ABSTRACT

Museum Leadership:
A Possible Shift in Gender Representation

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Gender bias is a broad social issue, combining historical and current stereotypes that affect both the for-profit and non-profit workforce. Furthermore, phenomena such as the glass ceiling, the wage gap, and feminization develop the perception of gender bias in society, including that part involving the museum community. To determine the extent that gender bias exists in museum leadership positions, data of current museum leaders were obtained from 9,475 museums by using the directory of the American Association of Museums. Data were statistically analyzed according to geographical region, museum size and museum type. From this research it is determined that there are a small number of cases of gender bias for both men and women in museum leadership. Trends from the data, correlated with a historical context, indicate the possibility of an increasing feminization of the profession. Recommendations are given to address these issues.

Museum Leadership:
A Possible Shift in Gender Representation

by

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A Thesis

Approved by the Department of Museum Studies

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES

Table

FIGURES

Figures

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

"Gender bias" is a topic of increasing awareness within society. People of both genders have a vested interest in how this affects the workforce and their place in it. While typically associated with females in the workforce, gender bias actually applies to both males and females and is less of a work issue and more of a social attitude (Weber, 1994). The social make-up of society is such that the museum community must reflect the same diversity, or it will soon find itself out of touch with its audiences. As such the profession must strive to become more balanced and encourage a diversity of ethnicities, cultures, and genders within all positions (Chung, 2007).

There are many benefits to gender balance including diversity, rising salaries and prestige, and an increase in public trust. These benefits have been seen in the previously male dominated profession of medical doctors with the influx of female physicians (Anonymous, 2007b). The profession is seen to be more 'patient friendly', not only with female doctors tending to spend more time with their patients, but also females tending to push for reforms in health care and coverage (Anonymous, 2007b). Overall, medical treatment is improving and the number of malpractice suits is lessening which provides a basis for public trust regarding the care received (Anonymous, 2007b).

In other fields such as childcare, nursing, dental hygiene, and legal assistance, more men are entering the field and bringing prestige, respect, and new qualities and traits in general. These professions are experiencing revitalization by being 'taken seriously' because of the number of men entering these fields (Anonymous, 2007b).

1

The museum profession currently struggles with several detrimental issues related to the lack of gender balance. The social perception of the profession is one of 'women's work' and thereby 'less serious' and less desirable (Anonymous, 2007b; Weber, 1994). This has profound implications for all museum professionals because these social perceptions have a direct impact on the salaries and respect professionals will receive for their expertise and services (Weber, 1994).

Salaries in professions dominated by females are typically lower than salaries in professions with a substantial number of male workers. This is known as 'feminization' and it is a cyclical affect that begins with an influx of a large number of women in a profession. This in turn lowers salaries, drives males away from a profession, and ultimately opens more opportunities for women *ad infinitum* (Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). This cycle is a response to a common attitude that any profession that attracts a large number of women must be frivolous and of lesser value than a profession with fewer women (Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). As has been seen within the nursing field, bringing more males into a profession is likely to raise salaries and *vice versa* (Anonymous, 2007b).

Men and women bring different and equally necessary traits to a profession. As has been seen in many fields, including nursing, childcare, and engineering, both men and women are needed in positions throughout the profession to cultivate new and different qualities (Anonymous, 2007b; Toner, 2007). The lack of gender balance can affect the development of the museum field as a whole because of an increasing lack of diversity within the profession.

Based on historical evidence, gender bias exists in primary leadership positions within the museum community throughout the United States, particularly in larger museums. Furthermore, its presence is considered detrimental to the museum field, thus everyone working in museums should be concerned about this trend becoming overbalanced in one direction or another.

To investigate the presence of gender bias in the museum field, historical periods, stereotypes, and attitudes are reviewed, thus providing an understanding of its form with the museum field (Chapter 2). To determine the magnitude of the problem, data from the American Association of Museums Directory (American Association of Museums, 2005) has been collected from the 9,475 museums listed; giving special interest to detecting trends between geographical regions, different museum sizes, and different museum types (Chapter 3). Data collected were statistically analyzed to determine significant differences that clearly reveal situations involving gender bias (Chapter 4). This new information is presented in a broader context critical to the museum community, incorporating the past, present and possible future of the field (Chapter 5). With the availability of a clearer picture of workforce trends, it is possible to develop strategies to ensure a brighter future to those that serve the museum community.

CHAPTER TWO

Historical Overview

Equality in the workplace has been an ongoing social dialogue since the Victorian era (Harris, 1995), and women's issues in general are still hotly debated. Many positive changes have taken place regarding women and minorities in the workplace; however, there are still deeply ingrained social factors that continue to affect female advancement into upper level management positions.

Educated Women

Unequal education is perceived as the major filter of women from men's roles (Mitchell, 1972). In previous generations, academia was considered a male domain and young women could learn all they needed in their homes from their mothers (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). With this precedent, later generations of women struggled to be accepted into secondary schools and institutions of higher learning. For example in 1970, only half of adult women had a high school diploma and only one in ten had a college degree (Spain and Bianchi, 1996). It was not until 1980 that the numbers of males and females enrolled in a college or university began to equalize (Bianchi and Spain, 1986). By 1990 one in five women had college degrees. Though the trend has been toward a more educated workforce, this does not necessarily mean equality in the workplace. Existing stereotypes regarding women and work have their beginnings in the 18th century.

History of the Working Woman

Before the Revolutionary War of the United States, most people lived an agrarian existence where the work of every family member involved the betterment of the family unit (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). The work of women was seen to be just as important to familial survival as that of men; both genders were characterized as strong, bold, and independent (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Colonial women enjoyed more freedom than their European ancestors; for example, they could hold their own property and engage in any task approved by their husbands that helped the home or community (Harris, 1995). In some colonies, particularly New England, women could also file for divorce, but typically, laws held a double standard for men and women, and a full divorce was very difficult to obtain (Evans, 1989; Kerber, 1980). Still from 1690 to 1733, women had the freedom to engage in all sorts of economic businesses from "she-merchants" and storeowners to "doctresses", apothecaries, nurses, and midwives to tavern owners and print makers (Harris, 1995). The colonial era was not a golden age for women, but they did hold a great many more freedoms than previous or succeeding generations.

With the Industrial Revolution came the rise of the middle class. It was at this time that the idea of a separation between work and the family became popular (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). Men worked outside the home, women "worked" inside the home and were regarded as "Ladies". It became a mark of prestige for a man to be the sole breadwinner (Blau and Ferber, 1992), and to have a wife who worked only in the home. Because there was no monetary value to this "house-work", women's contributions soon were devalued. For the first time, an entire class of women was seen

as being supported by their husbands, thus being dependents rather than partners (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978).

The new dependence of women upon men gave rise to the idea of "a man's sphere" and "a women's sphere", and these two were polar opposites; one could not display any traits of the other (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). As long as women conformed to their "sphere" they were assured treatment as a lady and the respect of their peers. If a woman displayed any type of "male" trait, such as assertiveness, strength, bravery, or independence, she was viewed as sexually deviant and as an "un-sexed" woman (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978).

In a time when women were being closely tied to the domestic arena, there was a loosening of family ties as young people left home. With this shift, women came to be the personification of "the family". Women had now morphed into saints from the competent partners they had been in the colonial era (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). This "cult of true womanhood" equated piety, purity, domesticity, and submissiveness with femininity (Blau and Ferber, 1992). With the advent of the "all-nurturing mother" (Harris, 1995: 36) in the 1840s, most of the professions that had been open to women a century earlier were now dominated by men. Furthermore, examples such as medicine, nursing, and law were deemed inappropriate for women (Harris, 1995).

