

# Intersectional Representation Among Employees in U.S. School Districts

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We use U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission data to perform a social equity audit of the U.S. public school workforce by measuring levels of underrepresentation and overrepresentation in public school employment categories (classroom teachers, assistant principals, principals, and administrators) among intersectional demographic groups—Black, Hispanic, White, women, and men. We examine all U.S. public school districts between 2002 and 2014 (N = 4,252 districts) and find variation in bureaucratic representation across and within gender-race/ethnicity and by job category, relative to gender-racial/ethnic proportion in the district community. Overall, Black and Hispanic women and men are underrepresented in all leadership positions and as classroom teachers. We find schools and school district leaders are not proportionally representative when compared to the teachers they supervise. Furthermore, large numbers of school districts employ no Black or Hispanic women or men in leadership positions. Progress is needed to achieve representation by gender-race/ethnicity in the public education workforce.

Roughly one-third of U.S. bureaucrats work in public education, yet little research explores whether public school district workforces are representative in terms of race, ethnicity, and gender (Ingersoll, May, and Collins 2019; Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014; Zajicek et al. 2020). While previous studies rely on data from 2008 or earlier (e.g., Kerr et al. 2016, 2014; Zajicek et al. 2020), recent research by Taylor et al. (2024a, 2024b) expands representation research through 2014 in the context of U.S. public school districts, defined as the geographical units tasked with the local administration of public schools. Taylor et al. (2024a) find that women are underrepresented in leadership positions relative to their proportion in teaching roles, and larger districts employ more women than smaller districts. Further, Taylor et al. (2024b) find White employees are overrepresented in all occupations, but Black and Hispanic employees are underrepresented in proportion to the community. These recent studies demonstrate continuing disparities and identify a need for an intersectional approach to understanding employment patterns.

One contribution of this research is to perform a social equity audit to gain a more nuanced understanding of racial/ethnic representation among men and women

employed in U.S. school districts by disaggregating the single categories of gender and race/ethnicity. Applying an intersectional framework and emphasizing differences by subgroup (i.e., gender differences within racial/ethnic groups), we use the school district as the unit of analysis to explore the gender-racial/ethnic distribution of employment categories and evaluate representational parity for gender-racial/ethnic groups at different occupational levels. We examine the gender-racial/ethnic composition of classroom teachers, assistant principals, principals, and administrators in U.S. public school districts. Administrators in public education are responsible for setting and executing broad policies and/or directing departments or phases within the school system or district, and include, for example, superintendents and directors of districtwide programs (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 2022). We also establish levels of underrepresentation or overrepresentation in bureaucratic and leadership representation, present an indicator of progress toward achieving representational parity for historically underrepresented groups, and identify variations in representation patterns among intersectional groups, such as Black women or Hispanic men.

## Literature Review

### *Bureaucratic Representation*

Descriptive representation research focuses on the demographic composition of employees, relative to individual characteristics such as race, ethnicity, or gender in public organizations and whether this mirrors the general population (Bishu and Kennedy 2020). Recent research on representative bureaucracy focuses on the relationship between workforce demography and outcomes for groups with whom bureaucrats share an identity. A representative workforce has substantive benefits for both underrepresented groups and communities (Keiser et al. 2002; Meier 2023; Meier, Wrinkle, and Polinard 1999; Rocha and Hawes 2009). Further, representation indicates a government's efforts toward the attainment of social equity—the equal and fair distribution of benefits, policies, and opportunities that can be manifested in the composition of the workforce (Gooden 2015). Employment practices supporting the hiring, promotion, and retention of members of historically underrepresented groups signify an organization's commitment to building a diverse workforce and advancing distributive justice (Ricucci and Van Ryzin 2017). Public administration, despite espousing the ideals of equality and fairness, has demonstrated patterns of representational inequality based on demographic characteristics, including gender and race/ethnicity (Gooden 2023).

While research on descriptive representation framework is critical to advancing social equity, few studies in public administration examine the distribution of jobs in school systems (Raffel 2007). One reason for the paucity of research on this topic is the difficulty in obtaining the requisite employment data for U.S. public school districts. Only a handful of scholars have gained access to the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission's (EEOC) Elementary-Secondary Staff Information reports (EEO-5), the most comprehensive datasets compiled on employment in U.S. public school districts (Kerr et al. 2014, 2016; Taylor et al. 2024a, 2024b; Zajicek et al. 2020). Data analyzed in prior studies have limitations, including (1) single employment categories, (2) data that are not comparable across time, and (3) population samples. In this article, we examine a longitudinal dataset on the gender-racial/ethnic composition of employment categories in U.S. school districts, including the entire population of school districts

with more than 100 employees, between and including 2002 to 2014. These data are comparable across years and at different levels of the school district hierarchy. With EEO-5 data we can observe conclusions, rather than draw inferences, about workforce representation.

Previous studies failed to include an intersectional approach to examine employment patterns in school districts. Most recently, Taylor et al. (2024a) examine bureaucratic representation by gender and find that women approach parity representation in top-level leadership occupations, such as administrators and principals, but are overrepresented in classroom teacher positions. Public administration research consistently finds that minorities are underrepresented in higher levels or senior positions of government and are often segregated in clerical and blue-collar jobs (Cornwell and Kellough 1994; Ricucci and Van Ryzin 2017; Starks 2009). Overall, representative bureaucracy studies on public education within the context of race/ethnicity are predominately outcomes-based and look at areas such as job satisfaction, turnover, benefits to students, and school discipline (Grissom, Kern, and Rodriguez 2015; Grissom and Keiser 2011; Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty 2009; Roch and Edwards 2017; Rocha and Hawes 2009). Few studies include Hispanic public sector employees (Benavides and Medina 2014; Lasley et al. 2011).

In an analysis of U.S. public school employees by race/ethnicity, Taylor et al. (2024b) find: (1) Black and Hispanic professionals lack representation that mirrors their percentage in the community (except among Black assistant principals), and (2) White employees are overrepresented across all job categories, including high-level, policy-making positions. Among all racial/ethnic groups, Black teachers have the smallest proportion, relative to their percentage in the community. Hispanic representation of education leaders compared to teachers approached parity; however, half of all districts with at least 1% Hispanic in the district's community population employed no Hispanic education leaders.

In the broader public administration context, representation research has focused primarily on the levels of occupational segregation by gender or race/ethnicity. These studies find occupational segregation in administrative and professional ranks varies based on agency type at the city and state level (see Hunt, Rucker, and Kerr 2020a, 2020b; Kerr, Miller, and Reid 2002; Reid, Kerr, and Miller 2003; Sneed 2007). Studies also find an underrepresentation of women and racial/ethnic

minorities within high-ranking levels of public sector employment, primarily in traditionally female agencies with low pay (Guy 2017; Hegewisch and Hartman 2014; Mandel and Semyonov 2021). Notably, previous research identifies higher concentrations of women in child and family-centered agencies, including public schools, often associated with lower pay and less policy discretion compared to other agencies (Choi 2018; Guy 2017). This concentration of women and men in differing agencies can be explained by emotive expression, or the subjective emotive skillset required in a job, such as nurturance, support, courage, or directness. Grogan (1999) and Guy (2017) find that jobs requiring more nurturance or support are often considered “women’s work,” whereas jobs requiring more directiveness are classified as “men’s work.” These assumptions have created barriers for women seeking jobs often classified as “men’s work” (Grogan 1999; Guy 2017). Notably, nurturance and support are oft considered key skillsets for teachers, whereas leadership roles require directiveness.

#### ***Representation in the Context of the Passive-Active Dichotomy***

Following early studies by Krislov (1974) and Mosher (1982), much of the research on the distribution of public sector jobs is framed in the context of the descriptive-substantive, that is, passive-active, representation dichotomy. Active representation refers to the idea that administrators deliberately or intentionally pursue and elevate the interests of the identity group they represent (Mosher 1982). This is done through policy discretion, influence, and hiring practices (Mosher 1982). Passive representation refers to the demographic similarities between administrators and the population or community they represent (Moser 1982). The passive-active framework has supported a prolific amount of research on bureaucracies; however, the scope of descriptive representation has been overlooked (Bradbury and Kellough 2008; Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014; Reid, Kerr, and Miller 2003; Riccucci and Van Ryzin 2017; Thielemann and Stewart 1996). Research on descriptive representation addresses questions of social equity/in-equity, such as unequal distribution between classroom teachers and educational leadership, and subsequent school district efforts to increase such representation (Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014).

Previous research questions the distinction between active/passive representation (Bradbury and Kellough

2008; Reid, Kerr, and Miller 2003). It has been argued that passive representation is misleading and empirically inaccurate as it includes an active component—hiring/promotions in high-level public sector positions (Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014; Hunt, Rucker, and Kerr 2020a, 2020b). We posit that it is illogical to argue that advancing the interests of underrepresented groups through the provision of high-level public sector jobs is a passive activity. Further, the term passive holds a negative connotation, with symbolic, that is, ideological, rather than actual value; value, however, is determined by whom and how the research is used (Mosher 1982). Notably, research that is more applied with practical implications may hold more value for policymakers (Isaak 1985; Johnson and Reynolds 2008; Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014). Lastly, the desire of lower-level positions to have representation in upper-level positions is indicative of active demand for representation (Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014; Reid, Kerr, and Miller 2003; Selden 1997; Thielmann and Stewart 1996).

