptions of the school. The resumes were used to verify the participants' previous experience and to shed light on their career path in attaining their current positions. The size of school and other school demographics were reviewed to determine whether they affected the time demands. The identified instruments were

used to gather information on how African American women maintain balance of work and family life, while leading urban high schools.

Instrumentation

The instruments that were used for this study were interviews, time logs, and observations. During the interviews, the participants answered 31 semi-structured questions; the questions were developed using a study that examined the work–life balance of female superintendents (Olesniewicz, 2012). In addition to using the research questions, subtopics were used to create a case study that allowed participants to narrate their experiences and perceptions, specifically as African American mothers, in educational leadership. For example, when addressing the research question regarding challenges, one subtopic was societal expectations for Black women.

Data acquired from the interviews was examined in the framework of how historical influences, such as social role theory and Black feminism, have shaped society's expectations of women. The research objectives were used to create the sections and questions of the interview protocol. The interview protocol contained 31 questions. The questions were organized in the following categories according to the findings in the literature review: gender stereotypes, race stereotypes, work–home life balance, and support systems. The categories expand the limited, existing research on the experiences of Black women educators and their attempts to balance work and family domains. The interview questions are found in Appendix B.

In addition to the interviews, participants were asked to record their weekly activities using a Work–Life Log supplied to them. The recorded activities provided insight into their weekly decisions regarding work–family balance. The last instrument employed for this study was an observation. Patton (2002) argued that observation is the best research method. Patton

urged researchers to observe an individual's work environment to gain a more holistic perspective of the participant. The data collected via interviews (Appendix B), the Work–Life Log (Appendix C), and observations (Appendix D) augmented the research concerning the work–home balance conflicts that African American mothers in educational leadership face.

Data Analysis

The varied data types identified in the Instrumentation section allowed triangulation to be employed in this study. Merriam (1998) defined triangulation as using multiple sources of data, or multiple methods to confirm the emerging findings (p. 204). This study combined interviewing, observing, and document analysis in hopes to strengthen the reliability of the findings.

Data was examined within the framework of how historical stereotypes and social roles associated with race and gender have contributed to the resiliency of African American mothers. Eagly (1987) examined in social role theory sex differences within a social context (e.g., interactions between and among individuals, groups, societies, and economic systems). Dublin (2007) discovered that Eagly's (1987) roles created environments that hindered some groups (mainly women and minorities) from achieving status as compared to others within the society. Eagly identified the impediments as gender stereotypes and gender role expectations. Although Eagly examined gender in the theory, in the Black feminist theory, Collins examined gender and race, finding that society assumes that Black women are innately strong and require little support. Black feminism acknowledges the voices of Black women and provides an avenue to include their perspectives.

Data was examined within the frameworks of Eagly's (1987) social role theory and Collins' (2002) Black feminist theory. The researcher used Eagly's (2002) theory to analyze the

barriers of women through societal expectations, and Collins' (2002) theory to analyze the internal and external coping mechanisms of the participants as they negotiated work–life conflicts. The data was coded and analyzed for the emerging themes and possible subthemes. In qualitative research, the data is represented in tables, figures, or a discussion (Creswell, 2002). For this research study, the data was presented as a discussion in Chapter Four.

Creswell's (2002) model of data analysis encourages researchers to analyze data by aggregation of instances and direct interpretation. Creswell (2002) found that some research topics require categorical analysis and others occur once, only requiring direct interpretation. To address the research questions best, the analysis was conducted over all of the cases. The processes of reading the transcription and listening to the recording of the interview several times aided in analyzing the data. In addition, the work logs and observation notes were analyzed to support or contradict the findings from the interviews. The written responses from the logs and interview transcripts were studied to allow the identification of the participants' ideas and meanings (Creswell, 2002).

After gathering all of the data, the researcher conducted a preliminary exploratory analysis (Creswell, 2007) with all of the documents: transcriptions of the interviews, observation notes, and document analysis (logs). During this stage in the analysis, the texts were read thoroughly and initial codes were formed. The research questions during this phase of analysis were set aside so that the participants' perspectives could be addressed (Creswell, 2007). After gaining familiarity with the documents and searching for general ideas, coding was performed by locating descriptive and thematic data (Creswell, 2002) using color-coding. The color-coded themes assisted in creating a vignette to introduce each case to the reader. In addition, the extra

codes were created using the language of the participants and were aggregated to establish themes for each case.

Stake (1995) advised, "For more important episodes or passages of text, we must take more time, looking at them over again and again, reflecting, triangulating, being skeptical about first impressions and simple meanings" (p. 78). A holistic analysis was conducted; these themes were built around answers to the 31 research questions. The found themes and subthemes were compared across cases for similarities and differences. Interpretations of the similarities and differences were made. These interpretations required both development of naturalistic generalizations or "making the case understandable and its application to other cases" (Creswell, 2007, p. 246) and the direct interpretation or "drawing meaning from a single instance" (Creswell, 2007, p. 245). Once themes were established, patterns were sought among the themes to establish subthemes (Creswell, 2007). A narrative structure was used to convey the information gathered during the data analysis, using Yin's (2002) analytic strategy of developing a descriptive framework for the case. After the narrative structure was established for each case, the cases were coded for themes that might exist across cases. This required the researcher to read thoroughly each case and to look for ways in which the cases might be unique and similar to the others. In addition, triangulation, using the observation notes and document analysis, were used to ensure that the discovered similarities and differences found from the interview transcriptions were consistent. As a result, the discussion of the data consists of narratives that include vignettes and a cross-case analysis of the codes, themes, and subthemes.

Rich, Thick Description

Merriam (2001) revealed that a distinct feature of a qualitative case study was rich, thick description of the incident being investigated. The researcher employed prose and literacy

techniques to ensure that the product would properly describe and analyze the tones and feelings that the participants elicited during the interview sessions.

Summary

In Chapter Three, the researcher outlined and described the methods that were used to conduct in this study, including the research design, participant selection, data collection, data analysis, and theoretical framework. The notes and transcripts from the principals' interviews, observations, and documents provided data for the analysis of the challenges principals face in negotiating their work–family conflicts. In Chapter Four, the researcher presents the narratives that provided the rich, thick description necessary to understand each case study participant's negotiation of the work–life conflict. In Chapter Five, the researcher discusses the implications of this study and suggests areas of further research.

CHAPTER IV

DATA ANALYSIS

Introduction

In this qualitative study, the researcher analyzed the work–life balance of six, African American, female principals in a large, urban, school district located in the mid-South by asking the following research questions:

1. What challenges do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools face in balancing work and family life?
2. What type of support do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools perceive to be helpful in achieving balance in work and family life?
3. What strategies do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools employ to balance work and family life?

The data included interviews, observations, and document analyses. The central purpose of this study was to identify support systems and strategies that have allowed women in leadership positions to maintain a balance between work and life. Additionally, in this study, the researcher identifies the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education that prevent women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining a healthy work and family balance.

Currently, women represent a disproportionately low number of principals serving in public high school when compared the number of women in the field of education. In 2012, only 28.1 percent of the high school principals were women, while more than 70 percent of the educational workforce consisted of women (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2012); the disproportion widens when the data is disaggregated to only include African American women. Loder (2005) and Shakeshaft (1985) attributed the scarcity of women in leadership roles to external and internal barriers that derived from societal and historical stereotypes of women. Baugmgartner and Schneider (2010) asserted the largest barrier to a greater number of women obtaining education leadership positions is the discouragement that women face when the the conflict regarding the negotiation of work and family moves from theory to reality.

The theoretical frameworks that the researcher used for this study were social role theory and Black feminist theory. Social role theory is used to examine gender differences in multiple contexts of society (e.g., connections between individuals, groups, and economic systems). In this study, the researcher examined how Black women in leadership navigated societal expectations, while negotiating work and life. Collins (1994) found that the experiences of Black women were best expressed through the narratives of Black women. As a result, Black feminist theory was used to capture their perspectives. Furthermore, the experiences of Black women were placed at the center of this research by encouraging Black female principals to provide a theoretical interpretation of their experiences with work and family conflict.

Data Collection and Analysis

In this chapter, the researcher captured the reality of the work–life conflict that African American principals face in urban, high schools by examining the following data sources: interviews, observations, and document analysis. After gathering all the data, the researcher

conducted a preliminary exploratory analysis with all the documents. The documents were color-coded to locate themes. Collectively, the data sources were used to create rich, descriptive examples of the participants' negotiation of home and life conflicts. Together, the research subjects exemplify the experiences of the group and are captured as a case study, producing a unique narrative of the experiences of African American, female principals.

The interviews were conducted over a three-week span; each interview lasted between one to one and a half hours. After conducting the interviews, the researcher transcribed each interview. To aid in analyzing the data and capturing the themes, the transcriptions were read and recordings were played several times. In addition, the work logs and observation notes were analyzed to support or contradict the findings from the interviews. The written responses from the logs and interview transcripts were studied to allow identification of participants' ideas and meaning.

The next stage of data analysis involved exploratory analysis and creating themes. After all the data was gathered and organized, a preliminary exploratory analysis (Creswell, 2007) with all the documents—transcriptions of the interviews, observation notes, and document analysis (logs) was conducted. During this stage in the analysis, the texts were read thoroughly and initial codes were formed. The research questions during this phase of analysis were set aside so that the participants' perspective could be addressed (Creswell, 2007). After gaining familiarity with the documents and searching for general ideas, coding was performed by locating descriptive and thematic data (Creswell, 2002) using color-coding. The color-coded themes assisted in creating a vignette to introduce each case to the reader. Last, the additional codes were created, using the language of the participants and were aggregated to establish themes for each case.

The data analysis provides the information for Chapter Four. The data is presented in the following sections of this chapter. The chapter includes a demographic description of each participant, a presentation of the findings for each research question, and the themes that emerged through the analysis from each of the data types.

Participants

The participants represented an average of 4 years in the role of principal. Each of the principals served at a school that was classified as Title I under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. At each school, more than 80 percent of the students qualified for free or reduced-price lunch. Table 1 gives a summary of the participants' profiles.

Table 1

General Demographics of Participants

Principal	Age range	Highest degree	Total number of years as principal	Married	Number of children	Ages of children	Approximate total number of students	Traditional or specialty school
A	(40–49)	M.A.T.	4	Yes	3	18, 19, 25	125	Specialty
B	(40–49)	Ed.D.	7	Yes	1	16	2000	Traditional
C	(40–49)	M.A.T.	5	Yes	3	13, 18, 22	350	Traditional
D	(40–49)	Ed.D	3	Yes	2	12, 17	400	Traditional
E	(40–49)	Ph.D.	1	No	1	3	2000	Traditional
F	(40–49)	M.A.T.		Yes	2	8, 8	200	Specialty

Principal A served as a principal at a small high school with only 125 students enrolled. Her school is considered a specialty school because the students must apply and be interviewed to gain admittance to the school. Principal A began her career as a chemist and changed to education after the arrival of her second child. She is in her fifth year as principal. Principal A

married 5 years ago, and collectively she and her husband have three children, one of which resides with them; their children range in ages from 18 to 25 years. The 25-year-old son lives in his own home, the 19-year-old son is away at college, and the18-year-old daughter is a senior in high school. Her daughter is an honor student at a different, district high school and is involved in competitive cheerleading and dance. When Principal A is not attending one of her daughter's events, she is at work, where she spends the majority of her time.

Principal B served as principal of the large high school within the district with a population of over 2,000 students. She has been at her current school for three years. Prior to her current role, she was principal of another high school, which was smaller and more challenging academically. Principal B was advised that her previous school would either "break or make" her career. She received accolades for the success she achieved there, and then was moved to her current school. Principal B's school has an average of three events per week, many occurring in the evening. She admits to working most weekends, and rarely seeing her husband because he works at night. Principal B's husband nearly died 4 years ago, which she stated affected her greatly. She and her husband have one daughter who is 16 years old and who attends her mother's school. Although she tries, she admits that she cannot spend much time with her daughter or husband. To make up for the time she is not able to spend with her family, she admits that she overcompensates with material gifts; she recently gave her daughter a new, Mercedes-Benz for her 16 birthday. She goes on self-described, "extravagant" vacations with her husband once a year to make up for lost time. She lives close to the school and spends the majority of her time at work, even on the weekends.

Principal C served as principal at a school with slightly less than 400 students. She began her career as a chemist and moved into education after the birth of her first child. Her husband of

25 years, with whom she recently reunited after separating for two years, owns a trucking company and is on the road the majority of the time. She admitted to feeling like a single mother most days. She has been in the school system for more than 20 years. She served as a teacher and an assistant principal before becoming a principal. She has three daughters who are Ages 22, 18, and 14 years, all of whom reside in her home. Her oldest child attends college in town, but lives at home. Her youngest child is an active softball player who plays competitively in and out of town.

Principal D also served as a principal of a school with slightly less than 400 students. She began her quest to the principalship as a teacher. After five years of teaching, Principal D transitioned to the role of instructional facilitator at her school. During her last three years as the instructional facilitator, Principal D completed her doctoral degree and was promoted to the district level as coach. She served in that role for two years, and then was promoted to school principal, without ever serving as an assistant principal. Principal D has been married for more than 20 years. Her husband's job allows him to end his day around 4:00 p.m. Principal D has a multigenerational living arrangement, for her mother resides with her and her family. She has two daughters who are Ages 17 and 12 years, neither of whom attends Principal D's school. She admits to spending the majority of her time at work. "If I make it to the house by 7:30 p.m., my family is surprised," she said.