Not every woman of the 19th century was of the middle class. Many poverty stricken women had to leave home in search of work in factories (Harris, 1995). During the unionization of factory and mill workers male unions did not support women who wanted to rally with them in support of better treatment and wages (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). This was one of the first blatant, documented instances of

employment discrimination. Male workers felt that women undercut their wages and opportunities. The solution was to drive women out of the profession by not helping them obtain equal rights through the male unions (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). It was the men's goal to prevent the women from working so that the latter could return to domestic life (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978). These attitudes spilled over into the next century with wage discrepancies between men and women. Differences in favor of men were justified because it was assumed that women only were working for "pin money" or spending money. Because it was thought that women did not need money for survival it was not important for them to make as much as men (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978).

The decades leading up to World War II saw a substantial and constant increase of women in many male professions (Bardwick, 1979). During World War II, there were 20 million women in the workforce, holding down the home front while the majority of men were fighting in Europe and the Pacific (Bardwick, 1979). After the war, two-thirds of employed women were laid off and a period of perceived "normalcy" was established in which most people married and had children. The idealistic view of women as the "nurturing mother" was reinstated as the appropriate view of a woman's place in society. Despite the services women had rendered during the war, it was believed that they did not have the personalities or skills suited for the workforce (Bardwick, 1979).

With the 1950s, there was a period of decline for women in the workforce. Women were told that they were biologically destined to stay at home and that this was the "normal" way women were to live their lives, thus the determining factor of a woman's future was biological (Harris, 1995). However, the psychological revolution of the 1960s encouraged women to do what they were told they could not--become

independent and challenge gender roles. These psychological changes led to the Equal

Rights Amendment in the 1970s along with a fivefold increase in the number of women

and minorities in "male" professions (Harris, 1995). From the 1980s to the present, there

has been a steady increase of female workers in many of the fields that were deemed

unsuitable to previous generations of women (Spain and Bianchi, 1996).

Employment Discrimination: The Glass Ceiling

Even with the increasing numbers of women present in the workforce, one of the

most mentioned obstacles to upper mobility is a phenomenon referred to as "the glass

ceiling". It has been defined most simply as a combination of factors that women and

minorities encounter during the course of a career in which they can not progress to

positions of leadership and influence. Presumably this barrier was established by white,

male supervisors (Hutner, 1994), and has been perpetuated by the basic structure of the

corporation as designed by men, for men at a time when they were the primary

breadwinners (MacLeod, 1994). Even today, it is common for a variety of attitudes and

stereotypes to persist. Examples include the following:

- women are not believed to be "masculine" enough or as competent as their male colleagues in upper level management positions (Rhode, 2003);

- women do not prefer to take initiative on the job and are less concerned with "getting ahead" than men (Kellerman, 2003; Wolf, 1998);

- women lack self-confidence and are afraid of making mistakes (Wolf, 1998);

- women are too emotional for management (Furr, 2002);

- women are indecisive and unable to assume authority (Wolf, 1998).

Part of the perpetuation of these stereotypes stems from the idea that that women's style

in the workplace differs greatly from that of men. Women have been thought to prefer a

personal relationship in management (Bardwick, 1979), tend to be more inclusive and collaborative, and desire a more centralized mode of management rather than a hierarchical chain of command (Wolf, 1998). Successful women have been seen as exceptions to the stereotypes associated with them, not as the rule regarding all women (Bardwick, 1979).

<p align="center">*Employment Discrimination: The Wage Gap*</p>

The glass ceiling has implications for women other than their being barred from upper level management. Traditionally, women have been paid less than men in the same position with similar qualifications (Bianchi and Spain, 1986; Kostello, 2006; Perrot, 1994; Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Wolf, 1998). This "wage gap" is a statistical indicator of female and minority wages compared to white men (Anonymous, 2006a). Even though the Equal Pay Act was passed in 1963 which required employers pay men, women, and minorities the same rate for the same work (Anonymous, 2006a), CNN New York reporter, Carol Kostello (2006), found that the wage difference between women and men was $0.73 to $1.00. This means that for ever dollar a man makes in his job, his female colleague makes only $0.73 for the same work. As Paul Perrot (1994: 31) states, "…the final measure of respect and equality is evident in the pay scale…" Until women have gained enough respect for their talents and expertise by being paid on an equal level with their male colleagues, they will not easily transcend other institutional biases into upper level management.

Employment Discrimination: Balancing Home and Family

While women in the United States work, it is just a question of if they work outside or inside the home (Hutner, 1994). The majority of career-oriented women want marriage, family, and a career all at the same time (Simon, 1993; Spain and Bianchi, 1996). This desire to "have it all" has led to a balancing act that has affected female advancement in the workforce. The challenge of combining childcare responsibilities and a career has been one of the most cited reasons why there are not more women in upper level management (Wolf, 1998). While motherhood is traditionally seen as a detriment to female advancement, it also has been viewed as excellent training ground for managers because it incorporates skills such as organization, teaching, conflict and crisis management, and dissemination of information (Wolf, 1998). According to Wolf (1998), the trend is that executive women are single without children because most feel that to retain their "independent strength", they must sacrifice having a family. The alternative thought is that to have these things requires sacrificing their "independent strength" (McBroom, 1986: 38).

Women and Society

Another potential obstacle to the "independent strength" of working women has been the social attitudes pertaining to appropriate female behavior. In earlier generations, these attitudes could make a woman a social pariah for simply not conforming to the idea of a lady (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978).

The social changes brought on by the feminist movement have helped women move into more equal standing within the workforce and society as a whole. Feminism was essentially a "psychological revolution" (Bardwick, 1979: 12) involving "…an

explicit rejection of the lifestyle created by strongly coercive norms that define and restrict what women are and can do" (Bardwick, 1979: 5). As such the movement viewed domestic roles as the major impediment to women's independence by keeping them economically and psychologically bound (Bardwick, 1979). In the last 20 or 30 years, social attitudes have been renovated by the feminist perspective to the point that earlier patterns of work, family, and community life have mostly disappeared (Hutner, 1994). However, some vestiges have remained that impact female roles and acceptance in the work force. As Athena Theodore states,

> …the female role in relation to the male is differently evaluated by the society. Female status is essentially regarded as inferior and subordinate…Females are usually considered lacking in intellectual ability…and all females…tend to be judged   first on the basis of physical attractiveness rather than on intelligence… (1971: 9).

This has led scholars to make the argument that women have difficult times advancing in leadership because they are trying to fit into a mold designed by and for men (Hutner, 1994). These attitudes have been part of "the backlash" against the feminist movement that argues, among other things, there is no inequality between women and men, and that any "victories" for women have been won (Wolf, 1998). Until it is recognized that social attitudes have been a principle driving factor behind broader issues, women will continue to be locked out of positions that society feels they never should have occupied. Therefore, the "woman question" has not only applied to females but has reflected a broader social issue. It has encompassed many socially complex factors that are perhaps unrecognized by the majority of United States citizens (Wolf, 1998).

