Female City Managers in Texas: A Content Analysis of Resumes to Identify Successful Career Path Trends

by

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Abstract

This research study describes the career paths most often taken by currently serving (October 2015) female city managers in Texas. City management career paths can be classified into four categories: Long Servers, Ladder Climbers, Lateral Movers, and Single-City Careerists (Watson & Hassett, 2004a). This study identifies 64 female city managers in Texas, 41 of whom submitted their resumes to be included in this study. A content analysis was performed on their resumes in order to classify their career paths. The "traditional" career path to becoming city manager is ladder climbing; one works her way up in one city and then moves to another city for a more prestigious position, and continues this pattern until becoming city manager. This study's results indicate that most female city managers in Texas are not Ladder Climbers. Rather, they are classified as Single-City Careerists; they serve in small to medium-sized cities and work their way up in one municipal organization until they obtain the city manager position.

Chapter I: Introduction

Scenarios

The fictitious Lindsey McGowan is a recent Master of Public Administration graduate pursuing her first local government employment opportunity. She could take a variety of career paths, all of which could lead her to her ultimate career goal: to be city manager in a Texas.

Scenario One: The Long Server

Lindsey chooses to move to her hometown of Fredericksburg, TX, population 10,530 people. She begins her career as the Assistant to the City Manager of Fredericksburg, where she helps coordinate local issues, engage the community on upcoming challenges, and takes responsibility for overall office management of the 20-person staff. When the Fredericksburg City Manager retires, she is a natural choice for the interim position. She serves as interim City Manager for one year, proves herself in the position and is appointed by the City Council to the fulltime City Manager position. She serves in that position for 24 years before retiring.

Scenario Two: The Ladder Climber

Lindsey chooses to move to Hutto, TX, population 14,698 people. She begins her career as the Assistant to the City Manager of Hutto, where she stays for two years. She moves to accept a position as Assistant to the City Manager of Cedar Park, TX, population, 48, 937, where she stays for another three years. She leaves Cedar Park to accept a position as Assistant City Manager (ACM) in San Marcos, TX, population

44,894. Her purview in San Marcos is three departments: Human Relations, Communications, and Neighborhood Services. She remains ACM in San Marcos for five years. Her next career move is to accept a position as City Manager in McKinney, TX, population 131,117. Her career continues in various positions as city manager, and in progressively larger cities.

Scenario Three: The Lateral Mover

Lindsey chooses to begin her career in the small city of Jonestown, TX, population 1,834. She is hired as an Assistant City Administrator, and is later appointed City Administrator. She serves a total of six years in Jonestown before leaving to accept the City Manager position in Albany, TX, population 2,034. She stays in Albany for four years, before leaving to fill the City Administrator role in Anahuac, TX, population 2,243. She stays in Anahuac for six years, then leaves to become City Manager in Bartlett, TX, population 1,623, where she stays until she retires.

Scenario Four: The Single-City Careerist

Lindsey begins her career in Austin, TX, population 790, 390. She is hired as a Public Information Specialist in the Public Information Office, where she stays for three years before being promoted to Senior Public Information Specialist, where she stays for another year. Lindsey then accepts a position as an Executive Assistant for an Assistant City Manager, where she stays for two years. Her next positions are all with the City of Austin, TX, and span 15 years: Assistant to the City Manager, Chief Administrative Officer at the Human Resources Department, Assistant Director of Contract

Management, Assistant City Manager, and finally City Manager. Lindsey remains employed as Austin's City Manager for the next five years.

Each of these four notably different career paths led Lindsey McGowan to becoming City Manager in cities of varying sizes and at different points in her career. The four scenarios depict the most common career paths as identified in the literature and used in this study to describe most city managers' career paths (Watson & Hassett, 2004a). However, the different elements in the four paths make a compelling case for further study to determine whether one path proves to be more successful than another. If Lindsey had the resources to analyze her career path options immediately after graduate school, she could make an informed decision about what jobs to pursue and whether she should work in one city and stay for a long tenure, or work her way up in several cities.

Women's very limited involvement in the city management profession was noted in a 2015 International City/County Management Association publication, "Only 13 percent of all chief administrative officer (CAO) positions are filled by women, the same percentage as in 1981" (Voorhees & Lange-Skaggs, 2015, p.7). That percentage has not changed in more than 30 years. The career paths in this study were developed from nationwide data that include both men's and women's career path choices; however, with women only representing 13% of all city managers nationwide, these paths are primarily *de facto* male career choices.

How do women vary from their male counterparts? The answer to this question could help inform career choices for young women aspiring to the job of city manager. It could also shed light on why we continue to observe a disproportionate dominance of men in the top city position.

Purpose

The purpose of this study is to describe the career paths of female city managers in Texas. The study is rooted in a national study that will be discussed further in Chapter II, but it has been scaled down to the state level. The focus on Texas is due to a few factors: Texas is the second largest state in the United States, and the Texas population represents about 8.5% of the total population in the United States resulting in a good sample size (*United States Census Bureau American Fact Finder*, 2010). Additionally, scaling the research to one state allows for a more feasible study for the purpose of this applied research project.

This study includes a content analysis of Texas female city managers' resumes to identify which career paths have been most successful for the women in this sample. While the reason for the gender imbalance in city management can be difficult to isolate, identifying the most successful career paths for female city managers can provide insight to aspiring female practitioners for their future career choices.

Chapter Summaries

The next chapter, Chapter II, reviews the literature on women in city management. It provides a historical account and then reviews current-day women in city management. The four career paths and conceptual framework, which are both foundational for this study, are also introduced in Chapter II. Chapter III, Methodology, operationalizes the conceptual framework and outlines the method used for this study. It reviews the subject identification process, the content analysis and coding tools, and the intercoder reliability standards. Chapter IV presents the results of this study, and Chapter V the conclusion, in which recommendations for future research are presented.

Chapter II: Literature Review

Chapter Purpose

This chapter examines the scholarly literature regarding career advancement, with a focus on city management for female city managers. The literature highlights a gender gap in city management, but does not identify a primary cause for that gap. Rather, the literature provides an overview of contributing factors to the gender gap, and provides a foundation for discussing successful career paths for female city managers. Furthermore, the literature identifies a structure of career classification used as the premise through which this applied research project evaluates female city mangers' career paths in Texas.

This chapter first provides a historical overview of American women in public administration and then introduces the contemporary state of American women in public administration, describing the extent to which women are underrepresented in the highest management positions. Building from that foundation, the chapter explores some contributing factors to the female gender gap in America public administration including the roles of work-life balance, education, leadership, and mentorship. Finally, this chapter identifies four distinct public administration career paths that are the substantial building blocks used to develop the conceptual framework that guides this study. The conceptual framework is used to analyze female city managers in Texas to determine whether there is one career path that proves to be most successful for women in government pursuing ca

A Brief Historical Overview of Women in City Management

Cities and public administration in the United States were historically developed with strong themes of masculinity woven throughout their structures (Stivers, 2000). While over time these themes were tempered, it is important to acknowledge the historical base and its role in setting in motion the struggle women would face for decades when seeking to incorporate themselves and their perspectives into modern government.

The emergence of women in government in the United States started slowly and obliquely, of necessity. Legal restrictions prevented women from participating in government, such as not having the right to vote, own property, or manage their financial earnings (DuBois, 1978; Holton, 2015; Library of Congress). Their early involvement, dating back to the early nineteenth century, included operations under the auspices of "republican motherhood." They played the feminine and motherly role of maintaining the integrity and righteousness of political affairs (Stivers, 2000). While this may sound like a somewhat ephemeral task, it was during a time when politics was drenched in testosterone-driven and metaphorical displays of power. For example, politicians used to display their party banners on large poles for everyone to see; they would then brag about how large their poles were and how quickly they got them standing upright (Stivers, 2000, p.8). One can imagine that it was no small feat to bring a sense of dignity to political affairs.

From there the women began expanding their responsibilities from social etiquette, to volunteerism, to charitable work that would later develop into non-profit organizations. Throughout, women had to defend their work by maintaining it was a part

of their womanly duties to maintain the niceties and purity of the public realm. "Although it represented a move into the public space, their approach to social benevolence was uniquely their own and not an intrusion into activities defined as masculine, such as business and party politics" (Stivers, 2000, p.49).

Patricia Shields and Nandhini Rangarajan (2011) depict the early female approach in their biographical account of Florence Nightingale's and Jane Addams' roles in early public administration. Nightingale played an integral part in early public administration while toeing the lines of appropriateness and working under the guise of doing "women's work." In the mid-1800s, during the Crimean War, she worked to reform Army hospital operations by establishing sanitary standards that prioritized patient care over bureaucratic rigidity (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011). Her work later influenced the U.S. Sanitary Commission (USSC) developed during the American Civil War to help serve the troops. Women managed the USSC's supply division, which attended to soldiers' medical needs, food, clothing and general care and wellbeing. While Nightingale's work at the time was not recognized as "public administration," she used data and good management skills to prioritize and execute a variety of tasks that led to better operations. She used the best of both methodologies—seeking efficiency in operations while incorporating the caring norms of the household—to develop a model that best served the soldiers but was methodical in approach (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011).

During the late nineteenth century, a class of reformers (both male and female) emerged in an effort to create better municipal government, one that was more moral and held a higher standard for government. It was a time many attribute as the beginning of public administration as a self-aware field, often citing Woodrow Wilson's *The Study of*

Administration as a foundational document that highlighted the necessity of further knowledge and study of the science of administration (Wilson, 1887). The men fought corruption by creating bureaus intended to treat government like a business that would operate efficiently, which was assumed to be better (Stivers, 2000, p.37). The women could not vote, hold a government office, and were not allowed in the bureaus. They formed civic clubs and emphasized incorporating the human element into government; otherwise stated, to treat government more like household than a business. The primarily female group created settlement houses, which were facilities that helped educate, care for, and show compassion to the poor. The settlement houses became a place of congregation and coordination for activists working to defend America's poor. They sparked involvement in state and national governments working to improve conditions and services for poor neighborhoods (Stivers, 2000, p.58; Trolander, 1989; Wade, 2005). What emerged were two different approaches to government, one that prioritized efficiency and the science of government and one that prioritized the people government served (Stivers, 2000, Shields, 2006).

Jane Addams was part of the settlement movement, establishing the Hull House settlement house in 1889 that served low-income immigrants in Chicago (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011, p.46; Hull House Museum; Trolander, 1989; Wade, 2005). Jane Addams and her colleagues were the physical residents of the Hull House (Hull House Museum; Wade, 2005). Stivers (2000) draws a parallel between that facility and today's civic centers; the settlement houses served as places to gather, learn, enjoy the arts, and organize to pursue municipal reform (Stivers, 2000, p.56; Wade, 2005). What differentiated the Hull House from today's civic centers was its primary focus on

combatting poverty; the Hull House played an important role in offering classes that helped immigrants integrate into American society (Hull House Museum; Trolander, 1989; Wade, 2005), and Addams and her colleagues "often [went] head-to-head with Chicago's corrupt political machine" (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011, p.46). Addams coordinated with the women's groups to listen to the community's concerns, and, like Nightingale, she collected data and adopted a methodical approach to addressing issues. A brazen example of such activities occurred when Addams organized a group of local women to inspect the garbage collection conditions in a neighborhood; she compiled and submitted an official complaint of 1,037 violations to the health department. Her work led to her later appointment as Chicago's first female garbage inspector, which is significant on a few fronts (Shields & Rangarajan, 2011, p.48): First, she was a women officially involved with public administration; second, the role of garbage inspector was not the traditional feminine, motherly role, but on the other hand it did represent a way for women to "care" for the civic household.

As Camilla Stivers (2000, p.136) highlights, "Social reformers sought not to be experts raised above the people, setting the terms by which public life would be defined and understood, but to be neighbors." Nightingale and Addams are both good examples of how nineteenth century female leaders expanded their responsibilities into the field of public administration, officially and otherwise. Stivers (2000) goes on to advise current-day public administrators to learn from the past and acknowledge that most issues facing government do not fit neatly into a scientific formula. Rather, most issues should be addressed in a manner that prioritizes the people. Peoples' needs should not be monetized

and prioritized in the same vein of business-like cost benefit analysis; the people must always come first.

Addams pursued her work in the late 1800s and early 1900s while women's equality issues were playing out on a larger scale nationwide. Women's groups organized to fight for the right to vote, and also to develop more political and social equality. More women were entering the workforce, creating a demand for more workforce protections. "Between 1880 and 1910, the number of women employed in the United States increased from 2.6 million to 7.8 million" (Wilcox, 2008; Library of Congress; Progressive Era to New Era, 1900-1929). Most well paid positions were still held by men and in fact, most working women in the early 1900s were domestic servants. In 1920, the 19th Amendment was passed granting women the right to vote (Wilcox, 2008; Library of Congress; Progressive Era to New Era, 1900-1929). Though women gained the right to vote, they continued to advocate for workforce protections (Chopra, 2015). Yet it took decades for the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to prohibit workplace discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin (Chopra, 2015).

While there has been progress; challenges remain. As Sebawit G. Bishu (2015) points out in the *Public Administration Times*, "The gender equity gap that persists, even after 50 years of diligent implementation of equal employment opportunity policies, should inform us that our policymaking, program design and implementation process needs to be revisited." Certainly in today's environment the role of women in government has progressed and improved; though, women still face modern challenges to being fully integrated into the top decision-making realm of city management.

Women in City Management, Current Day

The majority of municipal chief administrative officers (CAO) nationwide are men, and that has not changed in more than thirty years. According to a 2015 International City/County Management Association publication, "Only 13 percent of all chief administrative officer (CAO) positions are filled by women, the same percentage as in 1981" (Voorhees & Lange-Skaggs, 2015, p.7).