Principal E served as principal for one year of a school with more than 1,000 students. She is a single mother; her son's father is not in either her or her son's life. After graduating college, she pursued a career in medicine by applying to medical school, but was placed on the wait list. As an alternative, she applied to two different graduate school programs: a doctoral program in scientific research and a Masters of Arts program in teaching. She was accepted into

the doctoral program first, so she earned a Ph.D. in medical research. She began her career as forensic scientist and then became an adjunct professor at a local community college. After witnessing teenagers who were not college ready, she decided to pursue a career in teaching and enrolled in an alternative certification program. She was a science teacher for three years and entered into an accelerated principal licensure program. She served as an assistant principal for two years and principal for one year. Principal E's high school has several events each week that require her supervision.

Principal F has served as principal for three years. She is a principal of one of the district's alternative schools. The school does not have any after-school activities. She has been married for ten years and has two children, twin boys, who are eight years old. Her husband also works in the school system. She began her career as a teacher and taught for four years. After teaching, she became an assistant principal and moved into her current position. The enrollment of her school fluctuates; she typically has 60 girls enrolled at her school.

The next section presents analysis of the information gathered from interviews and document analyses from six participants. The three research questions were used to identify the challenges, support systems, and strategies the principals used to balance their responsibilities at work and home.

Findings for Research Question One: The Challenges

The researcher used Research Question One to query, "What challenges do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools face in balancing work and family life?" To answer the query, the principals were posed questions (interview questions three through eleven) regarding challenges they faced as the principals work affected their time with family. In addition, data from the Work–Life Logs and observations were studied. Despite the differences

in the demographics of the principals, including the type of school (specialty and traditional), number of children, length of marriage, or number of years serving as principal, four common themes emerged from the investigation of Research Question One. The first theme was sacrificing time with family because of the principals' commitment to work. The second theme was barriers, internal and external, revolving around the principals' nonadherence to the societal expectations of women.

Sacrificing time with family. The first theme to emerge during the data analysis was sacrificing time with family. The theme initially emerged from the analysis the Work–Life Logs of the participants. While examining the Work–Life Logs of the participants, all the participants spent more time attending to work demands than home demands. The principals at the two specialty schools spent less time on work demands than they did on the principals at traditional schools, but the time spent at work exceeded time at home. However, the principals at traditional schools spent significantly more time at school, despite the differences in the student populations of their schools. For example, Principal D, who has a school population of approximately 400 students, and Principal B, who has a school population of approximately 2,000, spent twice as much time taking care of work demands when compared to the amount of time they spent with their home demands. Furthermore, in Principal D's reflection of her Work–Life Log, she admitted that she did not have any balance and spending the majority of her time working. Not only was the theme, sacrificing time with family, present in the participants' Work–Life Logs, it was also threaded throughout principals' interviews.

The principals' answers to interview questions further supported the identified challenge of sacrificing their time with family. The sacrificing of time with family continued to emerge as the researcher analyzed them in the participants' interview transcripts. For example, Principal D,

who according to her Work–Life Log spends double the amount of time at work than at home, described her typical day as follows:

> I typically leave my house at 6:15 a.m. During the school day, I am up observing most of the day; my school day with my students and teachers ends between 2:30 p.m. to 4:00 p.m. After that, I stay at work to catch up on emails and other paperwork. I typically have at least two nightly events; one week I had four home games in one week. If I go home at 7:00 p.m. or 7:30 p.m., that is early. Many nights, I come home when family members are sleeping.

Again, in her Work–Life Log, Principal D wrote that she did not have balance regarding family and life. Principal C, who according to her Work–Life Log is closely balanced, described her typical day as follows:

> I get up at 4:00 a.m. in the morning and have daily devotion. I look in on my girls (daughters) and share calendars with my daughters. I check my email before I leave the house. I'm at work by 6:20 a.m. I am always on the go. I walk around with a laptop, checking lessons plan, stitching people up because, when I am in the building, I am focusing on instruction. My day ends at 5:30 p.m., then, I leave at 7:00 p.m. and get home around 7:30 p.m. If we have games, I don't get home until after 11:00 p.m.; we usually have two games a week. I am sacrificing time with my family.

Principal F, the only single mother, described her typical day as follows:

> I wake up at 4:00 a.m. and get my son ready. I am at school by 7:00 a.m. and I go until 2:15 p.m. We have after school meetings. I usually get off by 5:30 p.m. to get him by six 6:00 p.m. I will get him get home around 7:00 or 7:30. I get home around 10:30 on game nights.

When asked about the difference between this role and her previous positions, Principal E said, she spends less time with her son in this position as principal than in her previous positions.

Principal D, Principal C, and Principal F are principals at traditional schools that have many activities at night. However, Principal A, who leads a specialty school with few night activities, still described her typical day as long and having to work on the weekends to catch up on work. During her interview, Principal B, who spent double the amount of time at work than at home, admitted that she did not spend time with her parents because she is always working. The typical day for the principals, regardless of the size of the school and type of school, averaged 12 hours. However, even when the principals were not at work, they were still thinking about their jobs.

During the interviews, it became evident that work was just not contained to the parameters of the participants' self-described typical days. Rather, the principals' work was threaded into quasi-family time, as well; work permeated the family lives of the principals. For example, Principal C admitted that she was not separating work and family time, "work spills over into my home life;" she gave an example of how she was not separating the two domains of work and family:

> I am always in work mode. My family just got back from vacation. While on vacation, instead of spending time with my family, I found myself every morning checking emails. I thought to myself, 'why do I have this laptop with me?'

Another example came from Principal B, who recently accepted a promotion for the next school year, described the work of leading a high school:

> I just don't think this position is catered to giving you a balance. I just don't think that is what it is. My family is just as much intertwined in this work. I have been an

> administrator for 14, 15 years. They are used to what this is. I decided to take on a new position, so I could balance. I think there are more young administrators who can take on this role and that I can help mold. They have the energy it takes to tackle this role; it's their time. It is time for me to breathe a little.

Principal A captured her spillover of work into home as follows:

> I am always thinking about work. Even when I am off or physically away from work, I am mentally still here.

Principal B discussed her responsibilities as follows:

> My responsibilities are ongoing. There is never an off button.

Principal D shared her feelings about the topic:

> Being in this seat (as principal), I am missing so much because I am busy thinking about things, and I am so worried about the destination. An example of that is when I am out to dinner with my family sometimes. I will have my phone and check emails. What is unfortunate is that your family begins to accept those excuses. They get so accustomed to it. It's really not fair.

Although some families understood the time spent working and spilling over into family time, Principal C revealed that her family was not as understanding. Principal C discussed how the time away from her family affected her marriage. She described her responsibilities at home and at work:

> I tell you they (responsibilities at work and home) are big. I will miss things with my family. My husband was so frustrated those first years. We actually separated for two years. The schools I have been placed at are like husbands themselves. I have felt like a wife to two men.

The job of leading an urban high school required the principals to work long hours. As a result, the participants had to sacrifice time spent with their families. The sacrifice was evident in their Work–Life Logs, as all the principals spent more time tackling work demands when compared to home demands. In addition, the analysis of the participants' interview transcripts further supported the theme of sacrificing time as a challenge for the principals as they attempted to balance the responsibilities of family and work.

Commitment to uplifting the race. Although the principals discussed sacrificing time with family because of work commitments, when asked if they would go back and change anything, many of the principals answered, "No." Framed solely from the standards of the imagined typical family, where men work and women take care of family, these principals' commitment to work would be deemed deficient (Collins, 2009). Patricia Hill Collins (1994) argued that the litmus test of White women's experience causes society to judge unfairly Black, working women. To understand the public sphere of the African American working woman's sacrificing time with family, one must understand the private sphere of why she commits so much time to her work.

The participants were passionate about their work of leading urban schools. For example, Principal A believed that leading an urban school was her calling. She explained her job as a calling, stating:

> I never imagined that I would become a principal. Remember, I was a chemist. I guess it was a calling. Like they say, preaching and teaching are a calling; I guess I was called because I never imagined I would be here. I think it was one blessing after another. That is the only way I can explain it. I took the test for my administration license 10 years after I completed the degree. I took the test just to take the test. This was in December, and

then in March, the former principal said she was retiring. It was just a divine set up because I had no intentions of ever being a principal.

For others, the motivation to become a principal developed from unique experiences found at the intersection of race and gender. As African American women, they operated schools that reflected their race; all the schools had a minority population of at least 90 percent, but the most of the schools had a student population that was 100 percent African American. As a result, the participants were inspired serve in urban schools to fight injustice on behalf of their students. For example, Principal D described in a lengthy answer of what inspired to become a principal:

> I attended an inner-city school and graduated number three in my senior class. All throughout school, I made straight As. I graduated with a 4.5 GPA (Grade Point Average), but I did not have one scholarship. In fact, I do not remember talking to one guidance counselor about taking the ACT, taking the ACT more than once, [and] what this ACT means. There I was number three in my class and not really knowing how to apply for college. I sat out a year after I graduated from high school; I figured college out my own. When I got to college, I had to take remedial classes. I was very confused: How does the number three in her graduating class have to take remedial classes? In college, I found others knew things that I had never been exposed to in high school. I started asking myself: How did this happen because one thing I know is that I am smart, right? I realized the reason I did not know was because what did and did not happen in my high school classrooms. To give a specific example, I would get an assignment of a three-page paper. I would get an A with no feedback. When I got to college, I received Cs and Ds on my papers. I thought something was wrong with the professor, so I arrogantly questioned the professor on why she gave the low grade. She told me, "There is no focus in your

> paper, you don't have a premise or point, so you can't properly develop your paper because it must be developed around a point." I had never received that type of feedback, so I was not as good of a writer as I thought I was. I could have been, had I heard some specific feedback in high school. All of that to say, that was a humbling experience. I really embraced what was happening: she is willing to help me through feedback. I vowed that I would never be the type of educator my teachers were; they never gave me feedback. I never was that type of teacher, I was never that type of coach, and I am not that type of principal.

Principal D discussed spending late nights at work writing feedback reports to her teachers to ensure that the students at her school were receiving the best education.

In addition to Principal D, Principal E too found inspiration from an experience from high school:

> I had an incident with a teacher in high school who was racially biased towards me. We (she and her parents) went to the administrator, and he did nothing about it. To know that a teacher and administrator can stop the progression of any student prompted me to go into education. I want to change the things that I had heard and seenall students not having the same opportunities. I am trying to change the mindset of the teachers on how they relate to the students and giving them every opportunity afforded to them regardless of their color or socioeconomic status.

In addition, Principal E discussed another instance of observed injustice:

> I was a professor at a community college. I realized that a lot of my students were not well prepared for college, especially my minority students. I felt like I needed to go into high school education to make sure students were properly prepared for college.

The incongruities of opportunities that exist within the Black race motivated participants to become principals. Consequently, the principals were committed to their work and justified their sacrificing time with their families.

The participants' commitment to their work of an urban education leader was motivated by experiences of discrimination, and by how the principals viewed their students. The principals viewed the students as equivalent to their own biological children. To shield their students from injustices that exist within society, many of the participants employed othermothering within their leadership styles. Othermothering is defined as African American women extending maternal assistance to children, other than their own, within the African American community. Originating in slavery, othermothering was used as a survival mechanism for educational and cultural transmission. Dantley (2015) found that African American, female principals commonly employ othermothering when leading schools. Othermothering derives from the ability to connect with minority students because of their own experiences with discrimination because of race, class, and gender. During the interviews, the principals referred to the students at their schools as their children. For example, at Principal C's school:

> They refer to me as mama [Name] here at the school. They (my students) call me crazy. They (my students) say I love them. I am that crazy mama. Co-worker said, "You love children way more than you love adults."

This notion of othermothering was further supported when analyzing the notes from Principal C's observation. During the interview, she was interrupted six times. One interruption was because a parent needed Principal C to call the student, who was the son the parent, and reprimand him about not going to his job. Principal C responded to the parent with the following:

> Now, he knows better. I just went up to his job the other day to check on him. He already knows mama [referring to herself] does not play that. I will check on him for you.

The mother replied, "Thank you, Principal C, because you know he will listen to you." When the interview resumed, Principal C stated, "These children don't have anyone. I feel like I am supposed to be here to support and protect them like my own children. I even wrote in the mission that we love and protect them." The fluid role of mothering was also evident in the interview with Principal D when she discussed her commitment:

> I am able to look at my children at school as my children. I ask myself the critical question: What would I want for my own children? I know deep down from deep within what I want for them is the same thing for my kids at school. My daughter went to the prom with me and one of the students said, "Your mom is so hard on us; you would not want to go to our school." My daughter looked at her and said, "She is hard on me." I thought to myself that it was interesting because my students will often say that I am so petty and "I bet you are not like this with your children." I tell them, "You want to ask them? The thing is I treat you all precisely how I treat my own kids. What that should communicate to you is that I care about you all as much my own children." I have high expectations of my students and I feel they can reach them, however high they are. I also have high expectations of my own kids, but that is because I think a lot of all my children—my students and my girls at home.