Research on social and economic inequalities in the distribution of public sector jobs must remain sensitive to important normative goals as articulated by Krislov (1974)—the goals of equal rights, equal opportunity, governmental legitimacy, and widespread democracy. The achievement of these goals requires units of government, including school districts, to be actively engaged in (1) tracking employment patterns for traditionally underrepresented groups and (2) supporting the progress of members from traditionally underrepresented groups in laying claim to high-level bureaucratic positions. Our measures of descriptive representation can be thought of as a measure of effort, or lack of effort, by districts to improve gender-ethnic/racial representation. Ultimately, our goal is to expand the active-passive discussion in public administration and add legitimacy to the study of descriptive representation by (1) demonstrating an association between a representative leadership and teacher workforce in public education, and (2) emphasizing the active components involved in passive representation, that is, tracking employment patterns and supporting progress.

#### ***The Intersectional Perspective***

Social science scholars have investigated inequality by examining disparities in income, wealth, education, housing, occupation, and the distribution of social benefits. Disparities exist not by random chance, but in patterns of social divisions of race, gender, class, sexuality, nationality,

and physical ability (e.g., Blessett 2023; Bove et al. 2025; Crenshaw 1989; Collins 1993; Yu 2023). Traditionally, scholars have analyzed inequality by compartmentalizing these factors, approaching them as if they are forces independent of one another. Human experience is not singular, and the experiences of groups may occupy more than one social location (Dill and Zambrana 2009). Social inequalities are multiplied depending on these social categories (Collins 1993; Crenshaw 1989). Identity, therefore, does not often fit neatly into a singular classification and methodologies that employ such categories are reductionist, too simplistic, and limited in the scope of knowledge that can be produced (McCall 2005).

Breslin, Pandey, and Riccucci (2017) find that most of the empirical research on the composition of the public sector workforce relies on a simplified, single dimension of social inequality, namely race/ethnicity or gender. Assuming a unitary approach to examining public employment through a single category provides only a partial explanation of distributional patterns. Rather, intersectionality is a framework to examine the intersection of the various and multifaceted dimensions of social life and subject formations (McCall 2005). Intersectionality references the insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, ability, and age are categories of analysis that are best understood in relational terms rather than as unitary, mutually exclusive entities that reciprocally construct experiences that shape complex social inequalities (Collins 2015). These categories are organizing structures of society that influence political access, equality, and social justice (Hancock 2007).

The concepts of *gendered race/ethnicity* and *racialized gender* are two intersectional concepts that facilitate the comparison of categories of differences and the interaction between them (Choo and Ferree 2010). Gendered race/ethnicity enables the evaluation of gender differences within race/ethnicity (for example, the difference in representation of Black men and Black women), and racialized gender supports the analysis of gender across races (Choo and Ferree 2010).

We evaluate intersectionality within the public sector workforce with two categories: gender and race. People of the same gender will experience gender differently depending on their race, while people of the same race will experience race differently depending on their gender. Based on previous research identifying variation in occupational segregation by gender or race within public education employment patterns (Taylor et al. 2024a, 2024b), we argue

that these differences in experience between gender and race will vary depending on class/work structure (i.e., administrator, principal, assistant principal, or teachers).

While a few studies integrate intersectionality and representation in the context of public administration, these are primarily focused on federal as opposed to state workforces, with only one article exploring the distribution of jobs in public education (see Bove et al. 2025; Yu 2023; Zajicek et al. 2020). In the federal workforce, Bove et al. (2025) examine discrimination and perceived ethnical/unethical behavior by gender/race, while Yu (2023) examines gender/race-based discrimination in law enforcement. Zajicek et al. (2020) examine intersectional descriptive representation and the distribution of public school jobs (e.g., Black, Hispanic, and White, women and men in principal positions in multiethnic school districts). While the intersection of gender and race is not a novel contribution, the added interaction of class/work structure for our population is a noteworthy contribution. When disaggregating categories of gender and race/ethnicity, nuances are unveiled that would be obscured in broad categories (e.g., Black or women). These findings support the value of intersectional quantitative research in public administration.

### ***Theoretical Background***

Following Kerr, Kerr, and Miller (2014), we evaluate bureaucratic and leadership representation over time in U.S. school districts. Traditional bureaucratic (descriptive) representation applies the percentage of race/ethnicity in the general population as the benchmark for proportional representation in a bureaucracy. The benefits of proportional representation for leaders of underrepresented groups, comprised of administrators and principals in public education, include greater responsibility, influence, compensation, and job security (Bishu and Headley 2020; Grissom et al. 2009, 2015; Rocha and Hawes 2009). Racial/ethnic representation at the highest level of a bureaucracy promotes policy and programs that better serve the interests of those with similar or shared demographics (Bishu and Kennedy 2020; Donovan and Cross 2002; Grissom, Nicholson-Crotty, and Nicholson-Crotty 2009, 2015; Keiser et al. 2002; Meier 1993, 2023; Meier and Stewart 1992; Rocha and Hawes 2009).

Leadership representation in school districts is based on the proportion of leadership positions compared to classroom teachers (e.g., Kerr, Kerr, and Miller 2014;

Taylor et al. 2024a, 2024b). When teachers from underrepresented groups perceive a large white male cadre in positions at the top of the school or school district hierarchy, it can reinforce and highlight the problems of career limits and representation. After all, members of traditionally underrepresented groups may not be able to be what they cannot see or imagine. Hence, racial/ethnic representation in leadership serves as an indicator of career mobility.

Our research moves beyond singular categories to evaluate descriptive and leadership representation through an intersectional lens. This approach avoids inferences about singular groups such as Blacks or women. Thus, an intersectional approach provides a more detailed and precise picture to base policy and programmatic decisions designed to increase diversity/representation. Few studies apply intersectional strategies to the analysis of EEOC employment data and the last study that explicitly applies this strategy to EEOC public school data analyzes only 600 districts employing principals in 2008 (Zajicek et al. 2020). Notably, these measures advance the conversation around descriptive representation and demonstrate the association between representation in leadership positions and classroom teacher roles. Conversely, this research also demonstrates an association between occupational segregation in leadership positions and classroom teacher roles. Such associations demonstrate the meaningful impact of descriptive representation. We employ data through 2014, the most recent year which is available from the EEOC. We also examine four discrete job categories—categories that are crucial for advancing the economic and policy interests of multiple identities—to evaluate progress in all U.S. school districts.

### ***Social Equity Audit***

This research employs a social equity audit to evaluate the extent of bureaucratic and leadership representation in public school districts. Social equity audits are primarily responsible for identifying underserved communities and assessing the extent of representation (Green 2017; Skrla et al. 2004). They take many forms in public education, that is, curriculum-based or community-oriented, but maintain a common goal to attain equity and increase accountability (Green 2017; Skrla et al. 2004). Skrla et al. (2004) argue that extensive inequity exists in public education and is primarily embedded in the “assumptions, beliefs,

practices, procedures, and policies of schools” (141). The role of the social equity audit, thus, is to identify where patterns of inequity exist.

Our goal in performing a social equity audit is to identify the patterns of inequity and extent of occupational segregation in U.S. school districts, and to determine the levels of representation between educational leadership and classroom teacher positions, as well as between the public education workforce and the community they represent. Our research differs from previous social equity audits in public education in that we are not assessing the demographic composition of programs or school participation, nor are we examining representation for school children. Rather, we explicitly assess the extent of occupational segregation present in the public education workforce across all U.S. school districts. Further, our audit is not performed by school leadership, but by considering school leadership as a critical category where descriptive representation may influence employment patterns.

### ***Research Questions***

1. What is the gender-racial/ethnic composition of teachers, assistant principals, principals, and administrators in U.S. school districts and how has this composition changed over time?
2. What is the gender-ethnic/racial representation in leadership positions compared to teachers in U.S. school districts and how have these levels changed over time?
3. What is the gender-ethnic/racial composition of new-hire administrators, principals/assistant principals, and teachers in U.S. school districts?
4. Is there a relationship between school district size and gender-ethnic/racial composition by job category?

Research from the past two decades has primarily concentrated on the outcomes of bureaucratic representation with little focus on who is employed in public education. The scholarly exploration of diversity, equality, and social justice within public education is in its early stages and more work is “urgently” needed (Blount 2013, 19). We investigate the characteristics of the public education workforce and focus on gender-racial/ethnic underrepresentation in high-level bureaucratic positions, those providing broad policymaking influence and economic mobility—two key benchmarks of social equity (Gooden 2023).

### Research Design: Data, Variables, and Method

We analyze data from EEO-5 reports obtained from biennial surveys prepared by the EEOC. These reports are not publicly available.<sup>1</sup> The EEOC is required to collect data for each even-numbered year on the composition of the workforce by job classification (Administrators, Principals, Assistant Principals, Classroom Teachers, etc.), sex (also referred to as gender identity), and race/ethnic groups in U.S. public school districts with 100 or more employees.<sup>2</sup> It is not mandatory for districts with fewer than 100 employees to report data; however, they often do. We include these districts in the analysis. EEO-5 data are available for each even-numbered year from 2002 to 2014 and are aggregated for the entire public school system or district. Data aggregated at the school district level is available only through 2014. EEO-5 data are the most comprehensive U.S. school district employment data in existence and address limitations of other data commonly used in public administration and education research (i.e., small samples/incomparable over time). In 2014, the most recent year for which data are available, the number of employees reported to the EEOC for administrators, principals, assistant principals, and classroom teachers was 2,715,792. This number includes 83,772 administrators, 64,621 principals, 62,811 assistant principals, and 2,504,688 classroom teachers.