Women in Museum Leadership

It is typically assumed that positions of leadership have been more open to women and minorities in the non-profit sector (Odendahl and O'Neill, 1994; O'Neill, 1994). However, this assumption is mostly false. According to Glaser and Zenetou (1994: xvii), "The feminist movement…during the early seventies bypassed the museum community. More accurately, American museums have ignored the feminist movement since its inception". The idea that the non-profit sector is a more "open" area for women and minorities has been popular because non-profits are seen as feminine organizations providing services, enhancing beauty, helping society as a whole, and are all around socially productive. Unfortunately, these women also have been seen as unpaid domestics (Wolf, 1998).

Historically, women have been more involved with non-profit, philanthropic institutions, particularly museums. In the first half of the 20th century (1900-1949), the first generation of museum women were working to establish collections, education departments, and programs (Weber, 1994). Wealthy women were creating their own museums, such as: the Whitney Museum of American Art, founded by Gertrude Vanderbilt and Juliana Force; the Museum of Modern Art, founded by Lizzie Bliss, Mrs. Cornelius J. Sullivan, and Abby Aldrich Rockefeller; and the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, founded by Isabella Stewart Gardner (Taylor, 1994). While these women worked tirelessly to develop these museums, they chose to hire male directors for their institutions because none thought to take on that position themselves (Taylor, 1994). Other women who were associated with museums during this time were typically

specialized in other professions, such as anthropology and art history, and were consulted on museum collection issues (Taylor, 1994; Wolf, 1998).

The second generation of women came into the museum field between 1950 and 1970. These women were considered generalists who would do anything and everything that needed to be done in the museum, such as housekeeping, organizing, and recording (Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). This generation found satisfaction in sacrifice and creating order out of chaos. It was also during this time that children's museums, art leagues, community art centers, historical societies, and historic homes were increasing in number (Weber, 1994). Even though women were the laborers of the museum community, directorships and curatorships were still going to men having advanced degrees and training (Taylor, 1994). Women were considered the amateurs and were not given the same authority as men (Taylor, 1994).

From 1971-1990, the third generation of women entered the museum field as well-trained and "professional savvy" individuals (Weber, 1994). These women came into the field with graduate degrees, some from museum training programs, and were ready to prove that women could excel in any capacity at all levels in the museum community (Weber, 1994).

The fourth generation began in 1990. It included more museum professionals who were being trained in museum studies programs across the nation. They have benefited from the long history of women in the museum field and have been determined to gain an equal footing with their male colleagues (Weber, 1994).

This influx of women in the museum profession has had an unforeseen side effect on museum work as a profession, a phenomenon called "feminization". Feminization at

its most basic level means that as more and more women enter a chosen field, wages and respect decline (Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). This has been seen as a response to the social attitude of considering "women's work" as something of lesser value than "men's work" (Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998).

Feminization led to another widely held view known as "the pipeline theory". This concept suggests that as more women enter the museum field they will naturally make their way into senior management just because of large numbers (Wolf, 1998). However, just because there has been an increase in the number of women in a profession does not mean that they automatically gain power. The attitudes pertaining to the views about women's abilities do not automatically change (Wolf, 1998). As discussed earlier, this has been one of the major obstacles women face when trying to ascend into upper echelons of management, once again the "glass ceiling".

The glass ceiling in museums has been most obvious in larger museums, government museums, and in the sciences (Wolf, 1998). In most major institutions there has been the perception that women do not want to move into management positions (Wolf, 1998). Ideas like this are interesting because for many years women have tended to outnumber men in museums studies programs and management training courses (Wolf, 1998).

Ideas of "feminization" and the "glass ceiling" have impacted other professions thought of as "feminine", such as teaching and nursing (Bardwick, 1979). The historical impact of these phenomena on professions was expressed best by Susan B. Anthony (Hymowitz and Weissman, 1978: 115) in her address at the Rochester teacher's

convention in 1852. After two hours of debate over whether or not to allow a woman to

address the assembly, Anthony was allowed to speak:

> It seems to me gentlemen, that none of you quite comprehend the cause of the
> disrespect of which you complain. Do you not see that so long as society says a
> woman is incompetent to be a lawyer, minister, or doctor, but has ample ability to
> be a teacher, that every [one] of you who chooses this profession tacitlyacknowledges
> that he has no more brains than a woman. And this too is the reason that teaching is
> less a lucrative profession, as here men must compete with the cheap labor of women.
> Would you exalt your profession, exalt those who labor with you. Would you make it
> more lucrative, increase the salaries of the women engaged in the novel work of
> educating out future Presidents, Senators, and Congressmen (Hymowitz and
> Weissman, 1978: 115).

For the teaching field, much the same for the museum field, the fact that women were

employed in the profession led to lower wages and less respect. However, as Anthony

demonstrates, women in the teaching profession, while it was deemed "suitable", still

encountered incredible bias.

Given the overall history of women in professional positions and the struggles

they have faced, research has been needed to better quantify the current status of female

museum professionals with regard to position and standing in leadership. With respect to

the museum field, there is a greater need to analyze how the numbers of women compare

to their male counterparts, especially in leadership positions.

CHAPTER THREE

Methodology

The objective of this study is to determine if gender bias exists in leadership

positions in museums across the United States based on geographical region, museum

type, or size of institution. The Official Museum Directory (American Association of

Museums, 2005) is used as the source of all data for this study because it is a relatively

up-to-date listing of primary museums in the United States. While it is recognized that

information retrieved quickly becomes somewhat dated, its relevance is longer lasting

because of the stability of museums and respective positions. The directory includes

pertinent data (for example, number and status of staff and a listing of key personnel) of

employment available for each institution recorded.

To examine leadership in museums, the entire 2006 directory of the American

Association of Museums (AAM) is reviewed, museum by museum. The positions of

interest include "Director", "Executive Director", and "CEO". While it is acknowledged

that several positions, such as "Assistant Director" and "Associate Director", are

important in the decision-making process of an institution, the focus of this study rests on

the gender of those individuals responsible for implementing board policy within an

institution. In addition, any reference to "leadership" in this study directly refers to the

individuals with the title director/CEO position in a museum. Data collection related to

these positions begins with visually scanning the "Key Personnel" section of the AAM

directory for "Directors", "Executive Directors", and "CEOs". Once these have been

identified, the gender of the person occupying that position is determined based on first

name and recorded simply as "male" or "female". If a person has a dual title, the

first title written is honored (e.g. a title of "Director and CEO" is recorded under

"Director" while "CEO and Director" is recorded under "CEO"). An exclusion category

is created for those institutions that do not provide a "Key Personnel" or a "Personnel

Profile" section, and those institutions that have no full-time paid personnel. An

individual is excluded from the count if that person's gender is indistinguishable by first

name (e.g., J.L. Doe). These entries are not used when conducting queries and

tabulations.

All data are organized with a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet, and a Microsoft

Access database is used for tallying of results through queries. Microsoft Excel is used to

generate all tables and graphs related to the totals generated through the Microsoft Access

queries. Statistical analyses of the data, using a chi-squared and Yates test, determine the

significance of the results (Table 2). A chi-squared test $((|O-E|)^2/E)$ determines whether

there is a significant difference between an observed value (O) and an expected value (E)

(Anonymous, 2006b). The results from this test establish the rate of frequency the results

will be seen by observers. For example, a highly significant (***) result for gender

representation means that 99.9% of the time the gender favored will be found in the

situation examined. A Yates test $((|O-E|-0.5)^2/E$ is a standard test applied to chi-squared

results that only compare two variables (Anonymous, 2006b).