Collins (2009) argued that Black women are exploited by society and have become "Modern Mammies," (p. 121). Black female professionals are expected to fix institutions that are plagued with underfunding and deterioration, and to do fix them by committing a large amount of time to their work and sacrificing time with their families (Collins, 2009). The principals'

experiences, found at the intersection of race and gender, motivated them to cure a broken system, which for this study were urban schools, by loving and protecting the students as if they were their own children. However, the principals' commitment to their work produced conflict in negotiating work and home demands. Further analysis of the data, revealed another challenge for the principals as they negotiated work and family conflict. In the next section, the researcher explores the second theme, external and internal barriers.

External and internal barriers. The second theme that emerged from the data was barriers: external and internal. External barriers are commonly in the form of societal pressures and stereotypes (Young & McCleod, 2001). Shakeshaft (1989) described internal barriers as personal barriers—such barriers as in one's confidence in her values and self-efficacy. Throughout the interviews, the principals referred to barriers that they encountered throughout their journey of principalship. The perception of the women as strong created an external barrier at home and at work. The internal barrier of guilt resulted from their nonadherence to societal stereotypes for women.

***External barriers*.** The principals discussed the external barriers of societal and historical stereotyping of Black women; these stereotypes differed because women, in general, were expected to be pliable, while Black women were seen as strong. Struggling with this juxtaposition posed a challenge for many of the participants.

The image of the strong, Black woman has been embraced in the Black community for many years. The cultural reference emerged from slavery when enslaved women had to balance their lives as mothers and wives simultaneously with the demanding workloads as slaves (Davis, 1995). When asked to describe a Black woman, all of the participants included the adjective, strong. The following are the descriptions provided by the participants: Principal A described

Black women as strong, smart, thoughtful, caring, and hard working. Principal B used the words strong, resilient, protective, and powerful to describe Black women. Principal C said, "I envision Black women as strong, assertive, and caring." Principal D described a Black woman as strong sassy, independent, and hard working. Principal E used the words, strong, independent, ambitious, slighted (when it comes to leadership positions), and family oriented. Lastly, Principal F said, "Black women were strong, protective, and caring." In fact, as Rosenthal and Jacobson (1968) found in their study on perceptions, the Pygmalion effect affected the participants. They envisioned Black women as strong; therefore, the principals embodied this perception in both their personal and professional lives.

Strong Black woman at home. Giddings (1984) discovered the unique fact that African American family life often involves the reversed roles of husband and wife; the wife was "dominant" in the majority of Black families. All of the married participants admitted that their role as a leader had affected the way they interact with their spouses. The principals' strength spilled over into their roles at homes. Principal D discussed her role at home:

> I always offer answers and solutions. I am trying to be in control and tell people what to do, but I realize I can't be in control all the time. My husband will often tell me, "I am not one of your students or teachers."

Principal A discussed the challenge of switching between the roles of principal and wife:

> I do not switch roles. You feel you are leader at the house. My husband does not like that I do not switch roles. My first mind is to fix things. So, if I see, a light switch not working, the fence falling down, or [a] light bulb needing to be changed, I am going to take care of it; that's what I would do at school. If something happens, I am going to do whatever needs to be done, I will do it myself.

Moynihan (1965) asserted that the strength that Black women display emasculates their male partners, causing some Black men to desert Black women by refusing to marry these women. Principal C discussed her recent two-year split from her husband. She spoke of the advice she received from a former female principal, "You cannot be the principal at school and at home." This advice saved her marriage, but she still struggled in this area, saying, "Taking off my principal hat at home is hard."

*Strong Black woman at work***.** Beauboeuf-Lafontant's (2009) found that, when women carried the moniker "the strong Black woman," it came at a cost; society showed little empathy towards the Black women. Yet, the dominance that Black women exhibit conflicts with the societal gender roles of women. Principal B, Principal C, and Principal D discussed the challenge of maneuvering through the labyrinth of educational leadership, while combatting society's view of Black women. Principal D described her experience with gender and racial stereotyping:

> We are protectors, we are on the very bottom. I tend to look at things; we put everyone else above us. When people do not do my children (students) right, it infuriates me. I am disregarded because I am a Black woman. Substitutes will come into my building and speak to my White secretary and don't speak to me until it is brought to their attention of who I am. You always have to prove what you know. For other genders and races, it is not the same. We have to really show that we can lead and that you would be capable of running the largest school in the district.

Although Principal D alluded to some barriers because of race, her barriers were associated to the historical stereotypes and the misinterpretations of the strength of the Black woman:

> The only stereotype that causes me to think about the approach I am about to take is that most women in leadership/principals are considered to be bitches. I always think about it.

> I am tall and that is intimating. Then, I am already direct. People already think she is a bitch, so I think about how things come out of my mouth because I am fighting against that stereotype I know people have in their minds. I am really not a bitch at all. I can be, but I am not trying to be one.

Principal D agreed with Sandberg's (2013) assertion that women take on societal cues of how leaders are to act. Sandberg found that society negatively implicates women if they show characteristics of aggression or outspokenness. Sandberg (2013) concluded that women internalize throughout their lives the message of men that they are synonymous with power and women are not. As a result, women in leadership often show little emotion. Principal D recalled a time when she had to curtail her emotions:

> I can't show a lot of weakness. It has taken me a lot of time to show emotion. When my mother-in-law passed this year, I actually took time off of work. Two years ago when my mom passed, I felt guilty taking off of work and went right back. It is hard being a Black woman and showing vulnerability.

In the public sphere, Black women displayed the strength needed to lead the urban high schools where they worked. However, in their private spheres, these principals, who are self-described strong Black women, battled guilt as they negotiated the conflict of balancing the demands of work and home.

Internal barriers. Even with not wanting to show emotion, guilt was woven throughout the interviews with the Black female principals, especially when it came to the role of mothering. Young and McCleod (2001) asserted that external barriers such as stereotyping because of gender have generated internal barriers for women. As the previously explained, the principals' jobs required long hours and time away from their families. Such behavior defies societal

expectations of women, who are considered the caretakers of their homes, and produces feelings of guilt within the principals. Principal D discussed this when she discussed her feelings about sacrificing time with family to find success in her career:

> I feel guilty. Some days, I feel like a terrible mother and wife. I doubt on myself so much and beat up on myself. It is different for women; we are not supposed to do this.

Principal D elaborated on her perceived societal gender stereotypes:

> [When] I watch the *Young and the Restless*, Victor Newman is never home, but it is not acceptable for women to be away from the home. We are frowned upon and in a sense. I have had women tell me, "You need to sit down somewhere, you need to be at home and you need to do this." Those old school women at church [are the ones who tell me this].

Principal B, also, discussed what she had sacrificed to have a career while a mother, revealing feelings of guilt in her mothering:

> I only had one child due to my husband's sickness and because of my career. I had a difficult pregnancy, so I was not sure if I could continue in my career if I got pregnant again. I don't think I spend as much quality time with my parents because I am always working. When they call and ask me, "What are you doing?" [I respond by saying,] Working. I think I always in work mode. I know I have not been always the best mother. When I have a new AP (assistant principal), I always ask what are you going to do about your kids because you are about to give up some things. You are going to be a bad mother for a while. I definitely am a bad mother. Most principals, you are not going to be the best mother all the time or spouse because you are working all of the time.

Furthermore, when Principal B was asked whether she could go back and change anything regarding home and work balance, she responded:

> I would [have] done a better a job of the balance with my child. I would have said no more often or gone home sometimes.

Principal B and Principal D spent the most amount of time at work, when compared to the other principals, and as result, spoke about encountering guilt more often than the other principals did. Young and McCleod (2001) concluded that the guilt women endure in leadership is attributed to the lack of women in positions of leadership.

Alternatively, Sandberg (2013) found that some mothers in leadership were happy in their positions and did not combat feelings of guilt. Agreeing with Sandberg (2013), Principal A did not feel as though she had to give up anything to balance work and home. She discussed her family's expectations of her in her role as a mother:

> At first, it was: Why are you always at work? Once they (her family) realized what was going on and they [could] see the big picture, they (her family) are on board. They no longer ask, "Why are you always there and never here?"

However, Principal A admitted that her school was unique because the school did not have many night programs or an athletic program. She commented:

> Now, I don't know what it would be like if I was at (names a traditional high school within the district). I can go to all my daughter's games because we don't have any.

Collins (1998) characterized Moynihan's (1968) statement—that the deterioration of the Black family was occurring because Black women spend too much time away from home—as racist, classist, and sexist. However, the analysis of the data uncovered the truth that such thoughts also permeated the minds of the participants, resulting in feelings of guilt as they negotiated work and family.

Summary of the Findings for Research Question One

Analyzing the data for Question One unearthed several challenges for the principals as they attempted to balance work and family. Kahn and French (2007) concluded that the role of principal is a difficult position saturated with trials. Specifically, Kahn and French found that urban school principals are more likely to be stressed because of a lack of funding and parental involvement when compared to suburban and rural principals. From the data revealed in this researcher's study, it is clear that the principals in this study inherited challenging situations as urban high school principals, but their challenges grew as they attempted to balance their leadership roles with raising a family.

The principals identified the challenges that they faced as they attempted to balance work and family; the participants cited sacrificing time with family, and external and internal barriers. Frustrated Black feminists found that Black women are more likely than White women to inherit organizations (or for the purposes of this study, schools) that are weak (p. 72); Black women are also expected to fix these destitute organizations to uplift the race at any cost. The cost of fixing the systems and uplifting the race have required many of the principals to spend long days at work and to sacrifice time with their own families. The principals struggled to determine to whom they were most loyal: their work or their families.

Black feminist, Patricia Hill Collins (1994), found that work and family rarely function as dichotomous spheres for African American women. For the principals, work and family were interwoven because their role as mother extended beyond their own homes. The principals carried the load of ensuring the success of their biological children and their students, whom they also consider their children. The principals employed othermothering with their students; as a result, they rationalized the long hours at work. Rather than choose, the principals attempted to

balance work and family successfully and simultaneously by neglecting their own personal lives. Consequently, many participants discussed their feelings of exhaustion, preferring to sleep during their free time. However, their commitment to work was evident in the analysis of the principals' Work–Life Logs which revealed that they spent more time at school than at home; such findings defy societal norms (Eagly, 1987).

Eagly's social role theory affected how the principals carried themselves while leading the schools and affected their negotiation of work and family. As a result of gender stereotypes, women are perceived as the weaker gender when compared to men (Sandberg, 2013). Thus, the principals admitted to curtailing their emotions while at work. The principals were also cognizant of society's perception of Black women as "bitches" and considered this negative stereotyping when interacting with school stakeholders. The women had to balance opposing roles at home and work. At work, the women had to lead, while exerting the correct amount of toughness to gain respect, but avoiding the perception of a "bitch." However, at home the principals had to switch roles and allow their spouses to lead. Switching between the aforementioned roles has proved challenging for the principals; moreover, coupled with the limited time that they spend with their own children, role switching leaves them battling a tremendous amount of guilt.

Sandberg (2013) encouraged women to dismiss these feelings of guilt because the data that Sandberg found showed that sharing the financial and childcare responsibilities led to less guilty moms, more involved dads, and thriving children. The interviews and Work–Life Logs revealed that the principals were not balancing work and life alone. Rather, each participant had established a support system to assist him or her in his or her negation of work and life conflicts. In the next section, the researcher discusses the participants' support systems that made obtaining and maintaining their roles as urban, high school principals feasible while being mothers.

Findings for Research Question Two: Support Systems

Sandberg (2013) urged women to stop asking the question, "Can I have it all?" Eagly and Carli (2007) found that the phrase "having it all" was meant to be divisive and to infer that women could not have a successful career and successful family simultaneously. "Having it all" in the context of this study was leading an urban high school while raising a family. As Question One revealed, "having it all" created multiple challenges for the female participants. Sandberg (2013) suggested that, rather than asking the question, "Can I have it all?" working women need to ask the question, "Can we do it all?" Sandberg's (2013) answer was, "No!", and insisted that, to achieve success at home and work, female leaders must have professional and personal support systems. Sandberg's (2010) findings led to Research Question Two that asked the principals, "What supports do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools identify as helpful in balancing work and family life?"

To answer Research Question Two, interview transcripts, Work–Life Logs, and observations were analyzed. With their findings, Eagly and Carli (2007) and Sandberg (2013) concurred that research involving female leaders showed their need for support systems, as the participants discussed regarding the importance of their personal and professional support systems. Two themes emerged during the exploration of Research Question Two. The first theme was personal support consisting of the adaptability of family roles and reliance on women kin. The second theme was professional support provided from mentors, strong administrative teams, and a network of female leaders.

Personal support systems. Perusing the Work–Life Logs and interviewing the principals, their spouses, and their women kin provided the most personal support in balancing work and family. The findings align with Robert Hill's (1971) five common traits of Black

families; the traits are strong kinship bonds, a strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, a strong achievement orientation, and a strong religious orientation. Although Hill (1971) found that this list was not exclusive to Black families, he contended that the historical experience of racism has rendered the significance of these qualities unique to Blacks. By obtaining the position of high school principal, the principals illustrated Hill's (1971) trait of strong work orientation. The principals' family members also demonstrated some of Hill's (1971) traits: adaptability of family roles and strong kinship. The aforementioned traits that the families of the principals embodied provided the foundation for the personal support systems of the principals as they attempted to balance work and family.