The U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (2022) delineates employment data by occupation. Administrators are “administrative personnel who set broad policies (not elected or appointed officials), exercise overall responsibility for execution of these policies, or direct individual departments,” of the school/district, that is, superintendents, directors, and administrators of district-wide programs (8). Principals are “the administrative head of their respective school (not school systems or districts)” and are responsible for “the coordination

and direction of the activities of the school” (8). Assistant principals “perform those professional duties of assisting the head of the school (normally the principal) in performing the activities of directing and managing a school” and may have the additional responsibility of “instructing pupils in courses in classroom situations” (4). Classroom teachers are “staff members assigned to the professional activities of instructing pupils in courses in classroom situations” (8).

The EEO-5 dataset also includes school district employees hired between July 1 and September 1 of the reporting year. These “new-hires” data include gender, race, and ethnicity for new-hire employees in three job categories: administrators, principals/assistant principals, and classroom teachers.<sup>3</sup> We examine the representation of each gender-race/ethnicity across new hire job categories as a proxy for progress.

Our unit of analysis is the school district. We analyze school districts in 49 states. EEOC data does not include Hawaii or the District of Columbia because they have single unified school systems. We concentrate our analysis on regular school districts, those with local administrative authority to govern the education system, and only include school districts that employ classroom teachers and report schools and students in EEO-5 data.

For district-level population demographic information, we use American Community Survey (ACS) Education Tabulation five-year estimates prepared by the National Center for Education Statistics in collaboration with the U.S. Census Bureau.<sup>4</sup> The ACS estimates average the gender and racial/ethnic population percentages (White female/male, Black or African American female/male, and Hispanic or Latino female/male) of the district’s general population over the data collection period, 2005–2009 and 2010–2014.<sup>5</sup> We use these data to compare the gender and racial/ethnic employment composition of the school district in each oc-

1. To gain access to these data, researchers entered into an Intergovernmental Personnel Act Agreement authorized by the federal government with an explicit prohibition against (a) sharing any of the data, and (b) any discussion or publication of empirical analyses that would permit the disclosure or identification of an individual or state. Replication of parts of this analysis can be accomplished by obtaining the requisite data from the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).

2. The EEOC is only required to collect and report binary gender data (male or female) on its Elementary – Secondary Staff Information Report (EEO-5), EEOC Form 168A, also referred to as the EEO-5 Report. The addition of a nonbinary gender classification for employees who do not identify as male or female would ensure the full range of gender identities are captured.

3. EEO-5 combines principals and assistant principals for new-hire data.

4. American Community Survey (ACS) 5-year estimates were accessed from the National Center for Education Statistics at <https://nces.ed.gov/programs/edge/Demographic/ACS>.

5. In 2010, EEOC Form 168 expanded race/ethnicity classifications from single-race categories, i.e., Black, Asian, to “two or more races.” We did not include data from this category. Prior to 2010, an employee could have selected a single-race category and in 2010 and/or later changed his or her race/ethnicity selection to “two or more races.” Thus, this hypothetical employee would have been in our data pool in 2008, but not in 2010.

cupation (EEOC data) to the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the district's population at large (district community data). ACS 2005–2009 district community data, the first multiyear estimate released, are linked to EEO-5 employment data year 2002, and ACS 2010–2014 data to EEO-5 2014. We also use these data to compare the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the school district for each occupation (EEOC data) to the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the district's school-enrolled children (i.e., children residing in the school district that were enrolled in public school and were three years of age and over). We examine school enrollment with the 2010–2014 ACS dataset only, as the 2005–2009 dataset included incomplete data for school-enrolled children by district and gender-race/ethnicity.

To align with EEO-5 data that include only single race/ethnicity categories, White, Black or African American, and Hispanic or Latino, we do not include district community data for two or more races, meaning, White and Black or African American.<sup>6</sup> We only include districts that were present in both the EEOC and ACS data. Black race/ethnicity data is not available by gender in the ACS Education Tabulation dataset. Given that there are roughly equal proportions of women and men in ACS data (i.e., 50% women and 50% men), we divide the percentage of the community that is Black by two to create the percentage of Black women and men variables. We acknowledge this does not create a perfect percentage; however, even at the national level, ACS does not report “Black, not Hispanic” data. Further, we argue that the assumption of roughly equal proportions of women and men (see Taylor et al. 2024a), is also logical when applied by race (i.e., of a community's population that is Black, 50% are women and 50% are men). It is illogical that there would be meaningful differences in the percentages of Black women compared to men in the district's community population.

### **Methods and Measures of Analysis**

We develop two measures, a descriptive bureaucratic representation ratio and a leadership representation ratio, to evaluate the gender and racial/ethnic composition of the public education workforce by occupation: classroom teachers, assistant principals, principals, and

administrators. First, we measure *descriptive bureaucratic representation* to assess gender-racial/ethnic-based representative bureaucracy in school districts and reflect the degree to which the composition of a district represents the community composition. Descriptive bureaucratic representation, a common community-based measure of representation, is the percentage of a gender-race/ethnicity in a job category (numerator) divided by the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity in the district community (denominator) (e.g., the percentage of Hispanic women in principal positions divided by the percentage of Hispanic women in the district's community). To achieve parity, the level of gender-racial/ethnic representation in each district level occupation should be roughly equal to the community. We analyze the bureaucratic representation ratios of White, Black, and Hispanic men and women in administrator, principal, assistant principal, and classroom teacher positions across the same districts in 2002 and 2014.

We also calculate an *alternative bureaucratic representation ratio* to assess the degree to which the composition of a district represents the community composition of children, that is, the number of school-enrolled children in the district by gender-race/ethnicity. We calculate the alternative bureaucratic representation ratio as the percentage of a gender-race/ethnicity in a job category (numerator) divided by the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity in the district's population of school enrolled children (denominator) (e.g., the percentage of Black women in administrator positions divided by the percentage of Black girls in the district's population of school enrolled children). We examine the alternative ratio for 2014 only due to ACS data constraints.

Second, we measure *leadership representation* to assess gender-racial/ethnic-based leadership compared to classroom teachers in school districts. Leadership representation is the percent of gender-racial/ethnic representation in a leadership position (administrators, principals, or assistant principals) divided by the percentage of gender-race/ethnicity classroom teachers in the district (e.g., the percentage of Hispanic female administrators divided by the percentage of Hispanic female teachers). To achieve parity, the level of gender-racial/ethnic representation in leadership positions

6. The largest number of districts eliminated for any given category/year was 813 (Hispanic administrators/teachers in 2014) and the fewest four (White principals/teachers and White assistant principals/teachers in 2002).

should be roughly equal to the percentage of teachers. We analyze the leadership representation ratios of White, Black, and Hispanic men and women for administrators/teachers, principals/teachers, and assistant principals/teachers across the same districts from 2002 to 2014.

To measure bureaucratic representation, our sample includes districts that (1) reported data in all available years in both the EEOC, 2002–2014, and ACS datasets, 2005–2009 and 2010–2014 and (2) had at least 1% of the respective race/ethnicity in the school district (ACS dataset). To measure leadership representation, we include districts that (1) reported at least one teacher, assistant principal, principal, or administrator of any race/ethnicity for each ratio (e.g., for the administrator/teacher ratio, the district must have at least one administrator and one teacher), and (2) reported data for all available EEO-5 years, 2002–2014.<sup>7</sup> Based on the job category and race/ethnicity under examination, the sample ranges from 2,557 (Black assistant principals) to 4,252 (White teachers) school districts that include data for all years, 2002 to 2014. We report the average and median representation ratio and the number of districts for each subgroup for both ratios. A single summary figure of 1.0 signifies perfect proportional representation or parity, less than 1.0 constitutes underrepresentation, and over 1.0 indicates overrepresentation.

We also examine the effects of school districts' size on leadership patterns by gender-race/ethnicity. We measure school district size by segmenting districts into quartiles with the number of full-time employees in each school district. We examine small districts (quartile 1) and large districts (quartile 4). We report the average and median percentage of each gender-race/ethnicity by occupation and determine the significance between small and large districts with a Welch two-sample t-test.

To examine school district progress, we examine the percentages of each gender-race/ethnicity in new-hire occupations: administrators, principals/assistant principals, and classroom teachers. We report the average and median percentage of each gender-race/ethnicity by new-hire occupation. We also examine the percentages of each gender-race/ethnicity in new-hire occupations for districts with no members of the corresponding

gender-race/ethnicity currently employed in the occupation, for example, the percentage of new-hire Black women in districts with no existing Black women employed.

To further examine the relationship between community and district representation, we test for correlation to determine any association between the percentage of each gender-race/ethnicity in the community and the percentage of the corresponding gender-race/ethnicity in each occupation (administrators, principals, assistant principals, and classroom teachers). We report the correlation coefficient and significance for each pairing.