Women are prepared to enter into the CAO, or city manager position, but they are not taking the last step actually filling the position. As of 2013, women occupied the following: 53 percent of assistant-to-the-CAO positions, 34 percent of assistant CAOs, 30 percent of department leads and only 13 percent of CAOs" (Voorhees & Lange-Skaggs, 2015, p.7). Various positions within city management are considered to be steps to preparing for the CAO position and are filled by women; however, there is a significant drop in female representation for the actual CAO position. Women fill senior levels within city management, yet few occupy the highest level of CAO. It is difficult to isolate the reasons for the imbalance of gender representation within city management. The evidence suggests numerous contributing factors.

Some Contributing Factors to the City Management Gender Gap

As previously stated, it can be difficult to isolate the cause(s) of the city management gender gap. However, some factors that can contribute to a gender gap include the demands of work-life balance, education, and the roles of leadership and mentorship. These factors are discussed in the further below.

Role of Work-Life Balance

Inevitably when talking about women progressing to senior positions within an organization, there is a discussion about choices women make to balance their careers and family. While society has progressed in this area, women who pursue both motherhood and career advancement are frequently villainized regardless of their focus (Slaughter 2012; Tajili 2014).

Anne-Marie Slaughter (2012) was the first women director of policy planning at the U.S. State Department, and drawing from her experience as a successful career woman who is married with children, she wrote the article "Why Women Still Can't Have It All." Before taking her government position, she had a long career in academia, which provided for more flexibility in her schedule so she could be more available to her family and children. When she entered the more rigid government work schedule, she was forced her to make compromises. That was when she came to the realization that work-life balance was more difficult than she expected.

Two years into her government role, Slaughter left the position to return to academia and spend more time with her family. Her decision to leave a high powered government position incited those around her to comment, and not always in positive ways. Slaughter challenged the conventional wisdom and found that some women in her own generation, born around the 1950s, were some of the most critical. Women would make condescending comments about how it was a shame that she could not stick it out, or even go as far as to point out to her that they had their won successful career and families and never had to compromise either (Slaughter, 2012). Researcher Megan Tajili found a similar judgmental pattern: If women focused too much on motherhood they

were often considered a workplace weak link, or a liability, for an organization. A strong focus on their careers can lead to negative judgments in regard to their ability to be good mothers (Tajlili, 2014, p.254).

Women may find themselves falling short of the 1980s "supermom" who successfully raises the children, holds a full-time job, and manages the traditional housekeeping duties with dinner on the table at 6 p.m. (Merriam-Webster, 2015). Work-life balance, or work-life integration, is a hot topic of media discussion, but it is not being intentionally integrated in the education of young college women who will face the challenge shortly after graduation. Slaughter's challenge against "having it all" disappointed some because they perceived a failure to achieve the feminist credo for equal opportunities in the work place. In contrast, the younger generation embraced Slaughter's notions while looking for honest advice. Slaughter (2012) identified another insight that the younger generation was not buying into, the "have-it-all" mantra. "But when many members of the younger generation have stopped listening, on the grounds that glibly repeating 'you can have it all' is simply airbrushing reality, it is time to talk" (Slaughter, 2012, 86). Younger women commended her for acknowledging that there are compromises with work-life balance and appreciated her honesty in helping to de-stigmatize choosing to focus on family over career. Tajili's (2014) research reflected a similar need to have frank conversations about compromises involved with work-life balance. Unfortunately, "Women recently graduated from college buy into the myth of 'having it all' and experience the guilt and shame that stem from their attempt to find the integration that they believed was possible" (Tajlili, 2014, p.265). When a woman is looking for a job, the work-life balance tends to take a second seat to the primary goal—

finding a job. Tajlili (2014) argues that work-life balance techniques and decision-making strategies need to be taught to people at a younger age, before they are actively seeking a job. This training would prepare them for those early career choices (and choices throughout their careers) (Tajlili, 2014).

Not all women will make the same decisions; some will balance both their careers and motherhood, others will choose one over the other. This raises the question, "Are women self-selecting out of pursuing the higher ranking positions to better obtain work-life balance?" Or more specifically to city management "Are women self-selecting out of pursuing careers in city management to better obtain work-life balance?"

Studies show that family and children are more likely to interfere with a woman's city management career progression than a man's. For example, a 2004 study of MPA graduates from the University of Kansas found that married women were more likely to become city managers; however, women with children were less likely to become city managers. When asked whether child bearing interfered with their careers, 23 percent of women responded yes, compared to only 8 percent of men. In fact, in responses to all questions regarding the roles children, family, or household duties played in career progression, a clear pattern emerged: 17 percent of women claimed that the health of children interfered with their career compared with only 2 percent of men; 23 percent of women claimed that bearing children interfered with their career, compared with 8 percent of men; 17 percent of women claimed that household maintenance has interfered with their career, compared to 7 percent of men (Aguado & Frederickson, 2004, p.31). The ideal "supermom" may appear to balance everything, but the reality is more challenging.

Regardless, there are female city managers that find a way to make it work; so the challenges are not impossible to overcome. The small percentages suggest women may be self-selecting out of careers as city managers, but there is evidence that women do *not* intend to self-select out of the career. As was previously mentioned, women are holding positions within the career progressions that lead to city manager or chief administrative officer positions. Additionally, women are earning the necessary educational requirements (at a higher rate than men) to pursue city management careers (Beaty & Davis, 2012, p. 624).

Role of Education

An education gap could be an assumed barrier to entry for women in the city management profession. Numerous jobs require specific degrees or training; according the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the majority of occupations that are expected to grow the fastest from 2012 to 2022 require postsecondary education (Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 2013). The educational backgrounds of city managers differ, and have evolved over time. While undergraduate degrees tend to vary, a Master of Public Administration (MPA) is recognized as the best post-undergraduate degree to pursue for a career in city management ("ICMA: Careers in Local Government Management," n.d.). One might assert that women lack the postsecondary educational requirements to pursue a career in city management, but this is not true. The majority of MPA recipients are women.

Men accounted for the majority of MPA degrees in the 1980s, but within one decade that changed. In 1984 men held 59.2 percent of MPA degrees, but in 1994 women surpassed the 50 percent mark and moved into the lead for MPA graduates (Beaty &

Davis, 2012, p. 624). While women have held the majority of MPA degrees ever since, this has not resulted in a similar proportion of women among city managers. Since the 1980s, women have represented about 12-13 percent of all city managers nationwide (Beaty & Davis, 2012, p. 624; Voorhees & Lange-Skaggs, 2015). Clearly, lack of education is *not* the reason women are so poorly represented among the ranks of city managers.

While a lack of the appropriate degrees does not appear to contribute to the gender gap in city management, education may still play a role. Beaty and Davis (2012) argue that education could play a stronger role in preparing women for the city management. They mention that the MPA curriculum should require more leadership courses. In a 2008-2009 analysis of Network of Schools of Public Policy, Affairs, and Administration's (NASPAA) accredited MPA programs, less than half had a leadership course as part of the core curriculum (Beaty & Davis, 2012, p. 626).

Role of Leadership

Leadership plays an important role in the professional world; it fosters better work environments with shared visions and helps develop good cohesive teams (Van Wart, 2003, p.214). This section examines how leadership skills are actively sought in city management recruitment, and then expands on the differences in leadership styles between men and women. Finally, this section makes the argument that additional leadership classes and skills should be taught in MPA curricula to best prepare future public administration practitioners.

City managers are expected to have strong leadership skills. As exhibited by the below job postings excerpts that were all sourced from active job positing on the Texas

Municipal League job posting website in July 2015 ("Texas Municipal League Career Center"), leadership is highlighted as a necessary skill in city management job postings:

- Lorena, TX: “Applicant must have 5 years or more at the management level in city government, or other **leadership** experience in a city government environment.”
- Van, TX: “**Lead** and direct the operations, services and activities of the City of Van.”
- Big Lake, TX: “The ideal candidate will have excellent **leadership**, communication, and decision making skills with superior integrity and unquestionable ethics.”
- Kingsville, TX: “Candidates must have a visionary approach, outstanding **leadership** ability, excellent communication and interpersonal skills, and the ability to develop strong, positive relationships with both residents and business interests in the community.”

In the larger context of leadership, it is worthwhile to note that men and women can display varying styles of leadership. C. Cryss Brunner and Paul Schumaker (1998, p.33) developed an in-depth overview of the differences and found men most often exert “power over” others. Women, on the other hand, give “power to” others. The “power over” predominantly male model of leadership emerges in organizations with hierarchical structures. The leader tends toward commanding and coercing subordinates rather than group collaboration. The “power to” model is expressed when the hierarchical structure is more fragmented, and there is a preference for cooperation and collaboration. Brunner and Schumaker conducted their studies in the late 1990s, yet their findings retain

currency. Beaty and Davis (2012, p.618) specifically acknowledge that when a woman asserts a leadership style that has masculine qualities, or otherwise the "power over" style, she is often viewed as overly aggressive. There are benefits to the female leadership style that are sought out by city governments because women are seen as more connected and responsive to constituents, which is particularly important in an era of government that is held to a high standard of transparency and public input.

Acknowledging that leadership styles vary by gender, Beaty and Davis argue that leadership courses should be more integrated into MPA programs to best prepare men and women to for careers in city management. Integrating leadership courses into the curriculum should better prepare women to overcome existing challenges and those thereafter in their careers into the upper levels of city management. "Imparting those differences in the minds of future or current public sector leaders is imperative, and designing a leadership curriculum that better addresses the leadership styles of women and men would, at a minimum, help facilitate the empowerment of students and practitioners alike to overcome the barriers that have kept women from senior leadership positions" (Beaty & Davis, 2012, p. 627). MPA courses that acknowledge, discuss and prepare students for the differences between male and female leadership styles could play a role in helping to address the gender gap that currently exists in the upper echelons of city management.

Role of Mentorship

Mentorship plays an important role in career development. For women, this is particularly true—almost essential—and it is even more beneficial if the mentor is also a woman (Kelly et al., 1991; Fox & Schuhmann, 2001). This can create a challenge for

women because few women are in senior positions to serve as mentors (Kelly et al., 1991).

Mentors are higher ranking professionals within an organization who have more experience and expertise, and are willing to help support a lower ranking employee's upward mobility in the organization (Ragins, 1989, p.2). Mentors provide advice and assistance to mentees in the form of career guidance including constructive feedback and motivation. They also act as an advocate and champion for the mentee seeking guidance (Kelly et al., 1991). A mentor would be an asset to anyone aspiring to the position of city manager.

The relationship that develops between the mentor and mentee exists because both people have a vested interest in the other person's success (Paciello, 2015, p.70). Some programs will formally match a person with a mentor, but some of the best mentorships are formed in an informal setting between a mentee and someone she would like to emulate professionally (Paciello, 2015, p.70).

A few key characteristics of mentorship are noteworthy for women. First, studies show that women are more successful if they have women mentors (Kelly et al., 1991). Unfortunately, the lack of women in senior government positions makes finding a suitable mentor challenging. It is beneficial for women to have same-sex mentors because they provide concrete evidence that women can achieve seniority and authority in city government (Kelly et al., 1991). According to Kelly et al. (1991), "…women benefit three times when they have access to women in top level positions because they not only benefit from learning skills, they also learn that their sex does not preclude them from

achieving higher ranks; and, experiencing women in high positions teaches men that women are capable of performing at that level" (Kelly et al., 1991, p.411).

Fox and Schuhmann's research shows that women pursuing city management careers are more likely to rely on another woman as a mentor, which again highlights an inevitable problem because there are simply not enough women to serve as mentors (Fox & Schuhmann, 2001). "That women are more reliant on female mentors and men more reliant on male mentors helps to establish the importance of having senior women serve as role models in the city management profession" (Fox & Schuhmann, 2001, p.388).

Building on the case for seeking same-sex mentors, the research Fox and Schuhmann published in the 2001 article highlights some challenges to finding the right mentor. The authors conducted a national survey of male and female city managers to identify what, if any, role mentorship played in their career planning. Both males and females reported they had mentors who played significant roles; however their choice of mentors differed.

Males more often identified educational mentors (former professors) as their primary mentors, while women rarely cited an educational mentor. While more research is needed to come to a definite conclusion, the authors indicate that this trend could be due to the increased likelihood that male professors develop lasting bonds with male students. Perhaps this finding could be attributed to issues of sexuality and power that arise with opposite sex mentors. While male-professor mentors "…might be effective in the medium term, there are problems with long-term relationships between senior men and up-and-coming women. Issues of sexuality and power are likely to inhibit the quality of the relationship" (Nicolson, 1996, p. 105). There is also a gender gap in higher

education, which results in fewer female professors who would more naturally mentor women students (Fox & Schuhmann, 2001).

Mentorship is an important component in a woman's successful career in city management, and it can be even more beneficial if the mentor is a woman herself. Earlier research also conducted by Fox and Schuhmann focused on the role of gender in city management. Their findings showed that women in positions of power can help foster a more inclusive environment for women in the political process (Fox & Schuhmann 2000, p. 610). Mentorship clearly helps foster a woman's career. Moreover, once a former mentee is established in her career, mentoring can become cyclical, fostering more women to follow similar career paths and thus bolstering the number of women who can serve as same-sex mentors and step into leadership positions in city government.