Four levels of significance are identified: 99.9% (***), 99% (**), 95% (*), or no

significance (< 95%, NS). Based on the assumptions that women are equally qualified

and interested in positions of leadership in museum institutions, all statistical analyses are

done using the expectation that normally one would have a basically 50-50 chance of

finding a woman in a museum leadership position as opposed to a man based on national gender representation documented in the 2000 census (Anonymous, 2007a).

Geographical Region

To compare geographical areas, all 50 states and five territories of the United States are divided into six regions based upon criteria used by AAM. These regions are as follows: New England, Southeastern, Mid-Atlantic, Midwest, Mountain Plains, and Western (Table 1). Each institution is assigned to one region based on state, using the "Governing Authority" section of the AAM directory (American Association of Museums, 2005).

Museum Size

Institutions are classified by size based on the total number of full-time paid personnel recorded as working in a museum under the "Personnel Profile" section of the directory. The four sizes are small (1-30 full-time paid personnel), medium (31-70 full-time paid personnel), large (71-150 full-time paid personnel), and mega (over 151 full-time paid personnel). While this breakdown may not follow the criteria of others, it does accommodate division of museums by size for this study.

Museum Type

Twelve types of museums are recognized based on the categories used in the AAM directory (American Association of Museums, 2005). These categories are as follows: Art, History, Natural History/Natural Science, General, University, Zoo, Botanical Garden, Aquarium, Children's Museum, Historic Sites/Houses/Living History,

Planetarium, and Other. Each institution is recorded as one type based on the

classification found under the "Governing Authority" section of the AAM directory

(American Association of Museums, 2005). If a museum has two different foci (e.g.,

Historic Site and Botanical Garden) the institution is classified as "Other"; the "General"

category is not used because it is a specific category used by AAM to describe a certain

type of museum. If an institution has two foci that are related in the same discipline (e.g.,

Art Museum and Gallery) it is classified in that specific category. The "University"

category is preferred over another category (e.g., "University Art Museum" is classified

under "University" not "Art") because the university supports the institution in question

and leadership positions are often selected by the academicians, thus it is recorded as a

"University" rather than another type of institution.

While every effort is made to classify each institution in a specific category,

inevitably there are institutions that do not fit or do not have sufficient data to make a

determination. Institutions that have two foci, discussed above, and those institutions that

are so specialized that they do not fit into a category, are grouped into the "Other"

category. As such, the "Other" category is a catch-all of institutions from many different

disciplines and specialties, thus it forms the largest group.

It is acknowledged that some categories involved very small sample sizes.

Because of this five types (Natural History/Natural Science, Zoo, Botanical Garden,

Aquarium, and Planetarium) were combined into a collective "Science Museums"

category to accommodate meaningful analyses.

Table 1. Listing of states and territories within each region of the
American Association of Museums

Region	States Included	Region	States Included
Mid-Atlantic	Delaware	Southeastern	Alabama
	Maryland		Arkansas
	New Jersey		District of Columbia
	New York		Florida
	Pennsylvania		Georgia
			Kentucky
Midwest	Illinois		Louisiana
	Iowa		Mississippi
	Indiana		North Carolina
	Michigan		Puerto Rico
	Minnesota		South Carolina
	Missouri		Tennessee
	Ohio		Virgin Islands
	Wisconsin		West Virginia
Mountain Plains	Colorado	Western	Alaska
	Kansas		American Samoa
	Montana		Arizona
	Nebraska		California
	New Mexico		Commonwealth of the North
	North Dakota		Guam
	Oklahoma		Hawaii
	South Dakota		Idaho
	Texas		Nevada
	Wyoming		Oregon
			Utah
New England	Connecticut		Washington
	Maine		
	Massachusetts		
	New Hampshire		
	Rhode Island		
	Vermont		

CHAPTER FOUR

Results

There were 5,662 museums possessing data applicable to this study. The numbers of male and female directors and CEOs are tabulated and then sorted by region, type and size. Also the level of significance of each series is analyzed (Table 2). Given these data, the nation-wide number of male directors (53.3%) is greater than that of female directors (46.7%). This representation by itself is highly significant (***; χ^2=24.4). However, this finding requires further analysis.

Geographical Region

The analysis of the six AAM regions shows that the Midwest region reported 830 museums with 56.5% having male leadership and 43.5% having female leadership, with these differences being highly significant (***; χ^2= 38.6). The Mountain Plains region also shows a majority of males in leadership positions (53.9%), but the results are only moderately significant (*; χ^2= 4.6). The results from four regions continued the trend of male dominance in leadership positions, but reflect no significant difference; Southeast (male, 52.6%; female, 47.4%), Mid-Atlantic (male, 51.7%; female, 48.3%), Western (male, 52.5%; female, 47.5%), and New England (male, 52.0%; female, 48.0%) (Fig. 1).

Table 2. Summary of gender differences among museum leadership positions according to region, museum size, and museum type. Each category is ranked according to grand total in descending order.