There are a few limitations to the EEO-5 dataset. First, we cannot disaggregate administrators in EEOC data. The administrator category includes “superintendent of schools, deputy, associate, and assistant superintendent of schools, school business officials, directors and administrators of district-wide programs, and other professional administrative staff” (U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission 2022, 4). We cannot effectively compare the observations from other studies on superintendency to our analysis. Second, we do not include other forms of identity common in intersectional research, such as socioeconomic status, sexual orientation, disability status, religion, and so forth. These factors are outside the purview of our research, nor can these indicators be identified or merged with EEO-5 data due to EEOC disclosure guidelines. Third, the last year of available restricted-use data for EEO-5 is 2014. However, based on public-use data aggregated at the state level, we argue that little change has likely occurred between 2014 and 2022 (the most recent year of available public-use EEO-5 data). We identify a mere +/- 1% change between 2014 and 2022 for Black and Hispanic women and men.

We argue that the EEOC's expansive data, inclusion of the universe of public education employees across 49 states, cannot be matched. With this dataset we can consider the actual percentages, rather than inferences, of educational leadership and classroom teachers by gender and race/ethnicity. We are also able to examine public education workforces at the district level, where they are regulated. This permits workforce conclusions

7. Public-use EEO-5 data is aggregated at the state-level, limiting possible conclusions and obscuring findings at the district level, where hiring and promotion decisions are made. Public-use EEO-5 can be found online, <https://www.eeoc.gov/data/eeo-5-elementary-secondary-staff-information-report-statistics>.

**TABLE 1. Mean and Median Bureaucratic Representation Ratios for Women by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2002 and 2014**

Occupation	2002				2014				Mean Ratio Change
	Avg. % (Med.)	SD	Avg. Ratio (Med.)	N	Avg. % (Med.)	SD	Avg. Ratio (Med.)	N	
<b>Black Women</b>									
Administrators	5% (0%)	.11	0.58 (0)	2655	6% (0%)	.13	0.74 (0)	2658	+0.16
Principals	6% (0%)	.12	0.83 (0)	2664	8% (0%)	.15	0.93 (0)	2659	+0.10
Assistant Principals	7% (0%)	.14	0.92 (0)	2558	8% (0%)	.16	1.15 (0)	2557	+0.23
Teachers	5% (1%)	.10	0.58 (0.46)	2669	5% (1%)	.10	0.56 (0.42)	2669	-0.02
<b>Hispanic Women</b>									
Administrators	2% (0%)	.06	0.13 (0)	3446	3% (0%)	.08	0.42 (0)	3457	+0.29
Principals	2% (0%)	.07	0.13 (0)	3458	3% (0%)	.10	0.40 (0)	3459	+0.27
Assistant Principals	2% (0%)	.08	0.17 (0)	3246	4% (0%)	.11	0.41 (0)	3240	+0.24
Teachers	3% (0%)	.07	0.29 (0.15)	3468	4% (1%)	.10	0.77 (0.30)	3472	+0.48
<b>White Women</b>									
Administrators	37% (38%)	.23	1.20 (1.00)	4222	42% (43%)	.22	1.35 (1.14)	4232	+0.15
Principals	38% (39%)	.22	1.20 (1.00)	4241	41% (40%)	.23	1.28 (1.10)	4236	+0.08
Assistant Principals	31% (33%)	.27	1.00 (0.84)	3833	34% (33%)	.27	1.13 (0.97)	3871	+0.13
Teachers	68% (71%)	.13	2.05 (1.67)	4252	67% (72%)	.15	2.10 (1.74)	4252	+0.05

*Notes:* We report the average percent of each identity group by occupation, i.e., Black women administrators, as well as the median percent and standard deviation. Bureaucratic representation ratios are calculated as the percent of the identity group in an occupation for each district divided by the percent of the same identity group in the district’s community. We report the average and median bureaucratic representation ratios. We also report the mean ratio change, i.e., we subtract the average ratio in 2002 from the average ratio in 2014.

to be drawn at the level where hiring and promotions occur, rather than being cumulative at the state level.

**Results**

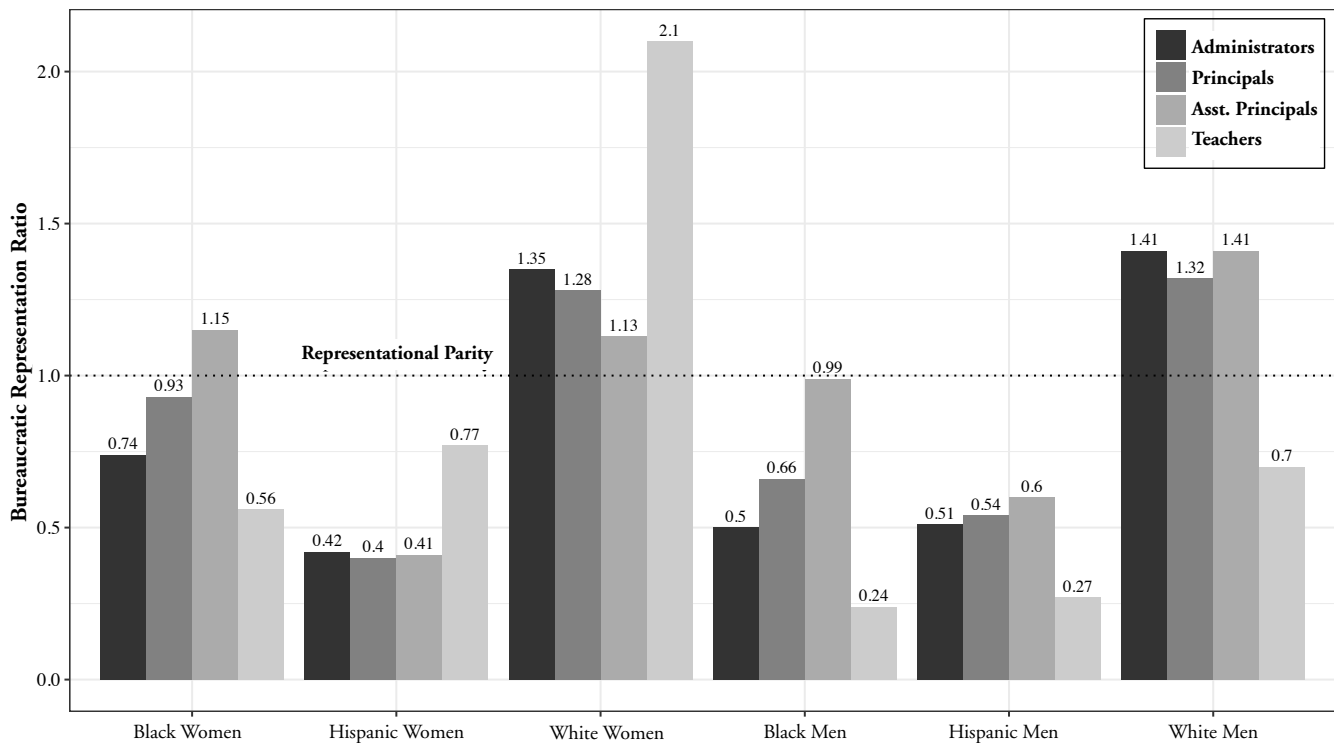
***Bureaucratic Representation by Gender***

First, we report the average bureaucratic representation ratios for women by race/ethnicity for each employment category in 2002 and 2014 (Table 1). We also present ratios by gender-race/ethnicity in 2014 (Figure 1). In

2014, White women were overrepresented, on average, in all four categories: administrators (1.35), principals (1.28), assistant principals (1.13), and teachers (2.1). Average ratios for all employment categories increased from 2002 to 2014.

Representation for Black women varies by occupation. By 2014, average representation ratios were in the realm of parity for principals (0.93) and assistant principals (1.15), but below parity, on average, for teachers (0.56 in 2014, a decrease from 0.58 in 2002) and admin-

**FIGURE 1. Average Bureaucratic Representation Ratios for Men and Women by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2014**



istrators (0.74 in 2014, an increase from 0.58 in 2002). Black women had the highest levels of representation as assistant principals, compared to all other job categories, with a mean ratio of 1.15 in 2014, an increase of 0.23 since 2002. Despite this, at least half of all districts employed no Black women in assistant principal, principal, or administrator positions (median = 0).

Hispanic women were underrepresented across all employment categories but made steady progress toward parity as of 2014. The highest level of representation and greatest growth for Hispanic women was for teachers, which increased from 0.29 in 2002 to 0.77 in 2014. For the other three categories, the mean representation ratios in 2014 were low with little growth since 2002: administrator (0.13 in 2002 to 0.42 in 2014), principal (0.13 to 0.40), and assistant principal (0.17 to 0.41). Further, the median school districts employed no Hispanic women in administrator, principal, or assistant principal positions (median = 0) in 2002 and 2014.

Second, we report the average bureaucratic representation ratios for men by race/ethnicity for each employment category in 2002 and 2014 (Table 2 and Figure 1). White men were overrepresented in leadership, on average, in both 2002 and 2014; however, White men were underrepresented as teachers (mean ratio of 0.70 in 2014). Overrepresentation of White men decreased

for all leadership categories from 2002 to 2014. The most dramatic decline was in the mean administrator ratio with a change of  $-0.23$ .