Adaptability of family roles. Historically, and for many reasons, both economic and cultural, Black families socialize their children to be role flexible and to share family responsibilities (Tolliver, 1998, p. 57). Role reflexive does not refer to gender roles, but rather taking on the roles of various family members, including the role of parents. Children take on these roles at an early age by acting as "parents" to younger siblings. Principal C's daughter demonstrates an example of adaptability of family roles:

> My oldest was at college in town, so we (my husband and I) pulled her back home instead of staying on campus. It was expensive, but also she could help us with the girls. She helps me pick them up from practices, meetings, and their (her younger daughters') events. It has been that way for a while. I will miss things, but she is able to sit in for me.

Each morning prior to leaving for work, Principal C goes over the calendar of events with her eldest daughter. Her eldest daughter then takes the younger siblings to school, attends her college classes, and then picks up the younger siblings from school or scheduled activities. Principal C

says, “I feel like a single mom (because of her husband work schedule). I have to keep my calendar structured and lean on my oldest daughter a lot.”

In addition, role adaptability extends beyond the children to include spouses. Out of necessity, as well as choice, Black couples have played less traditional roles because wives share in the breadwinning and husbands share in the childcare functions (Tolliver, 1998, p. 57). In Tolliver’s (1998) study, all of the wives reported that their husbands engaged in at least one household chore. After examining the principals’ Work–Life Logs, similar findings were discovered. Principal B spent less than two hours a week cooking and transporting kids to and from activities and school. Rather, she delegated these responsibilities to her husband. Principal A and Principal B also delegated cooking to their husbands. Principal C expressed the following:

> There were times where I did not feel like my husband appreciated what I did at all. And finally, once he (her husband) figured what this (her job as principal) looked like, he realized me coming home and cooking dinner was not physically realistic. He understands that he has to take that (cooking) on because I can’t.

During the interview with Principal F, she admitted that her husband prepares dinner each night. In summary, out of the five married principals interviewed, four were married to spouses who regularly cooked dinner.

In addition to assisting by preparing meals and other household duties, the principals’ husbands also provided support through words of encouragement. Principal E explained when asked to identify what has supported her work and life balance:

> My family (has supported my work life balance). I know they want to say stuff sometimes. He (my husband) says stuff when he is upset, like, “you are always at the

> school anyway." But for the most part, he is very supportive. He helps with the kids, but he also encourages me when I get overwhelmed. He believes in me.

Principal C also cited her husband when asked the same question; she said, "My husband is very patient with me. He supports me when I forget stuff and keeps me encouraged." In addition to the support that the principals received from their immediate family members—husbands and children—other relatives, especially women kin, provided personal support.

Women kin. Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) noted that a system of support from several people is imperative when achieving success in balancing work and life. Tolliver (1998) found that strong kinship bonds were common in Black families where many members noted that they had frequently talked to and visited relatives, especially their mothers. Loder (2005) found that upward mobility for Black women is heavily reliant on relationships with women kin. Principal E discussed the uniqueness of women in the position in educational leadership and the need of support:

> Don't fall into that for African American female principals [to make it] that they are hard to work for that they are bitches but still be compassionate enough and show empathy. Stick through it, it is going to be some trying times. It is different in a male-dominated field. Men can stay at work all day and they have a wife at home that will take care of the kids. As a woman, it is different. You have to take care of home and work at the same time. You are playing a dual role. You have to have to have that support. There is someone that wants the best for you and your family and is going to do what it needs to take to get you to that point.

As Principal E described, all of the participants noted women kin as a source of support for successfully balancing work and family. All of the principals whose mothers resided in the same

city relied on their mothers to assist with child rearing. The mothers of the principals were all retired. As a result, the mothers of the principals attended school programs and assisted with transporting kids to and from activities. Principal D's mother resided with her and her family. Principal D discussed the support that her intergenerational living arrangement provides:

> My mother lives with us. We purchased our home for her to move in with us. My mom has lived with us since 2004. She (her mother) gets up in the morning and cooks breakfast, makes their (the children's) lunch, combs hair, and cooks dinner. She (her mother) lets me take on the role of the working woman. She washes their (the children's) clothes.

When comparing Principal D's Work–Life Log to the other principals, she is able to delegate more home demands than other principals because of her living arrangement.

The other principals also used the assistance of women kin to balance work and home demands. Principal F discussed how her mother helps with her twin boys:

> When the boys (her sons) have events during the day, my mother is able to go. My mother goes on all field trips because she is retired. She (her mother) will also help me pick them up in the evenings when I need her help.

In addition to her mother, Principal F also named her sister-in-law as another source of support with her kids. Principal E, who is not originally from the area and is the only single mother, relies heavily on her female cousin; her cousin is the only female relative who resides in the area. Principal E discussed the assistance her cousin provides:

> My cousin is my support when I need someone to watch him (her son). [When there is a] ball game, she would pick him (her son) up. [When] I need to work and I need to concentrate, she will watch him for me.

In addition, Principal E discussed a time when she felt unbalanced:

> I have had [a] breakdown and that happened when it (the job) was overwhelming. My cousin will come and get my son without questioning me. She is a great support for me.

Principal E was not the only principal to admit to feeling overwhelmed.

Other principals shared stories of feeling overwhelmed with balancing work and home. A character woven throughout the principals' stories of support was their mother. As common in the Black culture, many of the participants admitted to sharing a strong bond with their mothers (Baruch & Barnett, 1983). The support that their mothers provide extends beyond helping around the house and caring for the children, but also includes supporting their daughters emotionally. Principal A described her mother as her cheerleader and sounding board. She admitted to speaking with her mother multiple times a day. Principal E, also, discussed how her mother provides emotional support by sending her Bible scriptures to keep her encouraged.

Principal B's mother was instrumental to her entering into leadership while having a child. As a child, Principal B recalled times when her mother used the assistance of nannies with raising her and her siblings. Principal B mother's actions of working and hiring nannies contradicted societal expectations at the time, which in turn gave Principal B the self-efficacy and permission to do the same. Ensher and Murphy (2005) classified the role that mothers and women kin played in encouraging the participants to pursue leadership positions as coaching. The coaching from women kin and mothers helped the principals in their personal realms, but in their professional realms mentoring, strong administrative teams, and a network of female leaders provided the most support. In the next section, the researcher will explore each of the aforesaid components of the participants' established, professional support systems.

Professional support systems. The second theme that emerged from analyzing the data regarding the support that the principals used to balance work and home was professional support systems. For women, the journey to educational leadership positions resembles a labyrinth saturated with twists, turns, and dead-ends (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Without a guide, navigating this labyrinth while raising a family can add to the complexity of this already intricate path. Guides for the principals came in the form of mentors who helped to catapult their careers and offered advice along the way. In addition to mentors, strong administrative teams and a network of female leaders provided support to the principals.

Olian et. al (2008) defined support systems as a person or persons who have a strong interest in the success of an individual and a willingness to provide active assistance to help ensure that success. Professionally, this assistance might consist of career counseling, information and advice, and access to professional networks (Myers & Ginseng, 1994, p. 1). Furthermore, Myers and Ginseng (1994) and Shakeshaft (1991) determined that professional support systems were beneficial to principals wanting to balancing work and home demands successfully. While analyzing the interviews, observations, and the Work–Life Logs of the principals, the second theme emerged: professional support systems. As Myers and Ginsberg (1994) and Shakesaft (1991) suggested, the principals had built systems of support through their professional colleagues to sustain the challenge of leading an urban high school while raising a family. The theme, professional support systems, consisted of mentors, strong administrative teams, and a network of female leaders.

***Mentors*.** Sandberg (2013) described mentors as the professional equivalent to Prince Charming. As depicted in Sleeping Beauty, Sandberg (2013) asserted that women are encouraged to wait on Prince Charming, or rather a mentor, to help awaken their career success.

However, unlike Sleeping Beauty, the principals were not figuratively sleeping in their previous positions, but literally and relentlessly working to prove themselves. Prince Charming was not from a faraway land, but rather a colleague who was impressed by their work and who decided to invest time into their success. Although many of the participants revealed that their mentors were men, two noted that their mentors were female.

The mentors describe by the participants were those who had a stake in assisting the participants advance in administrative rank within the field of education. Despite her not aspiring to become a principal, Principal C was encouraged by her former principal, now mentor, to pursue a position in educational leadership:

> [Name of person] is my mentor. He pushed me to be into department chair. He made me think that I could be a leader. He tells me books I need to read. When I became a New Leader (alternate route program for aspiring leaders), he was my reference. He still makes sure that I am keeping up with issues in education. He believed in me. I saw him at the school board meeting last week sitting in the front. He hunted me down after the meeting to make sure I am reading my journals and books.

when asked "Who were significant individuals who have influenced your career?" Principal B described her mentor as follows:

> My former principal. He is my mentor. He pushed me out there. I really did not want to be a principal, but he pushed me out there because he believed in me as an assistant principal. When he gave me the opportunity, and told me, "You are going to move in this direction." He gave me opportunities to shine and grow. I still consult with him today before I make big decisions.

The mentors encouraged these principals to pursue leadership positions, but they also provided a support that enabled the leaders to succeed.

Principal D described her mentor as a former principal who modeled for her effective and ineffective leadership:

> My former principal is my mentor. I talk to him almost every day. Once he first pulled me out of the classroom, I wore my emotions on my sleeve. I couldn't believe that certain things were going on in the classroom. You thought everybody was doing what you were doing. Adults coming to school [and] not teaching. I was disturbed about adult, professional behavior. I did not know how to approach things on an even kill. I am very passionate and direct. I did not really think how to craft a message to meet the goal. I can do it very gingerly. He taught me that. Many of the experiences at the school were negative, but it was preparing me for now. Now, I deal with things totally differently than I did then. I do think about how I am going to craft a message. I think, from the perceivers of the message, before I just thought, "This is my point and I should just be able to say it." He is everything I am not. Respect what other people bring to the table. I am the leader I am today because of him. I learned what to do and, just as equally, I learned what not to do. That is important too.

Admittedly, the male mentors might not understand the participants' burden of the dual responsibilities involved with taking care of work and family. However, the male mentors offered sound advice on what they do understand—leadership. Since the majority of the leaders in the district where the principal led are men, male mentors provide coaching and resources that might not be available to all principals, especially women.

Although many of the principals had male mentors, Principal A's mentor was a Black female. She described her mentor as providing:

> My first principal mentored me and still mentors me. She would drop nuggets off and it was just the constant reminders of how to do the work. It was the foundation for me. Just listening to her and being able to sit down and talk to her. I could come to her and say that I am lost, what am I supposed to do? And just hearing her giving me words of support, and her telling me to link up with X, Y, Z teacher because they have this. She made herself available. She really helped me when I got into this role.

Although Lorde (1984) stated that Black women are hesitant to serve in the role of mentor because of the internalized pain that they endured, which acts as barrier in reaching out to those who mirror themselves, the principals of this study valued their mentors and were willing to serve as mentors to others. Principal C spoke about mentoring others:

> Always develop yourself and the other women around you. If you are walking uphill and you are the only one walking uphill, that is a problem. It is our responsible as Black women to move other Black women with us.

Eagley and Carli (2007) revealed that effective leaders build good relationships with the people above you, on the same level with you, and below you. Eagley and Carli discussed the relationships that the principals had established with their mentors, the people above them. In the next two sections, the researcher will discuss the relationships that the principals had with the people below them and those on the same level.

***Strong administrative teams*.** As described earlier in the findings of Research Question One, the professional responsibilities of the principals include numerous duties that result in a

great amount of stress. To combat such feelings, the principals delegated some of the tasks to members of their administrative teams. Principal A described:

> I talk to my coworkers. I don't have to make all the decisions. At first, I wanted to do all things myself. Now, I delegate the work. At first, you want everything to be done by you—just to make sure it is done. It is not that you do not trust staff, but it is if I don't do it right, then everyone is going to be looking at me. So now I am in a mode that I am comfortable with saying, "Yeah you take on this, you take on this." Then we come back together and then we have a big piece together. I realized I couldn't do all by myself.

Principal B discussed how delegation or rather the support of her colleagues has helped reduced her stress and increased her love of the job:

> My family at work that has supported me at all the places I have gone. They help me in all that I do. I love being around my (work) family because we have been together for so many years. I love this!

As a result of her experience and as the principal with the most experience, she has relied on delegation:

> You cannot allow others to set the priorities for you. I do less now because I know what requires me and my attention and my energy. Other things, I have to put in other people's hands because they have to do it. I would be crazy if I tried to do it all. I would be ineffective as an instructional leader because that is who I am. I don't let other people set my priorities.

When examining their Work Logs, all of the principals who had assistant principals delegated the task: Attending to Discipline Issues. Principal C and Principal D delegated disciplinary duties to their assistant principals. Principal C and Principal D said in their interviews, "I do not clear or

deal with suspensions." Additionally, at the schools of three of the six principals, signage was present informing parents to clear suspensions with the assistant principal.