|	Males				Females			Grand	Level of Significance
	Directors	CEOs	Subtotal		Directors	CEOs	Subtotal	Total	(χ^2 value)
REGION									
Southeast	429	237	666		421	178	599	1265	NS
Midwest	316	153	469		256	105	361	830	***; (38.6)
Mountain Plains	268	152	420		265	94	359	779	*; (4.6)
Mid-Atlantic	270	130	400		276	97	373	773	NS
Western	240	117	357		249	74	323	680	NS
New England	153	59	212		142	54	196	408	NS
Total	1676	848	2524		1609	602	2211	4735	
SIZE									
Small	1419	686	2105		1498	543	2041	4146	NS
Medium	131	73	204		67	33	100	304	***; (34.8)
Large	77	53	130		24	19	43	173	***; (42.8)
Mega	49	36	85		20	7	27	112	***; (29.0)
Total	1676	848	2524		1609	602	2211	4735	
TYPE									
Other	610	358	968		493	173	666	1634	***; (55.4)
Historic House / Living History	256	141	397		271	142	413	810	NS
Art	271	79	350		316	80	396	746	NS
History	224	112	336		268	102	370	706	NS
Science	171	92	263		76	26	102	365	***; (70.2)
General	53	46	99		64	33	97	196	NS
University	74	8	82		81	11	92	174	NS
Children	17	12	29		40	35	75	104	***; (19.4)
Total	1676	848	2524		1609	602	2211	4735	
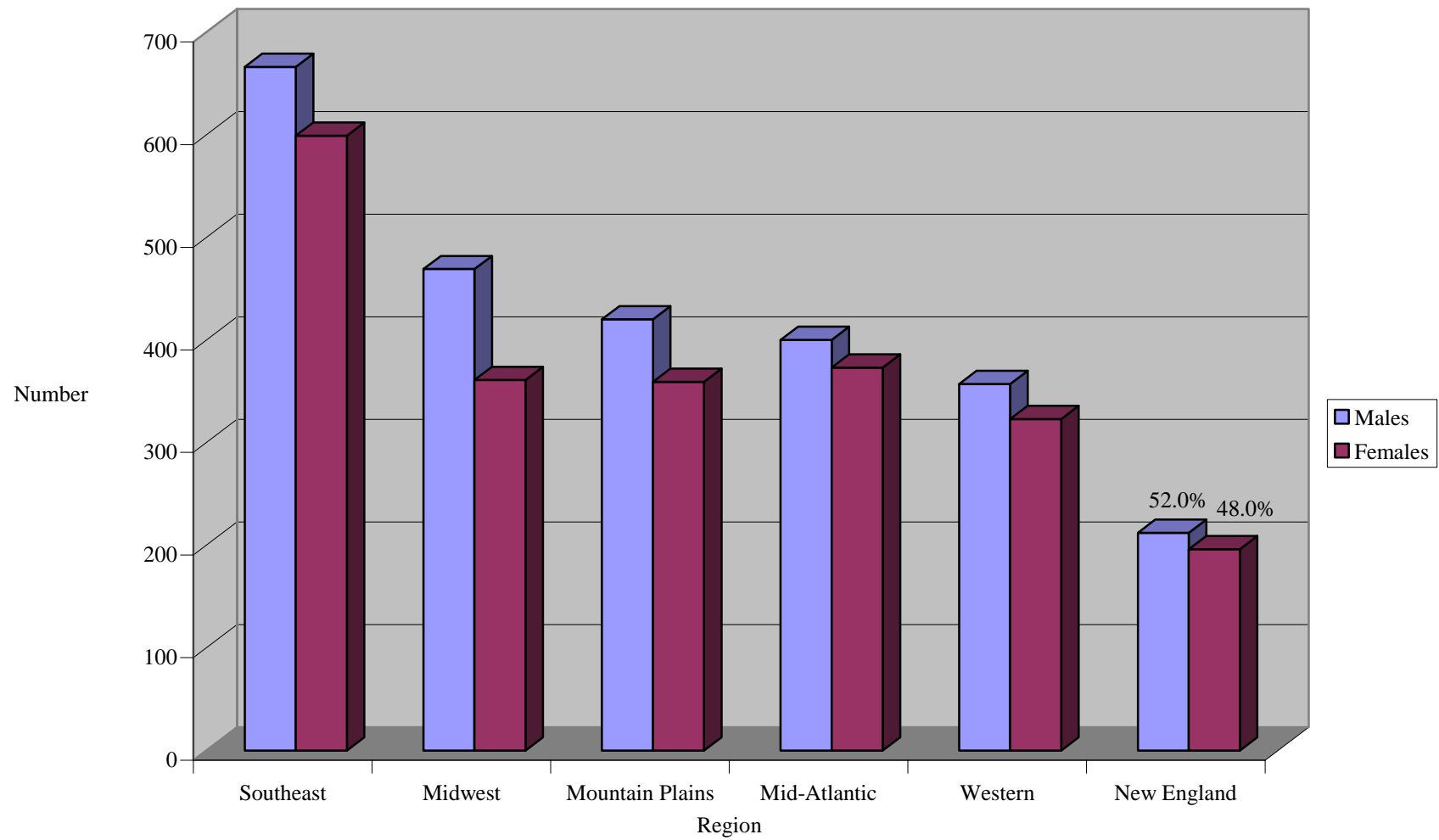
Fig. 1   Gender comparison of museum leadership positions by region

Museum Size

Highly significant (***) differences in favor of males exist with medium-size museums (31-70 full-time paid personnel; males, 67.1%; females, 32.9%; χ^2= 34.8), large-size museums (71–150 full-time paid personnel; males, 75.1%; females 24.9%; χ^2= 42.8), and mega-sized museums (over 151 full-time paid personnel; males, 75.9%; females, 24.1%; χ^2=29.0). Small museums (1-30 full-time paid personnel) also show more instances of male leadership (50.8%), but this level is not significant (Fig. 2).

Museum Type

Three types of museums revealed highly significant (***) differences in gender representation. This included the categories of Other (male, 59.2%; female, 40.8%; χ^2= 55.4); Science (male, 72.0%; female, 28.0%; χ^2= 70.2); Children (male, 27.9%; female, 72.1%; χ^2= 19.4). The gender representation of the five other museum types was not significantly different, but four did show a greater number of females in leadership positions (Historic Houses, 51.0%; Art, 53.1%; History, 52.4%; University, 52.9%). Similarly, while the General museum category showed slightly greater male representation (50.5%), the representation was not significant (Fig. 3).

While males are favored in the majority of the areas studied, there are a few categories where the difference shows a distinct bias toward one gender or the other. The areas that showed highly significant bias in favor of males were the Midwest and Mid-Atlantic regions, medium, large, and mega-sized museums, and the science and specialty (other) museums. The Mountain Plains region also showed bias in favor of male leadership, but the results were only moderately significant. The only significant results showing a female bias in leadership were found in the children's museums. While the

entire study has produced data that contributes greatly to the body of knowledge

concerning the museum profession, these specific categories deserve further analysis in
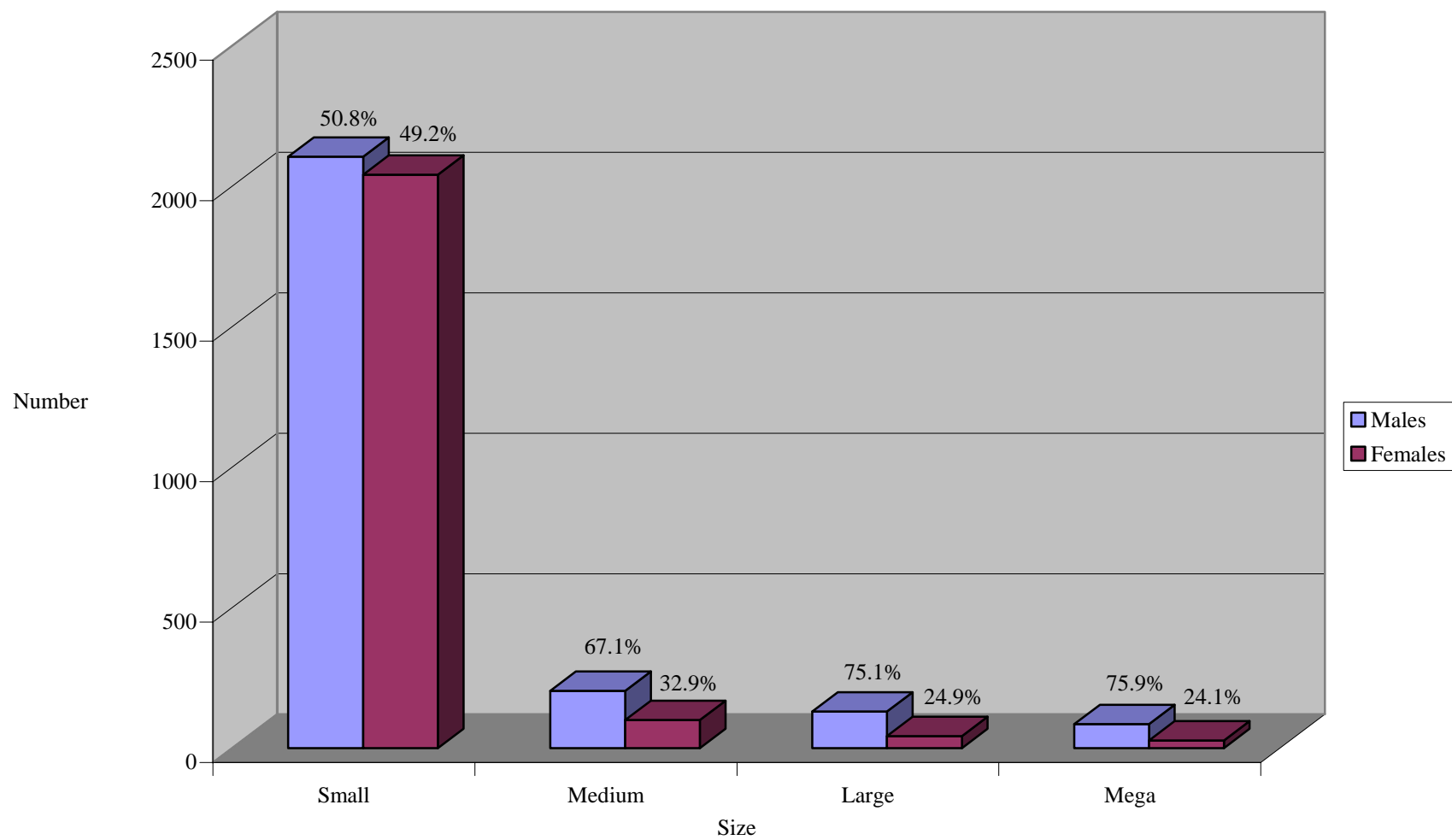
light of a historical context.