Mean bureaucratic representation ratios for Black men in 2014 were at near-parity for assistant principals (0.99), but below parity for administrators (0.50), principals (0.66), and teachers (0.24). Little change occurred in representational ratios from 2002 to 2014 across all categories; the largest increase was for assistant principals (+0.09) and the smallest for teachers (+0.03). In at least half of school districts there were no Black men administrators, principals, or assistant principals employed for any years (median = 0).

Hispanic men remained underrepresented across all employment categories by 2014, but average ratios increased for administrators (+0.41), principals (+0.40), and assistant principals (+0.33). In 2014, the highest level of representation for Hispanic males was in assistant principal positions (0.60) and the lowest was in classroom teacher positions (0.27). On average, Hispanic men, like Black men, were not employed as administrators, principals, or assistant principals in at least half of the districts (median = 0).

When comparing racial/ethnic differences among genders, we find that White women and White men had the highest levels of representation across employ-

**TABLE 2. Mean and Median Bureaucratic Representation Ratios for Men by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2002 and 2014**

Occupation	2002				2014				Mean Ratio Change
	Avg. % (Med.)	SD	Avg. Ratio (Med.)	N	Avg. % (Med.)	SD	Avg. Ratio (Med.)	N	
<b>Black Men</b>									
Administrators	3% (0%)	.08	0.44 (0)	2655	3% (0%)	.08	0.50 (0)	2658	+0.06
Principals	5% (0%)	.10	0.61 (0)	2664	5% (0%)	.11	0.66 (0)	2659	+0.05
Asst. Prin.	6% (0%)	.13	0.90 (0)	2558	6% (0%)	.13	0.99 (0)	2557	+0.09
Teachers	2% (0%)	.03	0.21 (0.14)	2669	2% (1%)	.03	0.24 (0.16)	2669	+0.03
<b>Hispanic Men</b>									
Administrators	2% (0%)	.07	0.10 (0)	3450	3% (0%)	.08	0.51 (0)	3456	+0.41
Principals	2% (0%)	.07	0.14 (0)	3462	3% (0%)	.09	0.54 (0)	3458	+0.40
Asst. Prin.	3% (0%)	.09	0.27 (0)	3250	3% (0%)	.11	0.60 (0)	3240	+0.33
Teachers	1% (0%)	.03	0.11 (0)	3472	2% (0%)	.04	0.27 (0.06)	3471	+0.16
<b>White Men</b>									
Administrators	55% (50%)	.26	1.64 (1.44)	4222	46% (44%)	.24	1.41 (1.22)	4232	-0.23
Principals	52% (50%)	.25	1.49 (1.35)	4241	44% (43%)	.26	1.32 (1.15)	4236	-0.17
Asst. Prin.	55% (50%)	.32	1.59 (1.46)	3833	48% (50%)	.32	1.41 (1.26)	3871	-0.18
Teachers	24% (24%)	.09	0.74 (0.60)	4252	21% (21%)	.08	0.70 (0.56)	4252	-0.04

*Notes:* We report the average percent of each identity group by occupation, i.e., Black men administrators, as well as the median percent and standard deviation. Bureaucratic representation ratios are calculated as the percent of the identity group in an occupation for each district divided by the percent of the same identity group in the district’s community. We report the average and median bureaucratic representation ratios. We also report the mean ratio change, i.e., we subtract the average ratio in 2002 from the average ratio in 2014.

ment categories. Between Hispanic and Black women, Hispanic women had the highest level of representation among teachers, whereas Black women had the highest level of representation as administrators, principals, and assistant principals. Black and Hispanic men had similar levels of representation as teachers and administrators, but Hispanic men had lower levels of representation as principals and assistant principals compared to Black men.

***Bureaucratic Gender Representation by Race/Ethnicity***

Next, given the patterns in gender representation across race/ethnicity, we revisit Figure 1 to investigate patterns of gender representation within each racial/ethnic group. Black women had higher average representation ratios than Black men in all employment categories. The only category where representation occurred for Black men or Black women was for assistant principals

where Black women were overrepresented (1.15), and Black men were near-parity representation (0.99).

Hispanic men had higher levels of representation compared to Hispanic women in all three leadership positions—administrators, principals, and assistant principals. Hispanic women had higher representation compared to Hispanic men as teachers, however, neither Hispanic women nor Hispanic men achieved representational parity in any job category.

White men and White women were overrepresented in leadership positions, however, White men had higher average representation ratios than White women in leadership. White women were overrepresented as teachers in 2014 (2.1), whereas White men were underrepresented (0.7).

We report the average bureaucratic representation ratios for 2002 and 2014 to demonstrate the change, or lack of change, which has occurred; however, we also report the average ratios for women and men by race/

**TABLE 3. Bureaucratic Representation Ratios Calculated with School Enrollment in 2014**

Ratios	Black			Hispanic			White		
	N	Mean	Median	N	Mean	Median	N	Mean	Median
<b>Women</b>									
Administrators	2833	0.61	0	3817	0.43	0	4234	0.72	0.70
Asst. Principals	2693	1.02	0	3547	0.38	0	3872	0.59	0.58
Principals	2832	0.82	0	3819	0.40	0	4238	0.68	0.68
Teachers	2844	0.47	0.32	3834	0.75	0.22	4254	1.14	1.09
<b>Men</b>									
Administrators	2833	0.43	0	3812	0.86	0	4234	2.40	2.16
Asst. Principals	2693	0.79	0	3544	1.02	0	3872	2.43	2.24
Principals	2832	0.57	0	3814	0.88	0	4238	2.32	2.11
Teachers	2844	0.20	0.11	3829	0.50	0.05	4254	1.20	1.05

*Notes:* We calculate a district's "school enrollment" as the percentage of enrolled school children over age three by identity group for each school district community, i.e., the number of Black girls enrolled in public education divided by the total number of children enrolled in public education for each district's community. We calculate an alternative bureaucratic representation ratio, i.e., the percent of the identity group in an occupation (such as administrators) divided by the percent of the same identity group in the district's school enrollment. Complete school enrollment data for all identity groups we examine were not available by school district for 2002; thus, as a point of comparison (with community representation) we calculate these ratios only for 2014.

ethnicity for all even-numbered years from 2002 to 2014 in Appendix A.

### ***Bureaucratic Representation with School Enrollment***

Lastly, we report the results of our alternative bureaucratic representation ratio. We calculated the alternative ratio as the percentage of a gender-race/ethnicity in an occupation divided by the same gender-race/ethnicity in the district's school enrollment, that is, children enrolled in public education in each school district community. This alternative ratio permits an examination of the extent that the public education workforce represents the district's school-enrolled children. Table 3 reports the average alternative bureaucratic representation ratio by gender-race/ethnicity and occupation for 2014. We find few differences between the original and alternative bureaucratic ratios for Black women, Black men, or Hispanic women; however, we find large differences for Hispanic men, White women, and White men.

Ratios for Hispanic men were higher for the alternative ratio, compared to the original ratio, across all occupations. Hispanic men were underrepresented as administrators (0.86, original ratio of 0.51), principals (0.88, original ratio of 0.54), and teachers (0.50, original ratio of 0.27), but represented as assistant principals

(1.02, original ratio of 0.60). While we observe overrepresentation for White women in the original ratio, we find underrepresentation for White women as administrators (0.72, original ratio of 1.35), assistant principals (0.59, original ratio of 1.13), and principals (0.68, original ratio of 1.28), but representation as teachers (1.14, original ratio of 2.10). In contrast, while we find overrepresentation for White men in leadership positions, we find severe overrepresentation of White men in the alternative ratios: administrators (2.40, original ratio 1.41), assistant principals (2.43, original ratio of 1.41), and principals (2.32, original ratio of 1.32). We find underrepresentation for White men in teaching in the original ratios but representation for White men in the alternative ratio (1.20, original ratio of 0.70).

### ***Leadership Representation***

To explore the representation of women and men across ethnicity/race (Black, Hispanic, and White) in supervisory roles, we calculated *leadership representation* ratios, measured as the percentage of Black, Hispanic, and White women and men in a leadership job category (assistant principals, principals, and administrators) divided by the percentage of Black, Hispanic, and White women and men classroom teachers, respectively.

Table 4 reports the average leadership representation

**TABLE 4. Mean and Median Leadership Representation Ratios for Women by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2002 and 2014**

Occupation	2002			2014			Mean Ratio Change
	Mean	Median	N	Mean	Median	N	
<b>Black Women</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	0.95	0	1963	1.26	0	2033	+0.31
Principal/Teachers	1.46	0	1981	1.98	0	2053	+0.52
Asst. Prin./Teachers	1.97	0	1855	2.03	0	1914	+0.06
<b>Hispanic Women</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	0.46	0	1715	0.53	0	2151	+0.07
Principal/Teachers	0.45	0	1717	0.46	0	2163	+0.01
Asst. Prin./Teachers	0.54	0	1595	0.66	0	1961	+0.12
<b>White Women</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	0.53	0.54	3751	0.61	0.63	3743	+0.08
Principal/Teachers	0.54	0.55	3775	0.59	0.60	3766	+0.05
Asst. Prin./Teachers	0.45	0.46	3078	0.51	0.52	3076	+0.06

*Notes:* We include only districts with at least one administrator of any race/gender to calculate leadership representation. Leadership representation ratios are calculated for each district as the percentage of the identity group in a leadership occupation divided by the percentage of the same identity group in teaching. We report the average and median leadership representation ratios. We also report the mean ratio change, i.e., we subtract the average ratio in 2002 from the average ratio in 2014.

ratios for women in 2002 and 2014 by leadership position (administrators, principals, and assistant principals). On average, the percentages of Black women in leadership positions were larger than the percentages of Black women employed as teachers. Values ranged from 1.26 (administrators/teachers) to 2.03 (assistant principals/teachers). The greatest increase in mean ratios from 2002 to 2014 occurred for Black women administrators/teachers (+0.31) and principals/teachers (+0.52). The percentages of Hispanic and White women in leadership positions in 2014 were far smaller than the percentages of teachers. The lowest average leadership ratio for Hispanic women was principals (0.46), and for White women it was assistant principals (0.51). The highest average leadership ratio for Hispanic women was assistant principals (0.66), and the highest for White women was administrators (0.61). While the mean ratio change was positive for all ratios, we observe this change to be small, between +0.01 and +0.08, for Hispanic and White leadership ratios, with the exception of Hispanic assistant principals/teachers, which had a slightly greater mean ratio change of +0.12.