Several organizations and programs aim specifically to provide better mentorship opportunities for women. The International City/County Management Association's Women Leading Government initiative is one such platform. The ICMA WLG mission is "…to help women succeed in public service by enhancing career-building models that develop leadership skills and by networking professional women in government" (ICMA). An example of a more localized initiative is the City of Austin, TX Woman to Woman program, which was specifically created to give women in the City of Austin an opportunity to network, pursue continued training opportunities, and, notably, to bring together women at the top of the organization to serve as mentors to other women in the organization (City of Austin, TX, 2011)

As the research establishes, fostering mentorship opportunities for women in government can be beneficial to women pursing their careers and also for the government entities seeking more inclusive leadership.

Mentorship seems to enhance a career path, but other factors play a crucial role in defining that path. The next section reviews some characteristics of public- and private-sector career paths and then looks more closely at some distinctive city manager career paths.

Private-Sector Female Career Paths

Some career paths are haphazard, but others are the result of careful planning. "If you don't know where you're going, any road will take you there" (Braccio Hering, 2011). Career path planning is a deliberative analysis of what one wants to accomplish in his or her career and pursuing experiences and job positions that will accomplish that larger goal. It encourages people to think beyond the day-to-day tasks of accomplishing the job, and to focus on the bigger picture of learning lessons and skills needed for future positions (Braccio Hering, 2011). This section describes a sample career path of a woman pursuing a chief executive officer (CEO) position in the private sector, which will later be used to draw a comparison to women pursing city management positions in the public sector.

Women who head Fortune 500 companies in the United States undoubtedly went through a version of career planning. Regardless of their career planning tactics, it is possible to distinguish patterns in career progression. In a *Harvard Business Review* article, Sarah Dillard and Vanessa Lipschitz (2014) analyze career paths of female CEOS of Fortune 500 companies and found that for most of them it was not a prestigious higher

education or perfect concoction of degrees, but rather their tenure at the company that predicated attainment of the CEO position.

According to Dillard and Lipschitz (2014), young female business students are advised as undergraduates that if they someday want to head a Fortune 500 company they should follow a loose but well-planned formula. First, get an undergraduate degree from a prestigious school; second, get a Master of Business Administration from a selective school; third, pursue a job in investment banking or consulting; fourth, climb the ladder pursuing bigger and better jobs at bigger and better companies until the top position is attainable.

Contrary to the assumed formula for success, Dillard and Lipschitz's article found that most of the women Fortune 500 leaders did not follow the conventional-wisdom formula to success. Only three of the 24 women had a job right out of college at a bank or consulting firm; most had had a long tenure with the companies they were leading. Some started with their companies right out of college and worked up the ladder, but more significant is that 70 percent of the women spent at least 10 years with the companies they were then leading. "The median long stint for these women CEOs is 23 years spent at a single company in one stretch before becoming the CEO" of that company (Dillard & Lipschitz, 2014). To determine how that compared to their male counterparts, researchers conducted a random sample of Fortune 500 male leaders. The median stint length for male CEOs was 15 years. Or in other words, the female CEOs stints with the companies were nearly 50 percent longer than the stints of their male counterparts (Dillard & Lipschitz, 2014).

A variety of explanations have been proposed for the gender differences associated with tenure and reaching CEO status. Possibly the women really loved the companies they were working for and chose not to leave. On the other hand, there could be gender biases working against the women that required them to "prove themselves" differently than their male counterparts. Regardless, there is still room for further research on this question. The research does suggest one interesting takeaway - women pursuing the top positions in private companies should consider the mantra "slow and steady wins the race." Later in the literature review, this career path is identified as similar to that of the "Single-City Careerist" in city management.

The same assumption that female CEOs most likely went through a career-path planning process can also be applied to female city managers and chief administrative officers. The next section focuses on city management career paths.

City Management Career Paths

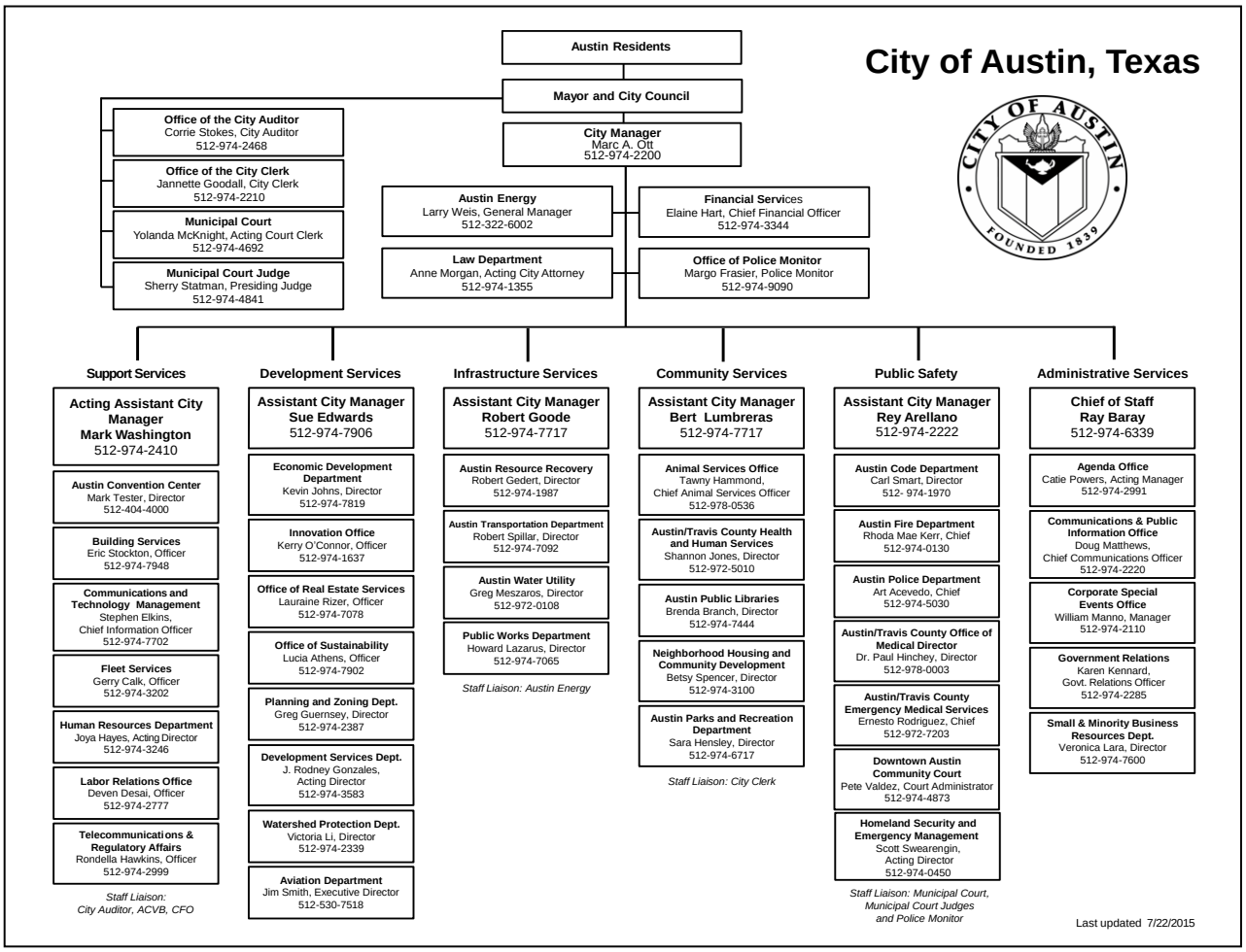
Dillard and Lipschitz's (2014) research focused on female Fortune 500 CEOs' career paths. No comparable studies have analyzed the career paths of the nation's female city managers. The following section reviews the council-manager form of government, and then further describes what is considered to be the "traditional city management career path."

The majority of U.S. cities operate under a council-manager form of government (Choi, Feiock, & Bae, 2013, p. 727). A council-manager form of government is structured such that all government authority resides with an elected body, but the responsibility for executive and management tasks lies with a professional administrator

who reports to the elected body (Choi, Feiock, & Bae, 2013, p. 729). The lead administrator often holds a city manager or chief administrative officer job title.

As an example, Austin, TX, the eleventh largest city in the nation (*United States Census Bureau American Fact Finder*, 2010) operates under a council-manager form of government with an elected city council, which as a body appoints the city manager. The Austin residents elect a City Council that appoints the City Manager. The City Manager directly manages four high-level positions including the municipal utility Austin Energy, Financial Services, the Office of the Police Monitor, and the Law Department, and then hires an executive team of Assistant City Managers and a Chief of Staff to oversee six

Figure 2.1 City of Austin, TX Organizational Chart (Source: City of Austin, 2015)



service areas. The City Council has four direct-report departments. Figure 2.1, above, illustrates a typical city organization under a council-manager plan (City of Austin, 2015).

The generally accepted traditional city management career path is one in which the future city manager works her way through a city manager's office before leaving to become a city manager is a small town (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.193; McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008, p.4). For example, the person would first be the assistant to the city manager, then an assistant city manager, and then the person accepts a position as city manager in a different, smaller city. From there, city manager positions in larger and larger cities with increasing responsibility and compensation are successfully pursued. In another traditional route, individuals become a department director before moving into an assistant city manager role, and then advance to city manager positions in larger and larger cities (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.193; McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008, p.4).

City Management Career Path Characteristics and Categories

To describe the career paths of female city managers in Texas, it is necessary to identify the characteristics that comprise a city manager's career path, and then to categorize city management career paths. This section identifies four common career paths and reviews the methodology Watson and Hassett (2004a) used to construct the four career categories. These categories are used to form the conceptual framework used for this applied research project.

Douglas Watson and Wendy Hassett (2004a) analyzed city management career paths and scholarly literature to develop four career-path categories applicable to most

city management careers. Numerous factors comprise a city manager's career path. A review of literature identified city size, the practitioner's tenure in each job position, and the career progression as especially important factors that shape a city manager's career. These three are also highlighted because they are included in Douglas Watson and Wendy Hassett's research, which serves as the foundation for this project's methodology.

City Size

City size fundamentally changes the nature of the job. For example, comparing New York City, NY, to Dripping Springs, TX would be like comparing McDonald's to the Kebabalicious food truck. They are both food businesses that seek to generate profits, but the differences are greater than the similarities. The Kebabalicious food truck owner has different responsibilities than the McDonald's CEO. Likewise, New York City and Dripping Springs are both cities. They both use taxes to finance budgets and politics to choose their leaders. However, like McDonald's and Kebabalicious, there are substantial differences that make comparisons illogical, particularly with respect to the top job. It is not surprising that scholars routinely take into account city size when they analyze city management practices (Carr & Tavares, 2014; Thurmond, 2010; Watson and Hassett 2003, 2004ab). City size shapes what is expected of the city manager from both the community and his or her elected body, and it plays a significant role in a city manager's career category as identified by Watson and Hassett.

One major difference between large and small cities is how much time city managers spend on policy-making and management duties. In a 2012 study, managers in small towns spent a larger portion of their time handling classic management duties including staffing, budget implementation, and departmental coordination (French, 2005,

p.506). Managers in large cities spent more of their time than those in small cities working on political activities such as ceremonies, meetings with other government entities, and public relations (French, 2005, p.506). The study's findings replicated a 1988 study's findings that also indicated city mangers in large cities devote more time to what are considered "political activities" than to management activities, particularly more so than that of city managers in smaller jurisdictions (French, 2005, p.507).

The difference between city populations is also highlighted in how city managers set priorities for dealing with a city's problems (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992). City managers are expected to adopt their community's values, which substantially influences their decision-making, including how they prioritize the city's problems (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992, p.447). City managers surveyed about how to rank their community's problems, social problems were of more importance in large cities than small ones, which could be explained by social issues being more problematic in large cities (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992, p.452). For example, homeless and transient individuals tend to live in larger cities, so it would rank as a higher priority in a large city than small. While social issues highlighted the differences, both large and small cities ranked infrastructure concerns at the top of the list across the board, such as solid waste management and city infrastructure.

Many anecdotal reports mention that in small cities the city manager is expected to be a jack-of-all-trades and that there are fewer career moves to the top position. When Douglas Schulze served as city manager for Normandy Park, Washington (population 6,800), he once received a late-night call at home from a resident looking for assistance in fueling an airplane. The resident was at their airport in need of assistance, and

Schulze's number was the contact listed when residents needed help (Schulze & Terry, 2012, p.7)! One can imagine in a large city there would likely be hundreds of people who would receive such a call long before anyone would try the city manager. Schulze cites another example from Normandy Park when the city needed a $150,000 footbridge. Rather than outsource the work, he worked with community volunteers to build the bridge with the city supplying $15,000 in building materials (Schulze & Terry, 2012, p.10). In contrast, a recent footbridge build in northwest Austin cost taxpayers a little more than $750,000 and created community controversy that the bridge would lead to more crime in the area (McCrady, 2013). By their nature, small cities have fewer job positions than large cities, thus job positions in the internal ladder to the top spot are limited. These examples highlight situations that show the differing roles a city manager plays depending on city size.

A city's size can greatly influence a city manager's career in terms of time management, perception of community problems, and a daily job functions (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992, p.448; Schulze & Terry, 2012).

Tenure

According to the International City/County Management Association (ICMA), the average tenure for city managers is continuously increasing. Tenure refers to the amount of time a city manager spends in office in one city (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.71). In the early 2000s it was approximately 6.9 years. Previously it was 5.4 years in the 1990s, 4.4 years in 1974 and only 3.5 years in 1963 (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.71). However, as researchers David Ammons and Matthew Bosse (2005, p.62) point out, one has to be careful when using the term "average tenure" in reference to city managers' careers. As

they highlight, when people say average tenure there can be a dual meaning; either they are referencing the city manager's time spent in one community or the time spent in one particular position.