Fig. 2   Gender comparison of museum leadership positions by museum size
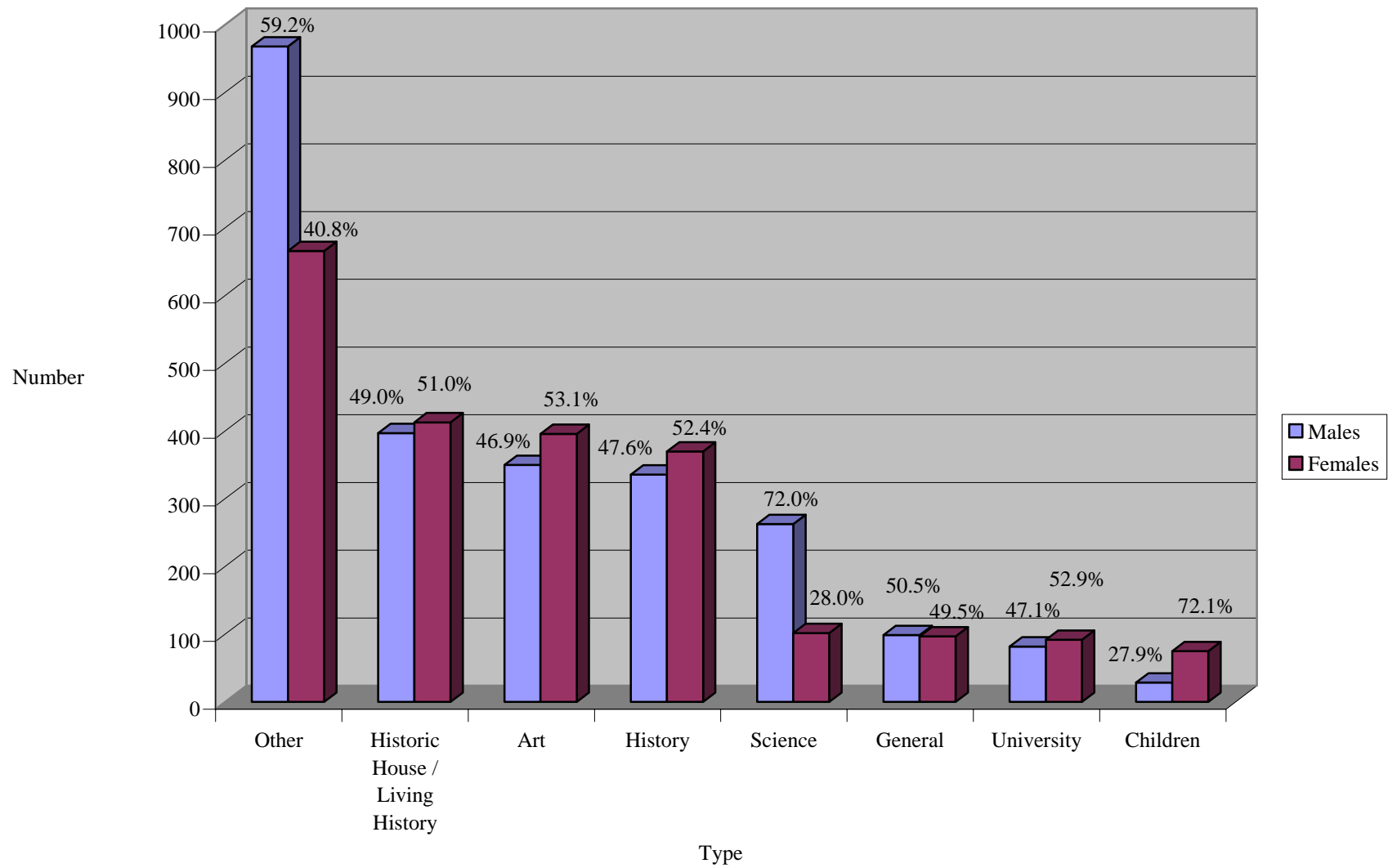
Fig. 3   Gender comparison of museum leadership positions by museum type

CHAPTER FIVE

Discussion

Before addressing the results of this study, it is appropriate to analyze the effectiveness of the process. One of this study's strengths is the large sample size obtained by using the AAM directory (American Association of Museums, 2005). The total number of museums catalogued was 9,475. From this number 5,662 (60%) institutions were eligible for analysis of leadership positions following criteria described in Chapter 3. Of these, 4,735 institutional leaders were identified, thus constituting the basis for all conclusions of this study. While a number of museums were eliminated because they could not be classified based on the specified criteria, or there was inadequate information upon which to base a conclusion, there is still a sufficiently large sample size to provide good reliability of the findings of the study. It is assumed that gender representation of the samples used is likely to be proportional to the samples not used, thus the data are representative of the total. It also is recognized that the total number of museums catalogued does not represent the total number of museums across the nation. The 9,475 institutions represent the museums who elected to provide data for inclusion in the 2006 American Association of Museums Directory and there was no efficient way to obtain data regarding unlisted institutions. However, the sample size of this study is considered of adequate size as to be representative of the national museum community as a whole.

Some of the issues encountered during the course of the study relate to the categories selected for analysis. For example, 5,662 museums were technically eligible for the study, however only 4,735 were included (84% of the subset; 50% of the total). This discrepancy results from an inability to distinguish the gender of a person from their first name (i.e., J. L. Doe). In addition, there were institutions that did not list any person as a "Director", "Executive Director", or "CEO". While there are some eligible museums that are not represented in the study, there is a larger proportion that are. The overall sample size analyzed still provides a solid basis upon which to draw conclusions about the representation of leadership in the museum field.

The "Other" category shows highly significant difference but the validity might be questioned because of the nature of the category. A majority of the institutions included in the "Other" category pertain mostly to specialty museums, such as military history and automotive museums. In hindsight, an additional category might have been created for libraries, but for the current study libraries were grouped into this category. Because this category provides data concerning the representation of leadership in specialized museums, the relatively small number of libraries most likely would not alter the outcome significantly.

Another issue is the date of the statistics used. Data in the 2006 edition of the AAM directory were gathered in 2005. Even so, it is assumed that leadership positions have a much longer tenure than the annual publication of the AAM directory. Even though the data may be a couple of years old, the conclusions clearly represent situations at the beginning of the current century, and will remain valid until the workforce of museum leaders has had sufficient time to be altered or replaced.