In addition to assistant principal, another person to whom many tasks were delegated was the professional learning coach (PLC coach). The PLC coach is considered by the district as an administrative role and is tasked with managing the Title I funds and organizing professional development activities. All the principals delegated the most tasks to their PLC coach. The PLC coach for each of the schools was a female. Principal C described her PLC coach as providing:

> My PLC coach helps me a lot. She helps me to settle out. I can be all over the place sometimes. She makes me stop and reflect.

This role was instrumental to the principals, since many of them had served in this role prior to becoming a principal. Principal A described her time as a PLC coach:

> [As a] PLC coach, [you are dealing with an] insurmountable amount of stress. You [are] working with people and money. You are dealing with attitudes. In that role, there is so much to it. The worse part of it, all other duties assigned (this is a part of the job description). That is the kill all. That is the one that took me to the edge. It almost took me to the edge. I almost went back to the classroom, but now that I am on this side. I knew everybody's role. When the new financial secretary came in, she did not get training. I was able to train her because the district did not have formal training. All that the other secretary does, as far as putting in grades, I can do all of that. Even though it was stressful going through it (job as PLC coach), it helped me on this side.

The principals understood what the job of PLC coach required; therefore, they relied on the females in this position to help them decrease the number of work demands and, as a result, to

help them better balance work and home. Understanding the position, those who had not been a PLC coach regretted not being one. Principal C discussed her disappointment:

> I wished I would have been a PLC coach first. I think it would have helped me.

Principal C also discussed the position on the role of PLC coach:

> I would have waited until the role of PLC coach. I always wanted to coach teachers. I never wanted to be a principal. I just wanted to coach teachers. I would have waited to do the PLC coach. [I would] learn to give me more skills to work with teachers.

This role of PLC coach provided support to the principals as they were viewed as competent, loyal, and dependable colleagues. In addition, one principal discussed how other colleagues helped when she needed to leave for a child's event:

> My philosophy family is first. I do not require my teachers to put career in front of family. So, when I need to leave early for an event for my kids. My staff understands and supports me.

Although many of the principals understood the power of delegation, some still struggled to actually delegate tasks. Principal A described her struggle:

> The biggest challenge is delegating work [and] being a micromanager. I had to learn to release and have confidence in those who will do the work. You work the same ones all the time. Then, it leaves the others who do not get to an opportunity feeling like you are leaving them out. So, how do you fix that? I have not figured that out yet. You know what goes out to be the best work and you do not want to put someone on your team that will not put out good work. That is the hard part because you know their ability level. But, I realized I need help.

Delegation of work was vital to the principals. However, the principals who had been principals the least amount of time delegated the least. The principals who had been principals less than three years delegated less than four tasks when compared to those who had been principal more than three years; they delegated at least five tasks. However, all attributed their success at work to the support they received at work from their colleagues.

Network of female leaders. In addition to mentors and strong administrative teams, the principals attributed networking with other female leaders in and out of education to their success with balancing work and life. Young and McLeod (2001) asserted female role models, mentors, and networks are beneficial to women pursuing leadership positions, but such supports are scarce in the field of education. However, all of the traditional school principals accessed support through a network of other female, high school principals. Three principals revealed that the female principals organized dinners after work on Fridays and frequently communicated with one another, using group text messaging application that only consisted of the female, high school principals. The principals felt that the uniqueness of females leading urban high schools could only be understood by others in the same position. When questioned on what supported her work life balance efforts, Principal D responded:

> There was a time when you looked around the district and there were only male principals in high school. That has changed in the last few years. I knew several years ago I wanted to be high school principal. Many men in district told me, "You do not want to be a principal of a high school. Do you know what an animal a high school is?" I was like yes I do and I want it. I have [female] principal group that get it. We get together [because] we all share the same experience. We always talk about how much we love this network we have. It is great to have this network of female, high school principals.

Principal B is also a part of this network and describes how it is important to share time with others who are experiencing similar feelings:

> [I] get with other female administrators. I have a strong network with other female, high school administrators. Some days, on Saturday you sleep. I thought it was just me, but I talked to another female administrator who was high school and now is elementary, she said when she was working in high school, "I didn't do anything because I slept and I was tired at the end of the week." They [other female high school principals] understand my struggles.

Principal C described her network, including another Black female principal who is now a close friend and has been diagnosed with cancer. Principal C described the principal as the strongest person she knew. She said, "I am able to talk to her and able to relate to her like no other. She gets the work and the stress involved. She has always been there for me."

In addition to leaders within the field of education, female leaders outside of education provided support. Principal C identified a neighbor, an executive in the cooperate sector, as another person who assists her in balancing work and home. She named her neighbor when asked about significant individuals who hold her accountable as she attempts to balance work and life:

> I also have a neighbor who is an executive. She always talks to me about work–life balance. If I do not have time to have a cup a tea with her within a month, she will let me know you are [I am] out of balance. It is time for that cup of tea.

The female leaders provided professional support for the principals because the female leaders understood the struggles endured by females in leadership. The females offered emotional support through offering one another time to vent, professional support through

sharing information through text messaging, and accountability through ensuring each other remained balance as related to their personal and professional lives.

Summary of the Findings for Research Question Two: Support Systems

With Research Question Two, the researcher explored the supports that African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools identify as helpful in balancing work and family life. Sandberg (2013) concluded that all women are dealing with controlled optimization that is life, attempting to maximize our effectiveness with factors such as career, kids, and relationships, doing our best to allocate equally the resource of time (p. 121). The challenge for most working mothers, like the principals in this study, is the scarcity of time. Consequently, as the literature in Chapter Two revealed, the participants admitted that balancing work and life required the support of others in the professional and the personal realms of their lives.

The first theme, personal support systems, emerged from the analysis of the Work–Life Logs, interview transcripts, and observations. The spouses and women kin provided the most personal support for the principals as they balanced work and life. Help with the children came from women kin, which concurred with Loder's (2005) findings of the African American principals she studied. She found that support with childcare differed with race; Black principals relied on women kinship while White principals relied more on paid help. Markincus et al. (2007) found only 34 percent of husbands extended help to their working wives. However, all of the husbands in this study helped with childcare and cooking. Similar findings were discovered when Toliver (1998) studied African American families in corporate America. Toliver (1998) found Black men often came from households where their mothers worked; therefore, they were more likely to participate in role flexibility. The husbands in this study did not ascribe to

stereotypical social roles for men. Rather, they provided support by helping their wives with domestic responsibilities, allowing time for the principals to focus on work.

The second theme that emerged from analyzing the data regarding the support that the principals used to balance work and life was professional support systems. Professional support came from mentors, strong administrative teams, and a network of female leaders. Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) and Young and McLeod (2001) asserted that mentors and networks provide women with the support that they need in the workplace as they ascend to leadership roles. The mentors for the participants were male and female. Although the male mentors might not fully understand the participants' burden of the dual responsibilities involved with taking care of work and family, they saved the principals' time by sharing resources and providing advice. Strong administrative teams allowed the principals to delegate tasks and allowed them more time to spend with their families. Additionally, the network of female leaders helped the principals find balance. The network, consisting of women who led urban schools, provided support because the principals held each other accountable, but also validated their struggles with successfully balancing work and life.

The principals all voiced prioritizing their family before their jobs. Analyzing the Work–Life Log revealed that the principals, at times, delegated tasks in both domains: work and home. The personal support received from women kin and the principals' husbands allowed the principals more time to focus at work. The professional support received from strong administrative teams, mentors, and networks allowed the principals more time (although limited) to focus on family. Nevertheless, the support received professionally and personally, the principals still had to employ strategies to balance work and life successfully. In the next section,

the researcher will discuss the strategies that the principals used to balance work and life successfully while leading an urban high school.

Findings for Research Question Three: Strategies

After years of trying, Fair (2013) found that "doing it all" was difficult because the lives of working mothers are constantly in motion, hence, they move in and out of balance. Therefore, instead of berating oneself, she suggested that working mothers needed to develop strategies to allow them to be good, not perfect, at home and work. In addition, Hansen (1991) identified strategies to assist women in balancing their home and family lives. Hansen (1991) reviewed several years of research and concluded that the following strategies were helpful for working mothers to balance both domains: a supportive spouse, supportive supervisors, increased organization, forgoing leisure time, and intentional planning of special parent–child activities. To determine whether Fair and Hensen's (2013) findings were applicable to mothers in educational leadership, a Research Question Three was posed: What strategies do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools employ to balance work and family life? After a reviewing and analyzing the data, the female principals, indeed, had developed strategies to assist them in their attempts to balance their work and home domains. The themes that emerged from the data analysis were the following: prioritizing family, building relationships, and making time for oneself.

Prioritizing family. Solely examining the Work–Life Logs would conclude that the priority of the participants was their work. However, with the inclusion of the observations and interviews, it was apparent that family was the first priority to the principals. All of the principals had pictures of their families in their offices. In addition, when asked, all of them identified their families as their first priorities. Principal A said the following:

> You have to find the niche for you; it is trial and error. I am not going home every night and cooking a meal. If I leave here at 6 (6:00 p.m.), then that is good. You have to find what works for you and they (your family) have to be on the same page. It makes it even harder when they are not.
>
> I do not have feelings of guilt. My philosophy family is first. I cannot support these children and I am not [supporting my own children].

Examining her Work–Life Log revealed that Principal A spent more hours at work than at home. However, in her interview, Principal A asserted her family was prioritized over her work. Sandberg (2013) suggested defining balance as a family. None of the principals viewed complete balance of work and family possible. Principal C described balance as:

> It will never [be] 50, 50; knowing when you need to give to the right things at home and at work. It is about prioritizing.

Balance was defined as prioritizing what was most important at the time. Most discussed their family as being most important. Work could not impede in the development of their biological children. Principal C discussed how the strategy she uses to create time for work and home:

> Sit down and create a support network. Get your calendar together. Put spaces together for family and yourself. See what you can shave off. Your husband is going to stop liking it if your calendar gets filled up with everything except him. Kids are going to start learning from other kids and come home cussin', [so] you can't be mad. You have to put your family first.

As Sanberg (2013) suggested, Principal C realized, even with a busy schedule, that family must come first.

Societal norms for women expect women to cook dinner each night and carry out other traditional roles. However, as previously discussed the husbands of the participants did not expect that of them. Rather, they defined what balance looked like for their family. Principal C discussed how she had to redefine what balance looked like using her family's input:

> I am better. I started to listen to my family when they said mom this is just too much. When my marriage almost failed—I didn't want it (the divorce) and had to admit it that I made a lot of excuses. But I have [had] to take ownership of things that did not happen when it should have happened. I had to start listening to my family about my commitment to work.

Principal C improved marriage made her better able to cope with the stress of balancing both domains. Principal B discussed why she made her family priority:

> Everyone needs something different and you have to figure out how to give them it. You will be shocked that you actually have it to give. If I was unhappy at home, then I would have to give up.

Principal B further explained:

> If you come in here and you are not happy, it is going to show. [Since I am] happy at home, then I can come in here and be joyful. Don't be so hard on yourself when you make a bad decision for the family; you will have another one to make. Let it go.

Principal D admitted feeling guilty at times regarding her home and life conflict. However, her family assures her often that they are okay with her job and feel supported. During our interview, Principal D read a text her daughter sent to her on Mother's Day:

> Dear Mommy, first off, I just want to say I love you. You've always been there for me. I appreciate everything that you do. You go over the top just so our family is taken care of

> and I appreciate that. Even when you are working late, I still know that you are there. Your great work at your school and your love for your children never goes unnoticed. Every time we hang out it is a blessing and it is a great day. I don't know what I would do without you. I don't want you to ever think or forget how much I love you and appreciate you. Even when you are at work, I love how you take the time out to FaceTime me when you do not have to. You have helped [other daughter's name] and I grow into the wonderful and smart young ladies that we are. I don't want any other mom besides you and I mean that. Enjoy your day, mommy! Happy Mother's Day!

Principal D, who was crying as she read the text message, continued with saying, "It (this text message) literally brought me to tears because I realized they (my family) get it (what is involved in this job). For a 12-year old to send me [this text message] that is confirmation that she gets it; it's okay. As long as my family is okay, I can continue [in] this work."

Principal C suggests said, "You cannot let others set priorities for you." Prioritizing family was difficult for some of the participants, especially Principal E, who was a single mother. She discussed the assumptions colleagues make because she puts her family first:

> People thinking that I would slight my job because I put family first. If my son gets sick, I am going to deal with it.

In addition, she advises mothers as follows:

> Take care of family first but don't slight your position. Schedule your day and whatever you do not complete, you can complete it the next day.

Lastly, as she reflected on her regrets, she admitted:

> I would say making sure that whatever time I have designated for family that I keep that time. At the beginning of year, I had certain times designated for us (she and her son) but

> as time went on, those times fell by the waste side. Making sure I set in place [those times, and] that I keep in place. Or adjust so that I keep that time with him and not let work trump him.

In addition to prioritizing family, the principals stressed the importance of building relationships.

Building relationships. Edinger (2014) concluded in his study that relationships trump experience as one moves up in leadership. Edinger found that, as leaders advance in an organization, leadership skills become more important than technical skills. Edinger asserted that leadership is an inverse relationship because, as a leader progresses and rises to new positions of authority, he or she needs to rely more on leadership ability and getting results through others, than on their specific area of expertise (p. 1).