The ICMA Code of Ethics, adopted in 1924 and updated as recently as 2015, offers guidance on best practices in city management tenure. All ICMA members pledge to uphold and abide by the ICMA Code of Ethics, which was crafted to "…serve as the foundation for the local government management profession and set the standard for excellence" ("International City/County Management Association (ICMA) Code of Ethics," 1924). The ICMA Code of Ethics contains twelve pillar tenets, including Tenet 4, which specifically addresses tenure:

> "**Tenet 4.** Recognize that the chief function of local government at all times is to serve the best interests of all of the people.
>
> **Guideline: Length of Service.** A minimum of two years generally is considered necessary in order to render a professional service to the local government. A short tenure should be the exception rather than a recurring experience. However, under special circumstances, it may be in the best interests of the local government and the member to separate in a shorter time. Examples of such circumstances would include refusal of the appointing authority to honor commitments concerning conditions of employment, a vote of no confidence in the member, or severe personal problems. It is the responsibility of an applicant for a position to ascertain conditions of employment. Inadequately

> determining terms of employment prior to arrival does not justify premature termination" (International City/County Management Association (ICMA) Code of Ethics, 1924).

ICMA members pledge to stay in a position for a minimum of two years without special circumstance, and as part of their membership they agree to voluntarily submit to a peer-to-peer review should there be an allegation of misconduct. However, the Code of Ethics does not offer guidance on maximum tenure, likely because if a person remains in a position for a long time it can be assumed things are going well.

Other factors that can affect career tenure include political and economic stability (McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008). Economically stable communities with higher levels of per capita income have been shown to maintain their city managers for longer periods of time than in less stable communities (McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008, p.383). Additionally, communities with small amounts of political turnover have more career stability for city managers; for instance, communities that have a more tenured elected body tend to keep city managers longer than those with newly elected officials (McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008, p.384).

Tenure plays an important role in a city manager's career; it helps to answer the question: "How long should I stay in this position before pursing the next opportunity?" Watson and Hassett (2004a) use tenure in one of their conclusions, suggesting that if a young professional wants to be city manager in a city larger than 100,000 he or she would be wise to start a career early with that city and work through the ranks; otherwise stated, pursue a long tenure in a large city (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.198).

Whether it is by choice or circumstance, a city manager's tenure in a community and in each position helps to determine which career category he or she is classified under.

Career Progression

Watson and Hassett (2004a) consider career progression in terms of the city manager's intended career progression.

Some city managers pursue positions in larger cities, with the ultimate goal to become a city manager of one of the nation's largest cities. Others pursue careers in cities of similar size, which allows them to be change agents and move on to the next city. These same city managers might also intend to progress to larger cities, but are not successful. Lifestyle can certainly play a role in a city manager's chosen progression. Some practitioners find a city that suits them and intend to stay there for a long period of time (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195).

Career Categories

Watson and Hassett (2004a) used career characteristics to develop four distinct career categories that describe most city managers' career paths. Much as Dillard and Lipschitz (2014) found that most of the female CEOs did not follow the assumed formula for success, Watson and Hassett (2004a) found that the city managers' career paths extended beyond the traditional path, and patterns in their career progressions could be structured into four categories:

1. Long Servers
2. Ladder Climbers
3. Lateral Movers

4. Single-City Careerists

Watson and Hassett (2003, 2004a,b; Hassett and Watson, 2002) have published numerous articles that focus on city management careers. Their first article (2002) applied academic literature to the careers of city managers who served in the same cities for more than 20 years to determine what factors accounted for their long tenures. Less than five percent of all city managers nationwide had served in one city for more than 20 years; Watson and Hassett identified how these long-serving managers were able to stay for so long and why they chose to do so, as described below.

The long-serving (a term coined by Hassett and Watson, 2002) managers in the same city cited a balanced political atmosphere as a major contributing factor to their successful tenure. They had had the support of their elected officials (Hassett & Watson, 2002, p.623). Their personal reasons for staying included strong bonds with their colleagues, in particular those they had appointed, as well as professional satisfaction in those cities because they continued to present new challenges. The Long Servers were primarily Caucasian, highly educated, male, and personally attached or committed to their city (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.71). These managers most often worked in homogenous cities with fewer than 30,000 people (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.74). Long Servers reported high levels of job satisfaction, which contributed to their desire to continue serving the same city (Hassett & Watson, 2003).

With Long Servers accounting for less than five percent of city managers nationwide, there were certainly more categories to be explored. Two years later, Watson and Hassett (2004a) expanded their research to profile all city managers from U.S. cities larger than 100,000 people. They used the International City/County Management

Association (ICMA) 2001 Municipal Yearbook to identify which cities larger than 100,000 operated under a council-manager form of government. They identified 113 (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.196). Interestingly, of the 113 cities, 42 were in California and 18 were in Texas (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.193). Then they cross-referenced their list of cities with an ICMA member roster to ensure the information was up to date. To gather information on each city manager, they used the ICMA *Who's Who in Local Government* database to access employment history and educational background. If any information was missing, they contacted the city manager directly to request the information. The managers frequently responded with a resume that included all necessary details (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.196).

Using the city manager database, Watson and Hassett (2004a) developed three additional career categories: Ladder Climbers, Lateral Movers, and Single-City Careerists. The primary components that differentiate each category are: city population size, the city manager's tenure in each position, and the city manager's career progression. A more comprehensive description of the four career categories identified by Watson and Hassett (2004) follows:

1. <u>Long Servers (LS):</u> Long Servers are city managers in small cities and they remain employed as city managers in the same city for more than 20 years (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). Long Servers represent a small fraction of all city managers, roughly 4.5 percent (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.73).

The Long Servers tend to be employed in small cities (less than 30,000 people) (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). Due to the small city size, the Long Server manager likely spends most of his or her time on management functions, and not as much time

handling political affairs as a city manage might do in a large city (French, 2005, p.506). There could be expectations not necessarily associated with a city manager's responsibilities such as the aforementioned anecdotes about small town managers being jacks-of-all-trades, much like a small business owner (Schulze & Terry, 2012, p.7).

As the title implies, a Long Server is a person who has worked in a city for twenty or more years in the city manager position. The Long Servers find a city that suits them and intend to stay there for a long period of time. "Average tenure" in this case refers to the time served in the role of city manager in one city for 20+ years (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). Cities that are more economically and politically stable are favorable for Long Server city managers, providing good job stability (McCabe, Feiock, Clingermayer, & Stream, 2008). Therefore, it is a logical assertion that cities that employ Long Servers tend to be economically and politically stable. The literature refers to Long Servers as "…defying the odds…" of short city manager tenures (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p. 71).

Long Server city managers cite favorable political climate, family, staff development, and professional growth as the primary factors contributing to their long service (Hassett and Watson, 2003). They generally had good, supportive and trusting relationships with their elected officials and they all agreed about the city manager's appropriate degree of political involvement (Hassett and Watson, 2003, p.625). Additionally, these Long Servers reported a sense of community and family life stability as factors influencing their career choices (Hassett and Watson, 2002, p.626). Finally, they reported feeling a strong sense of professional development because their communities were continuously changing, which presented them with challenges similar to those of city managers who move to new cities (Hassett and Watson, 2002, p.628).

Long Servers' characteristics follow:

- City Size: Cities smaller than 30,000 (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195).
- Tenure: Twenty or more years in one city as city manager (Watson & Hassett, 2003, Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195).
- Career goal: To pursue a long career in one city that is a good match for the manager in terms of personal and professional interests (Watson & Hassett, 2003, p.73).

2. Ladder Climbers (LC): Watson and Hassett (2004a, p.195) define Ladder Climbers as city managers who move every four to five years following a path to larger and more prestigious positions in larger cities each time (otherwise known as climbing the corporate ladder).

Ladder Climbers move frequently because they believe they will need to make a series of moves before they reach the pinnacle of their careers as city manager in a city larger than 100,000 people (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). A Ladder Climber's ultimate goal is to become city manager in one of the nation's largest cities. As they follow a steady progression of moving to larger and larger cities, they receive more responsibility and corresponding compensation.

Ladder Climbers manage both large and small cities during their climb to the top. It is thus a reasonable assumption that as the cities progress in size Ladder Climbers' experiences would become more political (French, 2005, p.506). City priorities shift and change based on size (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992), therefore it would be necessary for Ladder Climbers to be adaptable and capable of identifying paradigm shifts as their careers lead to larger cities.

The ICMA two-year minimum tenure guidelines are met if a Ladder Climber remains employed with each community for the cited four to five years ("International City/County Management Association (ICMA) Code of Ethics," 1924). However, since Ladder Climbers' career trajectory involves advancing to larger and more prestigious positions, these practitioners would need to be cautious of any temptations to climb the ladder too quickly and break the ICMA tenure tenet. Because their career path is disciplined by how much time they spend in each position, the Ladder Climbers' tenure tracking is focused on time served in each position.

Ladder Climbers' characteristics follow:

- City size: Cities progress in size.
- Tenure: Four to five years per city.
- Career goal: City manager in one of nation's largest cities.

3. Lateral Movers (LM): Lateral Movers are city managers who serve four to five years in smaller cities before moving on to manage another similar-sized city.

Lateral Movers prefer to act as change agents in communities, which could explain their four-to-five-year tenure patterns. While they move as often as Ladder Climbers, they do not progress to larger cities. Watson and Hassett (2004a, p.195) offer a few additional reasons why Lateral Movers often change positions: They could be dismissed or encouraged to leave by their elected bodies, or it is possible that they are aspiring Ladder Climbers who are unsuccessful at ladder climbing

Lateral Movers, like Long Servers, are often found in small cities, so it would be expected that the majority of their duties align with traditional management functions (French, 2005, p.506). Either way, these practitioners would also have to be cautious of

the temptation to leave a position too early in violation with the ICMA Code of Ethics tenure tenet.

Lateral Movers' characteristics follow:

- City size: Small cities, do not progress in size (less than 30,000).
- Tenure: Four to five years per city.
- Career goal: Change agents for small cities or aspiring Ladder Climbers.

4. Single-City Careerists (SCC): Single-City Careerists spend their entire tenures in one city (as the name implies); they begin their careers in a large city and work their way up in the ranks until they are appointed city manager of that city. They typically serve as assistant city manager before their appointment to city manager. Single-City Careerists have no desire to leave the city where they started their career; they might work for a city for 20 years before being appointed city manager (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195).

There is a "ladder-climbing" element with the Single-City Careerists as they pursue more and more prestigious positions, but it is the city history that sets their progressions apart from Ladder Climbers. Primary differences occur along city size, how long they serve as city managers, and their age when taking on the city manager position. Single-City Careerists can be found in cities of all sizes, but they tend to work in large cities (larger than 100,000) that are able to offer career mobility opportunities internally. Of the four career categories, Single-City Careerists are likely to spend the most time fulfilling political roles (French, 2005, p.506). Additionally, these practitioners prioritize community problems and concerns differently than do small city managers. Issues like homelessness and drug abuse are valued by small cities, but might not be the top

priorities or challenges as they are in large cities (Desantis, Glass, & Newell, 1992, p.452).

For Single-City Careerists, the path to city manager is embedded in the organizations where they started their careers (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). Thus, the phrase "average tenure" in this case refers to time served in a particular community combined with time served so far, not specifically in the city management position (Ammons & Bosse, 2005, p.62). As one might imagine, a young employee of a large city does not start his or her career as city manager; he or she must work up to that position.

Single-City Careerists' characteristics follow:

- City size: Large cities (more than 100,000).
- Tenure: One city for their entire careers.
- Career Goal: Become city manager in the same city where they started their career.

Another group that has similarities to Single-City Careerists is the aforementioned private-sector female CEOs who worked more than 10 years for the Fortune 500 companies before being appointed CEOs. These leaders worked their way up in the organization and put in a considerable amount of time before ever reaching the pinnacle. Fortune 500 companies can compare to large cities in that they offer career growth opportunities, explaining why some employees are able to stay so long and progress to the chief position.

While Watson and Hassett identified four total career path categories, their research indicated that most city managers in the United States from large cities fall into one of two categories: Ladder Climbers or Single-City Careerists. They did not provide a

nationwide breakdown of each category, but came to this conclusion based on career path characteristics (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.196).

Career Categorization Key Findings; Female Indicators

In their study of 113 city managers from cities larger than 100,000, the amount of city managers promoted from within—51 total, or 45 percent—surprised Watson and Hassett. They had assumed Ladder Climbers were pursuing the "traditional path" to city management; their results showed a different scenario. When looking at cities with more than 400,000 people, that percentage rose to nearly 67 percent (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.196). The authors concluded that large cities are more likely to hire from within than are smaller cities. Asked how many other cities they had served, most of the 113 managers answered "no other cities," meaning that the majority of the respondents were Single-City Careerists. More notably for this research, 38 percent of men citied "no other cities," while 46 percent of women (or six of the 13) reported "no other cities," possibly indicating that Single-City Careerist women are more successful than other female candidates at securing the city manager position (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.197).

Additional significant findings include the years in office and educational levels each city manager reported. Male city managers primarily reported being in office for 0-4 years (46 percent) or 5-9 years (44 percent). There were some men who reported having been in office for 10-14 years (15 percent), 15-19 years (7 percent), and one reported more than 20 years (one percent). The female respondents replied either 0-4 (9 percent) or 5-9 years (4 percent). Not one female city manager served in the position longer than 9 years (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.197). The average years as city manager in their current cities were 6.327 years for men, and 3.846 years for women (Watson & Hassett,

2004a, p.196). While female city managers served shorter terms in office, they reported higher educational levels than their male counterparts. Of the male respondents, 80.3 percent held a Master degree while 92.3 percent of the females did (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.197).