In the context of other studies undertaken regarding museum leadership this study is among the first to produce a meaningful statistical treatment of gender representation in the museum profession. A majority of the current studies of gender in the workplace pertain to the state of women in the for-profit industries, and how females are perceived in society as a whole. However most of these studies are not analyzed statistically (Bardwick, 1979; Bianchi and Spain, 1986; Harris, 1995; Hutner, 1994; MacLeod, 1994; Simon, 1993). Also, many studies are perceived as having a feminist agenda that raises questions about the validity of the results. The current study is not intended to promote any agenda; instead it presents an objective look into the current gender representation of leadership within the museum community. It actually may serve as the first step in a larger study proposed for women in leadership positions involving a comprehensive analysis of multiple elements, including placement, salary, and tenure (Wolf, 1998). Furthermore, the current study was conceived of as only one aspect of a self-evaluation for the national museum community.

The Evolution of Gender Bias

This study has incorporated the social issues that have impacted women since the 18th century, many of which women have overcome. At one time, women were unable to enroll in institutions of higher learning and were said to not need any education outside the home. In the past 30 years, there has been an equalizing of educational achievements between men and women (Bianchi and Spain, 1986, Spain and Bianchi, 1996). Women have succeeded in entering the workforce to the point that they are now represented in almost every occupation, many of which were previously considered unseemly for females (Spain and Bianchi, 1996). The achievements of women are a credit to changing

social ideas about equality and fair treatment, thus the issues still confronting women are social issues affecting the entire population of the United States, including the museum community.

Some inequalities which are still present in the modern workplace include perceived traits required to fill managerial positions. For the most part, managers are still "masculine" (Rhode, 2003), and women have been deemed as lacking the self-confidence, initiative, and drive necessary to attain these positions (Furr, 2002, Kellerman, 2003; Wolf, 1998). The wage gap is one factor that starkly reflects views about working women. In 2006, women with equal qualifications, education, and experience were paid $0.73 to every $1.00 earned by a male colleague in an equivalent position (Kostello, 2006). These issues are not just women's problems they are more global social issues that require a social initiative to address.

People who work in museums face an interesting dilemma in that they are employed in a profession deemed to be "feminine" (Wolf, 1998). This perception leading to "feminization" stems from the association of the female role with non-profit institutions providing community services and being socially productive entities (Wolf, 1998). This phenomenon occurs when more women enter a chosen field, and as a result, wages and respect associated with that profession decline (Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). Also, because there is an overwhelmingly disproportionate number of female students in museum studies programs and related training courses (Wolf, 1998), it is possible that feminization will have far reaching consequences for all members of the museum community in the future. This will affect professional prestige, economics, and job security (Weber, 1994). The only way to address the trend of

feminization within a profession is to make sure there is an adequate gender balance within the workforce.

The phenomenon of feminization can have serious consequences for every type of position in the museum field, but this study focuses on only the director/CEO positions. These positions represent those individuals responsible for implementing board policy in the nation's museums and call for broad vision, experience, and superior management skills to the point that many people, both male and female, do not want to even consider taking on the challenge (Tolles, 1991). Top leadership positions come with enormous pressure to raise funds, maintain administrative responsibilities, exercise concern for public tolerance, and interaction with trustees, leading to a perception that a high turn-over rate exists (Wolf, 1998). Given the pressures and obstacles associated with leadership positions, it is important to stress that all museum leaders, both directors and CEO's, male and female, deserve a large amount of respect and support from their colleagues and staff.

In spite of all the pressures associated with being a museum leader, it is safe to say that leadership is an absolute necessity. The question remains as to whether leadership positions in museums favor one gender over another. Many in today's workforce would say that there is not a typical gender; it is commonly thought that women have very few barriers to top positions (Rhode, 2003). However, women often remain under-represented in leadership, and there is no real good explanation as to why except that there is a social construct that still remains regarding the expected appearance of leadership (Bardwick, 1979; MacLeod, 1994; Rhode, 2003; Wolf, 1998).

There has been some criticism in the past that statistical proof of under representation of women in museum leadership positions has been lacking (Wolf, 1998). So, the assumption is often that the barrier to female leadership is a problem that already has been solved. This study is relevant because it provides statistical analysis of the present situation for both men and women in museum leadership positions and quantifies the current position of museum leaders, both male and female. Furthermore, the quantification of gender representation of museum leadership positions provides insight to the needs and possible responses of the museum field.

Findings and Trends

The findings of this study came about through the evaluation of 5,662 museums across the United States based on geographical region, size, and type of the institution. While majority of the outcomes indicate a bias in favor of males, only half of the comparisons produced statistically significant differences. The areas that showed highly significant bias in favor of males were the Midwest region, medium, large, and mega-sized museums, and the science and specialty (Other) museums. The Mountain Plains region showed less, but still significant, bias in favor of male leadership. The only results showing significant female bias in leadership were found in the children's museums. Again, while significant differences in gender representation were found with several situations, it is noteworthy that many situations did not have significant differences between the numbers of males and females.

Some of these observations were expected, such as the bias in favor of males in large and mega-sized museums and in the sciences because these museums already have been recognized as some of the major sources of bias against women in the museum profession (Wolf, 1998). One reason for this may be the board composition in larger museums. Many times, these boards are modeled on corporate institutions and can tend to be predominately male. As such, these boards may hire directors/CEOs based upon how well the board can relate to a specific individual. In such cases, women may not have an equal opportunity to attain these positions. It is also possible that larger museums have the ability to pay much higher salaries than is typically seen in the museum field, and that these salaries help attract male leadership.

Science museums have historically had males dominating the institutions via their historic emphasis on collecting and curatorial research (Wolf, 1998). In contrast, the more recent work of Frank Oppenheimer in the Exploratorium continued this tradition of male leadership while adding fun, hands-on activities to promote cooperative learning (Alexander, 1997). This is recognized as a transition from the male dominated science museums to the female dominated children's museums.

Children's museums are associated with women leaders and staff because of their connection with young children and elementary education (Glaser and Zenetou, 1994; Taylor, 1994). The prominence of women in children's museums could be a response to female school teachers assuming positions in children's museums. It is documented that feminization of the elementary education profession extends back into the 1860s and still continues into the present day (Perlmann and Margo, 2001). Elementary education as a whole is dominated by women, and as a result the field suffers the effect of feminization

(Dana and Bourisaw, 2006; Perlmann and Margo, 2001). Given these factors it is likely that the number of women in children's museums is a result of female teachers transitioning from one feminized profession to another in an attempt to attain different working conditions, higher status, and greater recognition.

Even with the female dominance in children's museum, it is a common thought that there is little gender bias in these institutions because of the nature of the concepts presented, such as "How do I make this work?" or "What do I think about this?" (Glaser and Zenteou, 1994). However, it is possible that the gender bias present in children's museums is a bias *against* men. Children's museums got their start at the turn of the 20th century with Anna Billings Gallup and the Brooklyn Children's Museum, a science institution geared toward children, with a vested interest in the educational outreach of the museum (Alexander, 1997). Gallup is credited with taking the idea of the interactive children's museum and making it work. However, the genesis of the idea came from the team of William Henry Goodyear and Franklin William Hooper, after the former had witnessed science exhibits attracting many young people at the Manchester Museum in England (Alexander, 1997). Science and children's museums have been working toward the common goal of educating children about science since the early 20th century. Even so, the results of this study show that while there is some representation of both genders in leadership positions of both types of institutions, science museums still very much favor males and children's museums still very much favor females. If so, this might be where some of the last vestiges of gender bias exist.