As Edinger (2014) concluded, the principals realized that their success was not only attributed to their hard work, but also to relationships that they had built with others. Principal B said the following when asked about factors that have contributed to her success:

> [I am] self-reflective. [Also,] allowing people to grow. Trust people and what they know. Commit to growing others. Also, being transparent with others. I have been in some difficult situations, but I always have been transparent on how I grew up. They have to feel that connection. I think had I not been transparent about who I was then the connection would not be there. That has allowed me build a trust with them. Also, being consistent and fair with them. They trust that I am going to do what I am going say.

Principal B's transparency and trusting of other people have helped her to rely on her relationships with others. She admits that, early in her career, she learned a valuable lesson about relationship building that has affected how she views relationships:

> I started off as a sub (substitute teacher). I remember being in the cafeteria and this man sitting down and asking me about my day. We talked for a while and then him telling me that he was the principal. I never forgot that. He took time to talk to me—a substitute. I am open and build relationships with others. Everybody you see, you are going to deal with. Be warm to the building engineer . . . be right to the people in the cafeteria. Build a relationship with everyone. [Some] Principals seem [to think] that this is their own kingdom. If you do have all this power, the best thing to do is give up to all these people around you. If you feel all that, you really need to give some of that power, that can be dangerous. I want everyone around me to feel valued and to feel that we are walking together.

As revealed earlier in this chapter, all the principals admitted to having a mentor in their lives that assisted with them acquiring their positions. In addition, their strong administrative teams provided a huge support. However, when asked, "How do you access this assistance?" Principal F responded with the following, "Treating people fairly and learning from others." To learn from others, Edinger (2014) instructed leaders to treat people like people. Principal F, also said, "You must be humble in this position because you need others." Humility allowed the principals to understand that they could not run their schools alone and had to rely on the help of others. Such assistance allowed them to remove some of the duties associated with running a high school and allowed them to focus on their homes. As a result, building relationships aided the principals in negotiating their home and work conflict.

Taking time for oneself. The principals discussed the challenges involved with leading a high school while balancing a family. Although many were goal-oriented, many advised aspirant principals to take time for themselves. Principal A gave the following advice:

> The best way to say it is you cannot stay in work mode all the time. You have to have some relax time some time and think time. It can stress you out and burn you out. I think that is how a lot of people do get burned out because it is all work and no time to say I am not going to do anything today.

When not in work mode, as Principal A described, many of the principals took out time to pamper themselves. Principal F and Principal E discussed going to the beauty salon weekly and often going to get manicures. Principal F discussed what she does in her free time, "I go to the beauty shop every week, and I keep my nails done." She went on to describe how this relaxes her after a long week's work. In addition, Principal E discussed how she takes time out for herself: "I love to get my nails and feet done."

In addition to pampering, others principal named other activities that they found helped them to relax. Principal C, "I love to read." She admits reading helps her to relax. Principal C revealed what allows her to find time for herself; Principal E revealed that she enjoys traveling as a means of relaxation. As revealed earlier, Principal E stressed the importance of finding time for oneself:

> You don't want to overstress yourself. You have to take time for yourself. There are times when I have to get others to watch my son and have to get massages. You are worried about everyone else and you cannot function when I am not in the healthy or in the right mindset. I have had breakdown and that happened when it is I was overwhelmed. My cousin will come and get my son. And that happened because I did not take time for myself. I have to make my time. I planned a vacation for this year to have some time.

In addition to pampering, reading, and vacationing, Principal E revealed she enjoys working out in her spare time. She admits, "I love working out. I can spend four hours at the gym." She enjoys the different equipment, pool, and sauna. The gym serves as a great stress reliever for Principal E. Finding time for oneself was stressed numerous times because the work, as described by Principal A, "is never ending."

Principal E discovered, as quickly as Principal A said, that the work is never ending. Her predecessor on the job she currently has sat her down and shared this advice with her prior to taking on the role of principal:

> "Try to find the balance. I am stepping down because my mom died. I do not have the same passion. Before my mom died, she would ask me to come home. I would tell her I could not because we had testing or something at school. I never found the balance, and now she is gone I realized I never found the balance." She advised me to find the balance because the thing about this job you are going on to have a full plate. As soon as you clear the plate, your plate will be full again. Just when you think you are going to get caught up, it is just an illusion . . . don't believe it. You will never catch up. I find great satisfaction with scratching some things off my board. However, I always remember what she [previous principal] told me, "It is like a dog chasing its tail, baby you will never catch up." So now, I take time to vacation because I realize there will always be something.

Like Principal B, Principal D also enjoys reading in her spare time. Her latest reading led her to take the following approach to finding balance:

> I am reading Zig Ziglar and John Maxwell. John Maxwell says we have to practice setting aside time to think. It sounds easy in theory, but in practice, it is difficult. If I was

> to do that, I would think what could I do with this time, but it is very important. I feel like if I could develop the time the skill and habit of committing time to those things that are a priority. And live in the moment instead of thinking about the future.

As challenging as it might be, the principals all found that taking time for themselves was a strategy that assisted them in balancing work and home.

Summary of the Findings for Research Question Three: Strategies

Halpern and Cheung (2008), Loder (2005), and Sandberg (2013) devoted their studies to discovering support systems that could aid women in balancing the domains of family and work. These researchers suggested strategies such as supportive spouses, supportive supervisors, family-friendly work policies, increased organization, forgoing leisure time, and intentional planning of special parent–child activities. The principals in this study developed different strategies than those found in previous studies. The strategies that the principals implemented to aid in successfully balancing work and life were prioritizing family, building relationships, and taking time for themselves.

Halpern and Cheung (2008) advised women to define their priorities and plan ways to achieve them. The principals in this study prioritized their families; they delegated tasks at home and work to keep home-to-work transitions as seamless as possible. However, even with support from others, an even allocation of time between work and home was not feasible for the principals. Rather, the principals defined balance with their families and determined the correct formula to ensure that they maintained close relationships with their children and other family members, despite the long workdays involved with leading a high school. This balance varied for each participant, but most importantly, their definitions of balance worked for the participants and their families.

Support systems were previously noted as instrumental in the principals' balancing of work and family. Support systems would not exist without building of relationships with others. The principals noted the strategy of building relationships with others as a key strategy in balancing work and life. Edinger (2014) asserted leadership is an inverse relationship where as one attains higher positions of leadership, the more the leader relies on others. As a result, the principals stressed treating others fairly and remaining humble. Consequently, the relationships the principals established with others allowed them to remove some of the duties at home and work allowing more time in both domains.

The principals were committed to both domains of work and home, but recognized the need to take time for themselves. Alcorn (2013) found that working women with children were more stressed than any other segment of the workforce. To combat feelings of stress, the last strategy identified by the participants was allotting time to recharge; the principals recharged through pampering and reading. The principals had weekly hair and nail appointments, a time where the principals attempted not to think about work and just to relax. In addition to pampering, the principals cited reading, vacationing, and exercising as activities that help them relax.

Principal E described the work of an urban high school principal as, "It is a dog chasing its tail; baby you will never catch up." The principals recognized the challenge of attempting to balance family with the tremendous workload involved with leading urban high schools. However, the principals used professional and personal support systems and strategies to assist in balancing work and family. The principals resisted choosing between work and family. Rather, each principal rebelled against gender and racial stereotypes, and defined balance as it worked

for her and her family. Consequently, the principals had few regrets, and negotiated work and family conflicts on their own terms.

In conclusion, this chapter provided detailed results on the data collected from six African American mothers who were serving as urban high school principals. The chapter included an analysis of the information gathered from interviews and document analysis to answer the three research questions identified in Chapter One. As noted some of the finding concurred and conflicted with literature presented in Chapter Two. In the concluding chapter presented next, the researcher will summarize the findings as they relate to the literature, the implications for practice, and the recommendations for further research.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Women represent a disproportionately low number of principals serving in public high schools when compared with the number of women in the field of education. In 2012, only 28.1 percent of the high school principals were female while more than 70 percent of the educational workforce consisted of females (National Center for Educational Statistics, 2012); the disproportion widens when the data is disaggregated to include African American females, only. Researchers have documented internal and external barriers as the reason for the lack of female representation in educational leadership (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010; Lyness & Thompson, 2000; Loder, 2005; Shakeshaft, 1989). The internal obstacles are traditional social expectations of women that derive from social and gender roles, and the external obstacles result from discrimination (Young & McCleod, 2001). However, the most documented obstacle that prevents women from pursuing jobs in educational leadership is balancing the responsibilities of work and family (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010). Studies that examine the negotiation of the work and life conflict for female, high school principals are rare (Baumgartner & Schneider, 2010; Lyness & Thompson, 2000; Shakeshaft, 1989).

Specifically, perspectives on African American women's experiences within the principalship are lacking in the education literature (Loder, 2005). Many researchers have focused on comparing the leadership orientation and experiences of African American, female principals to that of men and of non-African American women (Allen, Jacobson & Lomotey, 1996; Bell & Chase, 1994; Bloom & Erlandson, 2003; however, little has been offered to African American women in the way of strategies for overcoming barriers and maintaining balance in work and family (Loder, 2005). In addition, research on African American women's leadership in urban schools is rare. A large void exists in research related to Black women in urban schools and to their strategies for balancing work and family. The lack of research inspired this investigation of how African American, female principals of urban high schools negotiate work and family conflicts; therefore, the researcher asked the following research questions:

1. What challenges do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools face in balancing work and family life?
2. What type of support do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools perceive to be helpful in achieving balance in work and family life?
3. What strategies do African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools employ to balance work and family life?

To answer these research questions, six female principals were interviewed and observed. In addition, the principals documented their home and work responsibilities in a Work-Life Log for one week. This chapter includes a summary of the findings, conclusion of the research study, implications, and recommendations for future research.

Summary of Findings

The researcher used Research Question One to examine the challenges that the principals encountered as they negotiated their work and family conflicts. Although the number of children, ages of the children, marital status, school type, and school populations varied for the participants, all of the principals spent more time tackling work demands when compared to home demands. As a result, the first theme to emerge in this study from Research Question One was sacrificing time with family. According to the participants' Work-Life Logs, they spent an average of 12 hours at work and 6 hours at home. In their interviews, the principals explained the situations fueled their need to work long hours as desiring social justice for their students and for the communities they served. As a result, they employed othermothering in their leadership styles, which inspired the principals to extend their days to ensure that the educational needs of their children (i.e., their students) were met.

The second theme to emerge from the analysis of the data for Research Question One was barriers: external and internal. All of the women described Black women as strong. Consequently, the women embraced the moniker, strong Black woman, at work and at home. However, this inherent strength contradicted societal stereotypes for women, which created challenges for the participants in their work and home domains. At work, the principals were often perceived as "bitches." Additionally, they had to take on the behaviors typical of men when leading their schools (e.g., suppressing any evidence of weakness or vulnerability). The challenge for these women arose as they transitioned from the role of principal to the role of wife. Instead of relinquishing control at home, the principals admitted to taking charge at home, too, producing conflict between them and their spouses. The external barriers that ensued because of their contradiction of the social roles for women affected the principals' self-efficacy

regarding their roles as principal and wife. The internal barrier of guilt resulted from the external barrier of the principals' noncompliance with their expected social role. Socially, women are expected to spend the majority of their time raising children. These women spent more time at work than compared to home; therefore, guilt was expressed repeatedly throughout the interviews, for the women described themselves as bad mothers because of their work schedules.

The researcher used Research Question Two to explore the support systems that the principals' had established to assist in negotiating their home and work conflict. From the Work-Life Logs, interviews, and observations, the researcher found that all of the principals delegated tasks in both domains of home and work. At home, they relied on the assistance offered them from their families. In the interviews and in the Work-Life Logs, the married principals indicated that their husbands assisted them with domestic duties, such as cooking. To care of their children, the participants used the assistance of women kin. The assistance offered from their families allowed the principals to spend more time at work; however, they also established support systems at work.

Professionally, the principals received support from strong administrative teams, mentors, and networks of female leaders. During the observations, the researcher noted and described signs that had been posted at the schools that indicated that the assistant principals had addressed discipline issues; this attention to discipline was further supported in the interviews, for the principals described how the assistant principals had had to clear suspensions and attend to discipline issues. In addition, the principals who had served in that role for more than four years had delegated more tasks at work when compared to those who had served in the role for three years or less. All of the principals attributed their success to mentors, female and male. The male mentors granted the participants access to information that they might not have received

otherwise because of their gender. The female leaders' networks provided an outlet to discuss the challenges of leading a high school while raising a family.

The researcher used Research Question Three to explore the strategies that the principals developed as they negotiated work and family. The first theme to emerge from Research Question Three was prioritizing their families. The principals prioritized their families by defining their balance as a family. The families in the study understood the purpose of the principals' work and accepted their work schedules. However, when needed, the principals expressed leaning on established professional support systems to allow more time to spend time with their families. The second theme to emerge was establishing relationships. With the vast number of responsibilities at work and home, the principals urged aspiring principals to establish relationships. The principals asserted that relationships were needed to access the support systems that the researcher explored with Research Question Two. The third theme to emerge for Research Question Three was taking time for oneself. The principals admitted to feeling overwhelmed at times. To combat these feelings, the principals took time to pamper themselves with weekly visits to beauty salons to get their hair professionally styled and their nails professionally manicured. In addition, the principals spent time reading and exercising.