Table 5 reports the average leadership representation ratios for men in 2002 and 2014 by leadership position (administrators, principals, and assistant principals). The

average percentages of men of any race/ethnicity in school and school district leadership positions were larger than the percentages of men in teacher positions. The highest leadership representation was 5.32 (Black male assistant principals/teachers) and the lowest ratio was 1.45 (Hispanic male principals/teachers). The mean ratio change between 2002 and 2014 was positive for Black and Hispanic men across all ratios. This change was greatest for Hispanic administrators/teachers (+0.61). We find the mean ratio change to decrease for White men across all ratios (ranging from -0.12 to -0.20). For each racial/ethnic group, men had larger leadership representation compared to women across all three leadership positions. Leadership ratios were above parity for Black women and Black men. We report leadership representation ratios only for 2002 and 2014 to demonstrate differences over time; however, we also report the average leadership representation ratio for all even numbered years from 2002 to 2014 in Appendix B.

In sum, by 2014, the average school district employed lower percentages of Hispanic and White women in leadership positions than in teaching positions. While average leadership ratios for Black women exceed parity, this does not suggest positive job apportionment when assessed collectively with bureaucratic representa-

**TABLE 5. Mean and Median Leadership Representation Ratios for Men by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2002 and 2014**

Occupation	2002			2014			Mean Ratio Change
	Mean	Median	N	Mean	Median	N	
<b>Black Men</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	2.28	0	1691	2.49	0	1802	+0.21
Principal/Teachers	3.47	0	1712	3.49	0	1823	+0.02
Asst. Prin./Teachers	4.95	0	1614	5.32	0	1713	+0.37
<b>Hispanic Men</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	0.87	0	1273	1.48	0	1577	+0.61
Principal/Teachers	1.18	0	1267	1.45	0	1589	+0.27
Asst. Prin./Teachers	1.98	0	1191	2.23	0	1458	+0.25
<b>White Men</b>							
Administrator/Teachers	2.52	2.32	3759	2.32	2.15	3743	-0.20
Principal/Teachers	2.32	2.20	3784	2.20	2.08	3770	-0.12
Asst. Prin./Teachers	2.48	2.36	3086	2.32	2.18	3077	-0.16

*Notes:* We include only districts with at least one administrator of any race/gender to calculate leadership representation. Leadership representation ratios are calculated for each district as the percentage of the identity group in a leadership occupation divided by the percentage of the same identity group in teaching. We report the average and median leadership representation ratios. We also report the mean ratio change, i.e., we subtract the average ratio in 2002 from the average ratio in 2014.

tion ratios. Black women were underrepresented among teachers, more so than Hispanic and White women. Black women were also underrepresented as administrators and principals compared to their proportion in the community.

#### ***New-Hire Progress***

Table 6 reports the new-hire progress for women and men in school districts. Overall, the average percentages of new-hires were similar to the percentages of existing employees for each gender-race/ethnicity and occupation. We also examine the average percentages of new-hires in districts with no existing employees in the corresponding gender-race/ethnicity by occupation. These districts hired few Black or Hispanic, women or men; all occupations are 0% to 1%, except for Black women principals/assistant principals which reached 5%. Further, roughly 40% to 65% of districts with no existing employees by gender-race/ethnicity and occupation remained stagnant; that is, by 2014, they had no existing employees or new-hires in the respective gender-race/ethnicity and occupation for Black and Hispanic women and men in administrator and principal/assistant principal positions.

#### ***District Size***

In Table 7 we compare the percentages of each gender-race/ethnicity by occupation in small, quartile 1, and large, quartile 4, districts, determined by the number of full-time employees. We find larger districts have significantly higher percentages for Black and Hispanic women and men across occupations, with the exception of Hispanic men. The percentages of Hispanic men in new-hire administrator and principal/assistant principal positions were greater or equivalent in large districts compared to small districts. We find the percentage of White women in existing leadership positions to be significantly higher in large districts, but the percentages of White women in teaching and new-hire positions to be higher in smaller districts. Lastly, we find the percentages of White men in all existing and new-hire occupations to be significantly higher in small districts.

#### ***Community and District Representation***

We test for correlation between the percentage of each gender-race/ethnicity in the community with the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity in each occupation (see Table 8). We find positive and significant

**TABLE 6. New-Hire Progress for Women and Men by Race/Ethnicity in U.S. School Districts, 2014**

	Existing		New-Hires		Districts with 0 Existing in the Occupation	
	N	Avg. %	N	Avg. %	N	Avg. % New-Hires
<b>Black Women</b>						
Administrators	4337	4%	1709	5%	3441 (1993)	1%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	5%	2212	6%	3129 (1426)	5%
Teachers	4357	3%	4148	4%	1948 (1825)	0%
<b>Hispanic Women</b>						
Administrators	4337	3%	1709	4%	3650 (1283)	1%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	3%	2212	4%	3493 (1602)	1%
Teachers	4357	4%	4148	5%	1706 (1592)	0%
<b>White Women</b>						
Administrators	4337	42%	1709	42%	441 (80)	11%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	39%	2212	35%	325 (98)	12%
Teachers	4357	67%	4148	64%	22 (20)	0%
<b>Black Men</b>						
Administrators	4337	2%	1709	4%	3571 (1260)	1%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	3%	2212	6%	3159 (1446)	1%
Teachers	4357	1%	4148	1%	2243 (2103)	0%
<b>Hispanic Men</b>						
Administrators	4337	3%	1709	4%	3646 (1289)	0%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	3%	2212	4%	3482 (1618)	1%
Teachers	4357	1%	4148	2%	2319 (2185)	0%
<b>White Men</b>						
Administrators	4337	46%	1709	38%	260 (58)	15%
Prin./Asst. Prin.	4332	45%	2212	41%	226 (90)	5%
Teachers	4357	21%	4148	22%	20 (19)	6%

*Notes:* New-hires are employees hired for the first time, or after a break in service, between July 1 and September 1, 2014. Existing employees were employed prior to July 1, 2014. We also report the percentage of each identity group by new-hire occupation for districts with no existing employees of the same identity group/occupation, i.e., the percent of new-hire Black women administrators in districts with no existing Black women in administration. We also report the number of districts with no existing employees and, in parentheses, the number of these districts that report the identity group in the new-hire occupation.

correlations for each gender-race/ethnicity and occupation. These correlations are strongest for Black teachers (women 0.61 and men 0.53), Hispanic teachers (women 0.57 and men 0.51), White women teachers (0.64), and White men principals (0.51).

**Discussion**

Many districts made progress in the bureaucratic representation of underrepresented groups. Progress, how-

ever, has been slow with consistent underrepresentation of certain gender-racial/ethnic groups in comparison to community populations. We find many districts fail to employ respective gender-race/ethnicity in leadership, even in occupations where underrepresented groups have made headway in teaching positions.

***Intersectional Perspective on Representation***

This study investigates levels of bureaucratic representation at the intersection of gender and race/ethnic-

TABLE 7. Representation by District Size

Race/Occupation	Quartile 1: Small Districts			Quartile 4: Large Districts		
	N Dist.	Women	Men	N Dist.	Women	Men
<b>Black</b>						
Administrators	1089	2% (0)	1% (0)	1082	6% (0)***	4% (0)***
Principals	1075	2% (0)	2% (0)	1083	9% (2%)***	4% (0)***
Asst. Principals	756	3% (0)	2% (0)	1073	9% (1%)***	6% (1%)***
Teachers	1097	2% (0)	1% (0)	1087	5% (2%)***	2% (1%)***
New-Hire Admin.	267	2% (0)	2% (0)	633	8% (0)***	5% (0)*
New-Hire Prin./Asst.	372	2% (0)	2% (0)	756	10% (0)***	9% (0)***
New-Hire Teachers	1002	2% (0)	1% (0)	1058	6% (2%)***	2% (4%)***
<b>Hispanic</b>						
Administrators	1089	2% (0)	2% (0)	1082	5% (0)***	4% (0)***
Principals	1075	2% (0)	2% (0)	1083	5% (0)***	4% (0)***
Asst. Principals	756	2% (0)	3% (0)	1073	6% (0)***	4% (0)
Teachers	1097	3% (0)	1% (0)	1087	7% (2%)***	2% (0)***
New-Hire Admin.	267	2% (0)	5% (0)	633	6% (0)***	3% (0)
New-Hire Prin./Asst.	372	3% (0)	5% (0)	756	6% (0)**	5% (0)
New-Hire Teachers	1002	3% (0)	2% (0)	1058	7% (2%)***	3% (0)***
<b>White</b>						
Administrators	1089	39% (40%)	53% (50%)	1082	41% (42%)*	38% (37%)***
Principals	1075	38% (33%)	53% (50%)	1083	42% (43%)***	34% (33%)***
Asst. Principals	756	30% (0)	59% (67%)	1073	37% (38%)***	36% (33%)***
Teachers	1097	68% (72%)	24% (24%)	1087	63% (69%)***	19% (19%)***
New-Hire Admin.	267	44% (33%)	43% (0)	633	42% (37%)	31% (14%)***
New-Hire Prin./Asst.	372	39% (0)	47% (50%)	756	33% (25%)*	33% (25%)***
New-Hire Teachers	1002	66% (69%)	25% (21%)	1058	60% (64%)***	19% (18%)***