The history of gender bias and gender issues, coupled with the history of the museum profession and traditional internal divisions give a rich and intriguing context to

this study. Museums started out as male endeavors, except in the arts where women took an active role from the beginning (Taylor, 1994). As the decades passed, the push for women's rights and equal rights became huge social movements clamoring for social change. Now, there are more women than men entering the museum field through academic programs (Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). This is one indicator that the "pendulum" may be swinging in the museum community in favor of females, thus endorsing a reputation of museums as a "feminine" profession (Spain and Bianchi, 1996; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). This shift in the gender composition of the profession has overarching consequences for men and women alike with relation to salaries and professional respect (Perrot, 1994; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). As more women enter the field, feminization becomes more of a driving force within the profession, thus salaries can suffer because undervalued work equals poorly compensated work (Wolf, 1998).

There is also evidence from this study that currently there may be an equalization of the number of men and women in leadership positions within the United States. This study used the regions recognized by AAM and found that four of the regions showed non-significant differences between men and women in museum leadership. In this case what was not statistically significant may be socially significant. In 2005, it was found that many occupations are shifting genders from what has been traditionally expected (Anonymous, 2007b). The results found in this study seem to correlate with this trend based on museum studies and certification programs showing dramatic increase of female enrollment for more than a decade (Weber, 1994). While individuals enter the museum field through a variety of avenues, the gender makeup of training programs indicates a potential gender shift. Thus, the areas of this study showing a male domination may

represent the last remnants of a previous era. The current balance within the museum community may change if training programs do not diversify their enrollments.

This documented increase of women in the field over the last decade has wide ramifications. Men who entered the field in the 1960s and 1970s are close to retirement and may be replaced with women. Given the increase of the number of females and the reduction of the number of males (Weber, 1994), results that show no statistical difference may be reflecting a changing trend toward complete feminization within the profession. They show the "pendulum" may be swinging toward the opposite extreme, from male domination to female domination. Should the current trends continue the museum profession could be on the road to becoming a "women only" profession.

Recommendations

One way to begin curtailing this potential gender shift in favor of females is through raising salaries. It already has been established that more women in a profession equals feminization which in turn equals a lessening of respect and compensation to a workforce (Perrot, 1994; Weber, 1994; Wolf, 1998). It also has been established that there is a perception that women will work for less compensation than men (Hutner, 1994; Wolf, 1998). Therefore, it would stand to reason that to attract more males back to the profession, the museum community should collectively raise the salaries paid to the workers in general. In doing this, as more men return to the profession, salaries will continue to rise, along with the respect and prestige of the profession. This strategy has been successfully applied in the nursing field (Anonymous, 2006c), which is currently experiencing a revitalization because of changing public perceptions.

In addition to the response by the museum community, museum studies programs need to actively recruit more male students into their programs. Currently there appears to be a relatively even balance of gender in leadership positions, however, the feminizing of museum programs may in the long-term be a source of increased feminization. Recruitment of males into programs is important because this action contributes to the overall health of the profession. Not only because programs help to establish higher standards and a better qualified workforce, but because a diverse student population contributes to a diverse professional workforce. This recruitment initiative will be effective if male students can see that museums are competitive with other professions, therefore any action taken must come in conjunction with increasing salaries and decreasing perceptions of museums as "feminized".

The increase of salaries and the recruitment of more male students creates a synergistic relationship. As salaries are increased, men will begin to see museums as a viable career option and begin enrolling in programs that will place them into the museum field. The more men that graduate from these programs and enter the museum field, the more opportunities there are for continued increases in salary and professional recognition. The logic of increased salaries based on male influx and retention within a specific field is supported by trends in the childcare, secretarial, and library professions (Anonymous, 2007b).

The most overarching way to encourage men to return to the museum field is by museum organizations focusing more on the individuals within the profession itself. This can be accomplished by endorsing and accrediting museum studies programs as well as certifying both incoming and current museum professionals that are qualified to work in

the museum field. The importance of nurturing individual professionals was recognized

by AAM in *Excellence and Equity: Education and the Public Dimension of Museums*

(American Association of Museums, 1992). Recommendations were made to identify

model training programs, expand recruiting efforts through opportunities for professional

development, and provide programs to create diverse museum institutions (American

Association of Museums, 1992: 23). It is assumed that because there seems to be a trend

toward an even more feminized profession than was present in 1992, that these

recommendations have not been implemented to their fullest.

Another recommendation is made for active collaboration between museums,

professional associations and universities (American Association of Museums, 1992: 24).

As has been seen in the fields of library science, medicine, and law, this collaboration is

key to maintaining the museum profession as a gender balanced profession (Anonymous,

2007b; Cunningham, 2006; Williams, 2005). With presenting a unified professional front

to the public at large, public trust can build in favor of the museum community. This can

be accomplished via establishing a common code of ethics and standards of practice for

the entire museum profession, and endorsing professional development in conjunction

with university programs leading to certification/terminal degree in the field. As public

trust builds, a more diverse workforce can begin to see the museum profession as a viable

employment option. As prestige and expertise rises, salaries can begin to increase and

ultimately the museum community achieves stability and diversity.

Additional ways museum organizations can foster excellence in individual museum

professionals are to stress the importance of collecting and research as a part of ongoing

educational efforts in museums rather than the antithesis to education. In the last 50

years, the museum community has changed significantly in its approach to interacting with the public at large (Korn, 2004; Weil, 2002). In the past, curatorial positions were the domain of men. Now the profession has shifted to providing a more educational and engaging visitor experience. The "golden age" of the curator has passed, but if collections and education are emphasized on a more equal footing, it is possible that males will again see curatorial/collections positions as viable career options. This conclusion is supported by a study of male and female engineers where men were shown to be more analytical thinkers and women more value based thinkers (Toner, 2007) and this mode of thought influenced their individual approach to work. Given these findings, stressing both research (analytical) and education (value based) can help facilitate more diversity and service within the museum community and may provide a way for men to find a new niche within the museum field.

Similar to programs initiated by Sigma Theta Tau International and the American Association for Men in Nursing, museum studies programs, current museum professionals, and museum organizations, can team together via mentorship programs (Chung, 2007). This not only fosters relationships within the profession but provides networking opportunities for all involved. In addition, mentoring creates a forum to address issues and concerns within the profession on an individual level. This would be an excellent way of fostering future museum leaders of both genders.

Summary

This study has provided an in-depth look at the gender representation of leadership within the museum profession at this time. Overall, the picture shows that there may not be a "glass ceiling" to contend with, or that any major obstacle of similar nature stands in the way of women in the profession, contrary to the original hypothesis of this study. If anything, women seem to be making great strides into positions of power in many areas of the museum community. However, the long-term effects of this trend may spell trouble for the museum community on a national level, with the profession becoming one made up almost completely of females. At the present, leadership positions reflect an almost equal representation within most regions, sizes, and types, but this may not exist in the next ten or 15 years. The overall goal must be to maintain the current balance between males and females and work toward achieving a similar balance at every level within the museum profession. In the mean time this study should represent a first step in a long-term monitoring of gender representation in the museum field for the benefit of the profession and its future.

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