Conclusion of the Research Study

To conclude this research study, the findings from the research will be compared to previous scholarship to determine the significance of the findings. A lack of research exists regarding work-family conflicts for female, high school principals. The researcher found that the average age of female, high school principals is 52 years, highlighting the fact that women often pursue high school principalships later in life to avoid the work-family conflict (Paddock, 1981; Shakeshaft; 1989). In contrast, all of the principals whom the researcher studied had children at

home and were younger than 50 years of age. This revelation required of the researcher to use studies that involved women leaders outside the field of education to draw correlations. Halpern and Cheung (2008), who examined the work-family conflicts of 62 women executives of different races in the corporate sector, found that sacrificing time with family was a common challenge for their participants. The sacrificing of time was did not occur only to participants' who held the position of principal, but occurred also wherever they served.

Bloom and Erlandson (2003) and Reed and Evans (2008) found that African American, female principals are more likely to lead more challenging schools when compared to non-African American, female principals. In addition, these more challenging schools often house high minority student populations (Fultz, 2004). The findings regarding these principals' school populations concurred with the previously stated findings. Additionally, the findings regarding the way in which the principals led their schools concurred with previous research (Bruks & Jean Marie, 2007; Case 1997); the principals adopted gender and race roles of caring and mothering other African American children. As a result, many of the principals justified their long work hours. For example, Principal A referred to her job as a calling. Hill Collins (2009) asserted that society exploits Black women who are often hired at deficient organizations and are required to fix them at any costs, even the cost of time with family.

The second theme that emerged from Research Question One was external and internal barriers. Societal expectations of the principals affected their negotiation of work and family producing external and internal barriers. Considering gender stereotypes, women are perceived as the weaker gender when compared to men (Sandberg, 2013). However, bell hooks (1981) argued that, regardless of the interactions of the Black women, they would still be perceived as strong and tough. The principals discussed a consciousness of controlling their emotions and

curtailing their responses to avoid stakeholders perceiving them as “bitches”. Simultaneously, the women had to assert enough strength to ensure that others would view them as leaders, especially since society typically associates high school leadership with male characteristics (Paddock, 1981). The conflict of work and home arose as the women transitioned from their role as principal to their role as wife; many admitted to taking charge also of their homes.

Davis (2015) found that the stereotype of strong Black woman is positive, for it describes the resilience of Black women. However, Gillium (2007) found that 71 percent of Black men negatively viewed the strength that Black women possessed, for it conflicted with the patriarchal ideal. Similarly, the principals believed that their sometimes strong personalities emasculated their husbands, for they took on duties such as changing light bulbs and cutting grass, which are jobs in the home that men typically perform. Principal C discussed her two-year separation from her husband. Another married, female principal shared words of advice that had been given to her, “You cannot be the principal at work and at home.” Principal C and her husband eventually reconciled; therefore, she attributes the previous statement for saving her marriage, but she admitted, as other married principals have, “It is hard taking off this principal hat when I get home.”

The external barriers resulted from the principals’ refusal to comply with the societal social roles for women. The women possessed traits that are more often associated with men, for example spending more time at work than at home (Eagly & Carli, 2007). As a result, the principals battled feelings of guilt that were related to their role as mothers. The findings regarding the participants’ feelings of guilt concurred with the research in other studies (Sandberg, 2013). Sandberg (2013) found that, in dual-earner families, the mothers are full of guilt about being away from their children because of their jobs. However, the fathers were not

full of guilt because society expects men to work long hours; therefore, men experience no conflict between their actual lives and the lives that society expects them to live. Sandberg (2013) summarized the idea of working mothers and their likelihood of enduring feeling of guilt as follows, "Show me a woman without guilt, and I'll show you a man (p. 138)."

The researcher used Research Question Two to explore the support systems that African American, female, educational leaders in urban schools identified as helpful in balancing work and family life. Theme, personal support systems, emerged from the analysis of the Work–Life Logs, interview transcripts, and observations. The spouses and women kin provided the most personal support for the principals as they balanced work and life. Help with the children came from women kin, which finding concurred with Loder's (2005) findings in a study of the African American principals. Loder found that support with childcare differed with race; Black principals relied on women kinship, while White principals relied more on paid help. Markincus et al. (2007) found that only 34 percent of husbands extended help to their working wives. However, all of the husbands in this study helped with childcare or cooking. Similar findings were discovered when Toliver (1998) studied African American families in corporate America. Toliver (1998) found that Black men often came from households where their mothers had worked; therefore, they were more likely to participate in role flexibility. The husbands in this study did not conform to stereotypical social roles for men. Rather, they provided support by helping their wives with domestic responsibilities, allowing time for the principals to focus on work.

The second theme emerged from analyzing the data regarding the support that the principals used to balance work and life: professional support systems. Professional support came from mentors, strong administrative teams, and a network of female leaders. Baugartner

and Schneider (2010) and Young and McLeod (2001) found that mentors and networks provide women with the support that they need in the workplace as they ascend to leadership roles; however, the women were less likely than the men to have mentors. Baumgartner and Schneider (2010) found that men commonly have negative attitudes towards women executives. Contrary to the findings of Baumgartner and Schneider's (2010) and Young and McLeod's (2001), each of the participants had a mentor, and the participants credited former male principals with encouraging them to pursue their current positions. An additional support came from the members of strong administrative teams who allowed the principals to delegate tasks, which allowed them more time to spend with their families. Additionally, a network of female leaders provided support to the participants, which helped them to find balance. Young and McLeod (2001) asserted that female role networks are beneficial to women who pursue leadership positions, but are rare in the field of education. Dissimilar to their findings, many of the participants in this researcher's study were a part of a network of female leaders. Similarly, Halpern and Cheung (2008) found that the principals in their study believed that this network eased their negotiation of work and family conflict, for they were able to discuss issues with other female leaders who were combatting similar issues.

Halpern and Cheung (2008), Loder (2005), and Sandberg (2013) devoted their studies to discovering support systems to aid women in balancing the domains of family and work. The strategies that they suggested were supportive spouses, supportive supervisors, family-friendly work policies, increased organization, forgoing leisure time, and intentional planning of special parent–child activities. However, the principals in this researcher's study developed different strategies than those found by Halpern & Cheung (2008), Loder (2005), and Sandberg (2013).

The strategies that the principals implemented to aid them in successfully balancing their work and lives were prioritizing family, building relationships, and taking time for oneself.

Halpern and Cheung (2008) advised women to define their priorities and plan ways to achieve them. The principals in this researcher's study prioritized their families, which meant that they delegated tasks at home and work to keep home-to-work transitions as seamless as possible. Napholz (1993) found that working women who prioritized family or work had a lower level of work-life conflict than those who felt a need to commit equally to both family and work. Instead of viewing balance as an equal amount of time in each domain, the principals defined balance with their family members. The balance varied for each participant, but most importantly, their definitions of balance worked for the participants and their families.

The researcher has already noted that support systems were instrumental in the principals' balancing of work and family. However, these support systems would not have existed if the participants had not already built relationships with others. In using Research Question Three to explore the principals' support systems, the researcher found that the principals noted as primary the strategy of building relationships with others as a key strategy in balancing work and life. Edinger (2014) asserted that leadership is an inverse relationship where by, as one attains a higher position of leadership, one relies more on others. As a result, the principals stressed that one should treat others fairly and remain humble. Consequently, the relationships that the principals established with others allowed them to remove some of the duties at home and work, which also allowed them more time in both domains.

The principals were committed to the domains of both work and home, but they recognized the need to take time for themselves. Alcorn (2013) found that working women who had children were more stressed than any other segment of the workforce. To combat the

feelings of stress, the last strategy that the participants identified was allotting time to recharge; the principals recharged through pampering. They had weekly hair and nail appointments, a time where they avoid thinking about work and just relax. In addition to pampering, they also said that they read, took vacations, and exercised as activities that helped them to relax.

Principal E described the work of an urban high school principal as, "It is a dog chasing its tail; baby, you will never catch up." The principals recognized the challenge of attempting to balance family with the tremendous workload that is involved with leading urban high schools. However, the principals used professional and personal support systems and strategies to assist in balancing work and family. The principals resisted, choosing between work and family. Rather, each principal rebelled against gender and racial stereotypes, and defined balance as it worked for her and her family. Consequently, the principals had few regrets, and negotiated work and family conflicts on their own terms.

Implications of the Research Study

A growing shortage of leaders exists in education, especially in urban schools. Women dominate the education workforce, for they account for more than 70 percent of personnel (U.S. Department of Education, 2015); therefore, it is negligent of educational leaders to overlook or discourage their much-needed leadership in the public schools. However, a lack also exists in research exploring women in educational leadership. For example, of all of the dissertations written about women in educational leadership, women wrote 94 percent of them, and 79 percent of the female doctoral candidates worked with male advisors (Schmuck, Charters, & Carlson, 2011). Such percentages reveal less about the interest of men on the topic of women in educational leadership than they do about the lack female professors who are available in the field of educational leadership. Unless more women are represented in educational leadership

departments at universities, the discussion of issues produced because of work and life balance might continue to go unaddressed with female, aspirant, educational leaders.

Even if the negotiation of work and family conflict is not addressed at the university level, to increase the number of African American principals in urban high schools, school districts must address this issue with their current and perspective administrators. All of the participants benefited from informal mentoring. In addition, many companies are starting to move from informal mentoring that relies on individual initiative to more formal programs (Sandberg, 2013, p. 73). Mentoring programs also exist within the field of education. However, these programs need to incorporate curricula that address work and family conflicts. An exemplar of a female mentoring program can help women navigate home and work responsibilities is the Women's Initiative Network (Sandberg, 2013), which was established to support stellar female employees who were close to promotion. The program assigned the women a mentor whom they shadowed and with whom they discussed issues concerning work and family balance. As a result, more than 90 percent of the participating women were promoted, which added to the senior leadership of the company. Similar programs replicated within the field of education could result in more female principals in American public high schools.

Even if universities and school districts fail to address issues of work and family conflict with aspirant educational leaders, the researcher hopes to add to the limited amount of literature regarding female leaders and their negotiation of the aforementioned conflict. The purpose of this study was to better prepare aspiring, female administrators and to illuminate a path to a successful balance of work and family life. The findings of this study highlighted challenges of successfully balancing work and family life while leading schools. However, the principals in this study were able to combat the challenges by establishing support systems and employing

various strategies. Equipping aspirant female leaders with the information unearthed in this study hopefully will allow them to understand, similar to the participants of this study, that urban, high school principals do not have to choose between family and work. Rather, African American, female principals can have both: a career and a family.

Recommendations for Further Research

Hochschild (1997) wrote, "The value of any book lies as much in the questions it raises as in the answers it offers" (p. xxiv). During the course of this study, several questions arose concerning educational leaders and their negotiation of work and family conflicts. Collectively, the questions will represent the recommendations for further research birthed from this study.

All the participants in this study were in the same age range, 40 to 49 years. Loder (2005) found that age affected how African Americans negotiate work and family balance. The women from the pre-Civil Rights Era received less help from their spouses in comparison to those from the post-Civil Rights Era. The majority of the husbands in this study provided domestic support to their wives by assisting with childcare and cooking. A comparative investigation of married, African American principals and the support that they received from their spouses in varied age ranges would determine whether the age of the participants would affect the results of the study.

This researcher's study ignored African American women who lead nonurban schools. Challenges identified for the participants of this study mirrored Collins' (1998) findings of women in The Civil Rights era who had to balance dually raising a family while uplifting the race. Do African American women who lead high schools in rural and/or suburban school districts encounter the same challenges? A comparative exploration of challenges encountered as African American, female, high school principals balance home and work in urban, rural, and

suburban school districts would identify how and whether the type of school that principals lead affects their negotiation of work and family conflicts.

The characteristics of long hours and substantial commitment are not only applicable to leadership roles within education, but also are reminiscent of leadership within corporate America. Toliver (1998) studied Black families in corporate America and the support systems that the principals used in this researcher's study were similar to those identified in Toliver's findings. Therefore, a comparative study of the strategies that women use to balance work and family in corporate America and in educational leadership might augment the number of women in leadership positions who would have an effect on policies concerning work and family balance.

A lack of research exists on the support systems and strategies that African American women employ to find success with balancing work and family. With further research and the results of this study, the researcher hopes that aspirant and current female leaders will be encouraged not to view having a family as an impediment to their successful advancement when considering jobs in educational leadership. Rather, the researcher hopes that the suggested strategies and supports that the participants have offered in this study will encourage more mothers, especially African American mothers, to pursue careers in educational leadership, and that these strategies and supports will reduce the conflict involved with negotiating work and home for women who currently work as principals in urban high schools.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: NEW SUBJECT RECRUITMENT SHEET AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE

New Subject Recruitment Sheet and Consent to Participate

Title: African American Female Principals of Urban High Schools and their Negotiation of Work and Family Conflicts

Researcher
April Bowen Smith
The School of Education
Guyton Hall
The University of Mississippi
901-240-3428

Sponsor
Dr. Doug Davis
The School of Education
Guyton Hall
The University of Mississippi

Dear Participant,

My name is April Bowen Smith. I am a doctoral student at the University of Mississippi. I am studying to earn a Ph.D. in Educational Leadership. As I pursue my doctorate, I am interested in investigating African American, female, principals and how they balance motherhood and their careers.