Watson and Hassett's (2004a) primary conclusion, and unique finding, was that in cities larger than 100,000 people city managers are just as likely to be internally recruited as they are from outside the organization. Thus, there is a notable population of Long Servers and Single-City Careerists working in cities larger than 100,000 people. This was contrary to the belief that most city managers are Ladder Climbers, so it is a significant finding, particularly for those pursing city management (Watson and Hassett, 2004).

James Thurmond applied Watson and Hassett's original research to Texas city managers from cities larger than 100,000 to determine whether small-city manager experience was critical for obtaining the city management position in large cities. His research reflects the original findings that promotion from within was common (48 percent of respondents reporting they were appointed city managers from within the organization). Seventy percent of respondents had assistant city manager (ACM) experience, while 35 percent had some small-city experience, indicating that the ACM role likely is more valuable than ladder climbing to obtain the city management job in a large city. Additionally, 30 percent of Thurmond's respondents had worked in the same city their entire careers; otherwise stated, they are Single-City Careerists (Thurmond, 2010, p.229). This is lower than the 38 percent reported by Watson and Hassett (2004a), and significantly lower than the 46 percent reported from female respondents.

Thurmond's data did not include gender identifiers. A study that examines female city manager progression would clearly be a contribution to the literature on city management and women in public administration.

Conceptual Framework

Research focused on the career paths of female city managers in Texas is limited. Therefore, the purpose of this research project is to describe the career paths of female Texas City Managers. Table 2.1 highlights the conceptual framework explained and justified in this chapter. The concepts and base knowledge regarding contributing factors to the gender gap in city management are essential to understand how career paths progress. To pursue the targeted research in a methodical way, the following complex, two-stage, conceptual framework was developed. It is subsequently used to build a coding instrument for female Texas city manager resumes. (See Table 2.1).

Table 2.1 Conceptual Framework Table
Descriptive Categories for Female City Manager Career Paths

Title: Female City Managers in Texas: A Content Analysis of Resumes to Identify Successful Career Path Trends **Purpose:** The purpose of this descriptive research project is to identify and describe the career paths of female Texas City Managers	
Conceptual Framework Table	
Career Path Characteristics	**Related Literature**
City Size	Desantis et.al. 1992; French 2005; McCrady 2013; Schulze & Terry 2012; Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Tenure	Ammons & Bosse 2005; ICMA Code of Ethics 1924/2015; McCabe et.al. 2008; Watson & Hassett 2003; Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Career Progression	Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Career Path – Categories	**Related Literature**
Long Servers (LS) • City size: less than 30K • Tenure: 20+ years in one city as City Manager • Career goal: long career in one city	Ammons & Bosse 2005; French 2005; Hassett & Watson 2002; McCabe et.al. 2008, Thurmond 2010; Watson & Hassett 2003, Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Ladder Climbers (LC) • City size: cities progress in size • Tenure: 4-5 years/city • Career goal: city manager in large city	Desantis et.al. 1992; French 2005, ICMA Code of Ethics 1924/2015; Thurmond 2010, Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Lateral Movers (LM) • City size: less than 30K • Tenure: 4-5 years/city • Career goal: unknown, change agents or LCs	Ammons & Bosse 2005; French 2005; Thurmond 2010; Watson & Hassett 2004ab.
Single-City Careerists (SCC) • City size: more than 100,000K • Tenure: 1 city • Career goal: city manager	Ammons & Bosse 2005; Desantis et.al. 1992; French 2005, Watson & Hassett 2004ab.

Chapter Conclusion

In conclusion, most city managers follow one of the four identified career paths, and Watson and Hassett (2004a) determined that majority of them are Ladder Climbers or Single-City Careerists. This project expands on the literature, but with a focus on

women in Texas. To place female city managers in Texas into one of the four categories, this project analyzes their career histories to determine what career category best applies. The next chapter (Methodology) describes the content analysis of resumes used to study women Texas city managers.

Chapter III: Methodology

Chapter Purpose

This chapter describes the content analysis methodology used to classify currently serving Texas female city managers into one of four career path categories: Long Servers (LS), Ladder Climbers (LC), Lateral Movers (LM), and Single-City Careerists (SCC). A coding sheet was developed from the aforementioned career path characteristics including tenure, city size, and career progression, which are foundational elements in the four career categories. The coding sheet is used to analyze the resumes from 41 Texas female city managers in an effort to categorize them into one of the four categories. The methodology leaves room for flexibility in categorizing, as it was anticipated that not every city manager would fit neatly into one category.

Subject Identification

This study's methodology is designed to replicate, but also localize the methodology Watson and Hassett used in their original analysis of city managers from cities larger than 100,000 people. Watson and Hassett used the International City/County Management Association (ICMA) database to identify their subjects, and then cross-referenced that database with the ICMA member roster (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.193).

ICMA is a national professional organization for city management professionals. To localize the data, this study uses the Texas City Management Association (TCMA) database. TCMA is a local government professional organization for Texas practitioners and currently has 937 members (Texas City Management Association, 2015). The TCMA membership data are initially used identify currently serving city managers in Texas. The

TCMA database identified 269 records of city managers in Texas. Then, the data are cross-referenced with the membership data from the Texas Municipal League (TML). TML is "A non-profit association which exists solely to provide services to Texas cities through legislative, legal and educational efforts" (Texas Municipal League, 2015). Currently, TML has 1,146 member cities. The TML database identified 435 records of city managers in Texas (Texas Municipal League, 2015). The two databases are cross referenced to delete duplicate entries and eliminate positions that include the words "city manager" but are not the position, such as the title "assistant to the city manager."

The next step in identifying the subjects for this study was to identify women city managers. The TCMA database provided photos with most of the records, but TML did not provide photos. The subject names were analyzed and those that are most commonly identified as female names such as Aretha and Ashley were categorized as female. Traditionally male names such as Jason and Michael were deleted from the list. Unisex names such as Leslie, Kelly, and Dylan were pulled to the side for further investigation. To clarify unisex names, further unobtrusive internet research was conducted to find photos of the subjects, who were then categorized as male or female.

Once the subjects were identified, each was contacted and asked to send a resume to be coded and then classified as one of the four career categories. The TCMA and TML databases combined reported only 64 women managers, so all subjects who responded to the call for resumes are included in the sample, making it a nonprobability sample. This study, therefore, does not report on confidence levels and intervals, which should be computed when the sample is random (Babbie, 2013, p.190). A coding sheet was

developed and used as a tool to classify each city manager according to criteria noted on page 55.

Content Analysis and Coding Sheet

Content Analysis

The conceptual framework is a blueprint for the research project; it shapes the broad outlines of the project and gives the study a theoretical design (Shields & Rangarajan, 2013, p.24). That framework is then operationalized to lay out what measurement techniques are used in the research project (Babbie, 2013, p.114-115). This project uses content analysis as the mode of observation and measurement. Earl Babbie (2001, p.309) defines content analysis as "…the study of recorded human communications, in which raw data is coded and organized in a standardized fashion." For the purposes of this study, the piece of content, or "human communication," that is analyzed is the resume.

William M. Bowen and Chieh-Chen Bowen (1999, p.68) describe three primary requirements for a complete content analysis. The first is that the researcher includes and excludes the relevant "sign-vehicles," units of content that are being analyzed. For purposes of this study, the sign-vehicles are the career path characteristics of female city managers in Texas. The second requirement is that each step of the analysis use the same rule framework. This study uses a coding sheet, which is explained later in this chapter, to ensure the rules are uniformly applied for each resume analysis. Finally, the content analysis must be relevant to the larger body of theory related to the subject matter. The content analysis results from this study should contribute to improving understanding of city management and women in public administration.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths and weaknesses are associated with the content analysis; it was selected for this study because it facilitates systematic sorting of a large volume of information. The previously cited action of including and excluding sign-vehicles is the systematic way to sift through information. "This is particularly valuable in an era of information overflow, in which a subjectively biased investigator could find enough written materials to conduct a quantitative study to support his or her beliefs about most anything" (Bowen & Bowen, 1999, p.69). A related strength is also derived from the systematic process—the ability to minimize researcher bias (Bowen & Bowen, 1999, p.69). The selected sign-vehicles in this study were distilled from the original research conducted by Douglas Watson and Wendy Hassett (2004a), therefore minimizing the risk of researcher subjectivity.

Content analysis also provides the opportunity to check for reliability, which can be done by three methods: stability, reproducibility and accuracy, which may or may not be combined, depending on the nature of the work. Stability means that the results are consistent over time; reproducibility means that another researcher would get the same results conducting the same content analysis ("intercoder reliability"). Stability and reproducibility are used more often than is accuracy, which is a process of checking the analysis against an already established norm or standard in the field. The accuracy reliability check is particularly difficult in fields where a norm or standard does not exist, such as public administration (Bowen & Bowen, 1999, p.70). Therefore, this study uses the intercoder reliability method.

Content analysis weaknesses are primarily due to reliance on the researcher to make decisions throughout the process that do not taint the research. In the beginning, the researcher must objectively determine the rules and procedures for each step in the analysis. She must then objectively apply the rules to each piece of content, or each sign-vehicle. If the researcher is not disciplined in following her framework, the analysis could be tainted by her subjectivity (Bowen & Bowen, 1999, p.69). Stemming from the importance of researcher objectivity is the extent to which the study can be replicated; objectivity can be replicated, but subjectivity cannot, making it even more important for research reliability (Bowen & Bowen, 1999, pg.69). As previously stated, steps incorporated in this study to protect against content analysis weaknesses include modeling the research after another successful research project, and incorporating interrater reliability.

Coding Sheet

A coding sheet is used to organize the data in a standardized, systematic fashion to classify the city managers. The coding sheet further operationalizes the conceptual framework and is a tool that acts as a guide to analyzing the city managers' resumes. The career characteristics (tenure, city size, and job progression) are integrated into the coding sheet as variables (or sign-vehicles), in addition to city name and job title. The coding sheet is developed to analyze each position the city manager held in local government; it can be shortened or lengthened as necessary (see Table 3.1). The coding sheet was also developed using the descriptive conceptual framework developed in Chapter 2 (Shields & Rangrajan, 2013; Shields & Tajalli, 2006)

Table 3.1 Resume Coding Sheet

Resume # _____ (Format: Name_CurrentCity)

Variable #	Variable Name	Data		LS=Long Server, LC=Ladder Climber, LM= Lateral Mover, SCC= Single-City Careerist, or OTHER
1	Job Title (C)	Current (C) Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
2.	City Size (C)	Current (C) City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
3.	Tenure (C)	Current (C) Years Served		
4.	Progression (C)	Current (C) Job Progression: 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
5.	Job Title (C-1)	C-1 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
6.	City Size (C-1)	C-1 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
7.	Tenure (C-1)	C-1 Years Served		
8.	Progression (C-1)	Current (C-1) Job Progression: 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
9.	Job title (C-2)	C-2 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
10.	City Size (C-2)	C-2 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
11.	Tenure (C-2)	C-2 Years Served		
12.	Progression (C-2)	Current (C-2) Job Progression: 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
13.	Job title (C-3)	C-3 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
14.	City Size (C-3)	C-3 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
15.	Tenure (C-3)	C-3 Years Served		
16.	Progression (C-3)	Current (C-3) Job Progression: 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:

17.	Job title (C-4)	C-4 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
18.	City Size (C-4)	C-4 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
19.	Tenure (C-4)	C-4 Years Served		
20.	Progression (C-4)	Current (C-4) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
21.	Job title (C-5)	C-5 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
22.	City Size (C-5)	C-5 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
23.	Tenure (C-5)	C-5 Years Served		
24.	Progression (C-5)	Current (C-5) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
25.	Job title (C-6)	C-6 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
26.	City Size (C-6)	C-6 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
27.	Tenure (C-6)	C-5 Years Served		
28.	Progression (C-6)	Current (C-6) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
29.	Job title (C-7)	C-7 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
30.	City Size (C-7)	C-7 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
31.	Tenure (C-7)	C-7 Years Served		
32.	Progression (C-5)	Current (C-5) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
33.	Job title (C-8)	C-8 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
34.	City Size (C-8)	C-8 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
35.	Tenure (C-8)	C-8 Years Served		

36.	Progression (C-8)	Current (C-8) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
37.	Job title (C-9)	C-9 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
38.	City Size (C-9)	C-9 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
39.	Tenure (C-9)	C-9 Years Served		
40.	Progression (C-9)	Current (C-9) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:
41.	Job title (C-10)	C-10 Job Title 1 = City Manager/equivalent 2 = Assistant City Manager/equivalent	3 = Assistant to the City Manager/equivalent 4 = Department Director 5 = Assistant Dept. Dir.	
42.	City Size (C-10)	C-10 City Population: (As of 2010 census) Small = 0-30,000 Medium = 30,001-99,999 Large = 100,000+		
43.	Tenure (C-10)	C-10 Years Served		
44.	Progression (C-10)	Current (C-10) Job Progression 1 = Promotion from previous position 0 = Lateral move from previous position -1 = Demotion from previous position		Position career path indicates:

Table 3.1 Note: C = current position, C-1 = one job back from the current, C-2= two jobs back from current position, and so forth. It is read as C-N = Nth job back from the current position.