Notes: Districts were subset into quartiles based on district size (number of full-time employees). “Small Districts” or quartile 1 are in the bottom 25% and “Large Districts” or quartile 4 are in the top 25% of districts. For each quartile we report the number of districts and the average percent, with the median percent in parenthesis, of women and men by position and race/ethnicity. We use a Welch two-sample t-test to compare the percentages of women or men for each race/ethnicity by district size (quartile 1 and quartile 4).

\* $p < .05$ , \*\* $p < .01$ , \*\*\* $p < .001$

ity. By examining gender and race/ethnicity together we expand on previously reported differences within single categories—gender or race/ethnicity. Taylor et al. (2024a) and Kerr, Kerr, and Miller (2014) analyze the composition of *all* women in administrative, principal, assistant principal, and teacher positions in U.S. school districts. Kerr, Kerr, and Miller (2014) suggest that, as of 2008, women were still overrepresented among teachers and underrepresented in leadership. Taylor et al. (2024a) confirm these findings as of 2014, finding leadership positions approach

parity representation as administrators and principals and identify an imbalance of women in leadership compared to teaching. Similarly, previous research analyzing *all* Hispanic, Black, and White employees in administrative, principal, assistant principal, and teacher positions in U.S. school districts find variation by race/ethnicity, including (1) Hispanic underrepresentation in all occupations, (2) White near-parity to overrepresentation in all occupations, and (3) variation in Black representation (Kerr et al. 2016; Taylor et al. 2024b).

**TABLE 8. Correlation Table: Percent of Identity Group in Community versus Occupation**

Occupation	Black		Hispanic		White	
	% Black Women	% Black Men	% Hisp. Women	% Hisp. Men	% White Women	% White Men
Administrators	.46***	.38***	.38***	.37***	.16***	.44***
Principals	.48***	.44***	.39***	.35***	.16***	.51***
Asst. Principals	.47***	.42***	.40***	.35***	.11***	.48***
Teachers	.61***	.53***	.57***	.51***	.64***	.46***
New-Hire Admin.	.28***	.25***	.27***	.21***	.13***	.27***
New-Hire Prin./Asst. Prin.	.32***	.31***	.28***	.26***	.16***	.30***
New-Hire Teachers	.50***	.38***	.44***	.39***	.43***	.23***

*Notes:* Correlations were performed between the percent of the gender-race/ethnicity in an occupation with the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity in the district community, e.g., the percent of Black women in administration and the percent of Black women in the district community. We report the Kendall correlation coefficient for Black and Hispanic women and men (due to a violation of the normality assumption) and the Pearson correlation coefficient for White women and men.

Our intersectional analysis reveals findings that differ from these previous studies. We find that not *all* women are overrepresented as teachers. Teaching positions are overrepresented only by White women, but underrepresented by Black and Hispanic women. Likewise, overrepresentation is not the case for *all* White teachers. White men are underrepresented in teaching positions, but White women are extremely overrepresented.

Further, not *all* women are underrepresented in leadership compared to their percentage in the district community. White women are overrepresented but Hispanic women are underrepresented in administrator, principal, and assistant principal positions. Black women, however, are underrepresented in administrator and principal roles, but overrepresented as assistant principals. Likewise, White men are overrepresented in all three leadership positions while Black and Hispanic men are underrepresented.

We find positive increases in representation from 2002 to 2014 for Hispanic and Black men in all occupations, and women of all races/ethnicities in all occupations, with the exception of Black women in teaching positions. While these trends are encouraging, districts still have work to achieve parity representation in most occupations for Black and Hispanic women and men. Little progress will occur if these trends persist. Projecting to 2026 using current representation rates, Hispanic women will remain underrepresented in all leadership positions, Black women will remain underrepresented in administrator and teaching positions, Black and Hispanic men will remain underrepresented in all occupa-

tions, and White men will remain underrepresented as teachers.

Further, compared with the percentage of children’s school enrollment, we observe an underrepresentation across leadership and teacher positions for most gender-race/ethnic groups, but representation for Black women principals, White women teachers, Hispanic men principals, and White men teachers, and severe overrepresentation for White men in leadership positions. With few exceptions, we find that proportional representation does not exist between the percentages of gender-race/ethnic groups in educational leadership and children’s school enrollment, particularly for Black and Hispanic women and men. Overall, we find differences in our intersectional analysis, with the greatest differences in representation between the public education workforce and children’s school enrollment dependent on both gender and race/ethnicity, as well as class/work structure.

When it comes to *leadership representation*, premised on the idea that leaders should proportionally represent the teachers they supervise, we find that proportionality does not exist for Black, Hispanic, or White women. For Hispanic and White women, there are simply lower proportions of school and school district leaders than there are teachers. Conversely, Black women are overrepresented in school and district leadership compared to teachers, but this is due to the low percentage of Black women in teaching positions. Black female teachers are considerably underrepresented and have the lowest levels of representation (0.56) among all women. Increasing

the numbers of Black women in teaching positions, on average, would decrease the leadership ratios for Black women if leadership representation remained constant.

Overall, our findings demonstrate that women are not occupying leadership positions in proportion to teaching positions. Previous research identifies the impact of gender balance, particularly the leadership/teacher relationship, on various aspects of public education, for example, pay equity, leadership effectiveness, and student/school outcomes (Grissom, Kern, and Rodrigues 2015; Maranto et al. 2018). We observe a gender imbalance in the leadership/teacher relationship when we consider race/ethnicity. This is especially concerning for Hispanic women who also have small average percentages of leaders and teachers in proportion to the population in the district community.

The benefits of a representative workforce are plentiful for the public education workforce, children, and communities at large (e.g., Grissom, Kern, and Rodriguez 2015; Keiser et al. 2002; Maranto et al. 2018; Rocha and Hawks 2009). Continuing patterns of underrepresentation prevent certain groups from attaining social equity. The patterns we identify signify little effort or commitment towards building a diverse and equitable public education workforce.

To achieve Krislov's (1974) goals, including equal rights and opportunity, public school districts must (1) track employment patterns for underrepresented groups, and (2) support members of underrepresented groups in breaking barriers to achieve leadership positions in public education, that is, the active components in descriptive representation. While there are benefits to examining representation through an active lens, the examination of representation through a descriptive lens increases our understanding of where concerns and gaps in representation occur, such as class/work structure, or identity group. This permits future efforts in creating targeted policy and workforce change. Our findings can contribute to the passive-active dichotomy by demonstrating the relationship between representation in leadership and teaching ranks. Overall, these findings demonstrate a lack of cohesiveness in the public education workforce between educational leadership and the teachers they supervise, or with the communities they serve.

### ***Future Progress***

We examine new hire occupations by gender-race/ethnicity to determine if districts are making headway

or implementing changes toward a more representative workforce. We find districts, on average, are hiring across all gender-races/ethnicities in roughly the same proportion as existing employees, indicating minimal change and a persistence of the status quo. When we examine new-hire progress for districts with no existing employees for each gender-race/ethnicity, we find little progress for Black and Hispanic women and men across all occupations. Roughly half of the districts with no Black or Hispanic women or men administrators and principals also had no new-hire administrators or principals. Districts with no White women by occupation made some progress, with 11% of new-hire administrators and 12% principals/assistant principals. Previous research identifies some progress toward representation for women in new-hire occupations and minimal progress in districts with no existing women in leadership occupations (Taylor et al. 2024a). We find greater disparity when we examine gender by race/ethnicity with minimal progress for Black and Hispanic women and men in new-hire occupations, and minimal/no progress for districts with no existing employees in the corresponding gender-race/ethnicity. By examining race/ethnicity alongside gender, we observe greater disparities for Black and Hispanic women and men.

New hire progress is indicative of current hiring practices, but also of future workforce composition. Building a representative workforce from the ground up, in this case through hiring, indicates future diversity of the workforce; however, we observe minimal progress, indicating little change in the diversity of the future public education workforce. Future efforts in diversifying the employment pool should target new-hire employees and focus on increasing the diversity of teachers for both genders across race/ethnicity, as well as increasing the diversity of new-hire educational leadership positions in proportion to the community and classroom teacher workforce.