Description
The primary purpose is to identify support systems that have allowed women in leadership positions to create a balance between work and life. The secondary purpose of the study is to identify the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education which have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining balance in work and family life. This information can help to better prepare aspiring female administrators and allow them to successfully balance career and family.

In this research study, I will use three means of collecting data: interviews, observations, and weekly logs. I am requesting your assistance in the completion of an interview session and four weekly logs. This interview will be used to help me gather vital information about your thoughts, feelings, attitudes, and ideas about work and family balance. The questions on the interview form will be used as a guide and the interviewer may deviate from the interview questions depending on the direction of the interview session. The purpose of the interview is to provide the researcher with insight and depth about the topic at hand. The interview will last approximately 60–90 minutes.

In addition to the interviews, I am asking you to record your weekly activities on a log sheet supply that I will provide. The recorded activities will allow more insight into your daily decisions regarding work–family balance; the log will be used to record the dilemmas you face and how you resolve the noted dilemmas.

The data from interviews and weekly logs will be analyzed and reviewed for trends and common themes. It is important to respond as honestly as possible during the interview and on the weekly log responses so that all data collected can add to the research that currently exists. If you have any questions concerning this process, you are welcome to ask any questions you have.

Risk and Benefits
Your participation in this research study may contribute to an increase of African American women in educational leadership roles. By participating in this interview, I hope to gain a deeper understanding of the challenges women leaders encounter as they balance work and family. I do not feel that there are any risks involved because there is no right or wrong answer.

Costs or Payments
The administration of this interview will take about 90 minutes. There are no costs or payments required for your participation in this research study. However, there are benefits of participating in this study. The benefits would include giving your perspectives on how women, specifically African American women, in educational leadership can balance work and family.

Confidentiality
To conceal your identity, I will take the necessary steps to ensure that your identity remains private. Because I will use a pseudonym instead of your real name, I do not feel that your identity will be jeopardized. I will take these steps to ensure that your identity remains confidential.

Right to Withdraw
Your participation in this research study is strictly voluntary. If you decide to participate in this research study during the initial phase, you are free to withdraw from the study in the event that you experience stress or anxiety. You may also refuse to answer any questions that you deem are invasive or offensive. In the event that you have questions or choose to withdraw your participation from the study, please contact me or my sponsor at ambowen@go.olemiss.edu or drdavis@olemiss.edu, respectively.

By signing this letter, you are agreeing to participate in the individual interview and writing response for this research study. Your identity and the data gathered will remain private and confidential. Once you have signed this consent form, I (the researcher) will provide you with a copy of this consent form for your records.

Sincerely,

April Bowen Smith

Statement of Consent

I, _____, will be a participant in the research study The Juggling Act of Balancing Work and Family: How African American Women Balance Motherhood while Leading Urban High Schools. My signature below indicates that I voluntarily and willingly wish to participate in this research study. I realize the results of this study are for a research study only and my identity will remain confidential throughout the research process and once the results of the research study are disclosed.

Participants Signature_____ Date: _____
Researchers Signature_____ Date: _____

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL FOR PARTICIPANTS

Interview Protocol for Participants

Project: AFRICAN AMERICAN FEMALE PRINCIPALS OF URBAN HIGH SCHOOLS AND THEIR NEGOTIATION OF WORK AND FAMILY CONFLICTS

Date _____
Time _____
Location _____
Interviewer _____
Interviewee _____
Release form signed? ____

Script:

Hello, my name is April Smith and I am a doctoral student at The University of Mississippi. I am conducting a study to gain more insight on the work–life balance of female principals. Thank you for your participation. I believe your input will be valuable to this research.

I would like to give you more information about this research: The primary purpose is to identify support systems that have allowed women in leadership positions to create a balance between work and life. The secondary purpose of the study is to identify the challenges and barriers that exist in society and the field of education which have prevented women, especially African American women, from achieving leadership positions in education while maintaining balance in work and family life. This information can help to better prepare aspiring female administrators and allow them to successfully balance career and family.

This interview will last approximately 90 minutes and will consist of 31 questions. The confidentiality of your responses is guaranteed.

I will use this tape recorder (show the interviewee the tape recorder and place it on the desk) to record our conversation to ensure I do not miss any vital information, as my study heavily relies on me accurately recording your answers.

Are you still willing to participate?

Let's begin.

Interview Questions:

1. Tell me about your upbringing.

2. Describe what influenced your career choices.

3. Tell me about your responsibilities at home and at work.

4. How do you describe a typical day?

5. Can we discuss your office environment?

6. I noticed photos, drawings, etc.; how do they connect to your work life balance?

7. How do you spend your free time?

8. What is your definition of work–life balance? To what extent are you meeting your definition of work–life balance?

9. How did you develop the skills necessary for balancing your work and family life?

_____
_____
_____

10. How does your family role impact your role as a leader?

_____
_____
_____

11. What did you have to give up or let go of to balance the two roles?

_____
_____
_____

    a. How did you feel making that decision?

    _____
    _____
    _____

12. What has supported your work life balance efforts?

_____
_____
_____

    a. How did you access this support?

    _____
    _____
    _____

13. Tell me about the significant individuals who influence you personally and professionally? How do they contribute to your success?

_____
_____
_____

14. Tell me about the factors that contribute to your success.
    a. Outside of work

    _____
    _____
    _____

    b. At work

    _____
    _____
    _____

15. What strategies have contributed to success in your career?

    _____
    _____
    _____

16. What factors contributed to your motivation to become a principal?
    a. Personal

    _____
    _____
    _____

    b. Professional factors

    _____
    _____
    _____

17. What other school positions have you held and indicate how long?

_____
_____
_____

18. Tell me about your career choices, have they changed over time?

_____
_____
_____

19. How long did it take you to obtain your current position? Tell me about the timeline?

_____
_____
_____

a. Please describe specific experiences

_____
_____
_____

20. What is the same or different about your current position than other positions in terms of work–life balance?

_____
_____
_____

a. What were the stressors at different levels?

_____
_____
_____

21. What are some challenges you face personally and professionally and how do you handle them?

_____
_____
_____

22. Please share specific barriers encountered along each step of your career?

a. Personal

_____
_____
_____

b. Professional

_____
_____
_____

23. How does your role as a leader impact your family role?
    a. with your children
    b. with your spouse

24. When you think Black women, what type of characteristics come to mind?

25. What kinds of historical stereotypes, if any, play a part in the way you think or respond to situations?

26. How would you describe your identity at home and your identity in the workplace? Are they the same? Why or why not?

27. What some factors you face personally and professionally and how do you handle them?

28. If you could go back and do it all over again, what if anything would you change?

29. What advice could you offer a woman dealing with the same kinds of issues?

_____
_____
_____

30. What advice would you give to African American women who are new to the profession as they attempt to balance family and work?

_____
_____
_____

31. Is there anything you would like to add that I may have missed?

_____
_____
_____

After the participant answers the last question, say the following to the interviewee:

Thank you for your participation. I want to reiterate your answers will remain confidential. Please provide contact information, just in case, I may need to follow-up with you. Thank you, again.

APPENDIX C: WORK–LIFE LOG

Work-Life Log

Instructions: Reflect on a typical work week, and complete the chart by inserting the number of hours for the specified tasks.						
Work Demands	**Number of Hours**	**Place a check in the box if you delegate this task. Also, write to whom you delegate the task.**		**Home Demands**	**Number of Hours**	**Place a check in the box if you delegate this task. Also, write to whom you delegate the task.**
Leading Instructional Leadership Activities				Child Care (general)		
Planning for School Programs and/or Initiatives				Transporting Children		
Managing School Operations				Kids' School Activities		
Engaging in Parent and/or Community Activities				Cooking		
Managing Fiscal Operations				Cleaning the Home		
Participating in Professional Development				Home Organization		
Attending to Discipline Issues				Laundry		
Conducting Faculty and Staff Evaluations				Shopping for the Home		
Monitoring Extra-Curricular Activities				Lawn Care		
Checking and Responding to Electronic Mail correspondence				Managing Household Finances		
Analyzing Student Data				Planning for Future Family Events		
Other: _____				Exercising		
Other: _____				Hobbies: _____		
Other: _____				Taking Care of Family Member(s) Other than your Children. Who?		
				Entertainment _____		
				Other: _____		
				Other: _____		
Net Time for Work Demands (subtracting the delegated hours from total)				**Net Time for Home Demands (subtracting the delegated hours from total)**		

Work–Life Log
(Part II)

Work-Family Conflict Scale

Work-Family Conflict Scale

Listed below are a series of statements that represent possible feelings that individuals might have about the relationship between their work-lives and their personal –lives. Some of these statements will be related to your family. Who in your mind constitutes as family?

Check all that apply: ___Children ___Spouse ___Parents ___ Blood relatives outside of your parents, spouse and children (e.g. aunts) ___In-laws ___ People to whom you are not related but live with (e.g. a house mate) _____ People to whom you are unrelated but *do not* live with (e.g. friends from church)

With respect to your own feelings about the relationship between your work-life and your personal life please indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement with each statement by circling **one** of the five alternatives beside each statement using the scale below.

	Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Neither agree nor disagree 3	Agree 4	Strongly Agree 5
1. My work schedule often conflicts with my family life.	1	2	3	4	5
2. After work, I come home too tired to do some of the things I would like to do.	1	2	3	4	5
3. On the job I have so much work to do that it takes away from my personal interests.	1	2	3	4	5
4. My family dislikes how often I am preoccupied with my work while at home.	1	2	3	4	5
5. Because my work is so demanding, at times I am irritable at home.	1	2	3	4	5
6. The demands of my job make it difficult to be relaxed all the time at home.	1	2	3	4	5
7. My work takes up time that I would like to spend with my family.	1	2	3	4	5
8. My job makes it difficult to be the kind of spouse or parent I would like to be.	1	2	3	4	5
9. I have to put off doing things I like to do because of work-related demands.	1	2	3	4	5
10. Due to work-related duties, I frequently have to make changes to my personal plans.	1	2	3	4	5
11. The amount of time my job takes up makes it difficult to fulfill family responsibilities.	1	2	3	4	5
12. My job produces strain that makes it difficult to fulfill my personal obligations.	1	2	3	4	5

Reflection:
After reviewing your log entry and your survey answers, what are your thoughts about your work and life balance?

APPENDIX D: WORKPLACE OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

Workplace Observation Checklist

When conducting an environmental scan, the following question may apply to specific points of interest:
I noticed _____, tell me about the significance of this.

- Pictures of _____
- Awards or certificates of recognition: _____
- Hobby-Related Items: _____

Office Activity

- Interrupted by what and/or whom (describe below):

VITA

April Bowen Smith

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OBJECTIVE

To use my skills to equalize educational experiences and outcomes for all students regardless of their race, gender, and/or socioeconomic status

EDUCATION

2007– present University of Mississippi Oxford, MS
- **Ph.D., Leadership and Counselor Education**

2004–2006 University of Mississippi Oxford, MS
- **Ed.S., Educational Leadership**

1999–2001 University of Memphis Memphis, TN
- **M.A., Teaching Secondary Education**

1994–1999 University of Memphis Memphis, TN
- **B.S., Mathematical Science**

EXPERIENCE

Honors Mathematics Teacher

2015–2017 Shelby County Schools Memphis, TN
- Designed innovative lesson plans for various learning styles while adhering to the curriculum guide.
- Provided alternative learning experiences that illustrate the relevance of math and motivated student learning.

Participated on leadership committees that write grants used to enhance the quality and quantity of educational resources.

Instructional Facilitator

2006–present Shelby County Schools Memphis, TN
- Ensures school complies with the terms of the No Child Left Behind by monitoring Title I funds are spent according to the School Improvement Plan and federal regulations.

- Designs professional development activities to ensure the school makes academic gains in the area of English and mathematics

Selector

2009–2010 The New Teacher Project Memphis, TN

- Recruit teachers for high need schools in Memphis City Schools
- Conduct interviews and recommend prospective teachers

Online Tutor

2007–2009 Educate Online Virtual

- Facilitate development of learning skills and concepts.
- Provide guidance and encouragement, and maintain a positive attitude

Certified Secondary Mathematics Teacher

2001–2005 Memphis City Schools Memphis, TN

- Designed innovative lesson plans for various learning styles while adhering to the curriculum guide.
- Provided alternative learning experiences that illustrate the relevance of math and motivated student learning.
- Participated on leadership committees that write grants used to enhance the quality and quantity of educational resources.

Study Abroad Internship

Spring 2001 Sydney Boys High Sydney, Australia

- Enhanced my knowledge and use of discovery learning to challenge gifted students
- Designed and implemented international lesson plans

Graduate Assistant

1999–2001 University of Memphis Memphis, TN

- Promoted and recruited students to enroll in various graduate programs governed by the Instructional Curriculum and Leadership department
- Collected data for use in various journal articles

AWARDS AND HONORS

- Kappa Delta Pi Invitation
- University of Memphis Master Oral Comprehensive Exam Evaluator
- Kaplan Educational Advisor