Table 3.1 is the longhand version of the Resume Coding Sheet. To condense the coding sheet to make it more nimble and usable for the researcher, it was replicated in shorthand for the actual content analysis as shown in Table 3.2. The only substantial difference between the two tables in that Table 3.2 includes a column for intercoder reliability. As previously stated, intercoder reliability is a standard used to maintain the integrity of a content analysis process by showing that the results can be replicated. When intercoders can replicate the original researcher's results, it is an indicator that the original researcher was objective throughout the process. For the purpose of this study, the two intercoders conducted independent content analysis on a sample of 10 resumes. The two additional researchers interceding for this study are Anthony Segura and Jason Alexander. Anthony Segura (rater #1) is the Finance Manager for the City of Austin's

Transportation Department and is also a graduate of the Texas State University Master of Public Administration program. Jason Alexander (rater #2) is a Business Process Consultant for the City of Austin's Fire Department and is also a graduate of the Texas State University Master of Public Administration program.

The coding sheet is structured to capture data in chronological order. The job positions are in listed in the far left column to make it easier to analyze the career path moves; it depicts move to move on top of one another. It is more useful than flipping the chart with the variables in the left column and city positions in the top row, which would be a more traditional structure. The variables are marked in the table cells; for example, Variable 1 is V1, Variable 2 is V2, and so forth.

Table 3.2 Condensed Resume Coding Sheet with Intercoder Reliability

Resume # _____ (Format: Name_CurrentCity)

Job	City Size	Tenure	Progression	LS/LC/LM/SCC	Rater #1	Rater #2
C: Variable 1 (V1)	V2	V3	V4			
C-1: V5	V6	V7	V8			
C-2: V9	V10	V11	V12			
C-3: V13	V14	V15	V16			
C-4: V17	V18	V19	V20			
C-5: V21	V22	V23	V24			
C-6: V25	V26	V27	V28			
C-7: V29	V30	V31	V32			
C-8: V33	V34	V35	V36			
C-9: V37	V38	V49	V40			
C-10: V41	V42	V43	V44			

Resume Analysis

Each resume is analyzed individually using the coding sheet, and within each resume every job position is part of the analysis. While only current city managers'

resumes are part of this study, the focus is on how they arrived at their current positions. Every job leading up to the top city management position is important and is truly the focus of this study. The three primary characteristics to be coded are city size, job tenure, and career progression.

To capture the historical element in this study—career history—a coding system is used to differentiate each of the city manager's job positions. Every city manager's current job position is coded "C" and the most recent past-position is "C-1" indicating one job position back in time. The code continues "C-2" to indicate two previous positions in the past, and so forth. The coding sheet is designed to go back ten positions in history, but it can be shortened or lengthened to account for the city manager's career history.

City sizes are categorized as small, medium, and large. Watson and Hassett define small cities as those with 30,000 people or less; cities with more than 100,000 people are large cities (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.195). This study takes into account the large number of Texas cities under 30,000 that employ city managers. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the following size definitions are applied: small = 0-30,000 people; medium = 30,001-99,999 people, large = 100,000 people and more.

Small cities are Long Servers (LS) and Lateral Movers (LM) indicators, and large cities are Single-City Careerists (SCC) indicators. The Ladder Climbers (LC) progress to larger and larger cities, therefore the growth in city size is more important than any single point in time city's population.

Job tenure is measured in years served per job position. Job tenure of 20 or more years will indicate either a LS or SCC. The distinction between the LS and SCC in regard

to job tenure is that the SCC only has the one city as an employer, as compared to the LS that has more than one city as an employer. A 4-5-year tenure will indicate either LC or LM. There is not a distinction in regard to tenure between LC and LM.

Career progression is completely dependent on the preceding position. To determine how often the city manager progressed, regressed, or made a lateral move in job title, each job position will be labeled with a ↑1, 0 or ↓1. The ↑1 indicates the city manager made a job progression, or in other words a promotion. The 0 indicates the city manager made a lateral move, or took a job position that was no better or worse than the position she left. The ↓1 indicates the city manager took a job position that was a demotion. The LS obtains the city manager position and remains in that position for 20 or more years, so it is not expected to see much progression in this job history. The LC continuously pursues more prestigious positions, so it is expected that these career progressions would be coded as a series such as: ↑1, ↑1, ↑1, ↑1. The LM pursues positions that are lateral with current positions, so it is expected this coding would be: 0, 0, 0, 0. Finally, the SCC works an entire career in one city, but progress through that city so that job progression would resemble that of the LC: ↑1, ↑1, ↑1, ↑1.

Each job position is individually coded as LS, LC, LM, or SCC. If the position does not meet the criteria for one of the four career paths, it is coded as OTHER. The city managers are coded into the career path category that comes up most frequently on their coding sheets. In instances of city managers' meeting most criteria for one category but not all, the researcher must make an informed decision in category placement. An example of this type of decision applied to City Manager 10 (see Appendix A). City Manager 10 worked in the private sector for 13 years before starting her career in

municipal government. Since then, she has worked for nearly 20 years in the same city where she is currently serving as city manager. In this case, the author coded her as a Single-City Careerists; the additional coders verified this determination.

Career Path Categories Content Analysis

Every job listed on the city managers' resumes and prepared job histories were analyzed in order to categorize the 41 city managers into one of the four career path categories. Appendix A includes the complete career path categorization chart. It includes the three characteristics and the researcher's coding; cells highlighted in yellow represent the researcher's final coding determinations. If the job position was not with a local municipality, "NonMuni." is entered in the city-size field. Every first position was considered to be an upward progression as it represents the person's entrance into the workforce; for the most part these were coded as LC because it was the person's first position in a pattern of upward moves. The only exception is for the SCC; if the person's first job was with a city where she worked her way up to city manager, then it was coded as SCC. As trends began to emerge, the researcher took notes on some of the city managers' career paths that are indicated by light blue cells, which are further discussed in the Conclusions chapter.

Interrater Reliability

To ensure the researcher was not biased throughout the content analysis process, intercoding is used as a reliability test. If the identified intercoders can replicate the original researcher's results, it is an indication that the researcher followed her parameters and was not biased.

For the purposes of this study, two additional coders rated a sample of 10 resumes. The final career path assessments of the two raters and the author matched completely. Therefore, it is possible to have strong confidence in the data collected from the resumes. (See Appendix B for the case-by-case data display). There is not an error in the Appendix B display; the intercoders coded City Manager resumes 1-11, except for City Manager 3. This is because the intercoders were asked to code the first ten resumes in alphabetical order. After the raters had already performed their coding, City Manager 3 sent her resume, so it was not part of the sample used for intercoder reliability.

The intercoder reliability process proved the coding process to be reliable; both Rater #1 and Rater #2 had the same results as the researcher.

Human Subjects Protection

Resumes provide the fundamental information; however, there are some occasions where there is a need to follow-up with a city manager to get clarification, in particular with the city managers classified as OTHER. Interview follow-up questions are used to clarify resume content that is not immediately clear. For example, why a city manager left a position or maybe switched career paths at a certain point. The Texas State University Research Integrity and Compliance division is responsible for ensuring that research conducted by Texas State University researchers is done in an ethical and responsible manner. The division manages an Institutional Review Board (IRB) that is responsible for approving any research methods that involve human subjects. While this research project does involve human subjects, it poses minimal risk to the subjects and is reliant on information that is already publically available due to the public nature of the subject involved. Because of the minimum risk, the Texas State Research IRB granted an

exemption to the IRB approval requirement for this study. Though an IRB exemption was granted, the city managers included in this study were still asked if they would be willing to answer follow-up questions regarding their career paths. Only those who indicated they would take follow-up questions were contacted for follow-up interview questions.

Names have been redacted from this career data because it does not hinder nor serve the study to include names. The researcher's primary purpose for redacting names was two-fold. First, the information is public given the nature of these women's jobs, which would allow anyone to secure the data should they be interested; however, since it does not impact the study names were not included. Second, there could be negative connotations associated with the career path category titles, such as Ladder Climber and Lateral Mover. The colloquial uses of "ladder climbers" or "lateral moves" could be considered derogatory; while that is not the case for this study, the names were redacted to avoid the possibility of any such negative connotations being aligned with one of the subject's careers. For the purposes of this study, the career path category labels were pulled directly from a previous study and are not intended to communicate anything negative or positive about the person's career path.

Chapter Conclusion

This study's methodology provided a systematic path to analyze Texas female city managers' resumes to identify a trend in career paths. The next chapter presents the results of the study, and key findings in the content analysis.

Chapter IV: Results

Chapter Purpose

This chapter presents the results of content analysis of female city managers' career paths in Texas. These results are organized in the same order as the conceptual framework. First in the chapter is a review the response rate, followed by the analysis of career path characteristics including city size, tenure, and career progression. The chapter ends with the primary purpose of the research: the analysis of career path categories including Long Servers (LS), Ladder Climbers (LC), Lateral Movers (LM), and Single-City Careerists (SCC). The results from the intercoder reliability check are also included in the final section of this chapter.

Response rate

Sixty-four female Texas city managers were identified using the Texas City Management Association (TCMA) and Texas Municipal League (TML) databases. Of the 64 women identified, 41 responded to the call for resumes, a 64% response rate. The majority of city managers had resumes available to email to the researcher; however, some city managers did not have resumes. To accommodate the researcher's request, those without resumes prepared lists of their career histories including job titles and length of time served in each position. The resumes and prepared career histories were used as the primary documents for the content analysis. Embedded within each document were numerous sign-vehicles, or career characteristics, that provided the integral information necessary to be able to place the city managers into one of the four career path categories.

Career Characteristics Content Analysis

As previously stated, the three primary career characteristics are city size, tenure and career progression. To categorize the city mangers into one of the four career paths, each career move was analyzed based on the city size, the woman's tenure, and her career progression; each move was assigned a category. The category that appeared most often was then identified as that city manager's career path category. Table 4.1 provides an overview of the career characteristics for the 41 city managers in their current positions. This represents a snapshot of Texas's current state of female city manager from what size of cities they serve, how long they have been serving, and how they progressed to the city management position.

Table 4.1 Career Characteristics of 41 Current Texas Women City Managers

Career Characteristic	City Manager Representation
City Size: Small (0-30K)	83% (34 city managers)
City Size: Medium (30,001-99,999K)	15% (6 city managers)
City Size: Large (100,000K +)	2% (1 city manager)
Average Tenure as City Manager	5.57 years
Career Progression: progressed up	85% (35 city managers)
Career Progression: lateral	10% (4 city managers)
Career Progression: other	5% (2 city managers)

Table 4.1 shows that the majority of Texas female city managers are currently serving in small cities; on average they have served 5.57 years in their respective cities;

and most progressed ahead in their careers when accepting their city management positions. Four city managers made lateral career moves into their current manager roles; two were categorized as "other." One city manager's career progression was considered as "other" because she transitioned from the military into city management, which could not be coded as a promotion, demotion, or lateral move. The second city manager whose progression was categorized as "other" was because she worked for more than 40 years in the construction industry when she was approached by her city to temporarily fill in as city manager while they recruited a full-time hire. She agreed to fill in temporarily, but as she stated "I must be doing a good job because I have been here ever since." She has served as city manager for more than two years now; thus this nontraditional path was labeled "other."

Table 4.1 provides a snapshot of currently serving Texas female city managers. Given that so many serve in small cities, that group of 34 women is profiled in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Career Characteristics of Texas Women City Managers in Small Cities

Career Characteristic	City Manager Representation
City Size: Small (0-30K)	**83% (34 of 41 city manager sample)**
Average Tenure as City Manager	5.59 years
Career Progression: progressed up	82% (28 of 34 city managers in small cities)
Career Progression: lateral	3% (1 of 34 city managers in small cities)
Career Progression: other	15% (5 of 34 city managers in small cities)

Table 4.2 shows that female city managers in Texas' small cities have many similarities with women serving in this role statewide. This group of women in small cities has an almost identical average tenure (5.57 years compared to 5.59), the majority of women were promoted into their now current roles as city managers, and a very small number made lateral moves into their current positions. It is noteworthy that a much higher percentage of women in small cities (15% compared to 5% statewide) made career moves coded as "other" into their city manager positions. The "other" category encompasses both women whose career path moves were demotions (indicated by ↓1 on the coding sheet) and those whose paths did not fit into a category. In this case, of the five women whose career progressions were categorized as "other," four accepted positions that can be considered demotions.

While this information provides a snapshot of the city managers' careers today, it is their career path histories that provide the needed information to categorize them into one of the four career path categories.

Findings

The most noteworthy finding in this study is that most female city managers in Texas fit into two of the four career path categories: Single-City Careerists and Ladder Climbers. This finding is similar to Watson and Hassett's (2004a) conclusion that most U.S. city managers in large cities are either Single-City Careerists or Ladder Climbers. The other two categories (Long Servers and Lateral Movers) are not well represented, which could lead some to suggest that they are not advisable career paths for women in Texas pursuing public administration careers.

The majority of women in this study progressed to the city manager position as Single-City Careerists in small cities. Table 4.3 is a results summary that provides the key results of career-category content analysis. Because 83% of the Texas women in this study are employed in small cities, there is a separate section in Table 4.3 for city managers in small cities. It shows a direct comparison between the city managers in small cities versus the rest of the sample.

Table 4.3 Results: Career Path Categorization of Texas Female City Managers

City Manager Career Path	Frequency	Percent	City Managers—Small Cities	
			Frequency	Percent
Long Servers	2	4.88%	2	5.88%
Lateral Movers	1	2.44%	1	2.94%
Ladder Climbers	16	39%	14	41.18%
Single-City Careerists	20	48.78%	15	44.12%
Other	2	4.88%	1	5.88%
Totals	**41**	**100% (rounded)**	**34**	**100%**

While most career moves did align with the career-path categories described by Watson and Hassett, there was an exception with Single-City Careerists (SCC). According to Watson and Hassett (2004a), the SCCs are most often found in large cities (100,000 people or more) because the cities are so large that they offer more opportunities to progress internally through the ranks to city manager. This was not the case for female city managers in Texas.