### ***School District Size***

We expand our analysis to incorporate district size. We find that small districts employ fewer Black and Hispanic women and men in any occupation than large districts. We also find that small districts employ fewer White women in educational leadership but more White women as classroom teachers and in new-hire occupations (administrators, principals/assistant prin-

cipals, and teachers). Small districts had higher percentages of White men for all occupations. Few studies examine the effects of school size on employment patterns and those that do find contradictory findings. Two studies observe higher rates of women in educational leadership in smaller districts (Glass 1992; Kowalski et al. 2011), while other studies find leadership to be more representative in larger districts (Marcynski and Gates 2013; Taylor et al. 2024a; White 2021). Notably, these studies focus on gender and not the intersection of gender and race/ethnicity. Our findings expand on White (2021) by indicating the gender-race/ethnicity and occupations where these findings align for Black and Hispanic women and men, and do not align for White women teachers and new-hire roles and White men in all occupations.

### ***Intersectional Variation of Emotive Expression Across Occupations***

Guy's (2017) research on emotive expression can help explain why women continue to be underrepresented in leadership ranks. Guy argues that the emotive expression required in work differs by occupation—some occupations require more nurturance/support while others more courage/directiveness. Under Guy's theoretical framework, teaching, which requires direct work educating/nurturing children, is characterized as *women's work*, but leadership positions, which require directiveness, are characterized as *men's work* (Grogan 1999; Guy 2017). The stereotypes assigned to the categories of women's and men's work have created barriers for women seeking leadership positions.

We explore emotive expression as a barrier by examining a traditionally low-paying female-dominated field, teaching, compared with the corresponding leadership workforce — assistant principals, principals, and administrators. Overall, we find an underrepresentation of women and overrepresentation of men in leadership ranks, compared to the percentages of gender-race/ethnicity in teaching positions. However, we find stark differences regarding the representation of women by race/ethnicity. These differences are particularly evident for Hispanic women who have the smallest leadership representation ratios. Hispanic men, however, are exceptionally overrepresented in all occupations, predominantly due to the small percentages of Hispanic men teaching. Here it appears that the differences in traditionally identified *women's and men's work* are exacerb-

bated by race/ethnicity, creating additional barriers for Hispanic women. Emotive stereotypes serve as barriers for women breaking into *men's work* and advancing into leadership roles. These barriers shape hiring and promotion practices, primarily in leadership capacities where less value is placed on emotive expression.

### **Conclusion**

Our analysis of leadership ratios demonstrates that emotive stereotypes in public education can serve as barriers for women pursuing leadership roles. These emotive stereotypes serve as barriers by hindering the hiring and/or promotion of women or serving as internalized barriers inhibiting women from seeking out leadership roles because of internalized stereotypes about job fit/capability. Future research should measure barriers stemming from emotive stereotypes by examining the hiring/promotion practices from a small subset of districts. This approach may include (1) a comparison of the gender-race/ethnicity of applicants compared to the employee hired, (2) an analysis of the gender-race/ethnicity of promoted employees into leadership roles, and (3) an examination how applicants, newly hired employees, and promoted employees in leadership capacities represent the district's teaching workforce as well as the district's community population. Such research would increase our understanding of where and how emotive stereotypes serve as barriers.

While emotive stereotypes are well documented for women, little research to date has analyzed emotive expression through an intersectional lens. Our findings point to a need for future research to explore the intersectional differences in emotive expressions and the stereotypes they promote. Our findings suggest several additional areas for future research: (1) the relationship between bureaucratic and/or leadership representation among intersectional groups and school district/student outcomes, (2) the challenges for White women to assume leadership positions, and (3) how emotive stereotypes serve as barriers for recruiting and retaining Black and Hispanic men as classroom teachers. Future research should also consider why Black women and Black men are more likely to achieve leadership representation as assistant principals.

Our findings on bureaucratic and leadership representation in U.S. school districts illustrate the utility of intersectionality as an analytical paradigm and emphasize the importance of the intersectional nature of representation. When the multi-dimensional identities of individuals – in

this case, public educators – are less obscured, we find that employment patterns diverge from monolithic or homogenous analysis, such as aggregating women or Black professionals. Our research contributes to the growing body of scholarship on intersectionality as well as to the public administration literature, focusing attention on social equity in public education and public sector job distribution.

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**APPENDIX A. Bureaucratic Representation Ratios by Gender-Race/Ethnicity and Year**

Bureaucratic Ratios by Gender-Race/Ethnicity	Year						
	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
<b>Black Women</b>							
Admin	0.58	0.59	0.62	0.78	0.63	0.70	0.74
Principal	0.83	0.88	0.95	0.96	0.94	0.93	0.93
Assistant Principal	0.92	0.99	1.00	1.13	0.91	1.01	1.15
Teacher	0.58	0.57	0.58	0.58	0.59	0.54	0.56
<b>Black Men</b>							
Admin	0.44	0.46	0.49	0.50	0.48	0.51	0.50
Principal	0.61	0.56	0.59	0.64	0.59	0.68	0.66
Assistant Principal	0.90	1.01	0.96	1.06	1.04	1.05	0.99
Teacher	0.21	0.21	0.22	0.23	0.23	0.23	0.24
<b>Hispanic Women</b>							
Admin	0.13	0.14	0.18	0.26	0.14	0.29	0.42
Principal	0.13	0.15	0.18	0.25	0.14	0.29	0.40
Assistant Principal	0.17	0.17	0.18	0.25	0.16	0.35	0.41
Teacher	0.29	0.31	0.37	0.40	0.36	0.50	0.77
<b>Hispanic Men</b>							
Admin	0.10	0.13	0.14	0.17	0.12	0.42	0.51
Principal	0.14	0.13	0.16	0.19	0.15	0.44	0.54
Assistant Principal	0.27	0.26	0.26	0.35	0.23	0.46	0.6
Teacher	0.11	0.12	0.12	0.13	0.11	0.25	0.27
<b>White Women</b>							
Admin	1.20	1.21	1.25	1.24	1.19	1.35	1.35
Principal	1.20	1.23	1.23	1.21	1.13	1.33	1.28
Assistant Principal	1.00	1.00	1.01	1.01	0.92	1.11	1.13
Teacher	2.05	2.04	2.03	2.00	2.14	2.14	2.10
<b>White Men</b>							
Admin	1.64	1.59	1.51	1.41	1.43	1.47	1.41
Principal	1.49	1.42	1.37	1.34	1.32	1.34	1.32
Assistant Principal	1.59	1.54	1.49	1.45	1.47	1.46	1.41
Teacher	0.74	0.73	0.70	0.70	0.73	0.71	0.70

*Notes:* Cells display the average bureaucratic representation ratios by gender-race/ethnicity and year. Bureaucratic representation ratios are calculated as the percentage of the gender-race/ethnicity in the occupation/year for a district divided by the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity in the district's community population per year. Cells display the average across districts. A ratio of 1.0 demonstrates representation, a ratio above 1.0 indicates a larger percentage of the identity group in the occupation than community, while a ratio below 1.0 indicates a larger percentage of the identity group in the community compared with the occupation.

## APPENDIX B. Leadership Representation Ratios by Gender-Race/Ethnicity and Year

Leadership Ratios by Gender/Race	Year						
	2002	2004	2006	2008	2010	2012	2014
<b>Administrators/Teachers</b>							
Black Women	0.95	1.08	1.16	1.43	1.26	1.29	1.26
Black Men	2.28	2.37	2.35	2.69	2.66	2.31	2.49
Hispanic Women	0.46	0.40	0.50	0.57	0.58	0.49	0.53
Hispanic Men	0.87	1.02	1.02	1.19	1.26	1.37	1.48
White Women	0.53	0.55	0.57	0.59	0.62	0.62	0.61
White Men	2.52	2.47	2.43	2.42	2.40	2.41	2.32
<b>Assistant Principals/Teachers</b>							
Black Women	1.97	1.73	2.04	2.19	2.07	1.99	2.03
Black Men	4.95	5.20	5.30	5.47	6.06	5.38	5.32
Hispanic Women	0.54	0.59	0.59	0.66	0.58	0.70	0.66
Hispanic Men	1.98	2.14	2.13	1.95	2.33	2.13	2.23
White Women	0.45	0.46	0.46	0.48	0.49	0.49	0.51
White Men	2.48	2.46	2.46	2.44	2.42	2.44	2.32
<b>Principals/Teachers</b>							
Black Women	1.46	1.38	1.57	1.90	1.70	2.04	1.98
Black Men	3.47	3.48	3.34	3.48	3.18	3.52	3.49
Hispanic Women	0.45	0.45	0.47	0.52	0.44	0.55	0.46
Hispanic Men	1.18	1.29	1.41	1.51	1.49	1.51	1.45
White Women	0.54	0.56	0.57	0.59	0.59	0.58	0.59
White Men	2.32	2.25	2.23	2.26	2.25	2.28	2.20

*Notes:* Cells display the average leadership representation ratios by gender-race/ethnicity and year. Leadership representation ratios are calculated as the percentage of the gender-race/ethnicity in the leadership position for a district divided by the percentage of the same gender-race/ethnicity for teachers in the district, calculated for each year. Cells display the average across districts. A ratio of 1.0 demonstrates representation, a ratio above 1.0 indicates a larger percentage of the gender-race/ethnicity in the leadership position than in teaching, and a ratio below 1.0 indicates a smaller percentage of the gender-race/ethnicity in the leadership position than in teaching.

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