The majority of female Texas City Managers are Single-City Careerists, followed by Ladder Climbers, Long Servers, "Other," and then Lateral Movers. These findings do align with Watson and Hassett's (2004a) research, which indicated that more than 45 percent of the city managers were promoted from within their organization. However, it is contradictory in the fact that all, with exception for one, Single-City Careerists in this current study served either small or medium-sized cities (small: 0-29,999, medium: 30,000-99,999 people) instead of large cities (100,000+ people). While SCCs represent 49 percent of all the city managers in this study, 75 percent (15 women) of the SCCs are serving in small cities. Twenty percent of the SCCs (4 women) are serving in medium-sized cities, and only five percent (one woman) is serving in a large Texas city. Every SCC in this study progressed up into her city manager position, with exception for one whose career progressed was coded "other." In Watson and Hassett's (2004a) research, there was an indication that women were more likely to follow the SCC career path than were men. While this study does not include a comparison set of data for male city managers in Texas, the majority of women in the study are SCCs, which does align with Watson and Hassett's research.

The portion of Table 4.3 for city managers in small cities indicates that the career path pattern survives in this subsect of the sample. A chi-squared test is not possible with this particular dataset; therefore, the researcher had to visually identify trends in the data. The majority of small-city practitioners (29 of 34 women) are either LCs or SCCs, which is similar to that of the entire sample. Additionally, only two women were LSs, one was a LM, and one was coded as "other." The small representation of Texas women city

managers in the LS and LM categories supports the overall findings that predominately LC and SCC are the career paths for women in Texas.

Finally, Watson and Hassett (2004a) noted some interesting findings from the 13 women included in their 113 person study. They found that 46 percent (6 women) had been promoted from within their organization to the city manager position. Also, the women in Watson and Hassett's study averaged 3.846 years as city manager in their current cities. In contrast, this study found that 56 percent of the female Texas city managers (23 of the 41 women) were promoted from within their organizations. They also averaged 5.57 years as city manager in their current cities. More women in this study were promoted from within and have served longer terms. Both of these characteristics are common with Single-City Careerists, which supports this study's findings that most of the women are Single-City Careerists. As previously stated, Watson and Hassett (2004a) did not provide a nationwide breakdown for each career path category, and there is not a different applicable benchmark to use for the Texas data. This can make it difficult to determine how Texas women city managers' career paths compare to city managers nationwide. However, Watson and Hassett (2004a) did conclude that most city managers in the nation's largest cities are either SCC or LC, which is also supported by this study.

Chapter V: Conclusion

Chapter Purpose

This final chapter is intended to interpret the study's findings and suggest topics for future research. By conducting a content analysis of currently serving female city managers in Texas, this study sought to identify career path trends that could describe career path patterns among Texas women city managers. This study supplements previous national studies, as well as provides a more localized perspective of Texas city managers and Texas women in public administration.

Some interesting findings include nontraditional paths of entry into city management, Ladder Climbers who progressed in positions but not in city size, and two Single-City Careerists who appear to be on their second careers.

City Manager 21 and City Manager 30 (See Appendix A) had nontraditional career paths leading to city management. They were categorized as "other" and are the same two previously mentioned women in the *Results* chapter. One woman transitioned to city management from the military and the other had a construction career and was asked to fill in as city manager temporarily, though it turned out to be a permanent move. The veteran's career path is considered "nontraditional" in the sense that it did not fit into one of the four categories. Military veterans transitioning to work as civilian, municipal government employees is a natural progression, even if the connection is not always apparent at first.

> Clearly, the armed services are public agencies as well as departments of the Executive Branch of national government and thus fall within the milieu of public administration. Is the field of public administration incompatible with military administration, or are there other factors which have influenced the lack of a public-military administration exchange? (Jefferies, 1977, p.322).

Today, schools like The University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill have specific MPA programs for military veterans pursuing civilian careers in public administration. The other woman whose career was primarily construction would be considered an anomaly. It is fair to say that most city managers are not asked to temporarily fill the role without previous public administration experience.

Two of the women (City Manager 1 and 2) progressively pursued more prestigious job positions, but they simultaneously chose moves to smaller and small cities. This could be contributed to quality-of-life factors. It is possible these women subscribe to Slaughter's (2012) notion that women truly "can't have it all" and their compromise is to pursue more responsibility, but in smaller communities so they can maintain a good work-life balance. These women were not interviewed as part of this study, though the pursuit for work-life balance would be a plausible explanation for this type of career path.

A final observation includes two women whose careers nearly encompassed two separate career paths. City Manager 20 and City Manager 37 had full careers as Single-City Careerists, becoming city managers in small and medium-sized cities respectively, before continuing their careers—one as a Lateral Mover and one as a Ladder Climber. City Manager 20 served 32 years in the same city before making a lateral move to become a town manager. According to online media reports regarding her departure, it would appear this city manager was terminated by her City Council, which would be the cause of her lateral move to another city. City Manager 37 served 19 years in her first city, 5 of which were in the city manager role. After nearly 20 years, she left and pursued

city management positions in larger cities, including as assistant city manager for nearly 15 years; she has been in her current city manager position for 10 years. City Manager 37 was coded as a Single-City Careerist, though given her impressive career post-SCC, it could be conceivable that another researcher would categorize her as a Ladder Climber. She does not appear to be slowing down, as she is now employed for one of the top 10 largest cities in the nation.

> At the conclusion of Watson and Hassett's study, they stated:
> The findings in this study may also serve as advice to young professionals who desire to serve as city managers in large cities. One lesson is that those who want to become city managers of larger cities would be wise to start their careers in large cities. With increased stability in council-manager cities, evidenced by the doubling of the average years in office over the past four decades, one is likely to end her or his career where she or he started it (Watson & Hassett, 2004a, p.198).

The data Watson and Hassett collected in their 2004(a) study indicated that people pursing city manager roles in large cities should consider beginning their careers in large cities and working their way up. Based on this study's findings, this concluding advice can be expanded to female city managers pursuing city management careers in a city of any size. Women pursuing careers in public administration are well-advised to begin their careers in the city they wish to serve as city manager. While the Single-City Careerist route was not the only successful career path, it was the path that spanned both studies as most successful (Watson and Hassett [2004a] and this study). Watson and Hassett identified some Long Servers, while this study identified more Ladder Climbers; however, neither study showed a strong Lateral Mover representation. This

suggests that the Lateral Mover career path is not an advisable path into city management.

Given that the Single-City Careerist path has now proven applicable to both men and women pursuing careers in small, medium, and large cities, it is good advice for any future practitioners to consider.

Suggestions for Future Research

This study is rooted in a conceptual framework that includes three primary factors needed to identify a city manager's career path: city size, tenure, and career progression. The study results indicate that majority of women city managers in Texas are found in small or medium-sized cities. Additional career path elements could be incorporated into this study to help identify determining factors for pulling female city managers to small/medium-sized cities. Some suggestions would include marriage status, children, and spouse's job description. Particularly, this study could be expanded to include compensation data to further research pay disparity between male and female city managers. As this study indicates, many Texas female city managers are Single-City Careerists—they are being promoted from within. Does an internal promotion limit their ability to negotiate for a sizeable raise in compensation compared to a Ladder Climber? Anecdotally it is acknowledged that internal applicants are often unable to receive as large a pay raise as would outside applicants because of human resources policies, best practices, or even a perception of fairness. This should be further examined to determine how a woman's selected career path affects her earning ability.

Additionally, this study focused on the top position—city manager/city administrator. Additional research may be warranted on assistant city

managers/administrators to investigate whether women are selecting the second-to-the-top role as the pinnacle of their careers in city management. Or, possibly, some women in the field never actually intended to become city managers. As one study subject stated, "I never planned to be city manager, it just kind of happened." Another city manager in this study, City Manager 32, is actually the Library Director, but she has been "volunteering" as city manager for 20 years (obviously, it is a small city). This study was not designed to dive deeper into the career histories of those who did not seek out city management positions. The scope could be broadened to capture more details about those women and how they found themselves in the top position in city management.

Moreover, this study could be expanded to a national scope, much like the original study conducted by Watson and Hassett (2004a), but with a focus on female city managers. To be inclusive of female city managers, there would need to be a lower threshold for city size than what Watson and Hassett used—100,000. Also, survey data must be specifically designed to capture gender data as a forethought, not an afterthought. For example, Watson and Hassett (2004a) published gender data; however, since their cutoff for inclusion was large cities (100,000 people or more) it did not include a large sample of women who work for smaller cities. As seen in this study, the majority of women in Texas work in cities smaller than 100,000; if this is an indication of a nationwide trend, it would garner further research into female city managers from cities of all sizes. Replicating this study nationwide could expand the knowledge base to see whether all women nationwide are trending towards SCC in small cities, or if that

is unique to Texas. Regardless, since female representation in city management has not fluctuated since 1981, it would be worthwhile to further develop and expand this study.

Finally, further study of this topic should involve a concerted effort toward developing more reliable and accessible nationwide city management datasets. While collecting data for this study, the researcher compiled various datasets that could be considered limited or incomplete. Nationwide data standards and a collective effort to gather such data would strengthen the ability to research city management career trends, and in particular how they affect women in public administration.

Conclusion

Women are underrepresented in city management, and they have been for more than 30 years—in particular given the number of women who have earned Master of Public Administration degrees. Deliberate and in-depth study into the career choices of female public administrators nationwide will not only prove fruitful to a field that is struggling to recruit female executives, but it will add to the nationwide discussion of women in the workplace. A comprehensive understanding of female city managers' career paths should better prepare future women practitioners. There is value in studying career paths that have proven most successful in retaining female city managers, and it could contribute to a larger effort to recruit a diverse pool of city managers nationwide.

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Appendix A: Texas Female City Managers' Career Path Categorization Chart

Appendix A: Texas Female City Managers' Career Path Categorization Chart

City Manager: 1				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**Long Server (LS)/Ladder Climber(LC)/Lateral Mover(LM)/Single-City Careerist(SCC)**
C: City Manager	32K - M	9 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: Dir. Of Finance	91K - M	2 years	↑1	LC
C-2: Sr. Budget Coord.	149K - L	1 year	↑1	LC
C-3: Staff Accountant	NonMuni.	5 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She moved up in positions, but down in city sizes.				
City Manager: 2				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	11K - S	8 months	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: Deputy City Manager	11K - S	9 months	↓1	LM
C-2: Deputy Secretary	600K - L	3 years 8mos.	↑1	LC
C-3: Chief Operating Officer	600K - L	1 year 4mos.	↑1	LC
C-4: Dept. Dir.	600K - L	1 year 11mos.	↑1	LC
C-5: Chief of Staff	600K - L	n/a	↑1	LC
C-6: Asst. County Admin.	12K - S	9 months	↑1	LM
C-7: Assistant to CM	140K - L	1 year 8mos.	↓1	LM
C-8: Deputy Chief of Staff	2.6M - L	2.5 years	↑1	LC
C-9: Asst. CIO	2.6M - L	2.5 years	↑1	LC
C-10: Asst. to Chief of Staff	38K - M	2 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She moved up in positions, but down in city sizes.				
City Manager: 3				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	3K - S	2 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: City Administrator	1K- S	1 year 3mos.	↑1	LC
C-2: Economic Dev. Coord.	22K - S	2 years	↑1	LC
C-3: City Administrator	2K - S	7 months	↑1	LC
C-4: Economic Dev. Spec.	26K	1 year	↑1	LC
C-5: Economic Dev. Spec.	NonMuni.	3 years	↑1	LC
C-6: Mktg/Research Coord	8K - S	6 years	↑1	LC
C-7: Admin. Asst. to CM	36K	2 years	↑1	LC
C-8: Admin. Intern	65K - M	1 year	↑1	LC

City Manager: 4				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	48K - M	9 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	48K - M	3 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: HR Director	48K - M	6 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: HR Rep @ university	NonMuni.	4 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.				
City Manager: 5				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	6K - S	11 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: Deputy CM	6K - S	6 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: ACM	6K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Administrative Asst.	6K - S	~1 year	↓1	SCC
C-4: City Secretary	6K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC
C-5: Administrative Asst.	6K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-6: Bookkeeper	6K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC
C-7: Part-time Admin.	6K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 6				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	2K - S	15 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: Utility Clerk	2K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Office Secretary	2K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 7				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	2K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: City Secretary	2K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Court Administrator	2K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Admin. Aide	1.3M - L	9 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 8				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	62K - M	4 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	62K - M	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: HR Director	62K - M	16 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.				

City Manager: 9				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	3K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	3K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC
C-2: City Clerk	3K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 10				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	23K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: City Engineer	23K - S	7 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Engineer Coordinator	NonMuni.	6 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Project Engineer	NonMuni.	3 years	0	LM
C-4: Project Engineer	NonMuni.	4years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 11				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager/Secretary	3K - S	32 years	↑1	LS (Final category)
C-1: Secretary	11K -S	8 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 12				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	7K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: Director of Budget	7K -S	9 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 13				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	95K - M	1.5 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	95K - M	18 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Director of HR	95K - M	6 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Director of Civil Service	49K - M	2 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Staffing Coord.	229K - L	2 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Admin. Assistant	229K - L	2 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.				
City Manager: 14				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	1K - S	6 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: City Secretary	1K - S	6 years	↑1	SCC

C-2: Municipal Judge	1K - S	15 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Parole Officer	124K - L	2 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Classification Officer	124K - L	4 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 15				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	12K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM/Dir. Of HR	12K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Personnel Admin.	12K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Asst. to Personnel Adm.	12K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC
C-4:Private-Sector Break	NonMuni.	n/a	n/a	OTHER
C-5: Asst. to City Secretary	12K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
C-6: Secretary	12K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 16				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	20K - S	5 months	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	14K - S	7 years 8mos.	↑1	LC
C-2: Interim Dir. Enviro	365K - L	7 months	↑1	LC
C-3: AD Public Works	365K - L	1 years 7mos.	↑1	LC
C-4:Admin Manager	365K - L	2 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Org. Development Spec.	365K - L	7 months	↑1	LC
C-6: Consulting	NonMuni.	3 years 7mos.	↑1	LC
C-7: Sr. Consultant	NonMuni.	1 year 6mos.	↑1	LC
C-8: Sr. Budget Analyst	NonMuni.	1 year 7mos.	↑1	LC
C-9:Finance Intern	63K - M	1 year 8mos.	↑1	LC
City Manager: 17				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	6K - S	2 years	↓1	LM (Final category)
C-1: Village Manager	10K - S	1 year	↓1	LM
C-2: City Manager	16K - S	6 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Teacher	NonMuni.	4 years	0	LM
C-4: Planner	NonMuni.	4 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 18				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	22K - S	6 years	↓1	LM
C-1: City Manager	25K - S	2 years	↑1	LC (Final category)

C-2: ACM	25K - S	1 year	↑1	LC
C-3: AD Parks	365K - L	5 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Asst. to CM	365K - L	3 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Finance Analyst	741K - L	1 year	↑1	LC
C-6: Management Intern	741K - L	1 year	0	LC
C-7: Asst. to Mayor	741K - L	1 year	↑1	LC
City Manager: 19				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	5K - S	1 year	↑1	LC
C-1: City Manager	3K - S	4 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-2: ACM	14K - S	6 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Consulting Partner	NonMuni.	4 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Grants Manager	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LC
C-5: Sales Tax Auditor	86K - M	3 years	↑1	LC
C-6:Accountant	74K - M	2 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 20				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: Town Manager	7K - S	3 years	↓1	LM
C-1: City Manager	37K - S	18 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-2: Admin. - ACM	37K - S	14 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, started a second career type as a LM.				
City Manager: 21				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	4K - S	1 year	OTHER	OTHER (Final category)
C-1: Civil Affairs- Military	NonMuni.	4 years	OTHER	OTHER
C-2: Commander- Military	NonMuni.	2 years	OTHER	OTHER
C-3: Chief- Military	NonMuni.	3 years	OTHER	OTHER
NOTE: Career was all military; unable to categorize move to municipal service.				
City Manager: 22				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	14K - S	1 year	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	78K - M	7 years	↑1	LC
C-2: City Manager	25K - S	4 years	↑1	LC
C-3: ACM	80K - M	4 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Asst. to CM	365K - L	8 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Asst. to Exec. Dir.	NonMuni.	6 years	↑1	LC

City Manager: 23				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	7K - S	1 year	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: City Secretary	7K - S	n/a ~3yr	↑1	LC
C-2: Asst. City Secretary	7K - S	n/a ~3yr	↑1	LC
C-3: Secretary	7K - S	n/a ~3yr	↑1	LM
C-4: Secretary	NonMuni.	6 months	↑1	LM
C-5: Secretary	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LM
C-6: Executive Secretary	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LM
C-7: Office Manager	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LM
C-8: Secretarial - cont'd	NonMuni.	11years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 24				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	5K -S	1 year 9 mos.	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	5K -S	3 months	↑1	LC
C-2: Dir. Parks	17K - S	4 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Comm. Dev. Coord.	2K - S	2 years	↓1	LM
C-4: Superintendent Parks	71K - M	1 year	↑1	LC
C-5: Dir. Parks	26K - S	4 years	↑1	LC
C-6: Planning & Admin	NonMuni.	13 years	↑1	LC
C-7: Dir. Parks	39K- M	2 years	↑1	LC
C-8: Dir. Parks Commission	18K - S	8 years	0	LM
C-9: Dir. Parks	17K - S	2 years	↑1	LC
C-10: Marketing Dir.	NonMuni.	2 years	↑1	LC
C-11: Parks Intern	790K - L	1 year	↑1	LC
City Manager: 25				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	99K - M	4 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: Deputy City Manager	39K - M	4 years 4mos.	↑1	LC
C-2: Asst. to CM	39K - M	6 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Comm. Engagement Dir.	39K - M	3 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Public Affairs Office.	105K - M	8 years 4mos.	↑1	LC
City Manager: 26				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	51K - M	8 months	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: Deputy CM	51K - M	8 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: ACM	51K - M	3 years	↑1	SCC

C-3: Dir. Of Finance	51K - M	7 years	↑1	SCC
C-4: Dir of Finance	23K - S	1 year	↑1	LC
C-5: Audit Manager	NonMuni.	2 years	↑1	LC
C-6: Asst. Finance Manager	336K - L	n/a	↑1	LC
C-7: Accountant	NonMuni.	6 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.				
City Manager: 27				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager/Finance Dir.	5K - S	10 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: City Sec./Finance Dir.	5K - S	20 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Asst. City Secretary	5K - S	8 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Payroll Clerk	5K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 28				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	11K - S	5 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: Finance Dir.	30K - S	3 years	↑1	LC
C-2: ACM/Finance Dir.	11K - S	10 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Finance Dir.	8K - S	2 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Asst. Controller	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LC
C-5: Senior Accountant	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LC
C-6: Office Assistant	NonMuni.	2 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 29				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
City Manager	8K - S	1 year	↑1	LC (Final category)
Sr. Ecnom. Dev. Specialist	1.3M - L	7 months	↑1	LC
Downtown Dev. Coord.	58K - M	4 years 9mos.	↓1	LM
ACM	36K - M	1 year 7mos.	↑1	LC
Ecnom. Dev. Specialist	36K - M	1 year	↑1	LC
Site Coordinator	NonMuni.	5 months	0	LM
Gov.Relations Aide	1.3M - L	11 months	0	LM
Aide to County Judge	1.3M - L	3 years	↑1	LC
Litigation Asst.	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LC
City Manager: 30				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	3K - S	2 years 3mos.	0	OTHER (Final category)

C-1: Construction	NonMuni.	40years	0	OTHER
NOTE: She had a full career in construction and was asked to be interim city manager and has been there since.				
City Manager: 31				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	19K - S	16 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM/Finance Dir.	19K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Finance Dir.	19K - S	7 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Office Manager	19K - S	7 years	↑1	SCC
C-4: Accounting Clerk	19K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-5: Customer Service	19K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 32				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager/Clerk	95 people	20 years	↑1	LS (Final category)
C-1: Library Director	95 people	concurrent	↑1	OTHER
City Manager: 33				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	24K - S	5 months	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: City Manager	10K - S	2 years 10mos.	↑1	LC
C-2: City Secretary	2K - S	2 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Support Svc. Dir.	78K - M	3 years	↑1	LC
C-4: Program Coord.	113K - L	2 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Asst. to CM	25K - S	1 year	↑1	LC
City Manager: 34				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	26K - S	10 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	26K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 35				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	25K - S	6 months	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: ACM	25K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Deputy Dir.	25K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-3: Dept. Manager	25K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC

C-4: Superintendent of Svc.	25K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-5: City Sanitarian	25K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC
C-6: Pretreatment Coord.	25K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC
C-7: Payroll Supervisor	NonMuni.	9 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.				
City Manager: 36				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	9K - S	5 months	↓1	LM
C-1: City Manager	18K - S	3 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-2: City Manager	5K - S	4 years	↑1	LC
C-3: City Administrator	3K - S	8 months	↑1	LC
C-4: Asst. to CM	50K - M	4 years	↑1	LC
C-5: Budget Analyst	1.3M - L	1 year 9 mos.	↑1	LC
C-6: Grants Admin.	NonMuni.	2 years	0	LM
C-7: Development Offc.	NonMuni.	3 years	↑1	LC
City Manager: 37				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	1.3M - L	10 years	↑1	LC
C-1: ACM	1.4M - L	15 years	↑1	LC
C-2: Deputy CM	1.4M - L	1 year	↑1	LC
C-3: City Manager	74K - M	5 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-4: Acting CM	74K - M	3 months	↑1	SCC
C-5: Deputy CM/Dir.	74K - M	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-6: Deputy CM	74K - M	3 years	↑1	SCC
C-7: Asst. to CM	74K - M	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-8: Planner	74K - M	2 years	↑1	SCC
C-9: Research Writer	74K - M	1 year	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, started a second career type as a LC. Coding as SCC in **large.**				
City Manager: 38				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	4K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: Interim CM	4K - S	1 month	↑1	SCC
C-2: Acting CM	4K - S	1 month	0	SCC
C-3: Acting CM	4K - S	1 year 3mos.	↑1	SCC
C-4: City Secretary	4K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC
C-5: Asst. City Secretary	4K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC
C-6: Utility Clerk	4K - S	16 years	↑1	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small**-sized city.				

City Manager: 39				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	3K - S	8 years	↑1	SCC (Final category)
C-1: City Secretary	3K - S	16 years	↑1	SCC
C-2: Clerk	NonMuni.	1 year	↑1	LC
C-3: Secretary	NonMuni.	8 years	↑1	LC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small**-sized city.				

City Manager: 40				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	3K - S	5 years 8mos.	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: City Administrator	1K - S	2 years 4mos.	↑1	LC
C-2: City Administrator	621 - S	3 years 6mos.	↑1	LC
C-3: Community Advocate	NonMuni.	4 years 1mos.	0	LM
C-4: Development Dir.	NonMuni.	3 years 1mos.	↑1	LC
C-5: PR Rep	NonMuni.	8 years 1mos.	↑1	LC
C-6: Information Officer	NonMuni.	1 year 1mos.	↑1	LC

City Manager: 41				
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**
C: City Manager	18K - S	2 years	↑1	LC (Final category)
C-1: Dept. Dir.	18K - S	5 years	↑1	LC
C-2: Comm. Dev. Dir.	5K - S	4 years	↑1	LC
C-3: Exec. Asst. Dir.	8K - S	2 years	↑1	LM
C-4: Marketing	NonMuni.	3 years	↑1	LC

Appendix B: Intercoder Reliability Chart for Texas Female City Managers' Career Path Categorization

Appendix B: Intercoder Reliability: Career Path Categorization of Texas Female City Managers

City Manager: 1						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	32K - M	9 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-1: Dir. Of Finance	91K - M	2 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-2: Sr. Budget Coord.	149K - L	1 year	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-3: Staff Accountant	NonMuni.	5 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
NOTE: She moved up in positions, but down in city sizes.						

City Manager: 2						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	11K - S	8mos.	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-1: Deputy City Manager	11K - S	9mos.	↓1	LM	LM	LM
C-2: Deputy Secretary	600K - L	3 years 8mos.	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-3: Chief Operating Officer	600K - L	1 year 4mos.	↑1	LC	LM	LC
C-4: Dept. Dir.	600K - L	1 year 11mos.	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-5: Chief of Staff	600K - L	n/a	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-6: Asst. County Admin.	12K - S	9mos.	↑1	LM	LM	LM
C-7: Assistant to CM	140K - L	1 year 8mos.	↓1	LM	LM	LM
C-8: Deputy Chief of Staff	2.6M - L	2.5 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-9: Asst. CIO	2.6M - L	2.5 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
C-10: Asst. to Chief of Staff	38K - M	2 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
NOTE: She moved up in positions, but down in city sizes.						

City Manager: 4						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	48K - M	9 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: ACM	48K - M	3 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: HR Director	48K - M	6 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-3: HR Rep @ UT	NonMuni.	4 years	↑1	LC	OTHER	OTHER
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.						

City Manager: 5						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**

C: City Manager	6K - S	11 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: Deputy CM	6K - S	6 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: ACM	6K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-3: Administrative Asst.	6K - S	~1 year	↓1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-4: City Secretary	6K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-5: Administrative Asst.	6K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-6: Bookkeeper	6K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-7: Part-time Admin.	6K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.						
City Manager: 6						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	2K - S	15 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: Utility Clerk	2K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: Office Secretary	2K - S	3 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.						
City Manager: 7						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	2K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: City Secretary	2K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: Court Administrator	2K - S	2 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-3: Admin. Aide	1.3M - L	9 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC
City Manager: 8						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	62K - M	4 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: ACM	62K - M	5 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: HR Director	62K - M	16 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **medium** sized-city.						
City Manager: 9						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	3K - S	5 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-1: ACM	3K - S	1 year	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
C-2: City Clerk	3K - S	4 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.						
City Manager: 10						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager	23K - S	12 years	↑1	SCC	SCC	SCC

C-1: City Engineer	23K - S	7 years	↑1	SCC	LC	LC
C-2: Engineer Coordinator	NonMuni.	6 years	↑1	LC	LC	OTHER
C-3: Project Engineer	NonMuni.	3 years	0	LM	LM	LM
C-4: Project Engineer	NonMuni.	4years	↑1	LC	LM	OTHER
NOTE: She is a SCC, but at a **small** sized-city.						
City Manager: 11						
Job	**City Size**	**Tenure**	**Progression**	**LS/LC/LM/SCC**	**Rater #1**	**Rater #2**
C: City Manager/Secretary	3K - S	32 years	↑1	LS	LS	LS
C-1: Secretary	11K -S	8 years	↑1	LC	LC	LC